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Lectori salutem,

(Greetings to the Readers) with this old Latin greeting formula allow us to salute all the readers of the Acta Ethnographica Hungarica.

The special motivation for this editorial introduction is that from this volume the periodical is edited by a new editorial board. So it's fitting and proper to salute our readers on this occasion.

The changes in the editorial board - as you can see - are bringing certain formal transformation as well. We are trying to make the exterior of the periodical a bit more colourful. Without changing the traditional name (Acta Ethnographica) we want to lay stress on the Hungarian character. So the correct name of the periodical as from this volume is Acta Ethnographica Hungarica. It is indicated on the inside cover only that it is a journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

With this small change in the name we want to emphasize in relation to the contents that the Acta Ethnographica Hungarica will be devoted first of all to Hungarian research in ethnology, in cultural anthropology and of work in this field in the Carpathian Basin. Besides the results of Hungarian scholars we want to publish essays of other colleagues in the region, bringing them to the international mainstream of research. Parallel with this intention we would like to keep the journal for all colleagues abroad, for our old and new Authors. We therefore look forward to receiving your essays in ethnology and cultural anthropology in the future as well. We also hope to publish the material of international conferences, as we do in this volume. In the next volumes - with the contribution of guest editors - we plan to bring out conferencepapers of international importance, such as essays on the ethno-psychologist Géza Róheim and on György Martin, one of the most famous folk dance researcher in Europe. It is our hope that in this way the new results of investigations will become known more quickly in this way.

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The Acta Ethnographica Hungarica will publish articles on various topics under the headings - essays, shorter papers, discussion and reviews. To realize these plans we ask for the further cooperation of our old and new authors. In this hope will I greet all the writers and readers of our periodical.

Gábor Barna
executive editor

WITCH BELIEFS AND WITCH-HUNTING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Conference in Budapest
Sept. 6-9, 1988

Guest Editors
Gábor Klaniczay - Éva Pócs

Acta Ethnographica Acad. Sci. Hung., 37(1-4), pp. 7-13 (1991/92)

Introduction

We are tempted to begin our introduction with the remark that the papers of this conference have probably been bewitched.

At first everything seemed to work out perfectly, as if supported by some kind of magic. When the conference was held in Budapest in the fall of 1988, it represented a minor sensation both in Hungarian intellectual life and in the field of international witchcraft research. Bringing together thirty-three scholars from thirteen countries, all experts of this exotic topic, seemed in itself a very ambitious project. To develop it into a discussion which embraces history, anthropology, psychology and folklore, following the latest trends of research was even more ambitious. And we did hope that it would be precisely here, investigating the problems of the region which has been the borderland of European civilization, that some essential answers could be found on how this fascinating archaic set of beliefs could become the raw material of such explosive persecutions in early modern Europe.

The conference did prove to be very interesting, with a lot of fruitful exchanges and exciting encounters. In attracted a considerable public attention as well, due both to the quality of the scholars attending and the natural popularity of the topic. We were also helped by the favourable historical moment: one could feel the first breezes of the wind that would sweep away the Communist system within a single year.

But, alas, this storm has also ruined the previously existent infrastructures of scholarly puslishing. So these papers unfortunately had to wait five years in various offices and drawers before becoming available to the wider international public. We are convinced, that the fortunate combination of knowledge drawn from various fields and the evidence obtained from different countries still makes them an interesting and valuable contribution to the study of the subject. But this delay did unquestionably rob them of the up-to-date freshness with which they intersected with the most relevant discourses and the most intriguing current concerns of international witchcraft research in the 1980s. So let us begin by giving a rough outline of this context.

1. For several decades, the history and the folklore of European witchcraft beliefs became a fashionable and even a respectable scholarly topic.

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Some excellent historians and anthropologists, such as Lucien Febvre, Robert Mandrou, Carlo Ginzburg, Alan Macfarlane, Keith Thomas, Mary Douglas, Robert Muchembled, John Demos and Stuart Clark,[1] have tried to propose a series of new ideas related to this topic. These ranged from the "histoire des mentalités", historical anthropology, "popular culture" to historical phychology, scapegoat mechanisms, and community studies. The proliferation of interesting theoretical propositions triggered the reexamination of the rich source materials of European witch trials, and laid the foundations of a new social, cultural and judicial history of early modern witchcraft prosecutions (Bengt Ankarloo, William Monter, Eric H. Midelfort, Gustav Henningsen, Christina Larner, Alfred Soman, Wolfgang Behringer).[2]

This combination of new approaches and new regional studies was a natural inspiration for comparative surveys and conferences. It was due to this, that from the early 1980s on one could observe a kind of moveable feast (or rather Sabbath) of international witchcraft scholars. In 1980 there was a comparative discussion in Kiel about witch-hunting in Northern Germany and Scandinavia.[3] In 1984 a conference of the Olin Foundation in Stockholm[4] extended the comparisons towards the northern and eastern margins of Europe. In 1987 there was another conference working with strict regional comparisons about witch-hunting in Austria.[5] These intra-regional comparisons stimulated new synthetic overviews,[6] and they also led to the formation of several workshops investigating various aspects of the history of European witchcraft (Christina Larner - Scotland; Sönke Lorenz - Stuttgart; Nicole Jacques-Chaquin and Maxime Préaud - ENS Fontenay-Paris; Wilhelm Frijhoff and Marijke Gijstwijt-Hofstra - Amsterdam; Jean-Pierre Dedieu - Bordeaux). The bases of our conference have also been laid by a similar workshop organized by ourselves in 1983, at the Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, with the aim of building up a computerized database from the documentation concerning Hungarian witch trials. Relying on a collaboration of folklorists and historians, we wanted to play an active role in the unfolding of this collective scholarly enterprise, explaining witchcraft beliefs and prosecutions in the framework of an international and interdisciplinary collaboration. We were convinced that the materials from Central and Eastern Europe would be illuminating for the explanation of European witchcraft beliefs in general.

2. This special relevance of Central and East European material seemed to be twofold. The first would take into account the sociological and anthropological explanations of witch-hunting. These analyses ascribed

their occurrence to various social and cultural tensions. If one accepts this, the belated timing of witchcraft prosecutions in our region, which lasted till the second half of the 18th century, could be considered an indicator of the comparatively belated manifestation of these underlying conflicts.

The other promising aspect of our comparative efforts was the great variety of archaic beliefs mingling and interacting with the popular and learned mythologies of witchcraft. They have certainly left more traces here than elsewhere, because the institutional prosecution of witchcraft stopped at the boundaries of Latin Christianity. We hoped that they would provide interesting clues as to the origin and the wider context of Sabbath beliefs.

As for the requirements of a strict regional comparison we have to acknowledge that the results corresponded only partly to our expectations. Unfortunately we were unable to find a Czech colleague who would have spoken about the history of witch-hunting in Bohemia and Moravia.[7] The present volume even lacks the excellent paper given at the conference by Heide Dienst about Austrian witch-hunting. Still, we can be satisfied that a certain Central and East European "axis" of interrelationships is reconstructed here. It ranges from the early witchcraft prosecutions in Switzerland, described by Andreas Blauert, and from the rich documentation of South-Eastern Germany analyzed by Wolfgang Behringer, to Poland (Stanislaw Bylina), Slovenia (Vincenc Rajšp), Croatia (Maja Bošković-Stulli), Hungary (Ildikó Kristóf and Gábor Klaniczay) and Ukraine (A.V. Kurochkin). While reading the individual studies reveal the interrelationship of these waves of persecution even without well-knit statistical evaluations.

There was also an interesting debate at the conference, moderated by Bengt Ankarloo, on whether one could go further and relate the similarities and the differences to some "deeper causes". There was a consensus that it would be impossible to reduce the rise of witchcraft accusations to any single social, religious or cultural "cause" (such as neighbourhood conflicts or confessional differences). Still, the relevance of the sociological-cultural context remained beyond doubt: the social tensions created in the agrarian societies of early modern Europe by climatic calamities and famines (Behringer, Kristóf); the "modernizing" commercial and economic transformations (Blauert); the conflicts between ecclesiastical and popular attitudes towards agricultural and fertility magic (Bylina, Klaniczay, O'Neil); the disturbing initiatives of certain re-

presentatives of the highest church and the lay elite generating and legalizing large waves of witchcraft persecutions, which all drew on these conflicts and widespread animosities (Blauert, Behringer, Rajšp).

3. The other principal field of enquiry was the historical typology and transformation of the witchcraft beliefs. Among the achievements of the conference it should be mentioned that the historians and the folklorists not only entered into a dialogue but also started to interrogate and use each other's documentation and confront the conclusions to be gained from each. Thus Maja Bošković-Stulli was able to trace the evolution of Croatian witchcraft beliefs from the demonological ones described in the trials to the contemporary ones known by ethnographers, lacking demonological undertones but rich in comic motifs. A similar dichotomy unfolds from the Ukrainian witch types of the 18th and 19th centuries described by A.V. Kurotchkin, confronting them with the ones of Carpathian Ukraine, analyzed by Lesia Mushketik on the basis of the rich stock of fairy-tales.

The fundamental problem emerging from such historical examinations of the transformation of folk beliefs is the following: to what extent did the idea of a demonological conception of witchcraft come from the elite culture rather than from the folk beliefs, and what did this idea mean at particular times and places? The exploration of the belief and ritual system of "village witchcraft", not yet influenced by demonology, the changing interpretation of what is "white" and what is "black" magic, the ambivalent position of popular healers (Stanyslaw Bylina, Mary Rose O'Neil, G. Klaniczay) can provide useful indications about the chronology of these transformations, and also show that at least a part of this "diabolization" came about not so much from the "elite" influence but from the very contradictory nature of the popular conceptions concerning the operation of magic.

A special aspect of this problem is the relationship of witchcraft beliefs to other types of sorcery or to other magical experts and mythological figures. Although, once again, the conference had to forgo some important topics originally discussion, such as that of the Hungarian shamanistic táltoses, the Baltic werewolves, the warlike Serbian zduhače or Roumanian călușari and although this volume also lacks the illuminating paper of Harry Senn concerning Roumanian vampires, or the one by Emma Petrósian on Armenian magical mythologies, a lot of these archaic figures are discussed in details here from the Sicilian donas de fuera (Gustav Henningsen) and the Croatian krsnik (Bošković-Stulli) to the East Slavic Baba

Yaga (Kurotshkin) or even to the archaic magical associations of another borderland of the expanding European civilization, from the opposite extremity, the calundu associations in colonial Brazil (Laura de Mello e Souza). The shamanistic background of archaic witchcraft beliefs is underlined in various contexts from the Mediterranean region and the Balkans to remote Nepal (Carlo Ginzburg, Éva Pócs, Henningsen, Klaniczay, Bošković-Stulli). The detailed investigation of this variety of magical-mythological figures, proliferating above all in the Balkan regions where (also due to the moderation of the Orthodox Church) no institutional witch-hunting occurred, allows more light to be shed on the popular versions of demonology. The investigation, on the other hand, of Catholic and Protestant theology and preaching (Stuart Clark, the unfortunately missing paper of the late László Makkai, Ginzburg, Kristóf) and the investigation of literary representations concerning hermetic magic, the Faust legend, the literary motif of the "heart plucked out and devoured" (György Endre Szőnyi, Vilmos Voigt) testify about the remaining historical complexity of the conflicting and ofter disturbing interrelationship of elite and popular culture.

4. Finally, an important issue, where the outcome of this confrontation could be charted is the problem of the end of the waves of and, even more, the disposition to witch-hunting. Just like the rise of bigger waves of persecution, their abrupt cessation has been puzzling historians for a long time, and has inspired several conferences since (like the one in Weingarten, in 1989, organized by the research group of Sönke Lorenz). Was it because of the more enlightened judges, or the general fading away of some religious dogmas and magical practices, or the growing incredulity in popular mythologies, or only because of the rise of a new professional stratum of doctors, healers and widwives? The papers of Robert Muchembled, Alfred Soman, Marijke Gijstwijt-Hofstra, Jens C. Johansen, Ágnes Várkonyi and Tamás Grynaeus examine these problems from various aspects.

If one could single out a general conclusion coming out of the debate, it would be the one stressed most vigourously in the paper of Alfred Soman: the key role of the judges should not be obscured by the less immediate influence of the wider context. To believe in witches and to produce legal proofs for condemning and executing somebody as a witch are two very different things. Once the second type has been proscribed and made impossible by a more thoroughly applied concept of legal proof, witchcraft prosecutions were almost immediately brought to a halt. As for the beliefs, the

magical practices, the mythological concepts and the various religious, cultural and magical tensions themselves, they have still persisted for centuries. They have continued to tease or trouble our phantasies right up to the present day. So one should not undervalue their impact either.

Gábor Klaniczay - Éva Pócs

Notes

[1] Febvre (1948), Mandrou (1968), Ginzburg (1966, 1989), Macfarlane (1970), Douglas (1970), Thomas (1971), Muchembled (1978), Clark (1980), Demos (1982).

[2] Ankarloo (1971), Monter (1976), Midelfort (1972), Henningsen (1980), Larner (1981), Soman (1985, 1992), Behringer (1988).

[3] Degn, Lehmann and Unverhau (1983).

[4] Ankarloo and Henningsen (1989, 1991).

[5] Lorenz (1987), Valentinitsch (1987).

[6] Klaits (1985), Levack (1987).

[7] The only expert known to us, Bedřich Šindelář could not undertake the trip to Budapest because of his age. The same was the case with the most well-known historian of Croation witch-hunting, Vladimir Bayer.

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WITCH-HUNTING IN THE REGION (XVTH-XVIIITH CENTURIES)

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HEXEN'WAHN' UND HEXENVERFOLGUNG IM GEBIET DER HEUTIGEN SCHWEIZ WÄHREND DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS

Andreas Blauert

Konstanz

Ich habe in meinen Untersuchungen schweizerischer Ketzer-, Zauberei- und Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts beispielartig versucht, die Genese, Realität und Funktion von Hexenglaube und Hexenwesen bzw. früher Hexenverfolgung zu beschreiben.[1] Ich möchte mich im folgenden aber darauf beschränken, einige zusammenfassende Bemerkungen zur Genese von Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz zu machen.

Vorab ein paar Bemerkungen zu meinem methodischen Vorgehen: Ich habe mich von der Überlegung leiten lassen, dass es notwendig ist, will man zu einem angemessenen Verständnis der Anfänge von Hexenbegriff und -prozess gelangen, das gesellschaftliche Beziehungsgeflecht zu beschreiben, in dem die prozessauslösenden bzw. in einen Prozess hineinwachsenden Auseinandersetzungen der späteren Prozessgegner, der eigentliche Hexenprozess sowie die intellektuelle und propagandistische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gestalt gewinnenden Hexenwesen in Hexentraktaten und anderen Quellengruppen miteinander verwoben waren. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört die Herausarbeitung verschiedener lokaler und regionaler, ja internationaler Bedingungsfaktoren, die allesamt auf die Form und den Verlauf einzelner Prozesse bzw. ganzer Verfolgungswellen Einfluss nahmen, die sich natürlich auch gegenseitig beeinflussten, und die so die Entwicklung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess entscheidend prägten. Ich habe in meiner Zusammenfassung bereits darauf hingwiesen, auf welche Faktoren aus diesem Faktorenbündel ich die Aufmerksamkeit im folgenden auswahlartig richten möchte:

1. Auf den Zusammenhang zwischen Agrarkrisenjahren und Jahren gehäuften Auftretens von Hexenprozessen.
2. Auf gewisse soziale und ökonomische Transformationsprozesse sowie politisch-rechtliche 'Modernisierungs'phänomene in der Untersuchungsregion.
3. Auf einen Einstellungswandel gegenüber den verschiedenen Phänomenen zeitgenössischen Aber- und Zauberglaubens.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

I

Die neuere Forschung (in Deutschland namentlich Hartmut Lehmann und Wolfgang Behringer) hat verschiedentlich darauf hingewiesen, dass sich einzelne Hexenprozesswellen mit Krisensituationen der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft im Gefolge von Missernten, Teuerungen, Hungersnöten und Seuchenzügen in Beziehung setzen lassen.[2] Das trifft auch auf die Untersuchungsregion zu, ja man kann sagen, dass sich die Entstehung, Verbreitung und Ausdifferenzierung der verschiedenen Formen der jungen Hexenlehre in der Untersuchungsregion im Rhythmus solcher Krisenjahre vollzieht. Zwar wird man nicht ohne weiteres davon ausgehen dürfen, dass Krisenjahre zwangsläufig Hexenprozesse zur Folge hatten. Zweifellos bestand während dieser Jahre aber eine besondere Tendenz, dass die im Grunde genommen alltäglichen Auseinandersetzungen, die in aller Regel an der Basis von Hexenprozessen aufscheinen, in Hexenprozesse mündeten. Die Betrachtung der Quellen lässt gar keinen anderen Schluss zu. Verfolgungsperioden wie auch die intellektuelle Beschäftigung mit dem Gestalt gewinnenden Hexenwesen erreichten ihre Höhepunkte in der Untersuchungsregion in solchen Krisenjahren: Um 1400, 1450, 1480, 1490, 1500, dann wieder 1530 und 1550, - allesamt Jahre grosser Teuerungen, Hungersnöte, Pestzüge usw.

Die Analyse der Quellen erlaubt in diesem Zusammenhang auch, den Einfluss nachzuzeichnen, den die zeitgenössische Hexereidiskussion ganz unmittelbar auf die Prozessführung der Gerichte und damit ihr Hexenbild ausübte. Der Grad der jeweils erreichten Überformung von Ketzer-, Zauberei- und Hexenprozessen durch Bestandteile des wachsenden theologisch-gelehrten Hexenglaubens gibt in dieser Perspektive Hinweise auf die Verbreitungswege und damit auch auf die regionalen Ursprünge des jungen Hexen'wahns' in der Untersuchungsregion. Es ist auf diese Weise möglich, ein regional wie zeitlich recht präzises Entwicklungsmodell der Entstehung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess zu geben.

Ausgangspunkt der Betrachtung der schweizerischen Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts müssen die Verhältnisse im Dauphiné, in Piemont, in Savoyen und in der Westschweiz sein. Hier wurden bereits um das Jahr 1430-40 vergleichbare Konzepte des Hexenglaubens entwickelt, die wenig später auch in den deutschsprachigen Regionen der entstehenden Eidgenossenschaft, im Elsass usw. rezipiert wurden und zu ersten Hexenprozessen führten. Eine wichtige Mittlerfunktion bei der Formulierung und Weitervermittlung des jungen Hexenglaubens kam dem Basler Konzil bzw. den aus ganz Europa von

und nach Basel reisenden Konzilteilnehmern zu. Hatte sich die Entwicklung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt vor allem als Entwicklung aus französisch-italienisch-westschweizerischen Traditionen der Ketzerpolemik und -verfolgung dargestellt, - wobei ich im einzelnen zu anderen Ergebnissen als Joseph Hansen, Jeffrey B. Russell, Norman Cohn und Richard Kieckhefer komme -, so markiert Basel allerdings auch eine Akzentverschiebung bei der Rezeption und Weiterbildung des jungen Hexenglaubens in den in nordöstlicher Richtung anschliessenden Ländern und Landschaften. Elaborierte Konzepte aus der Tradition der Ketzerpolemik und -verfolgung, die die ersten Hexenprozesse geprägt hatten, verloren hier zwar nicht vollständig an Bedeutung. Das Substrat des Hexenprozesses in Zaubereidelikt bzw. Zaubereiprozess bleibt hier jedoch weitaus deutlicher als im französisch-italienisch-westschweizerischen Grenzbereich.[3]

II

Die Frage nach den Entstehungsbedingungen von Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung ist bei aller Suggestivität des angedeuteten Zusammenhangs von Agrarkrisenjahren und Jahren gehäuften Auftretens von Hexenprozessen natürlich nur angerissen. Interessante neue Aspekte ergeben sich, wenn man die Entstehung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess im Zusammenhang der allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen, bevölkerungsgeschichtlichen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz während des 15. Jahrhunderts betrachtet. Allgemein wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Untersuchungsregion zwischen 1450 und 1600 einen Wirtschafts- und Bevölkerungsaufschwung - sieht man einmal von den erwähnten zyklisch auftretenden Agrarkrisenjahren ab - erlebte. Damit einher gingen jedoch bedeutende soziale und ökonomische Transformationsprozesse.[4] Hans C. Peyer hat in mehreren Studien ein Modell dieser Wandlungsprozesse entwickelt.

Eine ganze Reihe von Städten im Gebiet der entstehenden Eidgenossenschaft waren bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts bedeutende, durch Exportgewerbe geprägte Fernhandelsstädte gewesen. Die betreffenden Wirtschaftszweige gerieten jedoch seit der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts in eine Krise; immer grössere Bedeutung gewannen jetzt die Grossviehzucht und der Grossviehexport im bzw. aus dem voralpinen Hinterland der Städte. Parallel zu dieser Entwicklung ist zu beobachten, dass die städtische Bevölkerung zurückging und die Bevölkerung des Umlands zunahm. Auch die mittlerweile überwiegend für den lokalen Bedarf arbeitenden Gewerbe verschoben sich

mehr und mehr aufs Land. Die Zunahme der Landbevölkerung bei gleichzeitiger Durchsetzung eines Landwirtschaftstyps, der weniger Arbeitskräfte als der alte benötigte, hätte freilich zur Folge haben müssen, dass das Auskommen der ländlichen Bevölkerung nicht mehr gewährleistet war. In diese sich auftuende Lücke sprang seit Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts der Solddienst. Beide, Grossviehzucht und Kriegsdienst, wurden zu den Haupterwerbszweigen der spätmittelalterlichen eidgenössischen Wirtschaft.[5]

Die Beobachtung, dass die überwiegende Zahl beispielsweise der Luzerner Hexenprozesse nicht in der Stadt, sondern in den von ihr abhängigen ländlichen Vogteien ihren Ausgang nahm, legte es nahe, Hexenverfolgungen im Sinne etwa Robert Muchembleds auf ihren Stellenwert in den skizzierten gesellschaftlichen Transformationsprozessen zu befragen. Dabei wurde weniger davon ausgegangen, dass Hexenprozesse bewusst instrumentalisiert worden wären und eine mehr oder minder direkte Funktion beim politisch-administrativen Aufbau des von der Stadt abhängigen Territoriums erfüllt hätten; eher schon davon, dass von Hexenprozessen möglicherweise gerade die ländlich-bäuerlichen Schichten betroffen waren, die die Umstellung auf den neuen landwirtschaftlichen Haupterwerbszweig nicht mitvollziehen konnten und sozial deklassiert wurden.[6]

In dieser Perspektive schien es möglich, die Anfänge der Hexenverfolgungen 'von unten', von den Verhältnissen an der Basis der Hexenprozesse zu reinterpretieren und an die Seite der klassischen Deutungen der Entstehung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess neue, funktionale Deutungen zu stellen. Die Arbeit mit diesem Ansatz begegnete jedoch erheblichen Schwierigkeiten. Wo die Quellenlage sozial- oder mikrogeschichtliche Analysen einzelner Hexenprozesse zuliess, löste sich ein einheitlicher Gegenstand des Hexenprozesses, vor allem auch das von der Forschung immer wieder zu rekonstruieren versuchte Bild der 'typischen' Hexen auf und wich tendenziell einer Vielfalt heterogener, individuell zu analysierender Lebensschicksale. Eine Erklärung der Anfänge von Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung aus einer einheitlichen zu Grunde liegenden Funktion muss daher schon aus diesem Grund mehr als fraglich erscheinen. Immerhin sind mit den letzten Bemerkungen Aspekte einer als 'Modernisierungsprozess' zu bezeichnenden Entwicklung benannt, die auch in anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen Spuren hinterlassen hat, und in ihrer möglichen Bedeutung für die Entstehung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess weiter zu diskutieren ist.

So muss es als ganz besonders auffällig gelten, dass die Führung erster Hexenprozesse im Falle von Städten wie Luzern, Bern oder - mit Ein-

schränkungen - Fribourg mit einem im Verlaufe des 15. Jahrhunderts zunehmenden Dynamik gewinnendes Prozess politisch-rechtlicher Verselbständigung der genannten Städte zusammenfällt, der diese Städte zu selbstbewussten kleinen Stadtstaaten werden liess. Der junge Hexenglaube fand in die Gerichte dieser Städte, die sich von überkommenen feudalen Bindungen lösten, offensichtlich besonders schnell Eingang. Das hatte zur Folge, dass die Gerichte dieser Städte zur Zeit der grossen Hexenprozesswelle um 1480 besonders viele Hexenprozesse führten. Politisch-herrschaftliche Verhältnisse, wie sie gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts im Westen der Untersuchungsregion herrschten, konnten dagegen - obwohl 'traditioneller' als diejenigen im Einfluss- und Hoheitsgebiet der genannten Städte - für eine grössere Rechtssicherheit des Einzelnen sorgen. So ist es mehrfach bezeugt, dass sich konkurrierende Gerichtsherren darüber stritten, ob die Eröffnung eines Hexenprozesses bzw. eines anderen Strafverfahrens gegen eine bestimmte Person überhaupt zulässig war.

Die letzten Bemerkungen können den Eindruck erwecken, dass die in spätmittelalterlicher Zeit beständig zunehmende Zahl von Hexenprozessen durch die in Teilen der Untersuchungsregion zu beobachtende 'Modernisierung' der Rechtsprechungsverhältnisse ursächlich bedingt wurde. Mit gleichem Recht liesse sich freilich sagen, dass sich der entstehende Hexenglaube des 15. Jahrhunderts mit dieser Entwicklung verband, ohne dass Ursache und Wirkung in diesem Prozess heute noch säuberlich voneinander zu trennen wären. Was Städte wie Basel oder Luzern betrifft, für die bereits mit dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts eine reiche Überlieferung von Zaubereiprozessen und Frühformen des Hexenprozesses einsetzt, so ist dieser Quellenreichtum zudem nicht zuletzt durch das Einsetzem entsprechender Quellengruppen bedingt, die wie die städtischen Ratsprotokolle von diesen frühen Prozessen Zeugnis ablegen können, ohne dass man deshalb schon genau wüsste, weshalb in diesen Städten um das Jahr 1400 erstmals in grösserer Zahl Zaubereiprozesse usw. stattgefunden haben.[7]

Reichte bereits die Betrachtung der ökonomischen, demographischen und sozialen Transformationsprozesse allein nicht aus, um Ursachen und Funktionsaspekte der Genese von Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung zu bestimmen, so reicht also auch die Konzentration auf den zu konstatierenden Prozess politisch-rechtlicher Verselbständigung bzw. den zu konstatierenden 'Modernisierungsprozess' der Rechtsprechungsverhältnisse allein nicht aus, um die Anfänge der Hexenverfolgungen in der Untersuchungsregion zu umreissen. Es sind damit aber sicherlich zwei Faktoren aus dem Faktorenbündel benannt,

das - gerade im Zusammenwirken der einzelnen Faktoren - Einfluss auf die Entstehung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess nahm und dem zu Grunde liegenden Prozess eine besondere Dynamik verlieh. Auf die Rolle eines entscheidenden dritten Faktors aus diesem Faktorenbündel möchte ich im folgenden zu sprechen kommen.

III

Das Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz eignet sich ganz besonders dazu, - darauf habe ich bereits hingewiesen -, um den Einfluss nachzuzeichnen, der der gelehrten Hexereidiskussion bei der Aus- und Weiterbildung des jungen Hexenglaubens zukam. Einzelbestandteile der Hexenlehre wie die Vorstellung vom Teufelspakt und der Sektenbildung, die den Hexen zur Last gelegt wurden, oder der den Hexen gemachte Vorwurf, für vielfältige zauberische Schädigungen verantwortlich zu sein, waren ja an sich nicht neu. Darauf brauche ich hier nicht weiter einzugehen. Neu war aber die Synthetisierung der betreffenden Vorstellungen zum Hexenbegriff, deren Motor ein Einstellungswandel gegenüber den verschiedenen Phänomenen zeitgenössischen Aber- und Zauberglaubens war. Die Einordnung dieses in seinen Ursachen und Konsequenzen von Seiten der Hexenforschung noch viel zu wenig untersuchten Einstellungswandels in eine Frömmigkeitsgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts scheint mir eine vorrangige Aufgabe künftiger Forschung zu sein.[8]

Protagonisten eines solchen Einstellungswandels in der Untersuchungsregion zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts waren beispielsweise der Dominikaner Johannes Mulberg oder sein Ordensbruder Vincent Ferrier, die die an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert Gestalt gewinnende Neuorientierung religiös-moralischer Wertmassstäbe in ihren Predigten propagierten und am nordwestlichen bzw. südwestlichen Rand der Untersuchungsregion grosse Bekanntheit erlangten. Mulberg ist in Basel um das Jahr 1400 zudem zu einem Vorkämpfer der dominikanischen Reformbewegung geworden, und er hat eine entscheidende Rolle im Basler Beginenstreit des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts gespielt. Ferrier hat als Bussprediger seit 1377 weite Teile Spaniens, Frankreichs, sowie Italiens, und um das Jahr 1400 auch Teile der heutigen Schweiz bereist. In einem Atemzug mit den Dominikanern Mulberg und Ferrier wäre auch der Franziskaner Bernardino da Siena zu nennen. Einer der frühesten italienischen Hexenprozesse, in dem in Todi im Jahr 1428 Matteuccia di Francesco angeklagt war, wurde eröffnet, nachdem Bernardino kurz zuvor in Todi gepredigt hatte.[9]

Johannes Nider, der anonyme Verfasser der 'Errores Gazariorum', Hans Fründ oder Martin Le Franc, allesamt Sprachrohre des aufkeimenden Hexen-'wahns' in der Untersuchungsregion, sind gewissermassen die geistigen Erben dieser drei Ordensmänner.[10] So ist es mehr als auffällig, dass Johannes Mulberg, Johannes Nider und Jakob Sprenger, dessen Name hier zusätzlich zu nennen ist, und der zusammen mit Heinrich Institoris 1484 zum Generalinquisitor bestellt wurde, eine mehr oder weniger grosse Zeitspanne ihres Lebens im Basler Dominikanerkloster verbracht haben, und alle den Zielen der dominikanischen Reformbewegung verpflichtet waren.[11] Es würde nun sicher zu weit führen, die Entstehung und Verbreitung der neuen Hexenlehre im oberdeutschen Sprachraum allein aus dem Geist der dominikanischen Reformbewegung erklären zu wollen. Heinrich Institoris beispielsweise war sicher kein Anhänger dieser Bewegung. Hochgradig irritierend wirkt zudem, dass Mulberg, Nider und Sprenger gemessen an den Massstäben ihrer Zeit kritische Geister und alles andere als Traditionalisten waren, die sich beispielsweise mit dem Zustand, in dem sich ihr Orden befand, arrangiert hätten. Wie verhält sich dazu aber - so die bedrängende Frage -, dass diese Männer gleichzeitig Sprachrohre des entstehenden und sich ausbreitenden Hexen'wahns' wurden, den wir - so unsere spontane Reaktion - eher für ein Phantasieprodukt theologisch-juristischer Sophisterei, als für ein Ergebnis mit alten Konventionen aufräumenden Denkens zu halten gewohnt sind?

Es sind an dieser Stelle einige grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zur Entstehung des Hexen'wahns' und zur Bedeutung, die den frühen Hexenverfolgungen in der spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft zukam, zu formulieren. Forscher wie Arno Borst haben die Genese von Hexenglaube und Hexenverfolgung vor dem Hintergrund einer tiefgreifenden Krisenerfahrung zu erklären versucht, die die Menschen an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert erfasst habe.[12] Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung werden damit, um es pointiert zu formulieren, selbst zum Krisenphänomen erklärt, und man muss sich folgerichtigerweise fragen, warum es weiter Hexenverfolgungen gegeben hat, als die Krisenzeit, die den Hexen'wahn' an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert hervorgebracht haben soll, spätestens um 1450 zu Ende gegangen war.

Hexenbegriff und -prozess waren aber, kommt man auf Männer wie Johannes Mulberg, Vincent Ferrier, Bernardino da Siena und später Johannes Nider und Jakob Sprenger zurück, weit davon entfernt, ein blosser Ausdruck der sogenannten 'Krise des Spätmittelalters' zu sein. Eher schon stellten sie einen Aspekt der Überwindung der Krise dar. Gerade die von Frantisek

Graus als zeittypisch erkannte Kritik breitester gesellschaftlicher Kreise an der Kirche, dem Klerus usw. hatte in diesen Ordensmännern bereits ihren Widerhall gefunden, als sie dabei mitwirkten, die Grundsteine der Hexenlehre zu legen.[13] Ihre Namen stehen also gleichermassen für die an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert einsetzenden Reformbemühungen der allgemeinen Glaubenspraxis und des kirchlichen Lebens wie auch für die 'Entdeckung' von Hexerei und Hexenwesen, die sich, wie das Dieter Harmening dargelegt hat, komplementär zueinander verhielten. Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung wiesen damit aber wie die angesprochenen Reformbemühungen, so paradox, ja inhuman das vorläufig klingen mag, einen Weg aus der Krise.

IV

Ich komme zum Schluss: Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung besitzen zweifellos, nicht nur was ihre theologische Begründung betrifft, mittelalterliche Ursprünge. Es erscheint mir allerdings nicht länger angebracht, die Untersuchung der frühen Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts von der Betrachtung der grossen Hexenverfolgungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts abzukoppeln, diese also in die Zuständigkeit des Frühneuzeithistorikers, jene in die Zuständigkeit des Mediävisten zu überantworten. Die gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungen des 15. Jahrhunderts, die ich hier in Ansätzen skizziert habe und die sich in ihrem Wechselspiel als Rahmenbedingungen bzw. Bedingungsfaktoren der Entwicklung von Hexenbegriff und -prozess erwiesen haben, lassen meines Erachtens den Schluss zu, dass Hexen'wahn' und Hexenverfolgung weit moderner waren, als das die verbreitete Vorstellung von der Geschichte der Hexenverfolgungen als einem mittelalterlichen Erbe der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaften zum Ausdruck bringen kann. Man wird die Geschichte der Hexenverfolgungen weit eher auf der Kostenseite eines langandauernden Rationalisierungs- und Modernisierungsprozesses der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaften zu bilanzieren haben, der in der Untersuchungsregion schon im 15. Jahrhundert erste Spuren hinterlassen hat. Damit rede ich weder einer ungebrochenen modernisierungstheoretischen Sicht von Geschichte noch einer funktionalistischen Deutung der Geschichte der Hexenverfolgungen das Wort. Ich sehe jedoch die Gefahr, dass beispielsweise der heute wieder verbreitete ethnographische Blick auf die Epoche der Hexenverfolgung, sein von mir durchaus nicht negativ verstandenes spekulatives Interesse, verborgene Kulturschichten freizulegen, genau den Entwicklungslinien der europäischen Gesellschaften und ihrer Bedeutung für

die Geschichte der Hexenverfolgungen zu wenig Rechnung trägt, die ich am Beispiel der von mir gewählten Untersuchungsregion aufzuzeigen versucht habe.

Anmerkungen

[1] Blauert (1989).

[2] Lehmann (1986: 31-50) und Behringer (1986: 98-106).

[3] Ausführlich dazu: Blauert (1989: 24-36).

[4] Zur ersten Orientierung: Geschichte der Schweiz und der Schweizer, Bd. 1. Basel 1982. Bergier (1983).

[5] Peyer (1982: 163-182, 296-300; 262-270, 317-319). Zusammenfassende Bemerkungen S. 177f und 265f.

[6] Etwa zwei Drittel der Luzerner Hexenprozesse nahmen in den abhängigen Vogteien ihren Ausgang. Siehe neuerdings Muchembled (1985: 288-305).

[7] Ausführlicher dazu Blauert (1989: 75-79).

[8] Einschlägig Harmening (1987: 510-525).

[9] Zu J. Mulberg siehe Boner (1935: 107-259; besonders 137-143). - Zu V. Ferrier: HBLS Bd. 3 Neuenburg 1926. S. 141f s. v. "Ferrier, St. Vinzenz". - Zu B. da Siena siehe Mammoli (1972).

[10] Ihre Berichte über die junge Hexensekte sind am leichtesten zugänglich in Hansen (1963) S. 88-99 (Nider), 99-104 (Le Franc), 118-122 ("Errores Gazariorum") und 533-537 (Fründ).

[11] Zu J. Mulberg s. o. Anm. 9. - Zu J. Nider: Dictionnaire de spiritualité. Bd. 11, Paris 1982, Sp. 322-325 s. v. "Nider (Jean)". - Zu H. Institoris und J. Sprenger siehe Hansen (1901: 360-407).

[12] Borst (1988: 262-268).

[13] Graus (1988: 152f, 530ff und öfters).

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DAS WETTER, DER HUNGER, DIE ANGST. GRÜNDE DER EUROPÄISCHEN HEXENVERFOLGUNGEN IN KLIMA-, SOZIAL- UND MENTALITÄTSGESCHICHTE. DAS BEISPIEL SÜDDEUTSCHLANDS

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1. Einleitung

Die Verfolgungen erlebten in allen Verfolgungsgebieten[1] deutliche Konjunkturen. Dabei fällt auf, dass nicht selten in weit von einander entfernten Orten zur selben Zeit nach Hexen gesucht worden ist.[2] Ich möchte die These aufstellen, dass lang-, mittel- und kurzfristige Bedingungen für die Konjunkturen der Hexenverfolgung klar zu benennen sind, dass bestimmte Bedingungsfaktoren sogar "messbar" sind. Damit soll kein deterministischer Zusammenhang zwischen Krisensituation und Hexenjagd behauptet werden, wie er etwa von Eva Gillies 1978 in ihrer Einleitung zur deutschen Ausgabe von E. E. Evans-Pritchards berühmtem Buch Witchcraft, Oracles and magic among the Azande skizziert worden ist. Von seiten der soziologisch orientierten Ethnologie gibt es Ansätze, den Konnex von gesellschaftlicher Umwälzung, mentaler Krisensituation und Hexenverfolgung zu verabsolutieren. So ist die anachronistische Frage gestellt worden, warum beispielsweise die Industrialisierung als gesellschaftlicher Umwälzungsprozess ersten Ranges nicht von Hexenverfolgungen begleitet war.[3] Gerade wenn man die Hexenverfolgungen in einen sozialhistorischen Zusammenhang stellt, scheint es notwendig zu sein, sich über die mentalen Voraussetzungen und zeitlichen Grenzen für die europäischen Hexenverfolgungen der Frühen Neuzeit Gedanken zu machen. Ich möchte daher an einem konkreten Beispiel darlegen, wie eine Gesellschaft in Mitteleuropa auf die Herausforderung von sozialem Stress und beginnenden Hexenverfolgungen im Umland und der Forderung nach Verfolgungen aus der Bevölkerung reagierte.

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2. Klimageschichte und Hexenverfolgungen

Bei den grossen Hexenverfolgungen Mitteleuropas ist viel von dem Vorwurf der Wettermacherei zu hören, der von alters her immer wieder erhoben worden ist. Bereits das frühmittelalterliche Konzil zu Braga versuchte diesen Glauben unter Androhung schwerster Strafen zu verhindern, doch, wie wir aus der von Joseph Hansen zusammengefassten Diskussion wissen, erfolglos.[4] Erik Midelfort hat für Südwestdeutschland gezeigt, welchen Stellenwert die Frage der Wettermacherei beim Wiedereinsetzen der Hexenverfolgungen 1562/63 gespielt hat.[5] Verwunderlich ist das nicht, denn das Klima spielt in Agrargesellschaften eine herausragende Rolle: Über den Ernteertrag hat es Einfluss auf die Ernährung von Vieh und Mensch, diese wiederum bestimmt die Krankheitsanfälligkeit, und über Schwankungen der Natalität und Mortalität hat es massgeblichen Einfluss auf die gesellschaftliche Gesamtsituation, worauf ja bereits von Fernand Braudel hingewiesen worden ist.[6] Wie wir sehen werden, spielte der Vorwurf der Wettermacherei besonders bei den grossen Hexenverfolgungen eine Rolle. Anders als beim simplen Schadenzauber, wo meist einzelne Kläger einzelne Personen der Hexerei beschuldigten, wurde der Wetterzauber-Vorwurf nicht selten kollektiv von Gemeinden oder Ausschüssen erhoben, die selbst vor gewaltsamer Durchsetzung ihrer Interessen nicht zurückscheuten; die kollektiven Aktionen nahmen gelegentlich aufruhrartigen Charakter an. Sie richteten sich meist nicht gegen Einzelpersonen, sondern gegen ein (fiktives) Kollektiv von Verdächtigten, dem man mit allen Mitteln auf die Spur zu kommen trachtete. Die Vernichtung der Ernte durch Wetterzauber war ein so grundlegendes Verbrechen, dass man es Einzelpersonen gar nicht zutraute.[7]

Betrachten wir deshalb das Klima in jenem Zeitraum, der von der internationalen Hexenforschung als Kernzeit der Verfolgung ausgemacht worden ist, nämlich die Jahrzehnte zwischen 1560-1630.[8] Naheliegend ist eine Verknüpfung mit der These von einer Klimaverschlechterung seit 1560 in der Zeit der sogenannten "Kleinen Eiszeit", wie sie seit einiger Zeit in der einschlägigen Literatur genannt wird.[9] Die Zahlenreihen der von Christian Pfister zusammengefassten interdisziplinären Schweizer Klimaforschung lassen jetzt präzise Angaben für jedes einzelne Jahr zu. Pfister gibt folgende mittelfristige Fluktuationen des Klimas an: Auf eine "Warmphase" 1530-1564, die dem "Wärmegipfel" der Jahre 1943-1952 vergleichbar gewesen sein muss, folgte eine Zeit der "Klimaverschlechterung 1565-1629". Die Temperatur sank in allen Jahreszeiten. Eine hohe Zahl harter, kalter und schnee-

reicher Winter, und kalter, feuchter Sommer ist für diesen Zeitraum charakteristisch.[10] Pfister hat für den Teilzeitraum 1570-1630 der "Kleinen Eiszeit" den Begriff "Grindelwald-Schwankung" vorgeschlagen, weil das Datenmaterial über die Veränderung des Grindelwaldgletschers in dieser Zeit besonders signifikant erscheint.[11] Beide Zeitspannen decken sich bemerkenswert gut mit den aus der Hexenforschung bekannten Eckdaten: Der relativ verfolgsfreien Zeit nach der Reformation, die etwas länger als eine Generation dauerte und Johann Weyer beim Wiedereinsetzen der Verfolgungen 1563 zu der berühmten Feststellung veranlasste, man habe geglaubt, die Zeit der Verfolgungen sei bereits vorbei gewesen.[12] Schliesslich jener Zeitspanne, die von der Hexenforschung übereinstimmend als Höhepunkt der Hexenverfolgungen bestimmt worden ist. Speziell die Jahre vor den grossen Verfolgungen bergen klimageschichtliche Überraschungen. "Kumulative Kältesequenzen" beobachtet Pfister in den Jahren 1560-1574, 1583-1589 und 1623-1628.[13]

Seit 1562 ist ein starkes Zunehmen der Feuchtigkeit zu beobachten. Klimatischen Extremfälle, wie das Zufrieren der grossen Alpenseen, beispielsweise des Bodensees 1563 und 1572/73 (60 Tage!)[14] sowie die zunehmende Ausdehnung der Gletscher, verdeutlichte bereits den Zeitgenossen das Ungewöhnliche des Vorgangs auch in millenarem Zusammenhang. Die Klimax der winterlichen Abkühlung wurde 1573 erreicht. Seit 1586 wurde die Zeit kalter Winter durch eine Periode mit feucht-kühlen Frühjahren verschärft. Im Jahr 1587 gab es Schnee bis Anfang Juli, und bereits ab Mitte September lag in den Tälern wieder eine geschlossene Schneedecke. Das Jahr 1588, als die grosse Armada scheiterte, war das regenreichste Jahr des Jahrhunderts. Die Jahre 1584-1589 waren insgesamt besonders kühl und nass: Hier liegen klimatische Wurzeln der bis dato grössten Hexenverfolgungswelle im deutschsprachigen Raum. "Damals schien die Natur aus ihrem gewohnten Gleis zu treten", schrieb ein Gletscherforscher über die Jahre nach 1570,[15] und wir werden sehen, welcher Ansicht die Zeitgenossen waren. Ähnliche zeitliche Korrelationen kann man bei den späteren Höhepunkten der Hexenverfolgung finden. Die Jahre 1621-1630 entsprachen klimatisch denen zwischen 1586-1599, auch sie waren fast durchweg durch kalte Winter, späte Frühjahre, kalte und feuchte Sommer und Herbste gekennzeichnet. Speziell 1628, als die Hexenverfolgungen in Deutschland ihren absoluten Höhepunkt erreichten, wird von Pfister als "Jahr ohne Sommer" bezeichnet.[16]

Auf diese Zeit extrem ungünstiger Witterung folgte eine Periode, die zwar kühl, aber trocken war. In diesen Zeitraum gingen Zahl und Grösse der

Hexenverfolgungen in ganz Europe zurück. In den für die weitere Entwicklung wichtigsten Ländern Westeuropas, in England, Holland und Frankreich wurde in diesem Zeitraum der Hexenwahn in massgeblichen Teilen der Oberschicht ganz überwunden. Die nahtlos in die Frühaufklärung übergehenden Ideologien des Empirismus und Cartesianismus bildeten in der Folgezeit ein wirksames Bollwerk gegen Rückfälle in den Hexenwahn. Im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts kam es wieder zu einer globalen Abkühlung, angekündigt durch den "Eiszeitsommer" von 1675. In den folgenden, klimatisch ungünstigen Jahrzehnten, ist noch einmal eine Zunahme von Hexenprozessen im Alpenraum zu beobachten.[17] Auf eine Zeit der Wiedererwärmung 1702-1730 folgte 1730-1811 eine Periode, in der trockene kalte Winter und feuchte, aber warme Sommer vorherrschten. Bemerkenswert bei der Klimageschichte ist, dass die Veränderungen mindestens in Mitteleuropa synchron auftraten.[18]

Sozialgeschichte und Hexenverfolgung

In einer der vielen lokalhistorischen Studien zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgungen in Europa, einer Untersuchung zu den Hexenprozessen des Schweizer Kantons Unterwalden, heisst es lapidar und theorielos:

> "Im Jahre 1572 brach eine Hungersnot und Teuerung aus, und es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass dieses Jahr die erste Hinrichtung einer Hexe, Verena Gehrig, brachte.
>
> Nachdem das neue Hungerjahr 1589 wieder die Hinrichtung einiger Hexen gezeitigt hatte, brach 1628 die Beulenpest im Lande aus, die grosse Opfer unter der Bevölkerung forderte (...).
> Die Schuld an allen diesen Ereignissen wurde den Hexen zur Last gelegt und es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass gerade die Jahre um diese Ereignisse den Höhepunkt der Verfolgungen bildeten, wobei die Angeklagten auf der Folter ihre Schuld an diesen Katastrophen ausdrücklich zugaben."[19]

Wir kennen die genannten Daten nun bereits aus der Klimageschichte. Die gleichen Daten finden wir in der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte wieder. Hunger und Teuerung gab es in diesen Jahren nicht nur im Kanton Unterwalden - und genauso war es auch mit den Hexenverfolgungen.

Gravierende Veränderungen der Reproduktionsbedingungen, unmittelbare Bedrohungen der Subsistenz schufen häufig die Bedingung für Hexereiklagen. Wir wissen von den anthropologisch orientierten Forschungen Alan Macfarlanes um die Bedeutung von Nachbarschaftskonflikten für das Zustandekommen

von Hexereiklagen.[20] Die individuell erfahrenen Bedrohungssituationen lassen sich sozialhistorisch einbinden. In einer weitgehend agrarisch bestimmten Gesellschaft ist damit primär die Entwicklung der Ernährung und der Gesundheit gemeint. Mangelernährung während der Hungerkrisen der Frühen Neuzeit bedingte erhöhte Krankheitsanfälligkeit. Missernten führten immer wieder zu jenen Preissteigerungen, die es Teilen der Bevölkerung in Mitteleuropa unmöglich machte, sich adäquat zu ernähren. Grundnahrungsmittel war in der Frühen Neuzeit das Brot, der fromme Wunsch: "Unser tägliches Brot gib uns heute", hatte noch seine volle Berechtigung. Am direktesten betroffen von den Preissteigerungen für Lebensmittel waren naturgemäss die Unterschichten in Stadt und Land, die während der Agrarkrisenzeiten teilweise auf den Strassen verhungerten - mitten in Europa.[21]

Die Veränderungen im ökologischen System des späten 16. Jahrhunderts können heute relativ präzise in ihrer Vernetzung beschrieben werden. Scheinbar unverbundene zeitgenössische Katastrophenmeldungen, wie die seit 1560 ständig hörbaren Klagen über Überschwemmungen ordnen sich in ein Gesamtbild stimmig ein, von der nachweislich erhöhten Niederschlagsmenge bis hin zur Schädigung der Gebirgswälder und des Grünlandes durch Rodung und Viehauftrieb, die wegen des vermehrten Getreidebaus in den Tälern nötig wurden. Erosion, Erschöpfung der Böden und die Bewirtschaftung ungünstiger Lagen waren die Folge. Die Verschlechterung der Böden führte zu sinkenden Erträgen, sowohl in der Landwirtschaft als auch in der Viehzucht, beispielsweise durch sinkende Milchleistungen. Feuchte kühle Jahre brachten späte schlechte Ernten und die Notwendigkeit verlängerter Stallfütterung bei geringerem Heuertrag. Niedrige Aussentemperaturen führten zu höherem Holz- und Kalorienbedarf. Die stärkere Monostruktur der menschlichen Ernährung führte zu grösserer Anfälligkeit der Versorgung gegenüber Ertragsschwankungen. Der gefürchtete Hagelschlag, der am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts regelmässig den Hexen angelastet wurde, hatte für die einfachen Leute nicht primär religiöse, sondern materiell existenzbedrohende Bedeutung.[22] Angesichts dieser ökologischen Vernetzung von Faktoren dürfen wir es nicht für einen Topos halten, wenn zeitgenössische Autoren ungewöhnliche Anhäufungen ökologischer Katastrophen beklagen. In einer süddeutschen "Hexenzeitung" heisst es im Verfolgungssommer 1590:

> "Dieweil dann zu unsern zeitten alle Zaubereyen und Teuffelsgespänst der massen über hand nemen, das schier alle Städt, Märckt und Dörffer im gantzen Teutschland, will von andern völckern und nationen nicht

> reden, desselben unzifers und Teuffels dienern voll seindt, welche nicht allein die liebe frucht auf dem Feldt, die uns der Herr durch seinen segen wachsen lasset, mit ungewöhnlichen Donnern, Blitz, Schawr, Hagel, Sturmwinden, Reiffen, Wassersnöthen, Meüsen, Gewürm und was andere sachen mehr sein... in den grundt zu verderben sich understehen, Sondern auch dem Menschen sein Nahrung durch verderbung des viechs, als Khü, Kelber, Pferdt, Schaff und dergleichen zunemen und abzuspannen, nach allem ihrem vermögen trachten, ja nicht das Vieh und Früchte der Erden allein, sondern auch ihrer nechsten und etwan gesipten Blutsfreundt... nicht verschonen, sondern mit grosser anzal hinrichten...: Die alten leuth zu erkrummen, zu erlamen, inn schmertzliche kranckheiten und endtlichen inn den Todt zubringen, allen Fleiss anwenden, dadurch dann allerley jammer und noth under den Menschen erwachsen thut.[23]

Die Krisenjahre der Frühen Neuzeit fanden ihren Ausdruck in Preissteigerungen der Grundnahrungsmittel. Preissteigerungen sind messbar. Die im holländischen Exil publizierten grundlegenden Erhebungen von Moritz John Elsas erlauben präzise Angaben über sechs wichtige deutsche Städte im Zeitraum zwischen 1300 und 1820.[24] Einige der grössten Hexenverfolgungen wurzelten direkt in Zeiten extremer Getreideteuerung: Unwetterkatastrophen vernichteten die Ernte, die Preise für Lebensmittel stiegen, Hunger und erhöhte Krankheitsanfälligkeit griffen um sich, Seuchen und unbekannte Krankheiten breiteten sich aus. Wettermachen und Krankheitszauber bei Mensch und Vieh waren die klassischen Vorwürfe gegen Hexen. Das war bereits bei der ersten grossen nachreformatorischen Hexenverfolgung von 1562/63 in Deutschland so.[25] Nicht zufällig kam es 1563 zu der berühmten Kontroverse über die Fähigkeit der Wettermacherei der Hexen zwischen dem Esslinger Prediger Naogeorgus, den Stuttgarter Oberpfarrern Alber und Bidembach, dem württembergischen Superintendenten Johannes Brenz und dem irenischen Protestanten Johann Weyer in Jülich.[26] Die Hexenverfolgungen im Elsass und die grossen Verfolgungen in Lothringen, die ihren literarischen Niederschlag in Nicolas Rémys Daemonolatria gefunden haben, schliessen an die grosse Hungerkrise zu Anfang der 1570er Jahre an.[27]

Anfang der 1580es Jahre begann eine langjährige von Missernten verursachte Teuerung, die alles bis dahin erlebte in den Schatten stellte. Zwar blieb eine extreme Hungersnot wie 1570 aus, doch dauerte diese Teuerung fast zehn Jahre lang, von 1585-1594, mit nur zwei etwas billigeren Jahren dazwischen. Selbst Handwerkerlöhne lagen jetzt dauerhaft unter dem Existenzminimum.[28] Zwei grosse Pestepidemien dezimierten 1585-88 und 1592-93 in Deutschland die Bevölkerung. Auch diese Agrarkrise hatte wie diejenige von 1570 europaweite Ausmasse. Le Roy Ladurie hat für Südfrank-

reich in leichter Übertreibung von der "Wiederkehr der Fluchzeit der Schwarzen Pest von 1348" gesprochen.[29] Der grössten Verfolgung des 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum - der von Kurtrier 1585-1592 - gingen diese Missernten voraus. Trierer Chroniken erwähnen explizit, dass die Bevölkerung den Wetterzauber der Hexen für die Missernten verantwortlich machte:

> "Kaum einer der Erzbischöfe hat mit so grosser Beschwernis, mit solchem Verdruss und unter solcher Not die Diözese regiert wie Johann (Erzbischof Johann VII. von Schönenberg, 1581-1599). (...) Dazu musste er in der ganzen Zeit seiner Regierung den ständigen Mangel an Brotgetreide, die Unbill der Witterung und den Misswachs auf den Feldern mit seinen Untertanen aushalten. Denn nur zwei Jahre von den neunzehn waren fruchtbar, die Jahre 1584 und 1590 (...). Weil man allgemein glaubte, dass der durch viele Jahre anhaltende misswachs durch Hexen und Unholde aus teuflischem Hass verursacht werde, erhob sich das ganze Land zur Austrottung der Hexen (...). Kaum einer von denen, die angeklagt wurden, entging der Hinrichtung. Auch die Vornehmen wurden in der Stadt Trier nicht verschont (...). Diese Verfolgung dauerte mehrere Jahre (...).[30]

Es ist die gleiche Teuerung nach einer Missernte, die im Hintergrund der nordwestdeutschen Verfolgungen[31] und beim Beginn der Hexenverfolgungen in Bayern 1589 zu finden ist.[32] Als 1590, auf dem Höhepunkt dieser Verfolgungswelle, erstmals wieder eine gute Ernte eingebracht werden konnte, forderte der Landrichter von Schongau den Herzog von Bayern zur Errichtung einer "Ewigen Merksäule", zum Gedenken an die Hexenverfolgungen auf, weil die Macht der Hexen soweit zurückgedrängt worden sei, dass die Ernten wieder gut würden.[33]

Ähnliche Hintergründe sehen wir bei den grössten Verfolgungen des 17. Jahrhunderts, denen von 1626-1630 in Franken und im Rheinland zusammen mehrere tausend Menschen zum Opfer fielen. Auch hier stellen zeitgenössische Chroniken einen direkten Konnex zu vorausgegangenen "unnatürlichen" Unwettern und den dadurch bedingten Missernten her.[34] Eine Häufung extremer Witterungsjahre erzeugte offenbar ein Meinungsklima, in dem das Ereignis einer weiteren Wetterkatastrophe eine Hexenverfolgung auslösen konnte. So heisst es über den Beginn der Super-Verfolgung in den mainfränkischen Bistümern in einer zeitgenössischen Chronik:

> "Anno 1626 den 27. May ist der Weinwachs im Frankenland im Stift Bamberg und Würtzburg aller erfroren, wie auch das liebe Korn, das allbereit verblüett. ... Alles erfroren, das bei Manns Gedenken nit beschehen unt ein grosse Theuerung verursacht... Hirauf ein grosses

> Flehen und bitten unter den gemeinen Pöffel, warumb man so lang zusehe, das allbereit die Zauberer unt Unholden die Früchten sogar verderben, wie dan ir fürstliche Gnaden nichts weniger verursacht solches Übel abzustrafen, hat also (das grosse Hexenbrennen) seinen Anfang dis Jars erreicht..."[35]

Meiner Ansicht nach besteht ein grundsätzlicher sozialhistorischer Zusammenhang zwischen den Krisen vom "Typ Ancien"[36] und der Neigung zu Hexenverfolgungen. Die den Hexen angelasteten Missernten führten zu Preissteigerungen für Grundnahrungsmittel, diese zu Mangelernährung und erhöhter Krankheitsanfälligkeit. Hunger und Krankheit stellten sich in ganz Europa in bestimmten, klimatisch ungünstigen Jahren gleichzeitig ein. Auf diese Weise könnte man die sonst unerklärliche Synchronität von Verfolgungshöhepunkten in weit voneinander entfernten Gebieten, etwa Schottland und Bayern erklären.[37] Das Erkennen dieses Zusammenhangs erlaubt es, gezielt in Verfolgungsjahren nach Agrarkrisensymptomen zu suchen. Tut man dies, so fällt unmittelbar ins Auge, dass die frühen 1480er Jahre, jene Jahre, in denen die im Malleus Maleficarum beschriebenen Hexenverfolgungen stattgefunden haben, extreme Notjahre im Alpenraum waren. Der bekannte Inquisitor Institoris begann seine für Deutschland paradigmatische Hexenverfolgung in Südwestdeutschland 1481.[38] Laut Schorers Memminger Chronik waren die Jahre 1481 und 1482 wegen Missernten ausserordentlich teure Jahre, das zweite Misserntejahr zeichnete sich durch hohe Mortalität aus.[39] Soweit wir durch Elsas bereits über Preisreihen aus diesen Jahren verfügen, bestätigt sich der lokale Memminger Befund auf breiter Ebene: Die Jahre 1481-82 waren ausserordentlich starke Teuerungsjahre in Süddeutschland.[40] Entnehmen wir deshalb dem Hexenhammer selbst, welchen Anfang eine Verfolgung nahm:

> "In der Diözese Konstanz nämlich, von der Stadt Ravensburg achtundzwanzig deutsche Meilen nach Salzburg zu, hatte sich ein ganz wütendes Hagelwetter erhoben und alle Feldfrüchte, Saaten und Weinberge dermassen in der Breite einer Meile zermalmt, dass man glaubte, kaum das dritte Jahre danach werde wieder Ernte bringen. Als nun dies Geschehnis durch den Notarius der Inquisiton bekannt geworden war und wegen des Geschreis des Volkes Inquisition nötig wurde, indem einige, ja fast alle Bürger dafür hielten, dass solches durch Behexungen geschehen sei, so wurde mit Zustimmung der Ratsherrn ... von uns inquiriert (...)."[41]

Andreas Blauert hat sich der Mühe unterzogen, den Zusammenhang zwischen Agrarkrisenzeiten und Hexenverfolgungen für das frühere 15. Jahr-

hundert zu überprüfen - mit positivem Befund.[42] Umgekehrt sollte es mit diesem Wissen auch möglich sein, gezielt in den Agrarkrisenjahren nach Hexenprozessen zu suchen, weil in diesen Jahren mit einem besonderen Mass an sozialen Spannungen zu rechnen ist.

Die jüngere sozialhistorische Forschung berechtigt zu der Annahme, dass besonders nach 1560 für die gesellschaftlichen Mittel- und Unterschichten eine gravierende Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen einsetzte. Im glücklichen mittleren Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts, das durch Missernten und Hungerkrisen nicht beeinträchtigt war, war der Ernährungsspielraum gross genug für ein relativ ungebremstes Bevölkerungswachstum. Diese in relativen Wohlstand und anhaltendem Wachstum befindliche Gesellschaft, stiess ab etwa 1560 nicht nur auf Grenzen des Wachstums, sondern wurde allem Anschein nach sogar von schrumpfenden Ressourcen schockiert, die mit der Klimaverschlechterung dieser Jahre zusammenhing.

4. Mentalitätsgeschichte und Hexenverfolgung

Mit der Anbindung an die grosse Bewegung der Sozialgeschichte ist ein wichtiger Schritt der historischen Verortung der Verfolgungskonjunkturen getan. Aber ein automatischern Zusammenhang zwischen Agrarkrisenjahren und Hexenverfolgungen kann nicht unterstellt werden: Not- und Krisenzeiten hat es immer in der Geschichte gegeben, und exogene Ereignisse bewirken nicht mechanisch Folgehandlungen, sondern werden erst in den Köpfen der Menschen verarbeitet. Wenn wir einen Schritt weiter kommen wollen, müssen wir uns mit der Denkweise der Menschen beschäftigen, mit der "Mentalität", genauer gesagt mit jenen Veränderungen in der Denkweise, die Hexenprozesse zunächst erlaubte und später wieder verhinderte.

Damit gerät jene Art von Aussagen in zeitgenössischen Quellen in unseren Gesichtskreis, die sich in sehr pessimistischer Form über den Zustand der Welt und deren stetige Verschlechterung beklagen. Diese Äusserungen hat man oft für topische Versatzstücke gehalten. Doch wenn Quellen aus der Zeit um 1600 sich darüber beklagen, dass

> "die jargäng jetz ein zeitt har ye lenger ye strenger und härter sich erzeigent und ein abnemmen in den geschöpffen, sowol menschen, thieren, als ouch den früchten und erdgewächsen"

gespürt wird, so gibt es gute Gründe, warum man solche Stimmungsberichte ernst nehmen sollte, besonders dann, wenn sie gehäuft auftreten.[43] In Zeitgenössischen Quellen kann man manche Hinweise zum Zusammenhang zwischen den Hungerperioden und sozialpsychologischen Extremsituationen finden. Die Fugger-Zeitungen sprechen speziell in den extremen Krisenzeiten, beispielsweise 1570 oder 1586, von "Angst" in der Bevölkerung - sonst wird diese Vokabel dort nicht verwendet.[44] Gemeint ist damit nicht jene "Angst im Abendland", die Jean Delumeau und andere in der ganzen Frühen Neuzeit ausmachen zu können glaubten,[45] sondern eine konkret datierbare Angst, mit konkreten Ursachen und konkreten Auswirkungen. Alle vorliegenden Daten sprechen dafür, dass in solchen Situationen, wenn sich soziale Spannungen verschärften, verstärkt nach deren Ursachen gesucht wurde. Damit ist vor allem die Situation der gesellschaftlichen Unterschichten angesprochen, die unter der Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts besonders zu leiden hatten. Die einfachen Leute waren jedoch nicht gewillt, der Verschlechterung ihrer Lebensqualität tatenlos zuzusehen. Aus eigenem Antrieb, aber mancherorts bestärkt durch religiös motivierte Ideologen, begann man nach Schuldigen zu suchen, und glaubte, diese in den "Hexen" zu finden. An vielen Orten in Deutschland sah sich die Obrigkeit einem massiven Druck der bäuerlichen Gemeinden ausgesetzt, die mit Selbsthilfe und offenem Aufruhr für den Fall drohten, dass die Obrigkeit nicht in ihrem Sinne tätig wurde.[46]

Die Lebensbedingungen unterschieden sich in der Frühen Neuzeit gewaltig, je nach gesellschaftlicher Klasse, Schicht oder Gruppe. Der Not der Unterschichten stand der steigende Reichtum derer gegenüber, die von der Güterverknappung profitierten. Dadurch haben wir es nicht einfach mit einer Ressourcenverknappung zu tun, sondern auch mit steigenden ökonomischen und sozialen Spannungen. Die soziale Polarisierung war jedoch nicht die einzige Veränderung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen in dieser Zeit, sondern wir können einen rapiden Wandel auf mehreren Ebenen beobachten. Schlagwortartig könnte man von einer zunehmenden Verhärtung der gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen sprechen, eine zunehmende gesellschaftliche Hierarchisierung und ideologische Homogenisierung, hinter der man als sozialhistorischen Ursache möglicherweise die sich immer stärker bemerkbare Verknappung der Resourcen als Triebkraft vermuten kann. Anzeichen für diese Verhärtung der sozialen Beziehungen kann man allenthalben feststellen.[47] Ich kann hier nur summarisch hinweisen auf die Abschliessung von Zünften, der Adelsgesellschaft, die Aufstellung ideologisch verbind-

licher Normen durch die Konfessionen, die Entmachtung oppositioneller Gruppen, die Gesetzgebungsmanie, den Trend zur absolutistischen Herrschaftsausübung, der Militarisierung und der beispiellosen Brutalisierung der Strafjustiz, welche keineswegs nur die magischen Delikte betraf, sondern viel mehr noch Gewalt-, Eigentums- und Sittlichkeitsdelikte, welche über 90% aller Hinrichtungen ausmachten. Nie vor- oder nachher wurden in Friedenszeiten so viele Menschen so grausam legal hingerichtet wie zwischen 1560 und 1630.[48]

Die Verhärtungen in den verschiedenen Bereichen der Gesellschaft korrespondieren in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts mit einem radikalen Mentalitätswandel, der sich offenbar weitgehend unabhängig von der konfessionellen Zugehörigkeit vollzog. Grob gesprochen handelte es sich dabei um eine Abwendung von einer mehr weltoffenen, lebenszugewandten, genussfreudigen und diesseitsorientierten "Renaissance"-Mentalität mit Berührungspunkten zu einer weitverbreiteten volkstümlichen Festfreudigkeit und eine Zuflucht zu dogmatischen, konfessionell religiösen, asketischen und jenseitsorientierten Denk- und Verhaltensweisen, die in einer als prekär empfundenen Situation Halt zu geben versprachen. Normalerweise wird bei der Untersuchung des "konfessionellen Zeitalters" viel Mühe auf die Herausarbeitung der Gegensätze der verschiedenen Konfessionen verwandt, ohne dass dabei hervorgehoben wird, dass die konkurrierenden religiösen Ideologien manche gemeinsame Züge aufwiesen.[49] Die Einstellung gegenüber der Hexenfrage kann dabei geradezu als Indikator dienen.

Deutliche Anzeichen eines Mentalitätswandels werden in der Region in den 1560er Jahren verzeichnet, als der wortgewaltige jesuitischen Ordensprovinzial für Oberdeutschland, Petrus Canisius, die Bevölkerung Augsburgs durch scharfe Predigten und aufsehenerregende Exorzismen in Aufregung versetzte. Gegenstand der Predigten war auch das Hexenverbrechen, an dessen dogmatisch begründete Existenz nun unbedingt geglaubt wurde. Canisius schrieb nach den ersten Verfolgungen 1563:

> "Überall bestraft man die Hexen, welche merkwürdig sich mehren. Ihre Freveltaten sind entsetzlich... Man sah früher in Deutschland niemals die Leute so sehr dem Teufel ergeben und verschrieben... Sie schaffen Viele durch ihre Teufelskünste aus der Welt, erregen Stürme und bringen furchtbares Unheil über Landleute und andere Christen. Nichts scheint gesichert zu sein gegen ihre entsetzlichen Künste und Kräfte.[50]

Durch Hexenpredigten riefen katholische wie protestantische Prediger zur Hexenverfolgung auf und bestärkten damit in positiver Rückkopplung die bäuerliche Bevölkerung in ihrem Verfolgungsverlangen. Götz von Pölnitz charakterisierte die Reaktionen der Augsburger Oberschichten auf die missionarischen Aktivitäten des Canisius folgendermassen:

> "Merkwürdig berühren die sich häufenden Nachrichten von der jähen Bussgesinnung einer ekstatisch erregten, mystisch überwach gewordenen Oberschicht als Zeugnisse ihrer Atmosphäre des Übergangs. Sie liegt zwischen jener verleuchtenden, signorilen Lebensfreude der fast dekadenten Spätrenaissance, und einem asketischen Rigorismus gewisser gegenreformatorischer Heiliger."[51]

Die Radikalität des Mentalitätswandels manifestierte sich mitunter in individuellen biographischen Brüchen, regelrechten Bekehrungserlebnissen bei diversen Mitgliedern von Adels- und Fürstenhäusern, beispielsweise der bayrischen Herzöge Albrecht V. und Wilhelm V. in den 1570er Jahren. Damals wurde in katholischen Gebieten auch jenes Marianische Staatsprogramm entwickelt, welches den Untertanen die Muttergottes Maria allenthalben als positive Gegenkraft gegen die Macht der Hexen anpries. Es ist mindestens ein beziehungsreicher Zufall, wenn die ersten Hexenverbrennungen im Hochstift Augsburg und in Bayern in jenen Jahren vorgenommen wurden, als dort von den Fürsten die Marianischen Congregationen gegründet wurden.[52]

Allgemein wird in der Literatur derzeit davon ausgegangen, dass sich die Einstellung gegenüber den Hexen seit 1560 radikalisierte. Abzulesen ist dies etwa an den Gesetzgebungsbemühungen in England, Schottland und Deutschland seit 1563.[53] Oder dem synchronen Wiedereinsetzen von Hexenverfolgungen in Teilen Frankreichs und Deutschlands um 1570, oder dem gleichzeitigen Höhepunkt der Verfolgungen in Schottland, dem Rheinland und Bayern um 1590. Dabei muss man sich klarmachen, dass die Obrigkeit nicht einfach populären "Bedürfnissen" nach Hexenverfolgungen nachkam, sondern dass wir es vielmehr mit einer höchst komplexen Wechselwirkung zu tun haben, in der soziale Entwicklungen, aktuelle Nöte, traditionelle Verhaltensmuster und widerstreitende ideologische Motivationen einfliessen. Damit kommen wir an einen Punkt, wo die Theorie der Existenz "kollektiver Mentalitäten" in der Frühen Neuzeit zumindest fragwürdig wird. Die Analyse von Verhörprotokollen offenbart schon in den Aussagen der einfachen Bevölkerung eine überraschende Bandbreite von divergierenden Ansichten. Viel mehr ist dies noch bei den literaten sozialen Schichten der Fall, die von ihrer Ausbildung her zur schriftlichen Artikulation ihrer Ansichten in der

Lage waren. Bei einem Thema wie dem der "Hexen" kommt die Gegensätzlichkeit der Ansichten mehr als bei anderen Themen zum Vorschein. Die Frage der Existenz der Hexen, der physikalischen Möglichkeit ihrer Taten, der juristischen Möglichkeit und der politischen Wünschbarkeit ihrer Verfolgung war so umstritten wie kaum eine andere Frage dieser Zeit. Hinter dieser Streitfrage standen gegensätzliche Weltanschauungen, die das Hexenthema weit transzendierten.

Ich möchte dies am Beispiel Bayerns, das ich in einer vergleichenden Regionalstudie untersucht habe, kurz darlegen. Das bayrische Beispiel ist deshalb interessant, weil hier ein eigentümliches Spannungsverhältnis bestand: Nachweislich wurden viel weniger Hexen hingerichtet als in den angrenzenden Nachbargebieten im Norden oder im Westen, dem von Erik Midelfort untersuchten "Southwestern Germany". Dabei war Bayern geradezu ein Sammelbecken extremer Verfolgunsbefürworter.[54] Ideologen der Gegenreformation, wie die Jesuiten Petrus Canisius (1521-1597), Gregor von Valencia (1551-1603), Jacob Gretser (1562-1625) und Adam Contzen (1571-1635) lebten und wirkten in Bayern. Sie nahmen in der Hexenfrage zwischen 1590 und 1635 in internen Auseinandersetzungen die härteste Position ein, orientiert am Malleus maleficarum und den Dämonologen Bodin, Binsfeld und Delrio.[55] Ihrer Ansicht nach drohten Volk und Herrscher die härtesten Strafen, wenn sie nicht unbarmherzig das Übel bei der Wurzel packten, und die Hexen "radikal", von der Wurzel her wie Unkraut ausrotteten. Gerechtfertigt wurde dies mit dem "gerechten Eifer für die Ehre Gottes", für die kein Opfer zu gross erschien. Bei den von radikalem Buss- und Sühnegeist beseelten Ideologen und ihren Anhängern sprach man daher von "Eiferern". Papst Urban VIII. (1623-1644) sollte diese Gruppe später verächtlich als "Zelanti" bezeichnen.[56]

Die Hexenverfolgung war für die "Eiferer" kein isoliertes Vorhaben. In der "Innenpolitik" reihte sich die erstrebte "Austrottung" der Hexen ein in das Programm der Errichtung eines hierarchischen, jenseitsorientierten katholisch-christlichen Musterstaates, wie ihn Adam Contzen in seinem Staatsroman Methodus civilis doctrinae seu Abissini regis historia zur Darstellung brachte.[57] Dazu gehörte genauso die Zurückdrängung der vor- und ausserehelichen Sexualität, wie das Ersetzen profaner Vergnügen wie Spiel und Tanz durch religiöse Übungen wie Fronleichnamsprozessionen und zehnstündige Gebete, also die Zurückdrängung der Volkskultur durch eine auf die Buchstaben und die Autorität der Bibel fixierten Hochkultur.Dem totalitären Reformprogramm im Inneren, sollte in der Aussenpolitik die

Missionierung oder Vernichtung des politisch-konfessionellen Gegners zur Seite gestellt werden. Oberstes Ziel war es, "ad maiorem dei gloriam" beizutragen. "Zelus dei", Eifer für die Ehre Gottes ist die Chiffre für diese Einstellung. Angst vor der Strafe dieses schrecklichen Gottes war der explizite Beweggrund für die angestrebten rigiden Massnahmen. Das Gottesbild dieser Theologen dürfte der Charakterstruktur der "authoritarian personality"[58] weitgehend entsprochen haben.

Warum konnten die Ideologen der Ausrottungspolitik in Bayern, dieser Hochburg des Katholizismus, ihre Wunschvorstellung von der grossen "Säuberung" nicht durchsetzen? Adam Contzen, aber auch der Daemonologe Martin Delrio, sprechen in ihren publizierten Schriften und internen Gutachten von politici als ihren Gegnern.[59] Das oberste Ziel dieser Anhänger Machiavellis sei nicht die "Rettung der Ehre Gottes", für die sie keinen rechten "Eifer" empfänden. Vielmehr hätten diese "kalten und politischen Christen" profane, politische Interessen.- Nun dürfte es in Deutschland um 1600 kaum jemanden gegeben haben, der offener Anhänger Machiavellis war. Aber es gab genügend einflussreiche Personen, die sich dem frommen Zelotentum der Ideologen der Gegenreformation entgegenstellten. Dabei wurde nicht nur in der Frage der Hexenprozesse kontrovers diskutiert. Während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges stritt man sich in Bayern beispielsweise über die Frage, ob der Krieg fortgeführt oder Frieden geschlossen werden sollte. Der Fürstenberater Adam Contzen wollte zur Rettung der Ehre Gottes notfalls bis zum letzten Mann weiterkämpfen lassen, er propagierte also den "totalen Krieg". Der Wortführer der gegnerischen Partei, Dr. Wilhelm Jocher (1565-1639), befürwortete einen baldigen Friedensschluss, weil das Wohl des gemeinen Mannes durch den langen Krieg zu sehr in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurde. Dem religiös motivierten stellte er ein politisches Argument entgegen.[60] Wie zahlreiche Gesinnungsgenossen gehörte er dem einheimischen Stadtpatriziat oder dem Landadel Bayerns an. Vertreter dieser Gruppe hatten 1590 die grosse Verfolgung beendet, hatten seit 1600 nach einem grossen Hexenprozess eine prinzipielle Debatte um juristische Aspekte entfacht und 1608 in zwei Gutachten dargelegt, dass die reale Volksmagie als Indiz in Hexenprozessen untauglich sei, weil man sonst wegen der Gebräuchlichkeit magischer Zeremonien den Grossteil der eigenen Bevölkerung in Hexenprozesse verstricken müsste - wieder ein "politisches" Argument. Eine Art Schirmherr der "politici" war viele Jahre der durch seinen Briefwechsel mit Johannes Kepler[61] bekannte Dr. Johann Georg Herwarth (1553-1622), der als Landschaftskanzler an der Spitze der bai-

rischen Ständevertretung stand. Der Jesuit Adam Tanner (1572-1632), der seit 1602 an den internen Debatten teilhatte, machte Jahre später die "politischen" Argumente einer breiten Öffentlichkeit bekannt. Er propagierte die gleichnishafte Antwort auf die Ausrottungsstrategie der harten Ideologen: Tanner konterte ihre Unkraut-Metapher mit dem Gleichnis "Vom Unkraut unter dem Weizen", das wenig später von Friedrich Spee übernommen wurde. Wenn man, wie in der Hexenfrage, Schuldige nicht von Unschuldigen unterscheiden kann, so die Botschaft, dürfen keine Hexen hingerichtet werden, sondern ein höherer Richter muss darüber entscheiden.[62]

"Politici" und "Zelanti" offenbaren sich im Verlauf einer jahrzehntelangen Auseinandersetzung als zwei grosse Fraktionen, entlang deren Frontlinien Auseinandersetzungen ausgetragen werden. In Bayern kann man dabei eine ähnliche Beobachtung machen wie sie Alfred Soman in Frankreich gemacht hat, nämlich dass das einheimische Establishment eher bereit war, milde über magische Praktiken zu urteilen, als auswärtige Ideologen.[63] Im Falle Bayerns stellten die Jesuiten und einige zum Katholizismus konvertierte Ausländer wie Christoph Gewold (1556-1621) aus der calvinistischen Kuroberpfalz,[64] Aegidius Albertinus (1560-1620) aus Holland oder Dr. Cosmas Vagh aus Schleswig, also eine landfremde Funktionselite, einen Grossteil der Eiferer. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass sie ihren Ansichten durch strikte Ausrichtung an der Ideologie Gewicht zu verleihen suchten, um damit die mangelnde Verwurzelung im Land auszugleichen. Dies entsprach auch ihrer Rolle im Spiel der innerstaatlichen Machtbalance des entstehenden absolutistischen Fürstenstaates.[65]

Damit wird deutlich, welche Rolle die intellektuelle Elite der Gegenreformation bei der Zulassung von Hexenverfolgungen gespielt hat. Hier finden wir das Gegenstück zu dem verstärkten volkstümlichen Verlangen nach Hexenverfolgungen nach 1560: Im Zuge der "zweiten Reformation" nach dem Fussfassen des Calvinismus und des tridentinischen Reformkatholizismus setzte eine Verdüsterung des Weltbildes ein, die die Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen adäquat reflektiert. Gemeint ist jener konfessionsübergreifende dramatische Mentalitätswandel der Oberschichten, der die optimistische Aufbruchsstimmung der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte mit ihrer Sinnenfreude, Lebenslust und Freizügigkeit bis in die Ikonographie hinein nach 1560 ablöste. Der Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen entsprach die Verknöcherung der gesellschaftlichen Strukturen und eine anhaltend pessimistische Grundeinstellung. Konfessionelle Prediger suggerierten den Oberschichten ein gesteigertes Sündenbewusstsein und lehrten sie, ungewöhnliche

Ereignisse als Zeichen für den Zorn Gottes zu interpretieren. Dies war der Nährboden für die umfassenden Programme der Sozialdisziplinierung, aber auch für mystische und apokalyptische Visionen einer Oberschicht, die frei von unmittelbaren Alltags- und Überlebenssorgen in den Sog des Mentalitätswandels geriet. Gerade der gesellschaftlichen Elite wurde der Schraubstock äusserster Selbstdisziplin und rigidester Moralvorstellungen angelegt, und das Signum der Zeit nach 1560 wurden asketische Sittenstrenge, permanente religiöse Übungen zur Versöhnung der Gottheit, höfische Selbstdisziplin und harte Arbeit. Der düstere, blutige Ernst, mit dem dieser Umbau aller Gewohnheiten, die "Neumodellierung des Affekthaushalts" (Norbert Elias) betrieben wurde, setzte sich bis in privateste Bereiche fort: Herzog Wilhelm V. von Bayern (1579-1597), der erste Hexenverfolger in Bayern, lebte nach einem rigiden Stundenplan, der täglich mehrere Stunden für Gebete und religiöse Übungen bis hin zum Tragen härener Büssergewänder und Selbstgeisselungen vorsah. Herzog Maximilian (1598-1651) und sein Nachfolger Kurfürst Ferdinand Maria (1651-1679) verschrieben sich der Muttergottes von Alt-Ötting mit einem Blut-Weihebrief, einem unmittelbaren Gegenstück zum Teufelspakt der Hexen.[66]

Die Eiferer gelangten in den 1580er Jahren in der Region erstmals an die Schalthebel der Macht,[67] und im Zusammenhang mit der Agrarkrise der Jahre 1586-94 kam es in der Hexenfrage sofort zu einem Kurzschluss zwischen dem Verfolgungsverlangen aus Teilen der Bevölkerung und der ideologisch motivierten Gleichschaltungspolitik "von oben". Das Ergebnis war die grosse Verfolgungswelle der Jahre um 1590, der in der Region mehr Menschen zum Opfer fielen als jemals zuvor oder danach. Doch die Verfolgungswelle von 1590 blieb singulär. Und dies unterschied Bayern von den kleineren katholischen Territorien: Die politisch-gesellschaftliche Struktur dieses Landes war für eine ideologische Gleichschaltung zu komplex. Die Kraft der einheimischen Politiker war gross genug, um den importierten Ideologen standhalten zu können, deren Macht allein von der Fürstengunst abhängig war.

Während in den Nachbarregionen Südwestdeutschland und Franken, aber auch dem Rheinland und Westfalen die Verfolgungen des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts die der 1580er Jahre noch übertrafen, gewannen in der bayrischen Innenpolitik nach - und meiner Ansicht nach auch wegen - der Verfolgung von 1590 gemässigte Kräfte wieder die Oberhand. Dies musste in jahrzehntelangen harten internen Debatten erzwungen und immer wieder verteidigt werden, denn die exorbitanten Verfolgungen im übrigen katholischen Deutsch-

land zwangen immer wieder zum Überdenken der eigenen Position. Die vergleichsweise niedrigen Hinrichtungszahlen im Bairischen Reichskreis sind eine Folge der anhaltenden internen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen "Politikern" und "Zelanten". Hinter diesen politischen Fraktionierungen scheinen unterschiedliche Weltanschauungen gestanden zu haben, denn die Hexenfrage stand nicht isoliert im Raum, sondern war verknüpft mit zahlreichen anderen Fragen: den Bildern, die sich die Kontrahenten von der Rolle Gottes (gütig/strafend), der Natur des Menschen und insbesondere der Frau (von Natur aus gut oder böse), der Natur (geregelt/ungeregelt), der Rolle der Justiz (Ausrottung/Resozialisierung), der menschlichen Gesellschaft insgesamt machten. Diesen Zusammenhängen weiter nachzuspüren, würde ich als eine lohnende Aufgabe empfinden.

Die rapide Verdüsterung des Weltbildes seit 1560, verstärkt dann in den 1580er Jahren - "Scharnierjahre, wenn es je solche gegeben hat", schrieb Mandrou[68] - stellte einen Mentalitätswandel dar, welcher stellenweise einem Kulturbruch gleichzukommen scheint. Erst dieser Mentalitätswandel macht erklärbar, warum die gesellschaftlichen Oberschichten nun plötzlich dem Verfolgungsverlangen gegen Hexen aus der Bevölkerung nachzugeben bereit waren. Die traditionelle rationale Ablehnung des volkstümlichen Glaubens an Wettermacherei, der auch unter Theologen weit verbreitet war, geriet auf breiter Front vorübergehend ins Hintertreffen. Erst ein gleichgerichtetes Interesse - wenn auch durchaus mit unterschiedlichen Motiven - von gesellschaftlichen Ober- und Unterschichten ermöglichte vorübergehend die grossen Hexenverfolgungen der Jahrzehnte um 1600.

5. Zusammenfassung

Schon Jules Michelet hatte konstatiert, die Figur der Hexe datiere "aus der Zeit der Verzweiflung".[69] Der polnische Ethnologe Bronislaw Malinowski hat als einer der ersten die These verfochten, dass Hexenverfolgungen ein Sympton für Ängste sein könnten, die in Zeiten verstärkten sozialen Wandels auftreten.[70] Fortan machten sich Historiker auf die Suche nach diesen Ängsten. Von der "Kapitalismus-These" Alan Macfarlanes, blieben die globalen Erklärungen trotz anhaltenden Unbehagens erhalten. Kürzlich sprach Brian P. Levack von den "birth-pangs of the modern world", die die Krisenjahrzehnte um 1600 von anderen Krisenzeiten besonders abhebe.[71]

Meiner Ansicht nach lässt sich der sozialhistorische Zusammenhang sehr viel präziser angeben. Die europäische Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit was als Agrargesellschaft noch in hohem Masse anfällig für klimatischen Schwankungen (Feuchtigkeit, Temperatur). Unwetterbedingte Ernteausfälle führten regelmässig zu Teuerung, Mangelernährung oder Hunger und erhöhter Krankheitsanfälligheit bis hin zu grossen Epidemien. Seit dem frühen Mittelalter lässt sich zeigen, dass grosse Teile der Bevölkerung geneigt waren, Wetterzauberer für klimabedingte Missernten verantwortlich zu machen. Dabei galten die Wetterzauberer als ganz besondere Spezies der Schadenzauberer: Im Unterschied zum einfachen maleficium bestand hier wie beim Hexenflug die Vorstellung einer kollektiven Handlung: Wetterzauber wurde kollektiv ausgeführt, er schädigte ganze Gemeinden, und auch die Verfolgung erfolgte kollektiv. Die mit den Missernten verbundenen Verfolgungen waren daher in der Regel härter als diejenigen wegen anderer Maleficien. Sie wurden mit mehr Vehemenz vorgetragen - von ganzen Gemeinden - und richteten sich gegen einem grösseren Personenkreis. Nicht zufällig hingen die grössten Verfolgungen mit vermeintlichem Wetterzauber zusammen.

Solche klimabedingten Misserntejahre traten nach 1560 häufiger auf als in den Jahrzehnten zuvor. Die Teuerungsperioden traten - objektiv anhand zahlreicher städtischer Preisreihen messbar - häufiger auf und dauerten länger. Für die breite Bevölkerung bedeutete dies eine generelle Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen, speziell in den Agrarkrisenjahren oft existenzielle Not.

Als sozialgeschichtliche Grundkorrelation lässt sich eine Korrespondenz von Agrarkrisenjahren und Verfolgungsjahren feststellen. In Agrarkrisenjahren stieg die Zahl der Hexenprozesse und der Hexenhinrichtungen. Sehr viele grosse Hexenverfolgungen wurzeln in besonders ausgeprägten Agrarkrisenjahren, in Südostdeutschland alle grösseren Verfolgungen. Die Anbindung der Hexenverfolgungen an die Agrarkrisenjahre erklärt die Synchronität der Hexenverfolgungen in weit von einander entfernten Regionen. Ebenso erklärt sie die Synchronität der Erscheinungsdaten der dämonologischen Literatur und die spezifischen Daten der territoralen Hexengesetzgebung. Der Kausalnexus zwischen Agrarkrise und Hexenverfolgung erklärt die Vehemenz der Diskussion gerade wegen der Wettermacherei der Hexen, der alle Theoretiker beschäftigte und manche besondere Dispute auslöste.

Der Kausalnexus zwischen Agrarkrisen und Hexenverfolgung stützt sich auf vier Pfeiler: Erstens wurden Wetterschäden und Missernten den Hexen direkt zugeschoben. Zweitens häuften sich im Gefolge der Missernten über

den Krisenmechanismus von "Typ Ancien" die Krankheits- und Todesfälle, für die ebenfalls teilweise Hexerei verantwortlich gemacht wurde. Drittens scheint in den Agrarkrisenjahren allgemein die Atmosphäre gereizter und konfliktgeladener gewesen zu sein, was latente Konflikte zum Austrag brachte. Viertens regten Hexenprozesse in der Nachbarschaft oft weitere Prozesse an, sodass hier ein positiver Rückkoppelungseffekt auftrat. Einschränkend muss gesagt werden: Es besteht keine rigide Korrrelation zwischen Agrarkrisen und Hexenhinrichtungen. Auch ausserhalb der Teuerungsjahre wurden Hexen hingerichtet. Nicht jede Obrigkeit richtete in Teuerungsjahren Hexen hin.

Ob Hexen hingerichtet wurden, war immer auch eine Frage des Bewusstseins vor allem der Obrigkeiten. Wenn diese nicht an Wettermacherei glaubten, konnte folglich auch niemand deshalb hingerichtet werden. Die Zunahme der Hexenhinrichtung und der Beginn der grossen Verfolgungen ab 1560 und vor allem ab 1585 war nicht nur eine Frage der Häufung von Agrarkrisenjahren. Entscheidend dafür ist als zweiter Faktor die zunehmende Verdüsterung des Weltbildes der Oberschichten, welche auf noch nicht geklärte Weise mit der Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen der Unterschichten zeitlich korrespondiert. Erst das gleichgerichtete Verfolgungsinteresse von Unter- und Oberschichten ermöglichte die grossen Verfolgungen.

Bei der Eindämmung der Hexenverfolgungen machte sich ein zusätzlicher Faktor bemerkbar. Trotz Verhärtung der Lebensbedingungen ("unten") und Verdüsterung des Weltbildes ("oben") führten Hexenverfolgungen in der Regel rasch zu der Einsicht, dass die angewandten Mittel zwar radikal waren, aber nicht das Übel bei der Wurzel, sondern gänzlich Unschuldige ergriffen. Die Folterkammern der Hexenverfolgungen waren im Wortsinne Laboratorien der Moderne, in denen theologische und juristische Dogmen auf blutige Weise überprüft wurden. Die Hexenrichter und Beichtväter waren nicht immer grausame Finsterlinge, und nicht wenige liessen sich vom Widerstand der Verdächtigten und von der Unmenschlichkeit der Hexenprozessprozedur davon überzeugen, dass die theoretischen, theologischen und juristischen Prämissen falsch waren. Die Hexenverfolgungen lösten auf diese Weise nicht zu unterschätzende Lernprozesse aus. Während der drei Generationen zwischen Montaigne und Hobbes dürfte es kaum einen Theologen oder Juristen gegeben haben, der nicht in sehr direkter Form mit Hexenprozessen beschäftigt gewesen ist. In Südostdeutschland mit seinem relativ hohen Grad an politischer Zentralisierung, gehörte die Teilnahme an Hexenprozessen quasi zur Grundausbildung aller Regierenden, der Fürsten, der Adeligen, der Juristen und der Theologen.

Anmerkungen

[1] Ankarloo and Henningsen (1987), Valentinitsch (1987).

[2] Behringer (1987a).

[3] Evans-Pritchard (1978). Einleitung von Eva Gillies, pp. 7-35.

[4] Hansen (1900: 73 ff.).

[5] Midelfort (1972: 88-90).

[6] Braudel (1949), Mols (1979).

[7] Behringer (1988: 267 f.).

[8] Muchembled (1982: 236), Behringer (1987b: 131-170), Levack (1987: 170-175).

[9] Le Roy Ladurie (1967), Lamb (1977), Pfister (1980).

[10] Pfister (1988).

[11] Pfister (1976).

[12] Weyer (1586), Vorrede.

[13] Pfister (1988: 150).

[14] Schmidt (1967).

[15] Kuhn (1787: 135).

[16] Pfister (1988: 40 ff., 118 ff.).

[17] Valentinitsch (1987: 297 f.), Behringer (1987a: 342 ff.).

[18] Pfister (1988: 128).

[19] Bader (1945: 116 ff.).

[20] Macfarlane (1970).

[21] Abel (1974). - Man sollte den Hinweis von Alan MACFARLANE beachten, dass England diese dramatischen Subsistenzkrisen nicht kannte, dass projizierte Völlereien auf Hexentänzen anders als in Europa - keine Rolle spielten. Das "Fehlen" grosser Hexenverfolgungen in England und Holland könnte damit zusammenhängen.

[22] Pfister (1988: II. 82-97).

[23] Behringer (1984: 346 ff.).

[24] Elsas (1936).

[25] Behringer (1988: 136-139).

[26] Midelfort (1972: 88-90).

[27] Mayr (1604: fol. 135 v.), Behringer (1988: 148-157).

[28] Saalfeld (1971).

[29] Le Roy Ladurie (1982: 9).

[30] Zenz (1964: 13 ff.).

[31] Decker (1983).

[32] Behringer (1988: 210-211) nach HStAM, Kurbayern Äusseres Archiv Nr. 1913. fol. 294.

[33] Stadtarchiv München. Historischer Verein Urkunden. Nr. 2005.

[34] Denzinger (1850: 144 ff.).

[35]Ibid., pp. 143 ff.

[36]Abel (1974), Labrousse (1933).

[37]Larner (1981: 192-204), dazu: Behringer (1987b: 419-430).

[38]Sprenger und Institoris (1974: II. 61).

[39]Schorer (1660: 41 ff.).

[40]Elsas (1936: I. 164) München; (op. cit., p. 593) Augsburg; (op. cit., p. 634) Würzburg.

[41]Sprenger und Institoris (1974: II. 157 ff.).

[42]Blauert: "Hexenwahn und Hexenverfolgung im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz während des 15. Jahrhunderts" (Manuskript).

[43]Pfister (1988: II. 94), Lehmann (1986).

[44]Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Cod. 8940-8980 (Fugger-Zeitungen).

[45]Delumeau (1978).

[46]Labouvie (1989), Rummel (1986).

[47]Zum Buchtitel erhoben wurden diese sozialen Prozesse bei: Kamen (1971); über die mentalen Folgen räsoniert auch: Rabb (1975).

[48]Dülmen (1985).

[49]Engel (1971: 1-144, insbesondere: "Vom Lebenszuschnitt des Zeitalters" (op. cit., pp. 12-19).

[50]Duhr (1900: 23).

[51]Götz (1955: 382 ff.).

[52]Hubensteiner (1978: 58-65, 108-123), Zöpfl (1964), Riezler (1896).

[53]Behringer (1988).

[54]Behringer (1987b).

[55]Duhr (1900).

[56]Bireley (1975: 62, 143, 152-156).

[57]Contzen (1628).

[58]T.W. Adorno, E. Frenkel und Brunswik und D.J. Levinson und R.N.S. Sanford (1950). - Mit der berühmten "F-Skala" wurde hier versucht, charakteristische Merkmale der "faschistischen" Persönlichkeit nach 9 Kriterien (Konventionalismus, autoritäre Unterwerfung, autoritäre Aggression, Anti-Intrazeption, Aberglaube und Stereotypie, Machtdenken und Rowdytum, Destruktivität und Zynismus, Projektivität, Sexualität) zu erfassen. Richtungweisend für diese Studie war Max Horkheimer, der sich bereits vor seiner Emigration aus Deutschland aus aktuellem Anlass mit diesem Komplex beschäftigt hatte. Die Ergebnisse von Horkeimers Projekt waren veröffentlicht als: Studien über Autorität und Familie (1936). - Über beide Projekte (Genese, Zusammenhang, Methode, Ergebnisse, Kritik, Validität) vgl. jetzt: Jay (1981: 155, 158, 278, 292).

[59]Oder, nachdem die politischen Wissenschaften im 17. Jahrhundert zu neuer Dignität aufgestiegen waren, von "pseudo politici". Vgl. Contzen (1620).

[60]Bireley (1975: 62, 143, 152-156).

[61]Caspar (1948), Baumgardt (1951).

[62]Tanner (1627: Tomus III. 983 ff.) Deutsche Übersetzungen in: Behringer (1988: 373-375).

[63] Soman (1978).

[64] Dürrwächter (1904).

[65] Elias (1977).

[66] Hubensteiner (1978).

[67] Lanzinner (1979), Heydenreuter (1981).

[68] Mandrou (1960), hier zitiert nach Mandrou (1977: 384).

[69] Michelet (1862), Einleitung.

[71] Malinowski (1951).

[71] Levack (1987: 140).

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HEXENPROZESSE IN SLOWENIEN

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Im Referat sollen die Hexenprozesse in Slowenien, das damals zu dem sogenannten Innerösterreich gehörte, vorgestellt werden. Geschichtlich werden in der Darstellung das Land Krain und jener Teil des Landes Steiermark erfasst, der heute zur Republik Slowenien gehört. Nicht berührt werden die Hexenprozesse in Prekmurje (Übermurgebiet), das zu jener Zeit zum ungarischen Teil der Donaumonarchie gehörte und im Küstenland (Görz - Gradisca, die Stadt mit dem Gebiet von Triest und Istrien), weil bisher hier noch kein Hexenprozess festgestellt werden konnte. Es bleibt nur die Annahme, dass es sie hier wirklich nicht gegeben hat, selbstverständlich aber auch die Möglichkeit, dass nur noch keiner belegt worden ist. Es steht jedoch immerhin fest, dass Hexenprozesse im Küstenland auf keinen Fall einen solchen Umfang haben konnten, wie in der Krain und Steiermark, sonst wären die Quellen kaum spurlos verschwunden. Die Frage bleibt noch offen. Auch der slowenische Teil der Steiermark soll nur summarisch dargestellt werden, weil die Hexenprozesse in diesem Gebiet verhältnismässig gut erforscht sind. Ich möchte besonders auf die Hexenprozesse in Krain näher eingehen, die bisher noch nicht genau ausgeleuchtet worden sind.

Auf die Frage, wie weit in Slowenien der Begriff der Hexerei zurückreicht, ist heute noch keine entgültige Antwort möglich. Berichte über Hexenprozesse liegen seit dem Ende das 16. Jahrhunderts vor. Eigentlich ist bereits aus dem Jahre 1427 der Prozess gegen Veronika von Desenice bekannt, inszeniert von Hermann II., Graf von Cilli, der "gab ihr (Veronika) (die) Schuld, sie hätte seinen Sohn durch Zauberkünste dazu gebracht, das er sie (Sohn Ulrich) geheiratet habe: "Überdies habe sie auch dem Vater mit Gift nach dem Leben gestrebt". Doch handelt es sich noch nicht um einen typischen Hexenprozess der späteren Zeit. Die Angeklagte wurde vor dem Stadtgericht Celje (Cilli) wegen fehlender Beweise freigesprochen.[1] Dass jedoch die Hexerei schon in dieser Zeit allgemein bekannt gewesen sein muss, belegt das Wandgemälde an der Fassade der Kirche in Crngrob bei Skofja Loka aus dem Jahre 1450-70, auf dem zwei Hexen beim Hagelkochen

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dargestellt sind, wobei der Hagel schon aus dem Topf sprüht.[2] Anlässlich des Bauernaufstandes im Jahre 1515 beschwerten sich die Bauern von Slovenske Konjice, dass die Herrschaften Diebe und Hexen gegen ein Entgeld freilassen.[3]

Der Begriff der Hexerei kommt auch schon im ersten slowenischen gedruckten Buch, im Katechismus aus dem Jahre 1550 vor, wo Primus Truber den katholischen Ritus als Hexerei bezeichnet.[4] Der Begriff der Hexerei kommt auch in anderen Werken von slowenischen Reformationsschriftstellern vor. In der slowenischen Kirchenordnung aus dem Jahre 1564 zählt Truber unter den Pflichten der weltlichen Obrigkeit auch die Bekämpfung der Hexerei auf.[5] Im Katechismus aus dem Jahre 1575 erwähnt Truber die Hexerei an mehreren Stellen und zählt sie zu den schwersten Sünden. Noch immer sieht er auch im katholischen Ritual eine Hexerei.[6] Ausserdem zählt er auch die schädlichen Handlungen auf, deren die Hexen und Hexer fähig wären: das Bewirken von Unwettern, Donner, Hagel, Krankheiten bei Jung und Alt, aber auch die Wahrsagerei. Er geisselt auch den Brauch, dass Leute selbst bei Hexern und Hexen bei verschiedensten Krankheiten und anderen Nöten Hilfe suchen. Als Hexen erwähnt er alte Frauen.[7]

Die tiefe Verwurzelung des Hexenglaubens ist auch aus der Kunst- und Buchproduktion des 17. Jahrhunderts zu ersehen. An der Pfarrhausdecke in Slovenske Konjice ist ein Deckengemälde aus dem Jahre 1680 zu sehen, auf dem eine auf einem Igel reitende Hexe dargestellt ist.[8]

Der Krainer Polyhistor (in erster Linie Historiograph und Naturwissenschaftler) J.W. Valvasor stellt in seine Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum (Schaubühne des menschlichen Todts in drei Theil) im dritten Teil Poenas Damnatorum continens (Der Verdambten Höllen-peyn vorstellend), das im Jahre 1682 in Salzburg gedruckt wurde, eine Hexe vor, die den Höllentanz beginnt. Ein satyrähnlicher Teufel trägt sie in den Höllenschlund.[9] Die Hexe ist die erste in der Reihe der schwersten Sünder, die von Teufeln gepeinigt werden: dem Lästerer, dem Entweiher von Festtagen, dem Räuber, Ehebrecher, Dieb, dem Unzuchttreiber und anderen.[10] Das Bild wird von an die Hexe gerichtetet Worten des Teufels begleitet: "Bist gnug gefahren hin und her/ Auch meiner Fligl gnossen. Anjetzo bey der Hollenkehr/ Dem Rest wird also b'schlossen". Und die Hexe antwortet: "Was schwaere Band und grosses Leid Ein kleiner Wollust bringet! Auff wenig Daentz/ und kurze Freid/ Ach/ Weh man ewig finget."

Es ist gewiss kein Zufall, wenn sich die Monsterprozesse bald nach 1690 zu häufen scheinen. Politische und wirtschaftliche Momente wären in

Erwägung zu ziehen. Es könnte aber auch ein kultureller Faktor mit im Spiele sein: 1689 erschien Valvasors monumentales Werk über das Herzogtum Krain. Valvasor selbst steht dem Hexenglauben recht skeptisch und für seine Zeit wohl verdächtig kritisch gegenüber. Dagegen hat sein deutscher Sprachenredakteur, der aus Lübeck stammende Nürnberger Gelehrte Erasmus Francisci, Valvasors Werk mit unzähligen Hexengeschichten gespickt.[11] Insbesonderre wies Valvasor die Überzeugung zurück, dass Hexen zu ihrern Zusammenkünften fliegen. Er erklärte dies durch die Verwendung von Kräuter, die das Gefühl zu fliegen geben können. Er war auch überzeugt, dass die Richter viel zu leichtfertig auf die verbreitete Überzeugung von Hexenflug eingehen. Auch hier hielt er sich an seinen Grundsatz "Denn die Natur vermag weit ein Mehrs noch als das, was sie uns lässt begreifen und ist dasjenige noch nicht gleich unnatürlich was wir nicht verstehen oder wissen".[12] Deswegen hielt er den Richtern, was die Überzeugung über den Hexenflug betrifft, kritisch vor: "Darum sollen die Bannrichter wohl? zusehen und zu unterscheiden wissen, was die Natur etwa selbst thue und wie solches geschehe. Es ist gewisslich nicht genug, dass einer ein guter Jurist, oder den 'Delrio' gelesen hat: Er muss auch andere Experientien und Authores verstehen".[13] Valvasor hegte auch Zweifel hinsichtlich der Tortur, deren sich die Richter als Erkennungsmittel für die Wahrheit bedienten: "Mancher Bannrichter will Wahrheit mit der Folter erzwingen; da doch nichts betriegerichers seyn kann als die Tortur". Keinen Zweifel hatte er jedoch hinsichtlich der Möglichkeit der Paktschliessung mit dem Teufel.

Die Zeit bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts könnte für das slowenische Gebiet als die Zeit von vereinzelten Hexenprozessen bezeichnet werden. Den Höhepunkt erreichte der Hexenwahn in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts und im ersten Jahrzehnt des 18., als die Angeklagten massenweise auf Scheiterhaufen verbrannt wurden. Die Prozesse dauerten noch die ganze erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts an; immerhin wurden die Angeklagten nach 1720 nicht mehr verbrannt.

In Slowenien ist kein einziges Hexenprozessprotokoll in slowenischer Sprache erhalten, alle sind nur in deutsch geschrieben. So gibt es eigentlich keine sprachlich authentische Prozessniederschrift. Die Prozesse mussten jedoch in slowenischer Sprache abgehalten worden sein, da die Angeklagten in den meisten Fällen nicht deutsch sprachen. Eine Bestätigung dafür ist auch in der Tatsache zu sehen, dass am Anfang der Hexenprozesse in der Auerspergischen Herrschaft Poljane (Pölland) bei der Befragung für

die Hexerei das slowenische Wort "veserija" neben den deutschen Hexerei und Zauberei verwendet wurde. Ausserdem werden wenigstens anfangs auch einige Ortsnamen noch slowenisch geschrieben, was später nicht mehr vorkommt. So werden anfangs die Hexenversammlungen auf slowenisch Na Kleki abgehalten, später auf deutsch, auf dem Klekh.

In der Steiermark durchwegs, in der Krain jedoch mit der einzigen Ausnahme des Bereichs von Cerknica, fanden die bisher bekannten Hexenprozesse ausschliesslich in Weinbaugebieten statt.

Die Grundlage der Hexenprozesse bildete immer die schädliche Zauberei: die Bewirkung von Hagel, in erster Linie in Weinbergen, von Unwettern, Frösten, von Schäden für Vieh und Menschen, Misswuchs von Saaten. Hexen wurden beschuldigt, dass sie als Krähen den Saatweizen von den Feldern sammeln. Ausserdem wurden sie der Anfertigung von Flugsalben beschuldigt. Bei dieser Salbenmischerei werden keinerlei natürliche Bestandteile bzw. Kräuter aufgezählt, in den Protokollen werden als Hauptbestandteile Kinderherzen und geweihte Hostien erwähnt. Welche Pflanzen als Hexenpflanzen galten, erfahren wir wieder bei Valvasor. Bei dem Hagelkochen wird meist die Anschuldigung laut, dass dazu die Quatemberasche verwendet wurde. Immer wurden Hexen des Abfalles vom Glauben, der Paktschliessung mit dem Teufel, wobei diese mit dem eigenen Blut unterzeichnet wurde, und der Unzucht mit dem Teufel beschuldigt. In zwei Fällen haben die Beschuldigten ohne Nötigung bekannt, dass sie mit Heilkräutern behandelt hätten. Eine Angeklagte beteuerte, dass sie dabei nur so verfahren habe, wie sie es vom verstorbenen Pfarrer gelernt hätte. Doch gestanden sie unter der Tortur noch alles Übrige. Eigenartig ist der Hexenprozess in der Herrschaft Pobrezje (Freithurn) im Jahre 1694. Hier wurden vier der Hexerei beschuldigte Frauen verbrannt, hinzu gesellte sich noch die Anklage, sie hätten die Gräfin Purgstall vergiftet, die darauf gestorben ist. Den Angeklagten wurde ausserdem noch das Geständnis abgenötigt, dass sie sich der Hilfe des Teufels bedienten, um die Herrschaft loszuwerden. Sonst hätte die Herrschaft sie, die Hexen, beseitigt.[14]

Was die Opfer betrifft, so liegt der slowenische Teil der Steiermark einschliesslich der Stadt Radkersburg mit 305 belegten vors Gericht gebrachten Personen deutlich an der Spitze. Dies macht im Rahmen der ganzen Steiermark und im Vergleich zur Krain 30,3% aus. Wenn der Prozess gegen Veronika von Desenice noch nicht als echter Hexenprozess berücksichtigt wird, dann hat der erste Hexenprozess in Maribor im Jahre 1546 stattgefunden, der nächste in Celje (Cilli) im Jahre 1579, doch ist von

hier in der Blütezeit der Hexenprozesse kein Massenprozess bekannt. Massenprozesse kamen in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts auf, sie dauerten bis in das erste Jahrzehnt des 18. Jahrhunderts. Konzentrationspunkte der Prozesse bildeten Ormož (Fridau), Ptuj (Pettau), Ljutomer (Luttenberg), Gornja Radgona (Radkersburg), wo der letzte bekannte Hexenprozess in der Steiermark in den Jahren 1744-46 stattfand, Hrastovec (Gutenhag) und Maribor (Marburg).[15] Hexen sollen auf den Bergen Pesniški hrib und Rogaška gora ihre Zusammenkünfte abgehalten haben. Dort, in der Nähe, sind auch in den Stein eingeritzte Zeichnungen erhalten, und wenn es auch keinerlei Beweise dafür gibt, dass hier eine Verbindung mit den Hexen bestünde, kann anderseits auch wieder nicht einfach angenommen werden, dass es sich um einen reinen Zufall handle.

In der Krain wuchsen die vereinzelten Hexenprozesse in den neunziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts zu Massenprozessen aus. Als Treffpunkte der Hexen werden der Slivnica (958 m) mitten im Land, der Klek (1210 m) in Kroatien und der Grintovec in den Karawanken (2558 m) in der Nähe der krainisch-kärtnerischen, heute slowenisch-österreichischen Grenze angeführt.

Bis 1690 sind noch keine Konzentrationspunkte, sondern nur vereinzelte Prozesse bekannt. Für diese ist für die Krain einstweilen kein vollständiges Protokoll erhalten. In Škofja Loka, ein Sitz der Bischöfe von Freising, sind in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren zwei Prozesse bekannt, eine Hexe wurde verbrannt, eine freigelassen, für die dritte ist das Prozessergebnis unbekannt. In dieser Herrschaft wurde ausserdem noch eine Angeklagte freigesprochen, ein Verdienst des Hüttenrichters aus Železniki (Eisnern). Es handelte sich um Katarina Vendelič, die vom Gericht in Škofja Loka im Jahre 1644 als Hexe zum Feuertod verurteilt wurde, doch konnte das Urteil wegen ihrer Schwangerschaft nicht sofort vollstreckt werden. In dieser Zeit kam ihr der Hüttenrichter Würz von Würzenstein zu Hilfe, der behauptete, dass die Herrschaft von Loka über sie, die Ehefrau eines Bergmannes, keine Gerichtsbarkeit besitze. - Der Prozess zog sich vor dem höheren Gericht zehn Jahre hin und Würz verlor schliesslich, doch wurde der Hexenprozess gegen die Angeklagte dann nicht wieder aufgenommen, und sie wurde nur wegen Gotteslästerung verurteilt. Im Fall des Pfarrers Novak aus Mošnje, der der Hexerei bezichtigt wurde, verhandelte auch das geistliche Gericht in Ljubljana im Jahre 1669. Nach zwanzig Jahren andauerndem Prozess wurde er mangels an Beweisen freigesprochen, doch wurde die Wirklichkeit der Anklage überhaupt nicht angezweifelt.[16]

Für diese Zeit sind noch zwei Hexenscheiterhaufen belegt, ein Mann und eine Frau wurden verbrannt. Insgesamt sind in der Krain bis zum Jahre 1690 namentlich drei verbrannte Opfer belegt, bei zwei Angeklagten ist das Prozessergebnis nicht festzustellen, doch waren die Möglichkeiten für eine Freisprechung damals noch gross, drei sind bewiesenermassen freigesprochen worden.

Der Glaube an die Schädlichkeit von Hexen und Hexenmeistern war sehr lebendig. Im Jahre 1635 verbrannten die Bauern in der Umgebung von Zavrč und Veržej in der Steiermark selbst drei Frauen, die des Hagelkochens beschuldigt wurden. In der Zisterzienserabtei Kostanjevica und der Jesuitenresidenz Pleterje wurden seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts und bis zum 18. Jahrhundert bekannterweise Fälle, bei denen jemand als Hexe oder Hexenmeister bezichtigt wurde, zuerst vor dem Berggericht verhandelt. Wenn die Anklage als begründet erkannt wurde, wurde der oder die Angeklagte dem Blutgericht übergeben.[17]

Für die siebziger Jahre berichtet Valvasor von Massenprozessen in der Umgebung von Cerknica (Zirkniz) und Planina und im Dorf Bočkovo, dessem sämtliche Einwohner Hexenprozessen zu Opfer gefallen sein sollen. Das waren damals vielleicht 20 Menschen. Doch fügt Valvasor hinzu, "dass in dieser Gegend in einem Jahre mehr Zaubereiprozesse vorkämen als seit Menschengedenken im ganzen Lande" und "dass das Land von den Hexen und Unholden noch ziemlich sauber seit".[18]

Bisher ist diese Angabe nicht überprüfbar, denn es ist weder das Protokoll eines Hexenprozesses, noch ein anderer Bericht aus dieser Zeit überliefert. Andererseits wäre jedoch auch die Tatsache zu berücksichtigen, dass sich der Valvasorische Bericht auf ein Gebiet bezieht, das ihm persöhnlich sehr gut bekannt war, das Gebiet des sich Sommer und Winter regelmässig verändernden Sees von Cerknica, das er wissenschaftlich untersuchte, weshalb er zum Mitglied der Royal Society in London gewählt wurde.

Jedenfalls stammt sein Bericht aus der Zeit, die sich schon der Grenze der Massenhexenprozesse in der Krain nähert. Dass dies in der Krain erst im Anfang der neunziger Jahre war, wird unter anderem auch durch die Tatsache bewiesen, dass bei der Tortur in Poljane im Jahre 1692 der Hexenstuhl noch nicht verwendet wurde, er wird erst 1693 erwähnt. Unter den Kosten der Hexenprozesse von Ljubljana, wird im Jahre 1692 die Erwerbung eines Hexenstuhles angeführt.[19]

Die ersten Massenprozesse wegen Hexerei in der Krain fanden nach unserem heutigen Wissen im Landgericht Poljane statt, das in den Händen der

Auerspergs war. Weil das Material für diese Prozesse bisher nicht bekannt war, und weil es ein geschlossenes Ganzes darstellt, möchte ich es eingehender vorstellen.

Die ersten Hexenprozessprotokolle des Landgerichtes Poljane sind vom Herbst des Jahres 1692 bekannt. Es handelte sich jedoch nicht um den ersten Prozess, sondern um die Fortsetzung eines früheren, für den das Protokoll nicht überliefert ist und in dem fünf Hexen verbrannt wurden. Eine Angeklagte, die schon zum zweiten Mal vor Gericht stand, gestand erst nach insgesamt dreizehn Stunden Tortur. Im Oktober desselben Jahres wurden sechs Frauen hingerichtet. In den erhaltenen Protokollen werden 48 Frauen bezichtigt, von den Angeklagten bei Hexenversammlungen gesehen worden zu sein. Im Jahre 1693 sind in den Protokollen desselben Gerichts drei verbrannte Frauen und ein Mann erwähnt. Im Protokoll über eine Frau, die erst nach 21 Stunden Tortur gestanden hat, ist ausdrücklich angeführt, dass sie bei lebendigen Leibe verbrannt wurde ("anderen dergleichen Zuerspiegelungen Exempl lebendig auf dem Scheuterhaufen zuwerfen und zu verbrennen"). In drei Protokollen wurden 32 Menschen bezichtigt. Für das Jahr 1694 sind fünf Hexenprozessprotokolle erhalten, laut denen vier Frauen und ein Mann verbrannt wurden. Aus ihnen sind noch zwölf Namen wegen Hexerei hingerichteten Personen zu entnehmen, für die die Protokolle jedoch nicht überliefert sind, darunter war auch ein Mann. Erhalten ist auch das Protokoll des Hexenprozesses gegen einen anderen Mann, aus dem zu ersehen ist, dass die Anklage ähnlich lautete wie bei den Frauen, nur dass er bei den Hexenzusammenkünften mit der Teufelin Magdalenka tanzte und Unzucht trieb. Auch der Prozessverlauf war derselbe. Bis zum Jahre 1699 gibt es dann keine Protokolle. Aus anderen Jahren sind vier Protokolle erhalten, vier Personen wurden hingerichtet. Die Jüngste war 28 Jahre und war Mutter von zwei Kindern. Aus den Protokollen sind noch die Namen von einem Mann und zwei Frauen zu ersehen, die ebenfalls wegen Hexerei hingerichtet wurden. Laut diesen Protokollen wurden insgesamt 92 Menschen bezichtigt, davon meist Frauen. Nur vor diesem Landgericht wurden demnach in neum Jahre 39 namentlich bekannte Menschen verbrannt, und der Beteiligung an Hexenzusammenkünften wurden 235 Menschen bezichtigt. Poljane hatte etwa 4000 Seelen, der Bereich der Dörfer, aus denen die meisten Angeklagten stammten, hatte dagegen nur an die 1000 Seelen. Doch waren auch die Jahre zwischen 1694 und 1699 nicht ganz ruhig, was aus dem Bericht des Bannrichters des Landes an die innerösterreichische Regierung im Jahre 1696 zu entnehmen ist, in

dem von einem schweren Hexenwahn in der Auersperg Herrschaft Poljane die Rede ist, dort seien sogar fünfjährige Kinder in die Hexerei verwickelt.[20]

Die Jahre 1691 und 1692 waren auch in der Hauptstadt des Landes, in Ljubljana, die ärgsten, was die Hexenprozesse betrifft. Die einzigen Belege für Hexenprozesse stammen aus den Rechnungsbüchern der Stadt, die Ausgaben für den Scharfrichter, die fast nur für Hexenprozesse entrichtet wurden, betrugen 247 fl. Im Jahre 1691 wurden fünf der Zauberei angeklagte Frauen hingerichtet, sieben Frauen und ein Mann starben dagegen während der Tortur. Insgesamt forderten die Hexenprozesse in Ljubljana in nur zwei Jahren dreissig Opfer. In demselben Jahr unterzog der Scharfrichter noch zwei der Hexerei angeklagte Frauen der Tortur, doch ist das Ergebnis nicht bekannt, aber warscheinlich endete es mit dem Tod.

Aus denselben Jahren sind von anderen Landgerichten noch acht verbrannte Opfer bekannt.

In Ribnica in Dolenjsko mit seiner weiteren Umgebung wurden um das Jahr 1700 und in Krško um das Jahr 1710 laut bisher bekannten Unterlagen die letzten Opfer in der Krain verbrannt.

Vor dem Landgericht Ribnica wurden wie verbürgt sechs Opfer verbrannt. Um das Jahr 1710 kamen Hexenprozesse in der Stadt Krško in Gang. Die Protokole sind nicht erhalten, doch kann nach Sekundärquellen auf zwanzig bis vierzig Opfer geschlossen werden. Aus der Kapuzinerchronik dieser Stadt ist zu entnehmen, dass auch die dortigen Kapuziner vom Hexenwahn ergriffen wurden. Eine Köchin der Kapuziner wurde verbrannt, für einen Pater, der als Hexengegner bezeichnet wird, behauptet die Chronik, dass er durch Hexenzauber gestorben sei.

Die Umstände für diese Prozesse sind nicht bekannt, es wäre jedoch interessant zu wissen, wie es dazu überhaupt gekommen ist, da sich die Obrigkeit in Graz in jener Zeit schon grundsätzlich gegen die Führung von Hexenprozessen ausgesprochen hat. Es gibt zwar keinerlei Belege dafür, dass die Obrigkeit in Graz unmittelbar auf die Einstellung von Hexenprozessen in der Krain eingewirkt hätte, doch war man auch in der Krain zumindest über die grundsätzliche Ausrichtung unterrichtet. Im Archiv von Slowenien wird die Abschrift eines Briefes des Grazer Kanzlers an den Landesbannrichter in Celje vom 6. März 1702 aufbewahrt, in der der Bannrichter zu grosser Umsicht ermahnt wird, im Falle eines Prozesses sollte er sich zuerst an die Regierung in Graz wenden. Der Kanzler billigte den Prozess in Zavrč in Steiermark nicht, dort wurde nämlich ein Mann erst nach 31 Stunden ununterbrochener Tortur zum Geständnis genötigt. Der Kanzler unter-

sagte dem Scharfrichter und seinem Gehilfen die Frauen auf Teufelsmale zu untersuchen. Ausserdem schreibt er, er "schärftigs verbitte, dass weder er, noch sein Knecht bey denen Weibern in 'verecundi partibus' die Haar abzuscheeren". Doch durfte der Scharfrichter in Anwesenheit des Richters und von zwei Beisitzern noch immer nach Zeichen suchen. Auch die strenge Beschränkung der Tortur auf zwölf bis vierzehn Stunden war relativ, da in der Krain die meisten schon nach drei bis sechs Stunden gestanden. Interessanter ist die Anordnung, dass bis aufs Weitere kein Prozess mehr geführt werden darf.[21]

In der Krain wurden zwei Geistliche der Hexerei angeklagt, einer rettete sich durch Flucht, der andere kam vor Gericht, wurde jedoch mangels an Beweisen freigesprochen. Laut einigen Berichten wurden auch Kinder massenweise in Hexenprozesse verwickelt, doch konnte das in den bisher bekannten Akten nicht eingehender festgestellt werden. Für die Krain kann zumindest einstweilen die Zahl der Opfer von Hexenprozessen noch nicht verlässlich festgestellt werden, weil im Vergleich mit den Berichten noch viele Akten unbekannt sind.

Unter den Opfern der Hexenprozesse war die Älteste 60 und die Jüngste 28 Jahre alt. Die meisten Frauen waren verheiratet und hatten Kinder, es gab auch einige Witwen unter ihnen. Meist waren sie um die vierzig. Für eine der Hingerichteten steht im Protokoll, dass sie durch ihre, ein Jahr zuvor hingerichtete Mutter verführt worden war, als sie erst acht Jahre alt war.

Die Hexenprozesse wurden im Rahmen der bestehenden Gesetzgebung geführt. Erwähnt werden 'Constitutio Criminalis Carolina', aus dem Jahre 1532,[22] demzufolge die Zauberei durch die Landgerichtsordnungen verboten war, für die Krain durch die von 1535[23] und für die Steiermark durch die von 1574. Höhere Stellen verwiesen die bei Hexenprozessen tätigen Bannrichter noch an die Ferdinandea. In konkreten Fällen wurde auch zur "Einholung von Gutachten von Sachverständigen" geraten. Unter der "wissenschaftlichen" Hexenliteratur wurden in der Krain in erster Linie Delrio "Disquisitiones magicae" und "Malleus maleficarum" bekannt.[24] Über die Gesetzgebung hatten auch die prozessführenden Bannrichter grossen Einfluss auf den Verlauf und die Verbreitung der Hexenprozesse. Valvasor stösst sich am Aberglauben der damaligen Richter. Er berichtet, so mancher Bannrichter habe in seinem Aberglauben "unterschiedliche Hexen-Mittel gebraucht, damit ihm keine Zauberey schaden möge und mancher implicirten Mittel sich bedient, um dadurch die Wahrheit von den Hexen heraus zu bringen".[25]

Die Richter konnten sehr verschiedene Menschen sein. In der Steiermark sind besonders zwei bekannt, Lempertitsch und Wendseisen, die in dem letzten Viertel des 17. Jahrhunderts wirkten, als hier besonders viele Hexen hingerichtet wurden. Wendseisen, der die volle Unterstützung der Landesregierug in Graz genoss, bekam sogar ein Patent des Kaisers Leopold I. vom 24. Mai 1684 in dem "unserem getreuen J. Wendseisen" aufgetragen wird, er solle in den Bezirken von Ljutomer und Radgona und den übrigen, an diese angrenzenden, alle Hexen fangen lassen und gegen sie vorgehen. Diesen Auftrag hat er sehr gründlich durchgeführt.[26]

Im Hexenprozesszentrum Poljane hat derselbe Richter Samberger, der die Hexenprozesse in den Jahren 1692 bis 1694 leitete, im Jahre 1679 die Beschuldigungen zweier Frauen wegen Zauberei als unbegründet zurückgewiesen und die Frauen befreit. Die Unterschriften in den Protokollen verraten die zitternde Hand eines alten Richters. In den nächsten Jahren wird er wohl gestorben sein. Der Hexenprozess in Mahovo im Jahre 1696 wurde nämlich schon von dem neuen Landesbannrichter Johann Georg Gotscheer durchgeführt, der die nächsten Hexenprozessen in der Krain leitete. Als er mit der Leitung von diesen Prozessen begann, befand er sich schon in den reifen Mannesjahren. Byloff schreibt, "er ist ein über die Massen grausamer Hexenverfolger gewesen".[27] Doch hat der Historiker, der Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts über ihn berichtet, seine Rolle als Hexenrichter völlig übersehen und ihn folgendermassen vorgestellt: "Er wurde 1656 in Nov mesto geboren, studierte das Recht in Padua und beendete seine Studien im Jahre 1686 mit der Doktorwürde.Er trat seinen Dienst in Ljubljana an 'als der römisch-kaiserl. Majestät Bannrichter im Herzogthum Krain'". Im Jahre 1690 heiratete er in eine bürgerliche Familie ein. Im Jahre 1695 schloss er sich der Academia Operosorum an, später der Phil-Harmonicorum, damals die höchste wissenschaftliche und kulturelle Institution im Lande. Im Jahre 1701 wurde er zum Präsidenten dieser Institution gewählt. Er hatte einen Namen auch als Astronom und Musiker. Im Jahre 1693 verfasste er die Dissertation astrologica seu curiosa ac selectiores astronomicae observationes, er komponierte auch einige Musikstücke. Er hatte eine grosse Familie, vier Söhne und sieben Töchter.[28]

Hexenprozesse wurden nicht nur vor den unteren Gerichten abgehalten, wiederholt mussten sich auch höhere Gerichte damit befassen. Hexenverbrennungen hören in Slowenien nach dem Jahre 1714 auf, es nehmen schon die neuen aufklärerischen Ideen überhand. Ausserdem scheinen die Herrschaften und Städte der Hexenprozesse überdrüssig geworden zu sein. Öfter

werden Klagen laut, dass einige Herrschaften z.B. die von Vurberk bei Maribor, nicht bereit seien, Hexenprozesse zu führen, weil sie zu kostspielig seien. Ähnlich war die Lage auch in der Stadt Krško, wo nach den bisher bekannten Daten im Jahre 1714 die letzte Hexe in Slowenien verbrannt wurde. Auch hier weigerte sich die Stadt aus finanziellen Gründen, solche Prozesse zu führen.

Die Zahl der Gegner von Hexenprozessen ist schwer zu schätzen. In der Steiermark ist der Fall des Pfarrers von Radkersburg bekannt, der mit dem Bannrichter Wendseisen in Streit kam, weil er bei der Beichte den Widerruf jener Personen forderte, die unter der Tortur andere bezichtigt haben. Doch handelt es sich auch in diesem Fall nicht um eine grundsätzliche negative Einstellung gegen Hexenprozesse. Die Angelegenheit wurde jedoch immerhin der Regierung in Graz vorgelegt, die zugunsten des Bannrichters entschied.[29]

Die Richter hatten meist eine völlig 'reine' Arbeit. Sie leiteten die Ermittlungen nämlich nicht selbst, dazu waren besondere Untersuchungsbeamte bestellt, die zusammen mit dem Scharfrichter (Freimann) und seinem Knecht die Untersuchung führten. Die Richter sprachen zusammen mit den Beisitzern, die Einheimische waren, das Urteil auf Grund der Untersuchung und des Geständnisses des Beschuldigten aus.

Es gilt dabei selbstverständlich nicht zu übersehen, dass der Hexenglaube auch unter dem einfachen Volk in der Krain tief verwurzelt gewesen sein muss. Prozesse, bei denen die Zauberei die Hauptrolle spielte, dauerten noch durch die ganze erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts an. Die Bevölkerung zeigte auf vermeintliche Hexen nicht nur im Fall von Unbilden, sie wandte sich auch sonst an sie. Ein interessanter Prozess wurde im Jahre 1733 vor dem Gericht in Ortnek geführt. Der Hausierer Mahne hausierte zusammen mit einem Freund mit seinen Waren, kehrte jedoch immer ohne Geld nach Hause zurück. Seine Frau wandte sich an Lucija Roter und Neža Kovač, die im Dorf für ihre Zauberkünste bekannt waren. Sie entdeckten den Dieb im Begleiter des Hausierers, der dann auch verurteilt wurde. Doch wurde später wegen verschiedener Straftaten auch der Hausierer vors Gericht gebracht. Es stellt sich heraus, dass schon früher sein Geld nicht gestohlen worden war, er hatte alles verschwendet und versoffen. Einige Jahre später kam es dort zu schweren Verwüstungen durch Hagelschlag. Die Einheimischen beschuldigten die beiden Frauen, von denen sie überzeugt waren, dass sie zaubern können, dass sie das Unglück bewirkt hätten. Die Wut des Volkes war so gross, dass die beiden Frauen von der Obrigkeit im Schloss eingesperrt wurden, damit ihnen nichts angetan werden konnte.

Der letzte bisher bekannte Hexenprozess fand in der Krain vor dem Gericht in Metlika im Jahre 1746 statt. Das war schon in einer Zeit, als Maria Theresia mit Hilfe der Obrigkeit gegen Hexenprozesse vorging. Die Einwohnerschaft konnte sich damit nicht abfinden. Sie war überzeugt, dass Margarete Kukerza ein Hexe sei und forderte, wie der Bannrichter von Ljubljana nach Graz berichtete, "Man solle die Hex hergeben. Sie wollen e gleich verbrennen und sogestalten wollten selbe jenes so, dass recht und justiz geben wird". Auf die Fragen, warum sie das fordern, antwortete einer der Aufrührer: "Der lieben Gerectigkeit willen, damit diese gesündl einmahl ausgerothet - und sogestalt der all jahrliche durch den hagl verursachende Schaden vermeydet wurde".[30]

Der Richter führt in seinem Bericht als besonders schwerwiegend folgende Momente an: dass sich die ganze Nachbarschaft versammelt hätte, dass sie sich so "erbittert" gezeigt hat, besonders besorgniserregend schien ihm, dass die Leute der Obrigkeit nichtmehr glauben wollen, was durch die Ermordung des "Verwalters" und seines Knechts nahegelegt wird. Der Prozess dauerte fast ein Jahr, sein Ausgang ist nicht bekannt.

Die Opfer waren der Verwalter der Herrschaft Metlika und sein Knecht. Nicht der einzige, doch einer der wichtigsten Gründe für die Ermordung war die Überzeugung der Leute, dass der Bannrichter nicht aus Ljubljana gekommen sei, um die Angeklagten zu verbrennen, und dass die Schuld dafür den Verwalter trifft. Der Bannrichter kam in Begleitung eines Soldatenkontingents, das von der Regierung in Graz bestimmt wurde, "weil ein Bauernaufruhr zu befürchten war", um die Ermordung des Verwalters und seines Knechts zu untersuchen. Man beschuldigte aber auch die Jnhaftierten der Zauberei. Sein Bericht ist so unbestimmt gehalten, dass nicht festzustellen ist, ob der Bannrichter auch persönlich von der Richtigkeit des Handelns der höheren Stellen, die weitere Hexenprozesse zu verhindern trachteten, überzeugt war.

Das Hexenwesen hat auch in slowenischen Volkserzählungen deutliche Spuren hinterlassen. Im Vordergrund steht hier die schädliche Zauberei, die Begriffe stimmen mit jenen, die in den Hexenprozessen verwendet wurden, überein. Hexen fliegen durch die Luft und reiben sich zu diesem Zweck mit einer Hexensalbe ein. Sie bewirken Hagel und Unwetter, als Krähen picken sie Saat auf den Äckern auf, sie haben schöneres Vieh als andere Leute, ihre Kühe geben mehr Milch als die Kühe von den Nachbarn und ähnliches mehr. Sie machen Menschen und Vieh krank. In Erzählungen werden alle diese Erscheinungen mit der gegenteiligen Wirkung bezeichnet. So hörte

zum Beispiel jemand von dem Hexenflug, doch konnte er das Rezept nicht richtig durchführen und landete blutüberströmt in einem Gebüsch. Eine ungewöhnlich grosse Bedeutung haben in den Erzählungen auch Männer. Hexenerzählungen waren auch in Gebieten, aus denen keinerlei Hexenprozessdaten bekannt sind, stark verbreitet. Als Länder sollen Görz und das Gebiet von Triest erwähnt werden, wo das aus dem Italienischen übernommene Wort Striga - striga heimisch wurde, oder das Tal Logarska dolina in der jedoch noch heute ein Haus gezeigt wird, in dem eine Hexe gelebt hat.[31]

Anmerkungen

[1] Roth (1987:57-69).
[2] Cevc (1951:182).
[3] Grafenauer (1974:60).
[4] Truber (1150:113, 65a)
[5] Truber (1564:94a).
[6] Katehismus (1575:165, 271, 337, 449).
[7] Ibid., pp. 140, 142, 200, 241.
[8] Golob (1983).
[9] Cevc (1969:301).
[10] Reisp (1983:136).
[11] Vilfan (1987:294).
[12] Valvasor (1689: IV. 580) .
[13] Valvasor (1689: XI. 102).
[14] Purgstall (1849, III. 281-285).
[15] Byloff (1929), Seebacher-Mesaritsch (1987).
[16] Nadskofijski archi Ljubljana, Zapuščina Podlogar
[17] Dolenc (1924).
[18] Valvasor (1689: IV. 602).
[19] Haus- Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, Fürst. Auerspergisches Archiv, Pölland, A - VII - 3/2.
[20] Byloff (1987:140).
[21] Archiv Slovenije, Dol F. 178.
[22] Dolenc (1935:239).
[23] Zontar (1952-53), Vrhovec (1886:87).
[24] Valvasor (1689: XI. 106).
[25] Valvasor (1689:XI. 103).

[26] Seebacher-Mesaritsch (1972:51).

[27] Byloff (1929:147).

[28] Steska (1900).

[29] Seebacher-Mesaritsch (1972:63).

[30] Archiv Slovenije, Vicedomski archiv I/124, 15.

[31] Kocbek (1926:252-256), Kelemina (1930:94-103).

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Abb. 1. Zwei Hexen beim Hagelkochen. Wandgemelde an der Fassade der Kirche Crngrob bei Ljubljana aus den Jahren 1460--1470.



Abb. 2. Eine Hexe, die den Höllentanz beginnt, aus der J. W. Walvasor, Mortis Humanae tripartitum

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WITCH-HUNTING IN HUNGARY: SOCIAL OR CULTURAL TENSIONS?

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The theme of witchcraft has attracted a great number of scholars in recent decades. I shall single out just one of the many reasons this: witchcraft is a topic that cuts across the established disciplinary boundaries and provides us with the possibility of fruitful exchanges between various fields of research, including social, cultural and legal history; the folklore of magical beliefs, practices and mythologies; and anthropological enquiries into social, moral and cultural meanings, functions or dysfunctions. A combination of these different approaches, together with close scrutiny of archival documents, has led to a number of studies and monographs that in turn link this topic with various other concerns of recent historiography, such as community studies, family history, gender approaches, history of the 'reform' of early modern popular culture, historical anthropology, history of mentality.[1] On the other hand, however, the complexity of the problem and the richness of its various forms still defy universal explanations, blur theoretical insights and leave us to hypothesize about why it was that, at given historical moments, large-scale witch persecutions occurred in certain places or regions.

The wide array of theoretical explanatory tools and comparative sets of data stands in puzzling contrast to the ease with which each general proposition can be contradicted. About a decade ago, the anthropologist Rodney Needham characterized these anomalies of current witchcraft research in the following way: "witches are neighbours, or else they are distant; they are relatives, or else they cannot be relatives; they are marginal, or else they are enemies within; they are lowly misfits, or else they are secure and prosperous just because of their witchcraft; they are so categorized that not everybody can be a witch, or else they are such that anyone can be a witch".[2] The more we seem to know about the historical and anthropological details of witchcraft the more numerous become the intriguing riddles and paradoxes we have to face when researching it. While the individual cases, the local and regional panics seem to obey re-

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current patterns, the underlying tensions, the passion-filled testimonies and weird phantasies of the persons involved continue to provide lessons about historical, social, cultural, regional differences. In the following presentation of the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century witch-hunting period in Hungary, I will try to illustrate the unique nature of the Hungarian cases while taking into account the interpretive possibilities and weaknesses of two current sets of explanations about the occurrence of witch persecutions: one that connects it to the social tensions and the other that relates it to the cultural tensions of the period.

Before doing so, however, I shall begin with a brief overall sketch. Apart from a few scattered medieval cases, witch-trials started to multiply in Hungary in the 1560s, and their number rose at a moderate pace throughout the seventeenth century (with two quantitative jumps, in the 1620s and in the 1690s). The real peak of the persecutions came very late in comparison to other countries, between 1710 and 1730 (with more than 200 accused and more than 60 death sentences per decade). Witch-hunting then proceeded fairly actively until stopped from above by the enlightened legislation of Maria Theresa between 1758 and 1766. My calculations are based upon the records of 1642 persons charged with witchcraft in Hungary between 1520 and 1777, 1482 of whom were women (89 per cent). The number of known death sentences was 449, and 23 persons died in prison or by lynching, while in 460 cases the accused suffered lesser punishments. Compared with the masses killed, for example, in the South German persecutions[3] these numbers seem fairly moderate for a country of 3-4 million inhabitants, even if we take into account that in 710 cases the outcome of the trial is unknown, and furthermore that the number of documented trials could be increased by hundreds of additional recorded cases unearthed by recent archival researches and estimations. Witchcraft accusations and trials recurred persistently in Hungarian towns and villages over a lengthy period, but they rarely (in fact only exceptionally) amounted to the type of panic, with mass accusations and group burnings, familiar to some other European countries. While analysing these data, one should bear in mind that the 250 years in question represent a turbulent period in Hungarian history. Between 1541 and 1686, one-third of the country was under Ottoman occupation; the north-western region became part of the Hapsburg Empire, and in the east the princes of Transylvania tried to survive by balancing between these two great powers. If we consider the religious and ethnic divisions (Lutherans in the German-inhabited towns of northern

Hungary and Transylvania, Calvinists and Unitarians in eastern Hungary and Transylvania, vigorous re-Catholicizing campaigns in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, Orthodox and Greek-Catholics among the Serbian and Romanian population, and, of course, the rule of Islam in the Ottoman territories), we can see that the Hungary of this age was torn apart by these conflicts - not only in the metaphorical sense, but also literally.[4] As for the major course of events, constant warfare against the Turks was coupled with renewed uprisings and wars of independence against the Hapsburgs. It is significant that the bulk of the witch-trials occurred after the expulsion of the Turks and especially after the last and greatest anti-Hapsburg uprising led by Prince Ferenc Rákóczi, which ended in 1711 with his surrender. This supports the wide-ranging observation that witch-hunting generally became epidemic in intervals of peace after, or between, the various wars of early-modern Europe.[5]

The later peak of witch persecutions in Hungary can, on the other hand, also be attributed to various other factors. The central-southern territories, which were under Ottoman rule until 1686, experienced during this time only sporadic witchcraft accusations, rarely supported by the Turkish authorities. In eighteenth-century witch-trials, however, it was these very regions that had an especially high quantitative share.[6] Another significant proposition could be made by comparing the timing of witch-hunting periods in Europe, where the following model can be observed: recurrent waves of persecution between the fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the more developed countries of western and Mediterranean Europe,[7] belated outbreaks in the second half of the seventeenth century in Scandinavia, Austria, north-west Germany, Bohemia and Silesia, and major persecutions in Poland, Hungary and Croatia in the first half of the eighteenth century.[8] This gradual and belated explosion of major witch-hunting waves at the 'periphery' fits into a more general tardiness of social and cultural evolution in these regions, which had been echoing western European models (such as feudalism, urban privileges, chivalry, religious movements) with a similar time lag since the Middle Ages (see Szűcs 1983). But in what way can we regard witch-hunting as an evolutionary model that attracted emulation? And how are we to account for the fact that witchcraft beliefs and the legal mechanisms for persecution had been present in these regions since the early sixteenth century (i.e. the cultural diffusion of this model took place very quickly), and yet the mass persecutions broke out only according to the above chronological pattern?[9] The answer can be

sought in two different directions, which, however, become linked at some points. One can attempt to look for the cause of mass persecutions in the increased disciplinary potential of early modern state power, which emerged later in the regions concerned.[10] This argument finds support in the evidence from Hungary. Hapsburg absolutism did indeed intensify its impact upon Hungary from the end of the seventeenth century onwards. The reorganization of the established county jurisdictions (after the reconquest of the country from the Turks in the 1690s and again after 1711, the fall of Rákóczi) had a considerable impact upon renewed persecutions, especially through the importation of the Austrian legal handbook, Praxis Criminalis (a compendium of Carpzov's Practica Rerum Criminalium), which was packed with demonological concepts and measures for witch-hunting.[11]

Another direction of enquiry would try to correlate the later explosions of witchcraft persecutions with a set of underlying conflicts and tensions, which occurred in these regions with a similar time lag. This brings us to the sociological explanation of witchcraft persecutions.

* * *

According to a major paradigm of historical and anthropological writing, witchcraft accusations explained individual or collective misfortune by pinpointing the 'responsible' human agents within the immediate environment, and gave redress to the damaged parties by purging the community of the 'witches' who violated the norms of coexistence.[12] Accusations naturally tended to be embedded in a set of local conflicts; they occurred at 'weak points' of social relations; they expressed 'deep-felt animosities in acceptable guise';[13] they served as a social 'strain-gauge'.[14] Consequently, historians could better understand the occurrence of witchcraft accusations by clarifying their social context. Revealing hidden tensions with apparently no other, more direct outlets or resolutions witchcraft conflicts even offer historians and anthropologists a promise of new insights into obscure but important problems within the affected communities.

This approach, which Alan Macfarlane (1970) called the 'sociology of accusations', provides witchcraft research not only with a new set of explanations, but also with a wide range of previously ignored evidence to be examined: a large number of witnesses' depositions in witchcraft trials voicing various motives for popular accusations and providing ample

evidence of the conflicts that gave rise to witch-trials. On the basis of these sources, Macfarlane and Thomas suggested that the dissolution of traditional communal or neighbourly forms of solidarity in early modern villages, and the rise of a new type of individualistic ethnic, could have been among the most typical conflicts leading to witchcraft accusations.[15] This type of investigation has been successfully developed by witchcraft scholars of other regions, who have provided further illustration for this 'neighbourhood conflict' thesis. Subsequent studies also support another observation of Macfarlane's[16] - that witchcraft conflicts did not necessarily correlate with a socioeconomic crisis, but correlated rather with periods of transformation favouring certain social strata and disadvantaging others.[17]

John Putnam Demos (1982) carried this sociological explanation to its logical conclusion by adding to his analysis of New England witch-trials a crucially important dimension: the identification of the parties involved from other, independent, sources (tax rolls, testaments, diaries, other types of trials, civil or ecclesiastical conflicts involving the same people). Using his exceptionally well-preserved documentation, combined with his experience as a social historian, Demos could legitimately speak of the 'social matrix' of witchcraft,[18] distinguishing the strained social relations and the typical social situations leading to witchcraft conflicts. By elaborating the biographical and psychological details of the parties involved, and investigating the social structures and religious conflicts of the villages and towns in question, he could, at the same time, fulfil the need for an investigation of witchcraft conflicts as a process, a kind of social drama within the history of those peoples.[19]

At the same time, the simplistic versions of the sociological approach generated widespread criticism. The functionalistic trend that sees in witchcraft accusations a pure expression of 'social causes' that lie elsewhere, or a regulating mechanism that serves to resolve those conflicts on the basis of commonly accepted norms - all this has been justifiably rejected by Mary Douglas.[20] Erik Midelfort underlined the dysfunctional character of early modern European witchcraft accusations which resist reduction to social causes and fit badly into anthropological categories elaborated for present-day Africa.[21] The triumphant 'neighbourhood conflict' thesis was undermined by Macfarlane himself, whose later investigations pushed back the origins of English individualism into the early middle ages and tried to demolish the myth of historical communi-

ties[22] - two elements, among others, upon which his earlier witchcraft interpretation was based. Rodney Needham pointed out that 'it is tautological to say that witchcraft accusations point to weak spots or to difficult relationships; for it is in part the accusations themselves that characterize the spots as weak and the relationships as uneasy'. Although Demos managed to escape this trap by linking these 'weak spots' with the ones detected in independent sources of social history, Needham's 'question would remain whether the weak and difficult spots were so precisely because, for some other reason perhaps, they were conventionally regarded as the loci of witchcraft'.[23] Jeanne Favret-Saada's psychological-ethnographical investigations of present-day French witch-beliefs also warned of a sociological-functional reductionism: witchcraft accusations follow the lines of a specific symbolic system where real characteristics merge with stereotypes, real events get continuously reworked in memory to fit into a consistent bewitchment diagnosis of one's misfortune, and the final version of the accusation is a complex therapeutic-narrative-mythological construct to be interpreted with care, rather than a clear testimony of the 'underlying' social conflicts within the community concerned.[24] It does not follow naturally from all this criticism - much of it justified - that a sociological account of the history of witch-hunting is impossible or useless. Rather, the criticism provides encouragement to seek the complex patterns of the interwoven social, cultural and magical conflicts with fewer preconceptions and with an open attitude towards integrating an even wider sphere of explanatory factors. The most recent complex regional monograph about witch-hunting, that of Wolfgang Behringer dealing with south-eastern Germany, seems to proceed in this way. Without trying to resolve the debate in general (for each witchcraft panic has to be explained within its immediate context), Behringer advances a set of new observations concerning the correlation of natural calamities and subsistence crises with witch-hunting waves, at the same time, showing how contemporary demonological reasoning tried to link natural and social disasters with the problem of witchcraft.[25] My aim is similar to Behringer's: without setting out to find a sociological key to Hungarian witchcraft prosecutions, I will investigate (within the limited space of this paper) certain cases that could illustrate their various social contexts. Two of my five examples concern urban witch-trials, one from the onset of the witch-hunts (the Kolozsvár /Cluj/ trials of the late sixteenth century), and one from its eighteenth-century peak (the 1728 panic in Szeged). The

aristocratic witchcraft accusations in seventeenth-century Transylvania and the shepherd trials of the western counties in the second half of the seventeenth century present two different social extremes. Finally, the witchcraft cases in the borough of Hódmezővásárhely and its neighbouring villages exemplify the main stream of Hungarian witchcraft conflicts.

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The witch-trials of the Transylvanian city of Kolozsvár are of special importance in Hungarian history. They are the first series of trials for which we possess documentation. According to the documents, between 1565 and 1593, nineteen witches were prosecuted here; thirteen were condemned to death by burning (six of these in 1584); the outcome of the rest of the trials is unknown.[26] The fact that Kolozsvár became the first centre of this new type of conflict is instructive in several respects. This city of about 8000 inhabitants - mainly German originally, but in this period becoming increasingly dominated by a Hungarian majority - was the only Transylvanian city to witness spectacular economic growth and prosperity in the sixteenth century while the other 'Saxon' cities (like Kronstadt /Braşov/ or Hermannstadt /Sibiu/) were affected by the general economic decline of Hungarian cities at that time.[27] This rapid expansion was somewhat disturbed by the troubled political climate of Transylvania in the 1580s - which, incidentally, coincided with the 1584 local peak of witchcraft accusations. This correlation, however, cannot be extrapolated too far, since other Hungarian cities with similar or even more alarming economic or political troubles did not experience large-scale witchcraft accusations at that period.[28]

If we try to relate the testimony rendered at these trials to certain more concrete tensions, we find that they do indeed show traces of typical neighbourhood conflicts (stealing the fertility of the neighbour's land or animals), of strained economic relations (accusations against former housekeepers or lodgers, debates about work cooperation). Others can be related to factional struggles: one of the mighty town jurors, Mihály Igyártó, seems to have directed a campaign against his enemies by accusing them of witchcraft - he initiated two witch-trials against women who bore witness against him in another kind of trial.[29] Quantitatively, however, the overwhelming motivation of the accusations seems to lie elsewhere: eight of the nineteen 'witches' were healers or midwives, who apparently

had no economic or social conflicts with their accusers; three more cases had their origins in jealousy connected to presumed love-magic; in one case a husband accused his wife. In 1565, in the first three trials of the series,[30] legal proceedings seem to have been sparked by mutual accusations of three wise women, each of whom attributed people's illnesses to charms inflicted by the other (with the help of the fairy-like pulchrae mulieres). Another of the executed witches (1584) presents traits related to the Hungarian version of shamanism falling into trance, making a soul-journey in the shape of a fly and boasting of other special powers.[31] Still another fell under suspicion because she possessed a 'devilish book' which enabled her to detect treasure.[32]

The overall impression is of a generalized fear of magical aggression stirring up traditional folk-beliefs, and the reasons for this scare could be religious and cultural rather than social and economic. Kolozsvár was the centre of Transylvanian religious debates in the period. Lutheranism made its appearance here in the 1540s, represented by Reverend Gáspár Heltai, who directed a famous printing press in 1550 and organized a team that aimed at the first complete translation of the Bible into Hungarian. While German inhabitants remained Lutheran, Hungarians tended to become radicalized and to accept the 'Helvetian confession', i.e. Calvinism (like Heltai himself), or even to become Unitarians (like Ferenc Dávid, elected twice as the bishop of Protestant Hungarians, then executed in 1579 because of his increasingly radical views).[33] The Jesuits also made their appearance in the 1570s.

Some of the witchcraft conflicts seem indeed to be related to these religious divisions. The Calvinist juror, Igyártó (a militant promulgator of local statutes against adultery and fornication in the same period and one of the main witch-accusers), was in conflict with the presumed witches precisely on acount of their participation in Carnival disorders.[34] Another of the notorious accusers, Peter Grúz (who brought the charges of witchcraft against the two first wise women to be burnt), later became the militant leader of the Catholic party, which proposed to Prince István Báthory in 1575 that he should invite Jesuits into the city of Kolozsvár.[35] Each religious party advocated an increasing hostility towards manifestations of early-modern popular culture,[36] the effect of which is shown here by the fact that the accused mostly came under suspicion for having performed traditional fertility rites or healing magic. The criminalization of magical healing (the assertion that it could work only if the

'same devil' that is, the healer himself had previously carried out the bewitching) was pronounced in Kolozsvár in 1584 - the first occurrence in Hungary.[37]

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The aristocratic witchcraft accusations of the seventeenth century present a very different picture, in regard both to underlying social patterns and to their cultural background. As for the former, they conform nicely to the general pattern of conflict-motivated fear of magical vengeance, where the victorious party supposed himself (or his wife) to be bewitched, and accused relatives of defeated rivals of practising witchcraft, thus eliminating them in this additional way. Transylvanian Prince Gábor Bethlen (1613-29), after acceding to power following the murder of Gábor Báthory in 1612, initiated a spectacular witch-trial against the deceased's sister, Anna Báthory, and two high-born widows (Kata Török and Kata Iffju), also intimately related to the deceased. They were banished and their considerable estates confiscated. The accusations ranged from fornication (with Bethlen's ill-fated predecessor, Gábor Báthory) to love-magic and using witchcraft to harm the health of Zsuzsanna Károlyi, the wife of Prince Gábor Bethlen. The long drawn-out proceedings, revived several times against Anna Báthory (1614, 1618, 1621) till her final exile and the confiscation of all her properties, were also supported by new legislation concerning the prosecution of witchcraft, enacted by the Transylvanian Diet in 1614.[38]

Similarly, Prince Mihály Apafy (1661-90) staged a major witch-trial between 1679 and 1686, involving twenty-five accused (thirteen noblewomen among them), principally Zsuzsanna Vitéz, wife of his defeated rival Pál Béldy. Mrs. Béldy, who was arrested after her political agitation and armed uprising in favour of her exiled husband, was alleged to have bewitched Apafy's wife, Anna Bornemisza, causing not only her recurrent illnesses but also the death of several of her new-born children. Although the charges could not be proved against her, Mrs. Béldy died in prison, and investigations of the affair remained a feature of Transylvania's troubled political life for about eight years.[39]

It is no accident that witchcraft accusations permeated the conflictual and intrigue-ridden court life of seventeenth-century Transylvanian princes. The recurrent decline and reemergence of this charming

country - prey to Ottoman political machinations, uncertain in its relations with Poland, hesitating whether to side eventually with the Hapsburgs against the Turks, menaced occasionally by Romanian voivods, and torn also by the intrigues of mighty and ambitious aristocrats aspiring to princely dignity - all this served to enhance the contemporary vision that the fate of this land was being influenced by obscure magical forces. It was not by chance that Transylvania was labelled by contemporaries as Tündérország (fairy-land) or Tündérkert (fairy-garden).[40] Besides, Transylvanians were not the only people to believe in magic operating in the higher spheres of politics; the bewitched fleet of James VI of Scotland is an outstanding example.[41]

From the cultural point of view, two aspects merit attention. One is the stereotype of the aristocratic witch, exclusively female, who did not practise witchcraft herself, but hired professionals (popular wise women, magical specialists) to provide her with effective magical tools to assist her if she wanted to cast spells personally or to harm her enemies in other ways. It is fascinating to see witchcraft notions rearticulated to rely upon this kind of division of labour, appropriate to the new aristocratic lifestyles. The actual bewitchment (the dirty work) was done by a team of popular magicians (magic and superstition having become the label of popular culture); they were used as specialized agents within a whole team of servants hired for evil-doing (spies, killers). Although these servants were declared guilty and punished, the responsibility was shared by the cruel lady-witch who embodied the dimension of moral evil. She plotted the whole enterprise and it allegedly served her pleasures, her perversities, or her personal vengeance.

This witch-stereotype tended to be a crystallization point for moral evil in all its dimensions: Anna Báthory, denounced by Prince Bethlen as 'killer devil whore", was accused of incest with her brother and also of killing her own son. Consider also the case of her more famous cousin, Elisabeth Báthory, whose 1609-1611 trial (initiated by her two sons-in-law and resulting in life imprisonment and the loss of her estates) depicted her as a sort of female Gilles de Rais and precursor of the Marquis de Sade, producing testimony that she had tortured and killed several hundred of her maids. According to the depositions of her servants (not surprisingly) she also experimented with witchcraft.[42] In the year 1637, torturing, beating and killing servants, especially maids, was also the central feature of the witch-trial of another aristocratic lady, Anna Rozina Listius, from north-west Hungary.[43]

Finally, and this is the second culturally relevant aspect, the fashions of learned magic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also had their impact upon these aristocratic witchcraft cases. Alongside tales of popular magic, we hear about learned astrology, and also about special amulets. The interrelated nature of the emergent hermetic, occult and magical fashions and witch-hunting attitudes in the sixteenth century has been brilliantly analysed for England by Keith Thomas (1971). This same relation still remains to be examined for the Transylvanian and Polish (Cracovian) courts of the Báthory, the Prague court of Emperor Rudolph II, and the smaller German princely courts, which hosted and provided meeting centres for a large number of famous magical experts who came from all over Europe.[4]

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My third example takes us to the very different world of shepherds in the western counties under Hapsburg rule. They contributed - under the military-economic protection of the mighty and enterprising lords of the region, the counts Zrínyi , Esterházy or Batthyány - to a traditional cattle trade with Venice and with the southern German cities, which, however, tended to decline in the second half of the century.[45] This, together with various other natural calamities of the seventeenth century, and with the burden of the renewed warfare against the Turks, must have produced serious strains in this pastoral society after 1650. A series of mutual accusations among shepherds between 1651 and 1687, which led to a dozen witch-trials in Körmend (centre of the Batthyányi estate), Lakompak (centre of the Esterházy estate) and the nearby city of Szombathely, could be viewed as the expression of these tensions. The general complaints were that the accused gave a magical unguent to their own animals 'in the name of the devil',[46] diverted plagues from their own animals onto the flocks of neighbouring shepherds, attacked the animals of rivals by setting wolves upon them, or even assumed the shape of a wolf themselves and acted as werewolves.[47] As for the social side, the trials give an interesting picture of the competitive, individualistic shepherd society of the age, and point towards the above-mentioned theories that explain early modern witchcraft accusations by emerging individualistic tendencies.

An examination of the beliefs disclosed in the depositions, however, warns us to be wary of this explanation. Most of the accusations involved

belong to the general Hungarian mythology concerning the 'cunning shepherds' (tudós pásztor), whose positive representatives had been considered types of shamanistic sorcerers right up to modern times.[48] On the other hand, the diabolical elements in these trials (devilish associations, covens of male sorcerers, having their own judges, captains, flags, practising strange rituals, having a familiar devil that can be put in a box)[49] seem very alien to Hungarian witchcraft beliefs. The various werewolf concepts first emerged more than a century earlier (1529, 1531) in two cowherd trials in the city of Sopron, which was inhabited principally by a German population.[50] Such beliefs surfaced only sporadically in other Hungarian regions, and then only in the middle of the eighteenth century. They were altogether alien to Hungarian folklore.[51] This might warn us to treat with some caution the foregoing economic and functional explanation and to look for other causes, including foreign influences.

In fact, this campaign was directed not just against shepherds, but also against some other male vagrant sorcerers. All this might be related to the campaign against presumed associations of male sorcerers in neighbouring Styria, such as the Grindiger Hansel trial in 1659[52] or the singular witch scare in the region of Salzburg between 1675 and 1690, known as Zauberer Jackl trials, whose several hundred victims were mostly beggars and marginals, and mostly males.[53] These campaigns resulted in a rather unusual stereotype of the target of witch-hunting in these regions, with more male victims than female[54] - and the image of the devilish male sorcerer also recurred persistently in the western border regions of Hungary until the middle of the eighteenth century.[55]

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My fourth example is the most significant episode in the history of Hungarian witch-hunting - the scare of the 1720s-1730s in the Szeged region. This involved forty-one accused (and more than 100 denounced persons) between 1728 and 1744 - twenty-one of whom were brought to trial in 1728, fourteen were executed and two died in prison - the brutality of the Szeged panic seems unparalleled in Hungarian history. The only comparable example is the mass trial of eleven witches in the borough of Somorja (Samorin), near the city of Pozsony (Bratislava), in 1691, which resulted in the mass burning of seven of the accused, the beheading of one and the banishment of three others.[56] Most other panic-type persecutions

involved 'only' between five and ten persons; the urban scares so common in Germany and other parts of Europe were almost non-existent in Hungary.[57]

Detailed investigations carried out to find an explanation for the Szeged scare have focused upon several underlying causes: natural calamities in the preceding decades (plague in 1709-13, flood in 1712, serious drought in 1728 - hence the principal accusation against the witches that they sold the rain to the Turks); a precipitate growth of the city population from 3000 around 1700, to 7000 around 1719, and 14 000 around 1728 - a result of the arrival of Hungarian, German and Serbian settlers; factional struggles between an 'autonomy' party (mainly Hungarians) and a German party. The German faction's candidate for judgeship, György Podhradszky, was one of the initiators of the persecutions, whose most noteworthy victim was Dániel Rósa, a former Hungarian judge of the city (Rósa, a slightly discredited person because of previous local conflicts, was not a member of the local 'autonomy' party, but was a useful figure to bring it into disrepute).[58]

The pattern of brutal torture, the enforced adoption of demonological stereotypes, and even the rapid extension of witchcraft accusations from lower social circles (midwives and beggars) to socially more elevated targets (like former judges and other municipal functionaries) conforms very much to western European witch scares. It seems that a kind of witch panic similar to those experienced in Germany a century earlier was starting to gather force in the disrupted and rapidly repopulated southern territories of Hungary. Connections with the mass arrival of settlers and with typical crises of precipitate growth of new urban communities could also make it legitimate to compare these persecutions to the New England cases analysed by John Demos (1982). The general intellectual and institutional context, however, was different by the 1720s. The notority of these later persecutions and the tempering reaction of the Viennese imperial court constrained the Szeged judges to return to 'regular', more moderate Hungarian standards of witchcraft prosecution.[59]

The catalyzing effect of the Szeged panic can be observed throughout the whole region (simultaneously affected by similar population growth, similar ethnic and social tensions between indigenous and settler populations, and similar natural calamities). Nevertheless, nowhere else did witchcraft accusations give rise to similar panics; they remained rather at the level of heightened manifestations of personal conflicts. Thus - coming to my fifth example - the neighbouring Calvinist borough of Hód-

mezővásárhely (with 5000 inhabitants in the 1730s), experienced twenty-four witch-trials between 1729 and 1759, of which six resulted in death sentences.[60] Here the accusations also started with popular healers, easy targets for incrimination. Among the accused there was a considerable percentage of beggars and marginals. One was characterized by her son as follows: 'my mother has spent all she had for drinking. As far as I am concerned she could well be burnt'.[61] There were also many widows, elderly peasant wives, and relatives of convicted witches (daughter, husband). Altogether the whole picture fits the stereotypes. Neighbourly conflicts, cohabitation and unsuccessful healing have their due share among the accusations. It is noteworthy that some members of the local elite, like the schoolmaster, the chanter, a young studiosus[62] and the juror and usurer, István Ceglédi,[63] act also as accusers, adding weight to the mass of depositions from the lower social strata.

Another category of accusers deserves a special mention - that of German-speaking soldiers residing in the borough and the neighbouring villages, and being compulsorily maintained by the population. Here, as in many other places, they acted as active witch-finders or accusers, using this imported skill to counteract the hostility of the local population.[64] The most spectacular bewitchment stories are to be read in the accusations of a soldier-servant, who made complaints in 1739 against ten inhabitants of the nearby village of Mindszent, four of whom were eventually brought to court.[65]

The significance of the Hódmezővásárhely trials - besides offering a rich set of data on the local quarrels underlying witchcraft accusations, and a series of popular, highly exotic witches' Sabbath descriptions, told this time not by tortured witches but reworked in the nightmares of the accusers - lies in the remarkable absence of panic reactions to various calamities. There are no traces in the witchcraft documentation of the two contemporary uprisings of the region, the Péró peasant revolt in 1735 and the Törő-Pető kuruc revolt in 1752-53; no traces of religious divisions: Hódmezővásárhely was a slightly insecure Calvinist refuge within its Catholic surroundings; and, more importantly, no trace of the terrible cattle plague of 1736 or the plague of 1738 in which half the population (about 2500) died. Instead of contributing to tensions that would be relieved by witch hunting, these calamities repeatedly brought the rather sporadic witchcraft accusations to a halt. Those who suffered from these calamities apparently found relief in other types of strain-gauges or conflict-solving mechanisms.

To sum up the results of this schematic enquiry into the social causes of witchcraft prosecutions, one could say that this type of enquiry can be of great help in locating witchcraft accusations in their local historical context, but one should not expect from this a definitive explanation of causes. The sociological approach allows us to formulate more specific questions about the occurrence and the significance of various types of witchcraft conflicts, but it does not provide easy answers.

On the other hand, a sociological examination of accusation narratives could provide various other means of enriching our views about how society was reflected in these magical conflicts. Which were the typical social situations that would be likely to support witchcraft accusations (economic or personal jealousy, refusal of alms or neighbourly favours, quarrels about cooperation or payment, rivalry among healers, midwives)? Where could these accusations or threats be communicated (taverns, spinning houses, markets, family gatherings around sick members)? What sites of social life did the witches allegedly select to break into and to rejoice in during their nightly Sabbath gatherings?[66] There is a link between these stereotypes and actual social conditions, but it can only be unveiled if one takes into account the difference between magic and reality.

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At this point I would like to turn to the other problem to be discussed, that of cultural tensions. Some of them have already been hinted at during the preceding examples: religious division; moments of generalized fear of magical aggression; conflicts related to popular healing and midwifery the growing ambivalence towards positive and beneficent magic (healing, fertility); the confusion of archaic and imported beliefs with the paradigm of witchcraft; the effect of German witch-beliefs spreading throughout the country through various channels (Austrian influence in the west, German town-dwellers in the north and Transylvania, German settlers throughout the country in the eighteenth century, German soldiers acting as active witch-finders). Let me add to these factors a few more, and let me try to regroup them into a coherent synthesis.

When talking about the cultural tensions that led to the early-modern intensification of witchcraft persecutions, it is customary to refer to a logical chain of evolution. To enumerate just some characteristic aspects of this chain: a medieval fusion of several witch-images, folk mythologies

and inquisitorial stereotypes.[67] Renaissance flirtations with neo-Platonic-magical philosophies and practices of ritual magic; confusion in the popular universe of magic resulting from the Reformation dismissal of ecclesiastical 'white magic' in all its forms,[68] the injection of learned demonological ideologies into popular witchcraft beliefs, thus making them more explosive and fatal,[69] an apocalyptic image of witchcraft as representing God's punishment for the sins of mankind, by allowing a wider sphere of activity to Satan and his agents before the end of time,[70] the early-modern repression and control of popular culture by making the figure of the witch its symbol, and the persecution through this symbol of the whole world-view and praxis of popular culture.[71] This pan-European cultural evolution cannot be grasped directly through Hungarian documentation. We do not possess any documents that could convey details of 'original' medieval witch-beliefs.[72] Although late-Renaissance magical experts emerged sporadically in Hungary (especially in Transylvania),[73] and their slight impact on aristocratic accusations has already been mentioned, the quantitative insignificance of these trials does not allow us to give much weight to this factor in a general explanation. As to the fusion of learned and popular demonologies, the production or translation of demonological handbooks was almost completely absent in Hungary.[74] A knowledge of the related stereotypes made its entry through popular channels at the end of the sixteenth century (the first diabolical Sabbath confession preserved is from Pozsony in 1602).[75] Sabbath descriptions tended to rely upon and to be coloured by a kind of folk demonology.[76] Only in a few exceptional trials (such as the Somorja or the Szeged witch scare) can one detect the direct and detailed influence of scholarly demonological handbooks in altering the beliefs of the tortured witches. Finally, sixteenth- to seventeenth-century views about God's universal and imminent punishment of sinners were not unknown in Hungary, but they served to explain the loss of independence and the miseries of warfare with the Turks and the Hapsburgs.

The only explanatory element that seems to retain its relevance to Hungarian witchcraft cases is the early-modern disturbance of the popular universe of magic. As I have stressed in connection with the Kolozsvár trials, reformed preachers who criticized 'papist' superstitious practices had been extremely active throughout the country. In strongly Protestant centres steps were taken against popular festivities and 'immoral' customs similar to those elsewhere in Europe. Witches' Sabbaths frequently pro-

vided a diabolized inversion of wedding, carnival and harvest festivities.[77] Many witchcraft cases revealed the growing suspicion of any kind of traditional agricultural magic. The incrimination of popular healers and other types of magical experts (the táltos for example) illustrates well how popular ambivalence about magic became more and more self-destructive. Nevertheless, in Hungary it is difficult to speak of a kind of systematic conflict between what is labelled 'popular culture' and an 'elite culture' before the end of the eighteenth century, i.e. well after the close of the period of witch-hunting. Magical notions and practices persisted with remarkable resilience: country nobles shared them with the peasants as part of their somewhat similar way of life; urban culture, although decidedly different (mostly for ethnic reasons), remained rather provincial and isolated.

Where, then, should we look for the cultural tensions of the more than 2000 Hungarian witch-trials? Instead of a clear answer (which I do not have) let me conclude this presentation with the composite image I have just proposed. The overall picture obtained from Hungarian witchcraft documentation is that of a huge cultural melting pot, collecting and combining magical notions and mythologies of various functions and different regions and peoples. Balkan fairy beliefs contributed to the development of an indigenous imagery of the witches' Sabbath.[78] Shamanistic Hungarian táltos women assumed the roles of healers and accusers in witchcraft cases, Serbian settlers infused their zduhač mythology into witchcraft beliefs. In the Croatian regions several weather-making garabonciás diák made their appearance.[79] Cunning shepherds were transformed into Alpine-type werewolves. In Romanian-inhabited territories, witches were said to have tails and tended to be likened to vampires.[80] Parallel to the peak of witch-hunting in Hungary, the early eighteenth century witnessed the famous vampire scares in Serbia and Transylvania, which found such a resonant echo throughout Europe.[81] The terminologies and varieties of witchcraft and bewitchment are manifold (there are several dozens of them in the Hungarian language alone!), just like the names and the techniques of healers and cunning folk (néző, látó, tudományos, tudós, orvos, etc.).

How did all these beliefs and magical specialists fit together? My suggestion is that witchcraft beliefs and endemic witch persecutions provided a wide and loose framework for all of them, offering the possibility for each type of belief to be combined with others or, inversely, to become more and more pronounced in the course of the seventeenth and eigh-

teenth centuries. For contemporary specialists and people trying to master the magical stereotypes in witchcraft accusations, magical counter-actions or attempts, at diagnosis this confusing variety of ambivalent magical beliefs and practices proved to be rather dangerous. Professional rivalry, unsatisfactory healing results or provocative boasting about magical powers, alerted detection or exaggerated suspicion of magical activities by the accused - a large number of Hungarian witchcraft accusations could be ascribed to such purely magical conflicts.

Without denying the possibility that witchcraft accusations could also absorb and express various 'underlying' cultural tensions, I would conclude by emphasizing that the popular universe of magic possessed intrinsic tensions and explosive ambiguities unique unto itself. One of these ambiguities was beyond doubt the ambivalence of popular magical expertise. In a world of scarce resources and constant danger, there seemed only one way to escape from misfortune - by diverting it onto someone else, presumably the person who had previously done the same to you. This was a solution to the problem of popular theodicy (it located the source of evil in the hidden animosities within one's own surroundings), but at the same time it gave rise to a paradox concerning the nature of magical power and the morals of its users: what is beneficial for one, is harmful witchcraft for another, and vice versa. This is one reason why popular healers were increasingly criminalized, and also why magical conflicts created a special area of tension for those involved, constantly tending toward dramatic confrontation and a possible elimination of one's opponents (by direct interpersonal violence or by the intermediary of the courts, which accepted this kind of litigation), for there was no other solution to this paradox.

These tensions - whatever the nature of the social or cultural background or the specific grievances voiced in the accusations - lend themselves to a type of analysis pioneered by Jeanne Favret-Saada (1977, 1981), in which the interchangeable and subjectively interpreted magical roles (witch, bewitched, diagnostician, witch doctor, healer and eventually, the public accuser) are the object of analysis. The ambiguities are exploited in these situations, and are also handled by further rationalizing elaborations: witchcraft was only active in the immediate neighbourhood, whereas the same persons could, in theory, exercise their fearful magical powers for healing distant clients; if forced or threatened, the witch was capable of lifting her own spell; if the healing attempt was unsuccessful, perhaps

the diagnosis was wrong, or it could even turn out that the person initially asked to heal was actually the real cause of the bewitchment. A further direction of research could be the long-term historical evolution of stereotypes: not only the traditional folkloric descriptions of the witch's person, of the Sabbath, of metamorphoses, or of techniques of supposed sorcery but also the various morphological elements to be found in great abundance in the accusation narratives contained in depositions - the suspected origins of the bewitchment (for the most part conflicts described with a convincing 'reality-effect'); the threats; the social situations, locations and specific times when the parties involved met during their witchcraft conflict; the night-time visions, nightmares and anxieties of the bewitched party; and, finally, the liturgical sequences of counter-magic: diagnosis, divination and attempts at healing.

Although I am not yet able to present a clear and documented demonstration of the presence of these magical tensions in Hungarian witch-trials and their various forms, or whether there had been a meaningful historical change in this field, I can at least promise this for the future. These problems are at the heart of the collective work of our witchcraft research group, which has been striving to build up a database of Hungarian witchcraft documentation, in the hope of providing some answers to this mysterious problem of magical conflicts.

Notes

[1] Ginzburg (1966), Mandrou (1968), Macfarlane (1970), Thomas (1971), Kieckhefer (1976), Muchembled (1978), Demos (1982), Sabean (1984).

[2] Needham (1978:30).

[3] See Midelfort (1972), Behringer (1988).

[4] This rough statistical evaluation is taken from the longer analysis in Klaniczay (1990:222-225); with a group of historians and folklorists at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences we are currently building up a data-base on witch trials which will refine these calculations and allow a more precise evaluation.

[5] A general outline of Hungarian history in this period: Makkai (1983:119-194).

[6] Comparative data on the "relation d'inverse proportionalité entre opérations militaires et procès aux magiciens" in Delumeau (1978:358); similar observations: Monter (1976:81), Dupont-Bouchat, Frijhoff and Muchembled (1978:35), Behringer (1988:321).

[7] This problem has been statistically examined (using a sample of 1432 trials) by Iklódi (1982: 297) with the following result: whereas we know only 44 trials form these territories while they were under Turkish domination (1541-1690) between 1690-1770 there were 467 trials. This growth of more than 10 times can be contrasted to the doubling in the number of trials for the same period elsewhere.

[8]To the old syntheses of Wilhelm Gottlieb Soldan and Joseph Hansen and the criticized but still not replaced overview of Trevor-Roper ('969) a range of new regional monographs were joined recently: Macfarlane ('970), Midelfort (1972), Monter (1976), Dupont-Bouchat, Frijhoff and Muchembled (1978), Larner (1971), Henningsen (1980), Gijstwijt-Hofstra and Frijhoff (1987), Behringer (1988).

[9]Ankarloo (1971), Degn, Lehmann and Unverhau (1983); the same problem is treated amply in Ankarloo and Henningsen (1990), Schormann (1977), Dienst (1986), Valentinitsch (1987), Sindelar (1970), Kočí (1973), Korcz (1985), Bayer (1982), Baranowski (1980), Tazbir (1980).

[10]On this point, the reader will recall the theses of Michel Foucault (1973, 1979) on the disciplinary institutions of early modern times; and those of Norbert Elias (1979). Robert Muchembled (1978:223-339) is relying upon these theories. The effect of modern justice and administration is seen in a more positive light by Soman (1985). The problem of the disciplinary power of the early modern state is also considered by Behringer (1988). For a comparative analysis of the embergence of early modern state institutions, see Anderson (1974), Szűcs (1983).

[11]The importance of this legal handbook in the rise of the persecutions is stressed by Iklódi (1982).

[12]Evans-Pritchard (1937), Marwick (1970).

[13]Thomas (1971:561).

[14]Marwick (1964).

[15]Macfarlane (1970:168) and Thomas (1971:553-567).

[16]Macfarlane (1970:149-151).

[17]Boyer and Nissenbaum (1974), Johansen (1990).

[18]Demos (1982:278ff.).

[20]Douglas (1970).

[21]Midelfort (1972:179-190).

[22]Macfarlane (1978).

[23]Needham (1978:29).

[24]Favret-Saada (1977, 1981).

[25]Behringer (1988:96-106).

[26]Komáromy (1910:3-74).

[27]On the history of Transylvania see Makkai (1946), Makkai and Mócsy (1986:471-474); on Kolozsvár see Jakab (1888), Goldenberg (1957), Göllner (1971).

[28]In Transylvanian "Saxon" cities, like Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Kronstadt (Braşov), minor witchcraft prosecutions start only in the 17th century.

[29]Komáromy (1910:23-27).

[30]Komáromy (1910:1-13).

[31]Komáromy (1910:44-45).

[32]Komáromy (1910:24).

[33]Pirnát (1961), Dán and Pirnát (1982).

[34]As to the background of this affair, I am relying upon the unpublished archival investigations of the Kolozsvár historian András Kiss.

[35]Jakab (1888:II. 201).

[36]See Burke (1978: 207-222).

[37]Komáromy (1910:70).

[38]Szendrei (1891), Komáromy (1894); the witchcraft act of 1614 in Szilágyi (1867-1898: VI. 413); cf. Nagy (1988).

[39]Herner (1988).

[40]Nagy (1988:96-97).

[41]Clark (1977).

[42]The affair of Elisabeth Báthory, object of numerous studies has recently been investigated by Nagy (1984); another detailed study, on the basis of the recently discovered documentation of her trial: Péter (1985).

[43]Komáromy (1897).

[44]Cf. Evans (1973); on the correspondence of the German Emperor Maximilian I with the famous occultist writer, Abbot Trithemius, and its relations with witchcraft matters cf. Behringer (1988:80).

[45]Zimányi (1979), Tóth (1983).

[46]Schram (1970:II. 718).

[47]The series of the trials in question: 1651-Lakompak: Eckhart (1954:133); 1653-Körmend (a trial involving three cowherds and inculpating many more with their confessions): Schram (1970:II. 715-721); 1654-Körmend: Schram (1970:II. 722-724); 1655-Lakompak: Eckhart (1954:134); 1676-Körmend: Schram (1970:725-726); 1687-Szombathely: Horváth (1937:32).

[48]Dömötör (1981:139-143).

[49]Not only some of the above-mentioned shepherd trials present such traits, such as Schram (1970:II. 718-719; 725-726), but also some additional trials of male sorcerers from the region: 1632-Sopron ("tudós Hántzl"); Schram (1970:II. 71); 1640-Lipót: Kiss (1905); 1942-Lózs: Schram (1970:II. 9); 1679-Körmend: ibid., p. 524.

[50]Házi (1929:I/7. 363-366, 339-340, 428-481).

[51]Gönczi (1905); female witches attacking in wolf's form, on the "Great Plain" region - 1734: Schram (1970:II. 430); 1735-Komáromy (1910:475-476, 478); 1756-Schram (1982:III. 145-146); 1754-a strange werewolf case from the central-northern Nógrád county: Török (1959).

[52]Valentinitsch (1986).

[53]Nagl (1973-73, and 1974).

[54]Behringer (1988:352-355).

[55]1730: Schram (1970:II. 45); ibid. pp. 145-146; 1743: ibid., pp. 183-192, 201, 615; 1758: Komáromy (1910:669-692).

[56]Horna (1935).

[57]There is no trace of any witch-trials in the Turkish occupied Buda or Pest (neither after their 17th century reconquest); Sopron, the big city in the western parts had some scattered witch-trials in the 16th century (altogether 10 persons inculpated) cf. Schram (1970:II. 7-8), and later remained moderate as well. Pozsony (Bratislava), the capital of the Hapsburg dominated western parts experienced scares in its neighbourhood in 1574, cf. Komáromy (1910:22), two witches charged with pacts with the devil were burnt there in 1602, cf. Horna (1933), and later no traces persecutions: not a single documented witch-trial from Kassa (Košice), the biggest city in the north of Hungary; only one Hungarian city could match 16th century Kolozsvár and 18th century Szeged in witch-hunting: Debrecen, the headquarters of Hungarian Calvinism. Debrecen had a series of trials starting in 1575 and ending in 1735,

inculpating altogether 64 persons, out of whom 26 were executed, documents in Komáromy (1910) - these persecutions have been analyzed by Ildikó Kristóf's paper in this volume.

[58]The documents of the trials are published by Reizner (1900:IV. 373-536); on the history of the city cf. Farkas (1985); a student of mine, Ildikó B. Varga has prepared a dissertation on the subject: "A szegedi boszorkányperek 1728-1744" (Witch-trials in Szeged 1728-1744), the results of which I am using in this presentation.

[59]The imperial letters of Charles VI are published by Reizner (1900:IV. 455-456; 458-461).

[60]The trials are published, together with ones from neighbouring villages in Schram (1970:I. 225-348).

[62]Schram (1970:I. 262).

[63]On this person, mentioned in the trials, Schram (1970:I. 247, 299), cf. Szeremley (1907:III. 317). Tárkány Szűcs (1961:137, 311).

[64]On the role of German soldiers as witchcraft accusers exercised cf. my study in Ankarloo and Henningsen (1990).

[65]Schram (1970:I. 249-261).

[66]These stereotypes of the accusation narratives are among the central objects of our computer based investigation, mentioned in Note 2 of this study.

[67]Cohn (1975).

[68]Thomas (1971).

[69]Ginzburg (1966).

[70]Behringer (1988:120-125).

[71]Muchembled (1978).

[72]The few remaining data of medieval Hungarian witch-beliefs are cited in my study, in Ankarloo and Henningsen (1990).

[73]On the visits of experts of learned magic (like John Dee in 1564 and 1583-89) in Hungary and Transylvania cf. Szőnyi (1980:44-45).

[74]The few demonological treatieses written here (altogether three) are presented in Klaniczay (1990, Notes 33-37); let us remark here that on this point there is a striking contrast with the copious Polish demonological literature, cf. Baranowski (1952).

[75]Horna (1933).

[76]The process, how witches' sabbath evolved from popular witchcraft folklore is analyzed in Klaniczay (1990, Notes 98-101).

[77]This suggestion, stressed by Muchembled (1985) is supported by various data of my 1990 study.

[78]This mythological substratum of popular demonologies has been explored by Éva Pócs in various studies. Let me only refer here to her study in this volume.

[79]Komáromy (1910:507; Schram 1982:III. 272).

[80]About them cf. Klaniczay (1983).

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"WISE WOMEN", SINNERS AND THE POOR: THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF WITCH-HUNTING IN A 16TH-18TH CENTURY CALVINIST CITY OF EASTERN HUNGARY

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As it is very well known, the study of the social background of witch-hunting and the evolution of the theory that witchcraft should be considered as a particular world-view, a logical system of explanation of everyday misfortunes goes back to British social anthropology between the two world wars and immediately after the second one. E.E. Evans-Pritchard interpreted Azande witchcraft as a coherent world-view bearing a special inner logic in the 1930s. As he put it, the Azande found the right answers to some concrete questions concerning their misfortunes as they were thinking in the categories of witchcraft, to questions like "Why did this trouble happen to me, at this time and in this place?" Evans-Pritchard attempted to comprehend their beliefs "from inside" and provided, in fact, a sociology of Azande knowledge.[1]

Later British social anthropologists working among other African peoples attempted to follow Evans-Pritchard's lead in their approach but - as M. Douglas emphasized in her summary of the postwar witchcraft studies in the 1970s - their methods and theories had rather arisen from the leading trend of functionalism of the period. As they had followed only one suggestion of their master concerning the utility of witch beliefs, they provided a more or less limited analysis of the social function of witchcraft. Almost all of these scholars concluded that witchcraft played the role of a "social strain gauge" in the studied societies, to use the expression of M. Marwick one of the prominent representatives of this tendency and expert of Cewa witch beliefs.[2]

Functionalist anthropology was rightly criticized already in the 1960s from another point of view as well. Among others, V. Turner found the analysis of evident changes in those primitive societies wanting and provided a serious critique of the functionalists' common image of a static society that reproduces itself unchanged.[3]

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Nevertheless, it was functionalist anthropology that enriched and renewed historical studies on European witch-hunting. The historians - primarily English ones - however, who did pioneering work in applying methods of social anthropology in the analysis of early modern European witchcraft accusations, attempted to avoid the pitfall of rigid functionalism.

Studying the social relations between witch and victim K. Thomas and his disciple A. Macfarlane emphasized that early modern English witch-hunting was primarily based on local accusations of maleficium that had originated in everyday conflicts typical of a certain historical period among village dwellers. Analysing the stories of bewitchment in witchcraft trial testimonies they suggested that the victims of maleficium told of real social problems as they cited different kinds of conflicts with their neighbours. According to Thomas and Macfarlane, one type of the conflicts predominated in contemporary stories of bewitchment, i.e. refusing a poor begging woman. Both historians looked for the function of witchcraft in contemporary English society and they suggested that witchcraft accusations originated in the uncertain social status of the village poor that their neighbours refused gradually to support as fundamental economic and social changes gave way to the spirit of individualism in the 16th-17th centuries while destroyed traditional systems of poor relief. Both historians interpreted witchcraft as a "strain gauge" in tense social situations, as a means of easing tensions between the poor and their neighbourhood. On the other hand, they emphasized that witch beliefs - as Thomas put it - "upheld the conventions of charity and neighbourliness, but once these conventions had broken down they justified the breach and made it possible for the uncharitable to divert attention from their own guilt by focusing attention on that of the witch".[4]

In short, Thomas and Macfarlane were able to show that the tensions behind witchcraft accusations were indeed products of a changing society, and avoiding the supposition of static communities they suggested that witch beliefs could support the guarding of the traditional norms as well as the reinforcement of new ones.

The functional theory of witch beliefs was critically analysed from the point of view of its applicability in a study of German witch-hunting, too. Investigating the witchcraft accusations of 16th-17th century South-western Germany, E. Midelfort distinguished the functional and disfunctional side of contemporary witch beliefs. He suggested, on the one hand, that in the case of accusations limited in number and in the social

strata that threatened witchcraft might have resulted in eliminating certain kinds of social tensions in German communities, i.e. it probably had a function. A witch panic or "hysteria", on the other hand, that victimized dozens, sometimes hundreds of people from almost all levels of the society could hardly do anything for reinforcing social norms. According to Midelfort, it might have been the society itself (more exactly, the threatened elite) that finally put an end to that kind of chain of accusations. In that case witchcraft was rather dysfunctional.[5]

The above-mentioned studies evidently prove that a cautious application of the functional theory of witchcraft do result in valuable presentations of social processes in a given community and in a given historical period.

It is worth pointing out, however, that one aspect of the social-anthropological method of analysing the bipolar relations of witch and victim applied by Thomas, Macfarlane and their followers seems to be more or less doubtful. One can put the question: Are the stories of bewitchment told in the course of a witch trial really relevant to the conflicts between witch and victim? "Is it possible to generalize about the sort of grudge which the witch was believed to bear towards her victim?" as Thomas himself asked.[6] How much could a story of bewitchment concerning the refusing of a begging witch be considered reality and how much a stereotyped narrative of reality?

The greatest challenge to the interpretation of testimonies or narrated conflicts as reality, came from a psychological-anthropological investigation into modern French witch beliefs. Facing the fundamental question of "who speaks to whom and how" in Bocage in the 1970s J. Favret-Saada concluded that there was a considerable difference between witchcraft narratives and reality. The supposed victims did not necessarily tell of the causes of quarrels and conflicts with the supposed witch happened, in fact, sometime in the past. They did their best rather, to make the real conflicts fit in a traditional model of a sort of bewitchment narrative. The victims were shaping and modifying their stories often for years until a certain moment when the core of reality had almost completely faded.[7]

Being an anthropologist who makes interviews with living people J. Favret-Saada had an excellent opportunity to trace the stories of bewitchment back to their past and to find the true events behind them. For a historian who deals with archival sources it would certainly be

quite a job to do the same. It seems, however, that this is not a hopeless matter.

In the beginning of the 1980s American historian J.P. Demos published his study of 17th-century New England witch-hunting. Using a considerable amount of supplementary archival sources to the analysis of witchcraft accusations he was able to throw light on some important aspects of the biography of some accused witches. Avoiding the method of drawing conclusions only from the stories of bewitchment told in the testimonies he succeeded in demonstrating plenty of conflicts between the accused witch and his or her community (family, relatives, neighbourhood, etc.) that took place years before the witch trial. He was able to point at biographical elements of the supposed witches that the stories of bewitchment did not tell of, but that evidently contributed to the formation of suspicion around them.[8]

The present essay attempts to make use of the method of analysing witch-victim relations in the 16th-18th century Calvinist city of Debrecen. Looking for the function of witch beliefs on the one hand, and for the reality behind some stories of bewitchment on the other, it tries to introduce some social problems of a city-turned market town at the end of the Turkish occupation of Hungary.

Table I shows the number of the accused witches and the types of sentences per decades during the 184 years of Debrecen witch-hunting.

As for the periodicity of the trials, it seems that Debrecen witch-hunting coincided more or less with the phases of the national one beginning in the 1520-70s, increasing from the 1620-30s on and reaching its peak between the 1680s and the 1750s.[9] After the Transylvanian Kolozsvár, Debrecen was the second Hungarian city that began to prosecute its "witches" (in 1575).

In addition to the fact that the peaks and falls in Debrecen witch-hunting probably reflect the alternating peaceful periods and that of the wars in contemporary Hungarian national history (Turkish wars at the end of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th centuries as well as in the 1660s, the war of liberation against the Turks in the 1690s and the war of independence led by Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II against the Hapsburgs between 1703 and 1711) it is worth emphasizing that a number of events in Debrecen local history also seems to have contributed to the fluctuation of witch-hunting. Studying the periodicity of 17th-century New England witch trials J.P.Demos found that there had been some events in the local history of the

Table I

Accused witches and types of their sentences in Debrecen 1575-1759

	Number of the accused	Sentences death	lenient	acquittal	unknown
1571-1580	2	1	1	-	-
1581-1590	-				
1591-1600	2	-	-	-	2
1601-1610	-				
1611-1620	2	1	-	1	-
1621-1630	8	3	-	3	2
1631-1640	9	6	1	-	2
1641-1650	-				
1651-1660	1	1	-	-	-
1661-1670	1	-	-	-	1
1671-1680	2	-	-	1	1
1681-1690	10	6	-	1	3
1691-1700	19	6	5	1	7
1701-1710	6	1	3	-	2
1711-1720	18	2	8	2	6
1721-1730	8	-	4	-	4
1731-1740	6	-	2	-	4
1741-1750	47	1	32	7	7
1751-1760	6	-	4	-	2
Total:	147	28	60	16	43

communities that could be considered "favourable" from the point of view of witchcraft accusations (plague epidemics or natural catastrophes during or before the witch trials, social or religious conflicts or warfare some years before the trials) and there had been others (warfare, social or religious conflicts during the period of trials) that could not.[10] It seems that warfare, religious conflicts, plague epidemics and some kind of natural catastrophes had the same effect on Debrecen witch-hunting as they did on the New England one. There is no place here to provide a detailed chronicle of the local history of Debrecen,[11] let me cite the examples of the periods characterized by the greatest number of the accused only.

Eight persons were accused of witchcraft between 1626 and 1629 after the great famine and plague epidemic in 1622, the city fire in 1624 and

another plague epidemic in 1625. Five "witches" were brought to trial after the earthquake and devastating storm in spring in 1631. In the last phase of the great national plague epidemic of 1679-81 nine witches were accused in Debrecen in 1681-82. There were at least nine fire incidents in the city in 1719-20 and eight persons were accused of witchcraft in the same years. Six of them were brought to trial in 1729-30 and these years were preceded by at least three fire incidents and the great famine in 1727-28. Most characteristic of all, there were 51 "witches" accused between 1738 and 1748, i.e. during and after the greatest plague epidemic of contemporary Debrecen as well as that of Hungary. Twelve of them were brought to trial during the years of the plague and 39 of them between 1742 and 1748.

It seems reasonable to interpret these coincidences as signs of a popular scape-goating mechanism all the more so, since contemporary witch beliefs from Debrecen and the surrounding villages testify that it was not rare to suspect a malevolent person of "having taken the wheat away" in time of famine or having caused the illness (even the plague or smallpox) in time of epidemics or - as popular scape-goating seems to have been mixed with Calvinist theology - having provoked God's punishment in time of fire incidents.[12]

Warfare seems to have had an effect on increasing Debrecen witch-hunting only in the long run, meanwhile the number of the accused always fell during the years of war. Periods of uncertainty of existence caused by an easily recognizable enemy might not have favoured the search for witches practising in secret. Interestingly enough, years of religious conflicts also seem to have ruled out witch-hunting in Debrecen. There were not witch trials but religious disputes were held and treatises were published on the question of witchcraft as the first Calvinists fought Catholics in the second half of the 16th century, as the Orthodox Calvinists fought the first reformers in the 1610-1620s and as the Puritans battled for the consolidation of their principles against the Orthodox Calvinists in the 1650-70s. It is evident that each religious movement had to identify itself with regard to the previous one and this identification included the question of diabolic power as well, i.e. the problem of witchcraft. Debrecen magistrates supposedly did not proceed against witches until the position of a religious movement had not cleared up.

If the phases of Debrecen witch-hunting reflected more or less that of the national one, it was rather moderate from the point of view of its intensity and severity.

The 184 years of Debrecen witch-hunting (1575-1759) produced only 127 accused witches who were women in roughly 92% (116). (Table I provides a total of 147 witches because it includes twice or more times accused persons.) If one takes into consideration, on the one hand, that Debrecen was the most populated city during the 17th-18th centuries in Hungary - its number of inhabitants reached 12 000 at the end of the 17th century, it was somewhere between 19 000 and 23 000 at the beginning of the 18th century and between 22 000 and 24 000 around the 1730s[13] - its 127 witches hardly represent an intensive hunting. On the other hand, the greatest number of the accused persons per year was only 9 (in 1746). One finds eight accused per year twice (in 1693 and in 1745) and seven accused per year three times (in 1681, in 1741 and in 1742). Applying the categories of B.P. Levack, Debrecen witch-hunting seems to be a "small scale" persecution of 1-3 accused persons per year in general, with the exception of the years preceded by plague epidemics or natural catastrophes when witch-hunting can be characterized as "medium sized", i.e. 5-10 accused persons per year.[14]

Moderate witch-hunting was accompanied by relatively lenient sentences, too. The outcome of Debrecen witch trials is known to us in about 70%. Death sentences represented roughly 26% while the national rate was about 50%. Roughly 74% of the Debrecen accused escaped the stake: about 57% of them was banished from the city, others were imprisoned or beaten and roughly 16% of them was acquited of the crime of witchcraft. Death sentences seem to have been predominant only in the 1620-40-s while lenient punishments gradually gained preponderance from the end of the 17th century on.

As I argued elsewhere,[15] moderate Debrecen witch-hunting could be explained from the point of view of the judicial system of the city, on the one hand, and from the point of view of Calvinist demonology on the other. Summarizing the relations between some characteristics of jurisdiction and the scale of witch-hunting B.P. Levack suggested that an intensive persecution of witches assumed the change-over to the inquisitorial system of jurisdiction from the traditional accusatorial one, the use of torture and the belief in the Sabbath-mythology (the witches' pact with the Devil and their frequenting the orgiastic meeting of the Sabbath).[16]

The characteristics of contemporary Debrecen jurisdiction, however, did not meet these requirements. The procedure of witchcraft trials as well as that of other kinds of trials testify that 16th-17th-century Debrecen

magistrates still administered justice in accordance with the accusatorial system of jurisdiction in many respects. They used ordeals (such as the swimming of the witch) or let the accused take an oath on their innocence though torture was applied, too. There was no distinguished official representative for the prosecuting, it was the denunciator itself (or the whole body of the magistrates) who played the role of the accuser in the course of the trials. Adopting ordeals or oaths in the process of establishing evidence meant that the judges did not want to force confessions from the accused at any price. Having no official accuser meant that the denunciator could be (and was in fact, many times) punished if he or she could not prove his or her charge. Denunciators might have been more cautious to accuse somebody under the circumstances like these. An obvious switch-over to the inquisitorial system took place only in the middle of the 18th century in Debrecen (as in Hungary as a whole, according to some Hungarian law historians),[17] at a time when witchcraft accusations seem to have already been on the path of decline.

These features of the accusatorial system of Debrecen jurisdiction were accompanied by a "gentle" Calvinist demonology[18] that did not favour the Sabbath-mythology. Debrecen magistrates seem to have paid attention to the warnings of the city preachers who did not subscribe to the belief of the witches' pact. I cannot provide a detailed analysis of Debrecen Calvinist theological literature of two centuries in this place, let me briefly summarize the viewpoints of some outstanding preachers of the city which was among the first communities to have accepted the reformed religion in the second half of the 16th century and which became the centre of Hungarian Calvinism.

The first religious movement that had something to say about the question of witchcraft was the early Calvinism in the middle of the 16th century. Its leading figure was the Debrecen preacher Péter Méliusz (died in 1572) who became the first bishop of the Calvinist Diocese of East Tisza River. He was educated in Wittenberg and was influenced by the theological teachings of Zürich reformator Heinrich Bullinger and that of the Tübingen preacher Johann Brenz. Being though a Calvinist, Méliusz seems to have followed the early German Lutheran tradition of preachers described by E. Midelfort concerning the limited power of the Devil. According to Méliusz, witches' maleficium should be considered only an "illusion" and "swindle" of Satan who has not got a "physical body", and can hardly make any pact with a human being who has.

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This notion of the limited power of the Devil as a main obstacle to accept the Sabbath-mythology of western demonologies remained predominant throughout the two centuries of Debrecen witch-hunting. Later preachers became acquainted with the demonologies of the Malleus Maleficarum, that of Jean Bodin, Delrio or William Perkins but they always questioned the possibility of the pact citing sometimes the argument of Clèves physician Johann Weyer himself.

It was the religious movement of the Orthodox Calvinists educated primarily in Heidelberg that seems to have brought the idea of the witches' pact to Debrecen in the 1610-20s. City preachers such as Péter Margitay or other Hungarian Calvinists publishing in Debrecen like János Kecskeméti emphasized that witches were only deceived by Satan when they thought that they frequented the meeting of Sabbath. The Puritan preachers of the 1650-90s who were educated primarily in Cambridge or Oxford seem to have attempted to take the belief of the pact a bit more seriously (like bishop Mátyás Nógrádi who spread many of the ideas of William Perkins for example) but they never diabolized popular beliefs as much as some of their colleagues did especially in Salem.[19]

It may be characteristic that the penal code of German jurist Benedict Carpzov, the notorius Praxis Criminalis that summarized numerous diabolical witch beliefs in its 60th chapter and that was in use in many Hungarian juries from the end of the 17th century on, never had a considerable influence on the jurisdiction of Debrecen magistrates. I could hardly cite more than three probable traces of it from the Debrecen witch trials.

In short, neither Debrecen preachers nor magistrates accepted the belief of the witches' diabolical pact, they do not seem to have attempted to impose the mythology of Sabbath on popular witch beliefs. Calvinist preachers were rather willing to moderate popular scape-goating. They emphasized - as their Lutheran colleagues did in Southwestern Germany or other Calvinists did throughout Europe[20] - that everyday misfortunes should be considered punishments of God for the plenty of sins of the people and that the only way to get out of the troubles was true repentance and a return to the godly, pious life. They argued in general, for the example of Job and not for the extirpating of the witches. It is reasonable to suppose that their teachings had in fact a moderating influence on Debrecen witch-hunting.

There was however, a considerable amount of popular beliefs that Calvinist demonology seems to have indeed diabolized: the abundant kinds of practices of "white magic" (fortune-telling and divination, love magic and popular healing, finding lost goods and identifying the thief/the witch in magical ways, etc.). Each of the Debrecen preachers contributing to the question of witchcraft pointed out that "good witches" should not be considered "better" than "black" ones, because they too gave themselves to Satan to ask for "devilish" help to accomplish their practices. They cited frequently Moses V. 18:10-12 - as their other European Calvinist colleagues mentioned by S. Clark did[21] - and almost all of them required that "good witches" should be punished with death. They argued that "wise women", midwives, fortune-tellers, etc. offended divine Providence by their magical practices, that their crime was even more serious than that of the "black witches" in some respect: the latter were only more or less innocent victims of the Devil's swindles while "good witches" intentionally questioned Providence and "adored" the Devil.

It might be characteristic of a Calvinist stereotype of the witch that roughly 38% (49 person) of the accused were practitioners of magical healing (38 person), midwifery (6 person) and fortune-telling in Debrecen. The death sentence rate of the "good witches" happened to be higher (about 24%) than that of the other accused (about 20%). Calvinist theology might have had a considerable influence on the fact that the practitioners of "white magic" were more subjected to the death penalty when they were brought to trial than those accused "only" of "black magic" or supernatural maleficium.

Puritan bishop Mátyás Nógrádi spoke of three types of witches in 1651: "good witches", those "living in poverty" and those living in many kinds of moral sins.[22] The latter group represented roughly 42% (53 persons) of the accused in Debrecen: fornicators, adultresses, thieves, blasphemers and the like. The group of the poor cannot be characterized numerically because of fragmentary evidences. They might have been present as victims of witchcraft accusations in a considerable amount, however according to all indications like preachers' point of view, popular beliefs, some evidences of the witchcraft trials as well as that of city decrees.

What was the problem with the practitioners of "good magic", the sinners and the poor?

I would argue that witchcraft accusations against these three groups of people were embedded in at least three types of social-moral campaigns

in the local history of 16th-18th century Debrecen. One was the long-lasting campaign of Calvinist preachers to purify the morals of their flock from the second half of the 16th century on, the second one was in connection with the gradual institutionalization and centralization of "legal" healing and midwifery in Debrecen beginning at the end of the 16th century but strengthening considerably from the beginning of the 18th century on, and the third one was a social campaign led by city magistrates against the poor layers (beggars, lodgers, strangers) from the end of the 17th century on.

As it is commonly known, Calvinist reformation movement was accompanied by a very strong tendency of moral purificatory ambitions. Hungarian Calvinists were not exceptions either, dozens of treatises could be cited to introduce their battle against sins like fornication, adultery, theft, blasphemy, cursing, etc. What is remarkable, there seems to have been a considerable effort from their part having evidently theological foundations, to connect different kinds of sins to one another, to draw parallels between adultery and witchcraft or theft and witchcraft or blasphemy and witchcraft and so on. The notion of "chain of sins" was present in Calvinist literature from its beginning and it was given a very strong emphasis in 17th-century Puritan theological thought. As Gy. Komáromy Csipkés wrote in 1666, a man who had already committed a kind of sin could easily commit another one because he got out of God's mercy by having fallen in the first. Bishop Mátyás Nógrádi emphasized in 1651 that witches were likely to be recruited from those people who had already committed the sin of blasphemy or fornication, etc. because these sinners were - as he put it - evidently willing to remain in their wickedness instead of repenting and returning to God.[23] The evidences from religious treatises and from witchcraft trials might permit the assumption that the theological notion of the "chain of sins" had a considerable effect on directing witchcraft accusations - though not in a deterministic way.

The most frequent moral sins connected to witchcraft were fornication and adultery, drunkenness, theft and blasphemy in Debrecen, sins that seem to have been committed predominantly by middle-aged married women. The neighbourhood as well as the magistrates found probably the norm of "pious and godly life of a married woman" wanting too, when accusing them of witchcraft.

Witchcraft trial testimonies told of special types of conflicts between "infamous" women and their "honest" neighbours. The latter might

have caught them in the act of adultery or theft, they might have scolded those women for their cursing or blasphemous speech, they might have forced their husbands and sons to come away from the tavern where they were drinking with those "whores". Shortly after these conflicts the "honest" neighbours fell into a disease or experienced the loss of their cattle, etc. Many victims told that those "carousing" women made them drink "bad" wine or spirits or made them eat "bewitched" cakes or bread so that they could hardly escape dying.

Interpreting these stories of bewitchment from the point of view of functionalist explanation one could argue that witchcraft accusations played the role of safeguards of religious/moral norms, they reinforced the ideal of "pious and godly married women". It is worth noting, however, that moral sins in themselves do not seem to have provoked witchcraft accusations. According to my criminal statistic of the years 1690-94 200 persons were punished for theft, 68 persons for fornication or adultery and 7 for cursing or blasphemy in Debrecen but none of them was accused of witchcraft. On the other hand, 11 "witches" were brought to trial during these years but none of them was accused of any other sort of crime. Conflicts between "infamous" women and their neighbours certainly had a legal "outlet" as well: denouncing the "immoral" simply for fornication or blasphemy or theft, etc. without any relation to witchcraft. Tensions between "infamous" women and "honest" neighbours might have been burdened with other kinds of problems, too when the accusation of witchcraft appeared. Let me cite some examples.

Mrs. István Kis was sentenced to death in 1701 and the magistrates considered her being "traditionally ill-behaved". Mrs. Kis was a middle-aged married woman who practised magical healing, too but was famous for her many lovers and willingness to gossip. Archival sources tell us that she was punished for adultery and for scandal-mongering at least twice before her witch trial. She lost her suit against her mother-in-law whom she had denounced for slander in 1694. The old woman could finally prove that Mrs. Kis was caught in the act of adultery with young men in the field and she was sentenced to heavy beating at the end of the procedure. Mrs. Kis was punished again a year later because she had spread some gossip about a newly married couple. She claimed that the husband as well as the wife had committed the sin of fornication before their marriage. It seems that Mrs. Kis did not learn anything from her punishments, she continued gossiping, spreading rumours about the private lives of hus-

bands, wives, young girls in her neighbourhood while she herself had a number of lovers, too. It is reasonable to assume that her neighbourhood accused her of witchcraft finally, because they saw that neither the trial of adultery nor that of scandal-mongering had led her to correct her life-style. Witchcraft accusation might have been the only way in the eyes of the neighbours anxious about their good reputation and guarding the ideal of "pious and godly married women" to get rid of her.[24]

Mrs. István Csengeri was accused of witchcraft and theft in 1729. She also was a middle-aged woman, wife of a poor boot-maker. One of her "victims", Mrs. György Nábrádi Szűcs, wife of a well-to-do boot-maker and relative of Mrs. Csengeri accused her of having given "bewitched" milk to her little boy who vomited it with blood and hardly escaped dying. It seems, however, that the conflicts of the Csengeri and the Nábrádi Szűcs families went back long into the past. The Csengeri family had a bad reputation as thieves for a long time, they had even been banished from Debrecen for some time. Shortly after returning to the city they were again brought to trial for theft. It was the husband who attempted to steal some marc from a neighbour in 1721 and it was his wife who took a barrel of vinegar away from the courtyard of the Nábrádi Szűcs family in 1722. It is probable that the light-fingered Csengeri family was a disgrace to their relatives as well as to the guild of boot-makers. István Nábrádi Szűcs had attempted to make Csengeri be excluded from the guild but the master did not suspend him but for some months. According to the testimonies of Mrs. Csengeri's theft trial the Nábrádi Szűcs family was not at all willing to agree on an informal compromise with the Csengeris who finally brought them the barrel of vinegar back. All indications show that they wanted to get rid of their ill-famed relatives. Mrs. Csengeri was fined for the theft but she and his husband continued living in the neighbourhood of the Nábrádi Szűcs. It was only the charge of witchcraft that proved effective enough to banish them for ever from Debrecen. Even their house was demolished.[25]

Mrs. Márton Rácz, wife of a well-to-do butcher was accused of witchcraft in 1725. She was a beautiful "blond, fattish, rosy-faced" woman of middle-age brimming with life and always ready to carouse. The charges against her summarized almost all kinds of sins that could violate the norm of a "pious and godly married woman": adultery, blasphemy, drunkenness, theft, cursing, neglecting the church service and even fighting with her husband. Mrs. Rácz and her husband were strangers to Debrecen,

they had moved in from Sámson village (Bihar county) some years before the witch trial. Mrs. Rácz was punished for adultery in Sámson and this slur on her reputation became well known in Debrecen, too. One of their later city neighbours had visited the famous "wise woman" in Sámson and stayed with the Rácz family just at the time as Mrs. Rácz was running away with a young man. She had then one or two lovers in Debrecen, too and her husband complained all the time about his wife to his neighbours. When he was not at home Mrs. Rácz frequented the street tavern or invited some of her merry neighbours to carouse with her in her place. There were 59 witnesses in her witch trial, 36 of them were surely her neighbours in Péterfia street and 21 of them were next-door neighbours. It is worth to taking a look at the inhabitants of Péterfia street who accused Mrs. Rácz of maleficium (making them drink or eat "bad" wine or cakes, bewitching them after they had caught her in the act of adultery with her shepherd, etc.).

Péterfia street registers tell of a poor neighbourhood in general, of artisans or small-scale merchants owning only "huts" and a few cattle. Many of the neighbours of Mrs. Rácz were sick, widowed, old or ruined according to the census-takers. János Petermány for example, who was amongst the most hostile neighbours was a poor butcher whose wife was mentally ill. János Újvárosi who accused Mrs. Rácz of having bewitched his wife and himself, too was an impoverished merchant whose wife was neurotic abandoned by his servants and even by his children. János Agárdi who accused Mrs. Rácz of having bewitched his wife "because" she had caught her with the shepperd was again a ruined merchant whose sheep were inflicted with some kind of animal disease. It is very likely that the neighbours' envy played an important part in the process of making a witch from Mrs. Rácz. The neighbours might have found it unjust that they were morally "higher" while socially "lower" than the wealthy butcher's ill-famed wife and there might have been too sharp a contrast between the "blond, fattish, rosy-faced" woman's loose life style and that of many of the neighbours who had to take care of their sick family members or had to cope with the problems of impoverishment. They might have found the right scape-goat as they accused Mrs. Rácz of witchcraft and they might have felt relief as the magistrates banished her from Debrecen and demolished her notorious house in Péterfia street.[26]

I would suggest in summary that Calvinist preachers' campaign to purify the morals of their community as well as the notion of the "chain of sins" they attempted to impose on popular thinking, provoked witchcraft accu-

sations only in those cases where "infamous" "women - honest" neighbour relations were troubled with additional tensions, too. These tensions might have had their origin in the fact that the legal outlet of conflicts (i.e. charges other than witchcraft) were not sufficient enough to eliminate tensions (in the case of Mrs. Kis or Mrs. Csengeri, for example) or they might have been generated by some special social situations where the contrast of good and bad reputation was accompanied and sharpened by other kinds of social contrasts such as wealth and poverty or even health and illness (in the case of Mrs. Rácz).

The problem of "wise women" seems to have been a very strong indicator of Debrecen witch-hunting. The question was not only as K. Thomas put it that "a witchcraft accusation was more probable ... when levied against a person who already had a reputation for magical prowess as a white witch or cunning man"[27] or as R. Horsley suggested that "wise women" themselves directed accusations against their rivals.[28] It seems that the development of "legal" city medicine also contributed to witchcraft trials in some respect.

It can be proved, as I mentioned above, that Calvinist demonology diabolized "white magic" in Debrecen, too and a good deal of evidence testifies that there existed, in fact, a very strong rivalry among "wise women" living in the city. All the more so since Debrecen which had managed to acquire privileges (liberties of self-government and independent jurisdiction) from the pashas of Buda or Várad served as a place of refuge during the Turkish occupation of Hungary. Hundreds of the population of deserted villages settled in. It is obvious (and can be proved) that there were dozens of "wise women" among these strangers who attempted to continue their magical practices in the city, too. A most frequent way of their attempting to gain prestige was to accuse their local rivals of witchcraft.

It seems for example that it was the redundant number of popular healers in the Upper District of Debrecen in 1693 that led to a witch trial. Four experts of magical healing practised in two nearby streets at the same time (two "wise women" and two midwives) and they accused one another of witchcraft for a long time. It was a patient of theirs who denounced all the four because he could not finally find out who was malevolent among them and who was not. The magistrates did not hesitate at all: all the four were burned.[29]

Rivalry among "wise women" was not a characteristic at all only of Turkish time as settlement in the city continued in the 18th century as

well, though in a much more moderate manner. Mrs. György Kis came to live in Debrecen from Böszörmény (Bihar county) at about the turn of the 18th century. She practised popular healing and as she declared before her new neighbours if she could establish her career in Debrecen, she would identify a "good deal of local witches" (she meant healers) and she would "purify" the city as she had done in Böszörmény. She hardly could do that however, because she was brought to trial in 1702 and was probably banished from Debrecen.[30]

Rivalry among "wise women" was very often accompanied by the problems of good and bad reputation and that of social contrasts, too, and it sometimes involved multilateral conflicts with the neighbourhood as well.

There was competition between two healers, the fears of patients cured by both of them, individual tragedies of some victims, hostility among neighbours and the violation of the norm of "pious and godly married women" behind the witchcraft accusations of 1730. One of the accused witches Mrs. András Nagy, a middle-aged cunning woman lived in Hatvan street. The position and the reputation of her family turned out to be shaky first when her father was condemned to prison for committing some crime years before her trial. She herself was then punished for adultery four years before her witch trial. Her husband could never forgive Mrs. Nagy though he himself had liaisons with a married woman. The couple quarrelled very often, the neighbours knew very well the details of their story. Mrs. Nagy had many patients in Hatvan street as well as Mester street (a nearby one), too. All indications show that her bad reputation had made it easier for Mrs. Mihály Jóna the other "wise woman" accused of witchcraft in the trial to take her patients by accusing her of witchcraft when Mrs. Jóna moved to Mester street in 1727.

As for the latter "wise woman", her moving to Mester street turned out to be a veritable scandal. There seem to have been many hostilities around her already in Csapó street where had she lived previously. Her shed was set to fire and her house burned down. Mrs. Jóna, wife of a wealthy butcher then bought the house of the Dömsödi family in Mester street. Mr. Dömsödi was an impoverished tailor in debt up to the eyes. He died shortly after his house became the property of the Jóna who paid the debts that had burdened the house. His widow went to live as lodger in a neighbour's house with her teenager daughter. Mrs. Dömsödi could not cope with the fact that her house had to be sold and that even her husband had died (probably committed suicide) and she thought that all her troubles came to

her because Mrs. Jóna wanted to obtain her house with her magical power. She was among the most hostile witnesses against Mrs. Jóna in the course of the witch trial. Mrs. Jóna came up against her new next-door neighbours, too. Her manner of moving to Mester street violated a highly respected custom of the city, i.e. the norm that the next-door neighbours have a primary claim to a house that is for sale. The offended neighbours accused her of witchcraft. Mrs. Jóna's relations to her neighbours and to her patients were troubled with the additional tensions originated in her bad reputation, too. She was caught in the act of adultery at least two times, she cursed, drank and neglected the church service as well. It was, however, one of her patients who denounced her for witchcraft, a patient who was cured first by Mrs. Nagy. She directed his suspicion to Mrs. Jóna as the patient went back to her to complain that Mrs. Jóna's cures were ineffective. All the hostilities in Mester street came to the surface during the witch trial and Mrs. Jóna was banished from Debrecen.[31]

Debrecen witchcraft accusations against "wise women", however, did not originate only in the competition among popular healers. City witch-hunting seems to have had a peculiar aspect especially from the first half of the 18th century on: the conflict between the representatives of "legal" healing (barber-surgeons and official midwives) and that of the popular one.

Although the guild of barber-surgeons had existed since 1583 in Debrecen, it seems to have begun its fight against popular healers only in the course of the 18th century as barber-surgeons came under the control of educated city physicians. The latter frequently examined the ways of curing of barber-surgeons and required them to have a medical practice and knowledge free of "superstitions", i.e. magical means. The art of midwives was institutionalized in 1738 as the first "Society of Old Women" was founded. Some signs of legal midwifery can be traced to the 1690s when the "old women" had to present themselves before the magistrates. After 1738 legal midwives too became under the supervision of town physicians and the art of "old women" was required to be "free of magic" from this time on.[32] The features of institutionalization of healing and hygiene, however, did not necessarily lead towards the cessation of witch trials, as it might be expected. Interestingly enough, barber-surgeons and official midwives under the pressure of the obligation to purify their arts frequently accused popular healers and midwives of witchcraft, i.e. "superstitious" healing and practices. The charge of witchcraft seems to have been a means of guaranteeing the punishment of bunglers. As if they had wanted to

demonstrate by this way that theirs was a practice free of magic, i.e. a legal one while that of those outside of societies was "superstitious", i.e. an illegal one.

János Kis, an efficacious cunning man was denounced five times by the barber-surgeon guild between 1743 and 1748. He was accused of practising magical healing as well as witchcraft. Mrs. Sámuel Szatmári was denounced by the "Society of Old Women" in 1744. She was accused of using magical means in midwifery and of maleficium, too. Both of them were banished from Debrecen as a great many of their colleagues who were denounced by members of the two societies.[33]

It may be characteristic that witchcraft accusations against the representatives of legal healing and midwifery never seem to have achieved their purpose. The societies always defended their members. Mrs. György Aranyi, an official "old woman" was accused of witchcraft by her patients at least four times between 1740 and 1746. She, however, always managed to escape being condemned as a witch.[34] So did Mrs. János Oláh who was accused by the cunning man of Hadház and some of her patients of witchcraft in 1749. The cunning man identified her as a witch who brought about the newborn babe of Mrs. Pesti to be ill. Mrs. Oláh was finally defended by the "Society of Old Women" and was acquitted while Mrs. Pesti was punished for slander, on the one hand, and for "having addressed a devilish sorcerer" (i.e. the cunning men of Hadház) on the other.[35]

The witchcraft trial testimonies reported of some typical conflicts between "wise women" and their patients. Rejecting the popular healer or midwife the prize of curing or abandoning her for another "wise woman" often resulted in the illness or other kind of troubles of the patients who then accused "wise women" of witchcraft according to the stories of bewitchment. Witchcraft could be interpreted here as a means of reinforcing the respected role of "wise women" who were not allowed to offend in any way. On the other hand, however, the patients could also turn their back on them in this way, taking into consideration primarily the malevolence of "wise women" and not their own guilt. It would be difficult to find out which of the two conclusions fitted in fact in the actual situation without taking a look at the stories behind the testimonies.

I would suggest that 18th-century Debrecen witchcraft accusations against "wise women - embedded in the battle between legal and illegal healing - prepared the society for the victory of official/institutionalized medicine instead of conserving the traditional one.

One faces the same problem of interpretation when attempts to comprehend the conflicts between landlords and lodgers, neighbours and the begging poor reported in the testimonies. These types of conflicts seem very similar to those described by K. Thomas and A. Macfarlane as a characteristic of English witchcraft accusations. Refusing a poor woman milk, bread, household utensils, denying her lodging or kicking her out of it often resulted in sickness or in the loss of livestock of uncharitable people who then accused the rejected women of witchcraft according to Debrecen (as well as many other Hungarian) witchcraft trial testimonies.

Was witchcraft a conservative force in this case or did it contribute to new social norms?

Social and economic developments of the 17th-18th-century Hungarian communities could hardly give way to a spirit of capitalistic individualism as it was suggested by Thomas and Macfarlane as a possible interpretation of the kinds of conflicts told in English witchcraft testimonies. My investigations into contemporary Debrecen local history have revealed some aspects of social problems with the poor but from another point of view.

As I mentioned above, Debrecen represented a place of refuge during Turkish time. There was hardly any obstacle to settling there. City magistrates did not (could not) control each and every stranger coming in. From the end of the 17th century, however, a considerable switch-over to a more serious control took place just as Turkish wars were over and Debrecen acquired the liberty of a free royal city. The control of settling in was introduced for economic considerations as well. The wealthy market-town of the 16th-17th centuries showed many signs of impoverishment from the end of the 17th century. This was the consequence of heavy war indemnities imposed on her by Turkish and German armies in the late phase of Turkish wars, on the other hand, and town economy suffered considerable losses under the circumstances of post-war developments, too. Debrecen had to experience the decline of her long-distance cattle-trade and her small-scale trade and industry also saw a recession. The repopulation of the Great Hungarian Plain, the revitalization of its agriculture, trade and industry resulted in an unprecedented competition between new market-places and Debrecen. Recessive town economy could not support masses of strangers any more and a considerable process of pauperization began from within, too.[36]

Debrecen magistrates attempted to fight this tendency in administrative ways. They declared a veritable campaign against settling in, against "illegal" lodgers and beggars. Series of decrees were issued to fight the "crowds of poor" from the end of the 17th century on. Conditions of settling were made stricter "captains of streets" (contemporary administrative authorities) were obliged to visit the houses and to interrogate each of the inhabitants whether they lived there legally or illegally (in the latter case they should be expelled), landlords were obliged to denounce their illegal or even "immoral" lodgers.

Traditional begging was prohibited in public places as well as at house doors. Beggars were removed from the city and taken to the poorhouse outside the city walls. Only poorhouse beggars had the right to beg from this time on, they wore a special sign of "official beggars" on their clothes.

Groups of the poor were frequently summoned before the magistrates in order to be checked out. Huts and hovels made of ground were demolished, even the wandering gipsies were banished from Debrecen.[37]

City magistrates, however, had to renew these decrees from time to time and the long series of orders testify that administrative measures hardly achieved their purpose. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that these measures spoiled the relations between landlords and lodgers or between traditionally charitable Calvinists and the begging poor. The decrees of the magistrates evidently developed vigilance and spread suspicion, they might have been considerable indicators of witchcraft charges, too. The position of the city poor turned out to be more uncertain than it was when traditional begging at least was allowed. The problem of poor relief was not solved by driving some dozens of beggars into the only almhouse with limited capacities. As a consequence, the poor continued walking the streets of Debrecen and to knock at doors for some alms. The fact that many of them had been refused and then accused of witchcraft instead of being denounced as an illegal beggar simply, might be explained in the sense as K. Thomas interpreted the similar features of English witchcraft accusations. Town decrees prohibited begging and alms-giving at house doors, too, but Calvinist religion still required the latter. Those refusing a begging woman could probably eliminate this opposition by accusing the poor of witchcraft.

On the other hand, however, witchcraft charges against the poor might have supported the magistrates' effort to expel them from the city, they

might have filled in the gap that existed between the requirements of city decrees and their evident failure. Witchcraft accusations against the poor - embedded in the campaign of Debrecen magistrates to purify their city and to prepare the way for the institutionalized poor relief - might have served as a means of consolidating new social norms rather than of reinforceing the traditional ones.

I would conclude now that 16th-17th-century Debrecen witch-hunting represents a relatively small-scale persecution characterized by a more or less accusatorial system of jurisdiction, by a Calvinist theology that almost entirely denied the possibility of the witches pact and by three predominant types of witchcraft charges that were embedded in social movements providing legal possibilities for solving conflicts.

Witchcraft accusations, however, seem to have frequently appeared in those cases when legal outlets of tensions proved insufficient for solving problems, on the one hand, and in social situations characterized by "dense" conflicts on the other. Witchcraft charges reflected plenty of contrasts of contenporary city life that were in the process of change in many respects: good versus bad reputation, "morality" versus "immorality", health versus illness, magical power versus magical power (rivalry), strangerhood versus residence, "legality" versus "illegality", wealth versus poverty, etc. It seems that hostilities among neighbours were particularly strong if two or more of these contrasts were present at the same time in bipolar relations. It seems to be reasonable to accept the argument of functionalist explanation that witchcraft charges contributed to eliminate manifold tensions, whether the accusations represented a conservative force reassuring traditional norms (i.e. that of the "pious and godly married women" or they served as a means of consolidating new values (i.e. the institutionalization of healing and poor relief).

The stories of bewitchment in the witchcraft trial testimonies seem to reflect only some signs of real concealed social problems and processes.

The three social/moral campaigns I attempted to introduce were still active when witchcraft trials ceased to exist in Debrecen in the second half of the 18th century. It was the series of royal decrees issued by the Governor General of Queen Maria-Theresa that seems to have put an end to witchcraft trials though some doubts concerning the probability of witchcraft had already been expressed by a city advocate of the 1720s.

The cessation of formal proceedings was obviously not accompanied by that of informal accusations. Debrecen archive sources testify that popular suspicion of witchcraft still flourished in the 19th century. And the people of Eastern Hungary happened to be excellent informants of the 20th-century folklorists studying witch beliefs.

Notes

[1]Evans-Pritchard (1935; 1937).

[2]Douglas (1970: XIII-XXXVIII), Marwick (1952; 1970).

[3]Turner (1964).

[4]Thomas (1978: 638-680; quotation: p. 676), Macfarlane (1970: 193-207).

[5]Midelfort (1972).

[6]Thomas (1978: 659).

[7]Favret-Saada (1977; 1981).

[8]Demos (1982).

[9]Klaniczay (1990).

[10]Demos (1982: 369).

[11]See my thesis: Kristóf (1991, chapter 5).

[12]Diószeg (Bihar county) 1723, see Schram (1970: I, 104-106); Debrecen, 1725 unpublished trial material of Mrs. Mihály Jóna see HBmL, IV. A. 1018/g 25, No. 7; Debrecen, 1746 blasphemy trial of Mr. György Nagy, unpublished, see HBmL, IV. A. 1011/a 41, pp. 309-310, p. 321.

[13]Kováts (1981).

[14]Levack (1987: 154-159).

[15]See my thesis: Kristóf (1991, chapters 2, 3).

[16]Levack (1987: 63-84).

[17]Kállay (1985: 115-116), Bónis, Degré and Varga (n.d.: 122-150).

[18]The expression "gentle Calvinists" is that of Monter (1976).

[19]Boyer and Nissenbaum (1974), for Debrecen Calvinist debates on witchcraft see the treatises of Méliusz (1561) published by Kiss (1882), Margitai (1617), Kecskeméti (1974; 1st ed. 1621), Keresszegi (1635), Nógrádi (1651), Mediomontanus (1656), Csehi (1656), Kabai (1678), Diószegi (1679; 1682), Pápai (1709), published in Trócsányi (1936).

[20]Midelfort (1970: 30-36); Clark (1990).

[21]Clark (1990).

[22]Nógrádi (1951).

[23]Komáromy Cs. Gy. (1666: 248), Nógrádi (1651).

[24]Trial materials published by Komáromy A. (1910: 193-196); supplementary archival sources: HBmL, IV. A. 1011/e. 2.

[25]Trial materials published by Komáromy A. (1910: 423-426); supplementary archival sources: HBmL, IV. A. 1011/g. 1.

[26]Trial materials published by Komáromy A. (1910: 363-364); supplementary archival sources: HBmL, IV. A. 1011/g. 25. No. 5.

[27]Thomas (1978: 677).

[28]Horsley (1979).

[29]Trial materials published by Komáromy A. (1910: 157-171).

[30]Trial materials published by schram (1982: 182-183).

[31]Trial materials published in Komáromy A. (1910: 428-429); supplementary archival sources: HBmL, IV. A. 1018/g. 25. No. 7-9, HBmL, IV. A. 1011/t 3.

[32]Mervó (1985), Jáki (1955), Schultheisz (1969), Szodoray (1960), Takács (1983).

[33]Unpublished trial materials: HBmL, IV. A. 1011/a. 38, p. 245, p. 432: 39, p. 148, p. 151, p. 157; 40, p. 435; 41, p. 367; 42, p. 2; pp. 182-183.

[34]Unpublished trial materials: HBmL, IV. A. 1011/a 35, pp. 36-37; p. 88; p. 248; p. 665.

[35]Unpublished trial materials: HBmL, IV. A. 1011/a 43, pp. 418-419.

[36]Várkonyi (1987: 1380-1382); Balogh (1981); Varga (1981).

[37]Herpay (1929: 44; 70-71; 73; 91); unpublished city decrees concerning the poor: HBmL, IV. A, 1011/a 23, p. 276 (1695); 30, p. 155 (1720); 35 (1740).

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Abbreviations

HBmL - State Archive of Hajdú-Bihar Count (Debrecen).

OSZK Kt, RMK - Collection of 16th-17th century printed literature in Széchenyi State Library, Budapest.

WITCHCRAFT AND OTHER MAGICAL BELIEFS -
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MISSING FOOTPRINTS: MALEFICIUM IN MODENA

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The historically powerful figure of the European witch, long dominant in both learned and popular imagery, has faded somewhat in recent years. Under the influence of anthropological models, historians have focused not so much on "witches" per se, as on the social setting within which individuals came to be perceived as witches. Other characters in the witch-dramas played out in the villages of Europe have received more attention, such as the neighbours and victims whose accusations of maleficium fueled the witch trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of all these new players, it is the figure of the counter-witch who has contributed most to the historical understanding of how intact witch belief systems functioned on their own terms, especially in those periods and geographical areas where witch trials did not occur. From English cunning men, to the Friulian benandanti and the Hungarian táltos, historians have identified a sociologically distinct set of persons charged with undoing the harm attributed to witches. As a result, witch beliefs have been returned to their original context, where they comprised only one half of a more elaborate system of beliefs, which went beyond identifying the source of an individual's misfortune to provide a repertoire of remedies against that misfortune. This previously missing, remedial "other half" of European witch beliefs contributes in significant ways to an understanding of traditional magical belief systems.

This paper will discuss the remedies against witchcraft used in the jurisdiction of Modena in north central Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In particular, I will attempt to sort out the complex web of relationships between the village healers who administered these magical remedies, the sick persons (diagnosed as victims of maleficium) who called on healers for cures, and the persons accused of witchcraft by these same victims or their families. Witchcraft accusations in the Modenese countryside were overwhelmingly directed against local village healers, for it was in the exercise of their healing functions that they

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came to be perceived as witches by clients and neighbours. A reconstruction of the traditional remedial system, and especially of the relationships between healers and patients, is therefore a prerequisite for placing Italian witch beliefs in their specific historical setting.

The approach to magical crimes taken by the Roman Inquisition gave a special prominence to the role of healers in the Italian countryside. As part of a broader campaign against "superstition", the local offices of the Inquisition conducted a series of trials against practitioners of popular magic, for offenses including magical healing, love magic and divination (usually to find lost or stolen objects). In order to conduct a trial, the Holy Office required that a person have performed a specific magical procedure, witnessed by others. Denunciations for maleficium did not meet these requirements, because, in the view of the court, they were based on suspicions rather than on observation of a magical procedure. The result was that even though many people made denunciations of witchcraft to the Roman Inquisition, these were usually not pursued. As the Modenese court noted in dropping one such case, "there are no withnesses to an act of maleficium, but only so many suspicions".[1] The cases that were pursued, by contrast, were those where witnesses could testify to the performance of a specific magical procedure. The majority of these involved the magical healing of sicknesses diagnosed as originating through maleficium. Because of the court's approach, the records of the Roman Inquisition trials for superstition thus constitute an especially rich source for the study of magical remedies, and of the relationship of these remedies to the harm they sought to undo.

Trial records from Modena reveal no organized group of counter-witches like the benandanti, but they do provide extensive evidence about the activity of individual healers who performed remedial functions on behalf of the bewitched. Village healers treated illnesses of both natural and magical origin through a series of techniques collectively referred to as "signs" (segnamenti). These procedures included making the sign of the Cross (hence the term "signing") over the sick person, sometimes accompanied by other prayers or verbal formulae (which the court called incantations) and by natural remedies, such as baths, ointments and herbal remedies. Popular healing techniques thus took an eclectic approach, drawing on all available forms of power, whether natural orthodox or magical. The Church had no objection to remedies which could be shown to operate on a purely natural level, but was strongly opposed to syncretic cures which

drew orthodox religious elements into an unorthodox context. The most basic restriction enforced by the Inquisition in these trials was that against cures which contained words of any kind, whether orthodox prayers or magical formulae. The inadequacies of official medicine and the uncertainties of the spiritual remedies administered by clerics left plenty of room for traditional healers, most of whom were older women who charged small fees for their magical cures. The relatives of sick people took an active approach towards the procurement of remedies, seeking out known healers to request their services. Given the financial incentive for healers, it is somewhat surprising to find that clients initiated most healing transactions, often in a persistent and demanding way, pressing hesitant healers act. Indeed trial records reveal a series of techniques by which a client could effectively force a reluctant healer to perform a magical remedy for her neighbour's benefit.

But why would clients need such techniques, and why were healers so cautious? The most obvious explanation is that by the late sixteenth century, the orthodox campaign against magical healing had criminalized the performance of traditional cures. Those formally charged with superstitious healing risked being "sent to Modena", which in rural parlance implied imprisonment there during trial by the Inquisition, and penalties ranging from the standard public humiliation (standing in front of the parish church during Sunday Mass) to whipping and exile in extreme cases. Thus many healers turned down requests for their services, explicitly citing their "fear of the Inquisition".[2]

And yet the methods to which clients resorted in order to force reluctant healers into performing the traditional remedies are clearly far older than the Inquisitorial campaign of the late sixteenth century. The active, even aggressive role of the client vis à vis the healer has a longer, more complex history as part of the balance of power in a traditional remedial system. The client's power to coerce performance of cures was, in fact, built into the formal structure of requests made by the client to a healer. The best evidence of this is provided by older witnesses testifying about things learned a half century earlier, before the reorganization of the Inquisition in the 1540's, and well before the anti-superstition campaign of the late 16th century. In testimony given in 1622, but referring back at least a century, the 78 year old Maria Rossi repeated what her mother-in-law had told her many times: "when someone is bewitched (guasta), you should find a person who is thought to be a witch,

and ask them three times for the love of God to heal".[3] Often the three requests "for the love of God" were accompanied by three charitable offerings (elemosine), in a combination that, according to tradition, no healer could refuse. Donna Joanna Turricella used this approach when her daughter-in-law Rosa returned from a trip with pains in her throat and abdomen.

> I realized that she could easily have been bewitched, so we sent three elemosine to Lucia del Cerco, who is said to heal the bewitched. I sent her bread, cheese and salami by the servant, telling him to ask her three times for the love of God to teach us something to heal her.[4]

The ritual nature of this requirement is indicated by warnings against exceeding the prescribed number of offerings. This was not a case of ordinary bribery, in which more was necessarily better; rather, the request for assistance was itself a kind of magical procedure in which use of the correct formula was crucial.

> (Domenica de Toleto) said to beware of giving anyone more than three elemosine, because only in this manner do they have to heal. But if you give them more than three, they are free to heal or not to heal. Then if they don' feel like it, they won't heal.[5]

Clients then were not the passive object of healing procedures, but were active participants, seeking out and procuring customary remedies to the conditions that afflicted themselves, their families and their livestock. This confidence in their power to coerce a reluctant healer survived the efforts of the church to suppress all such practices, but not without cost to the clients themselves.[6] By the 1620's, the Inquisition had become aware of the pressures placed on healers, and a new series of trials was initiated, in which clients appeared no longer just as witnesses but as defendants charged with complicity in magical healing.[7]

The ability of the client to coerce a cure reflects not only confidence in the existence of remedies, but also a series of doubts about the person who performed those remedies, in particular about the healer's relationship to the harm she could undo. Witnesses making accusations of maleficium repeatedly pointed to successful cures as evidence of a healer's magical ability, presenting the failure of a cure in their own case as a kind of malpractice. Their statements reflect a general assumption of the

equivalence between healing and harming; indeed, this concept had attained proverbial status. A witness testified in 1579 against a healer accused of *maleficium*, saying: "I have heard Maria say she has healed and restored more children than she has hairs on her head, and it is commonly said that those who know how to heal also know how to harm".[8] Like the *benandanti* who claimed to fight witches and protect the community from magical harm, but who encountered suspicion from their supposed beneficiaries as well as from the Inquisition, Modenese healers were regarded with a nervous combination of hope and fear by the people they treated. Indeed, the same people who sought them out as healers frequently denounced them as witches (*streghe* and *malefiche*) to the Inquisition.

These structural connection between healing and harming are reflected in another traditional assumption, that magical cures actually required magical harm. Many witnesses explained that such cures functioned by displacing illness from the sick person onto another creature.[9] To cite one example from 1609, Benedetta Collechina came to the Altimani house to sign a sick child; a few days later, the family's ox became sick and had to be butchered.

> Everyone in the family holds that she bewitched (*affatturato*) the ox, because they have heard that such people cannot heal a child without destroying (*guastare*) another living thing, either an animal or a rational creature.[10]

This concept permitted a wide range of misfortune to be blamed on healers, even if no healer had been in the household. When their horse become sick, Margarita Lamberti suggested to her husband that "perhaps Ingarda /a local healer/ had signed a neighbour's child, for it is said that these witches cannot heal one without bewitching another".[11]

In a lengthy deposition from 1611, Giovanni Galli testified about his suspicions concerning Ursolina, whom he called on to heal the same daughter he suspected her of harming.

> I saw Ursolina one day and told her that my daughter was bewitched (*guasta*), that I had been told she had done this and that if I thought this was true I would have wanted to make her known to all /as a witch/. ... I told her she should heal (*conciare*) my daughter, but she said she didn't know how to do anything, so I let her go.
>
> After four or six days she came to find my daughter at home in bed gravely sick; she had been given communion and holy oil because she

> was thought to be almost dead. Ursolina went to the bed to touch her and said not to worry, that she hoped she would heal. Then she left and my daughter afterwards began to get better; now she is well and alive, and must be about 20 years old.
>
> But in leaving the house, Ursolina gave an apple to my son called Domenico, 8 years old, who ate it and then got sick in such a manner that he became all dry like a piece of wood. I judged that Ursolina had bewitched (guasto) him through that apple, so I went to find her and threatened her saying if she didn't heal my child, I would cut her throat. She said she was a good woman and didn't know how to do anything, so I did nothing more to her, but then the child got better because I anointed him with an ointment I bought at Carpi from a spetiale (herbalist). ...
>
> After my children had been healed, two animals got sick, a pig which died and a cow which is not yet dead but on the verge. People say that the animals have been bewitched (striate), that Ursolina lifted the maleficio from the child and put it on those animals.[12]

This testimony provides an important statement of the idea that maleficial injury was somehow neither created nor destroyed, but rather displaced from one creature to another. The underlying logic implies that the most any healer can do is remove, rather than truly repair, such an injury. Moreover, if healing can be achieved only at the expense of another creature, all healers are suspect as harmers, since their efforts to heal depend on the displacement of maleficium.

There was then an internal tension in the remedial belief system, a tension which arose from the close connections between magical healing and magical harming. In many ways, this was a logical association. Remedial knowledge implied understanding the cause of disease, and it made sense that such knowledge could be used to induce a condition as well as to cure it.

Missing Footprints

The best example from the Modenese records of how this relationship operated in popular belief is found in the cure for mal di pediga (sickness of the footprint), a disease of maleficial origin. The symptoms were varied and vague. When asked "of what does the sickness of the lifted footprint consist", one healer responded with a comparatively elaborate explanation: "they get a pain in the stomach and in the soles of the feet".[13] If pediga was suspected, a definitive diagnosis could be made by measuring the sick person on both sides, using new thread spun by a virgin girl.[14] If one leg was longer than the other, this was evidence that the

person's footprint had been magically "lifted" in an act of maleficium. If ashes adhered to the sole of the sick person's foot, this too indicated an empty place where the missing footprint should have been.[15]

The basic concept behind this diagnosis seems to have been one of a strategically located, magical opening in the body, at the point of contact with the earth, through which its vitality was drained.[16] These patients were victims of witchcraft; their condition was held to be fatal if untreated. Luckily, there was a cure, a procedure called "lowering the footprint" (sbassando la pediga), through which a missing footprint was replaced and the person restored to health. The healer would have the sick person place his foot on some ashes, creating a new footprint. These ashes were then gathered with a silver coin, placed in a piece of new cloth, and taken outside, where the bundle was thrown backwards into a well or running water. In some accounts, the person throwing the bundle was instructed to run away before it hit the water to avoid hearing the sound of the impact. One client who could not travel even managed to have her footprint lowered at a distance; she sent her shoe to the healer, and ashes were sent back to be thrown in the water.[17]

This magical cure for a magically induced condition was a common one in the Modenese countryside. Many healers knew how to lower footprints; Sancta de Ferraris, for one, testified in 1601:

> I have lowered footprints many, many times during the past twenty years. In short, I lowered footprints for everyone who came to me, because they brought me something to eat.[18]

Moreover, the circle of potential healers was constantly widening; the widow who cured Giacoma Barbari of pediga told her that "anyone whose footprint had been unlifted could then unlift it for other".[19] People who had been cured in this manner often did launch their own careers; this seems in fact to have been a prerequisite for treating pedgia, for defendants invariably cite their own cures as the source of their technique.[20]

These traditional, if informal, methods of transmitting magical knowledge were disrupted in the sixteenth century by the orthodox campaign against superstitious error. But the popular belief system of which such procedures formed part did not evaporate overnight; rather this competing belief system continued to reinforce assumptions and legitimate activities condemned by the church. Like Giacoma Barbari, witnesses before the court

frequently alluded to proverbs or specific statements by others as evidence that, in their own milieu, such activities were widely accepted. Ursola Pontiroli, imprisoned in 1610 for lowering footprints, defended herself both by construing as permissive a confessor's failure to prohibit her, and by claiming permission from a different kind of authority.

> I: Whether she has anything to say about her case.
> R: Only that ... never again in a thousand years will I do such a thing, and if the priest had reprimanded me when I confessed, I would not have done it, but since he said he saw no sin in it, for that reason I did this thing.
> I: Whether she spoke with that priest before she performed this experiment and asked his advice as to whether she should do this thing.
> R: Father, no, I didn't speak to him beforehand. But the women told me I could do this, because they said that since it had been done to me, I could do it to others. For this reason I did it. /Italics added/.[22]

Ursola thus cites traditional, common knowledge as an alternative source for the legitimation of her actions. At the same time, she recognizes the priest as the local voice of the church, prudently implying that if he had ruled out her procedure in confession, she would have accepted his as the higher authority. This may have been an expedient approach on her part, but her testimony nonetheless provides a useful statement of the way in which oral tradition, repeated in each generation and restated on every relevant occasion, continuously revalidated magical activities on the popular level, despite the church's objections.

When this procedure came to the attention of the Holy Office in the early 1600's, Inquisitors displayed a certain amount of confusion about the distinction between lifting and lowering footprints, provoking witnesses to careful explanations of the difference. Margarita Pontiroli explained in her testimony of 1610, "to unlift it for them is to heal it" (dislevarli la e guarirla). Some of the court's confusion can be seen in Julia de Carraris' 1612 sentence for "having signed, in a superstitious and diabolical manner, a sickness called sbassare la pediga (lowering the footprint)". Although the author of this formal statement missed the distinction between the sickness and its cure, it is clear from repeated trial testimony that the sickness was called mal di pediga, while the cure was "lowering" or replacing a missing footprint.

Most defendants freely confessed to remedial lowering of footprints, but vigorously protested any implication that they had lifted one; in

short, they admitted healing but not harming. The trial of Sancta de Ferrara in 1601 on charges of superstitious healing provides one example.

I: Whether she ever bewitched (maleficaverit) any person especially by lifting footprints.
R: I don't know how to lift footprints, although I do know how to lower them, nor is there anyone who knows how to lower them better than me.
She was told that her statement that she does not know how to bewitch lacks verisimilitude, for those who know how to lower one, also know how to lift one.
(Ei dicto quod non est verisimile quod nesciat maleficiare nam quelli che sanno sbassarla, sanno anchora levarla.)
R: It is true that the proverb says that 'who knows how to heal, also knows how to harm, but as for me, although I know how to lower a footprint, I don't know how to lift one nor how to bewitch (guastare).[23]

Sancta's reply seems to correct the Inquisitor's version of this proverb, removing his specific reference to lifting footprints and returning it to the broader context of healing and harming. Despite such denials, the traditional connection continually reasserted itself, both in maleficium accusations against healers of the mal di pediga, and in questioning by the court.

In a similar trial from 1624 for "signing footprints", Maria Priora was confronted with both learned and popular assumptions about the equivalence of healing and harming.

I: Does she know that she is commonly held by all to be both a malefica and a striga.
R: I don't know why they hold me as a witch, except because I sign footprints.
I: Whether she actually and truly knows how to perform maleficia, especially that of lifting footprints.
R: Signor, no, I don't know how to bewitch (guastare).
Told to beware of lies because it is the sad and common rule among witches 'that who knows how to heal, knows also how to harm'. (... quia est regula trista et communis apud maleficos che chi sa guarire, sa anco guastare.)
R: I don't know how to bewitch (guastare).[24]

The vernacular origin of this proverbial maxim was underlined in both these cases by the Inquisitorial notaries who momentarily switched into Italian from the Latin ordinarily used to record all statements of the court.

Although Inquisitors referred to such traditional assumptions, and accepted testimony about a person's reputation (publica voce et fama),

such an approach clearly relies on public opinion and common knowledge more than on any explicitly theological perception of an issue. These types of evidence were cited when they useful, but never constituted the entirely of the court's agenda. In this case, the court drew on its own learned theological approach to reach a related, but ultimately different conclusion about the ambivalent character of Maria's magical healing abilities.

> She was told that it is presumed that she had a pact with the demon, either alone or with others, because ashes or flour do not of themselves have the power to heal the sick, especially those in extremis. Since those people were healed, as has been testified, it must be said that this was done either by the power of God or the demon. And since God holds superstitions in abomination, it is necessary to affirm that it was done by the power of the devil. She replied, 'I have made no pact with the devil.'[25]

Although the court had confronted her with the healing/harming proverb, its own theological analysis, unlike the popular one, did not require her to have done harm in order to be implicated in a diabolical activity. The trial originated with accusations that Maria had caused the maleficial conditions she purported to cure, including at least one death. However, this statement makes it clear that the Inquisition was prosecuting her for healing (with the aid of the devil), and did not require evidence of harming to find her guilty. The theological term for removing a spell by means of another spell was maleficium ad sanandum, for despite its positive goal, magical healing remained an act of witchcraft in the eyes of the Church. And yet Inquisition trials which convict healers of maleficium ad sanandum routinely pass over accusations that these same people had caused maleficial injury. Learned and popular witch beliefs are both reflected in these trials, but the court and its rural informants operated with separate agenda.

There was one unusual aspect of Maria Priora's trial. Most healers lowered footprints with ashes only, but Maria sometimes used flour, in a procedure she explained as follows:

> Once my footprint was lowered with flour, and I was told that there was no more danger that my footprint would be lifted. I then lowered it for others in this manner. I had them place their foot on the flour, gathered the flour with a coin, made a gnocco out of it, then cooked it in the fire and gave it to eat to a dog, cat or to any creature.[26]

There were two problems with this variation on the theme of lowering footprints. First (she was asked), if flour prevented any future footprint lifting, "why then didn't she do this experiment once with flour for everyone, so there would be no further maleficium"?[27] With this shrewd question, the Inquisitor Giovanni Vincenzo Reghezzo de Tabia attempted to undermine her self-presentation as a healer, implying that her failure to use the more powerful, permanent cure on every occasion was itself evidence of hostile (or less than totally beneficent) intent.

Secondly, feeding the gnocco to an animal inevitably aroused suspicions, because of the common assumption that magical cures functioned by transferring sickness to another creature. Julia Gossina, a patient who was also Maria's co-godmother (comadre), drew the logical conclusion and took precautions.

> When I heard this, I thought that the dog or cat who ate that gnocco would die, and since we have a dog, I gave it to a cat. The cat ate it and began to cough, just as I had been coughing; it had spasms in the throat, and vomited, just as I had done. It seemed as though it would die.[28]

The cough did indeed persist until the cat's death, seven months later; the time elapsed did not alter observers' conviction that this cat had been the victim of a magically displaced sickness. According to another witness, Maria had admitted this mechanism:

> Maria made a foccaccia (fugazza) with the flour and told Giulia Bergamaschi to give it to a dog, so that he would suffer the same sickness that she would have suffered and she would be healed.[29]

Moreover, the court accepted this inference as a point of fact in the case against Maria; in a later interrogation, she was

> warned to tell the truth, because it is known from experience, especially in the case of Julia Gossina, that sickness was transferred to the cat who ate the gnocco, and this sickness persisted until the cat's death.[30]

Pressed on the question of why she gave the gnocco to an animal rather than a man, she replied, "because it had been under their feet", refusing to admit any maleficial intent towards the animals in question. The court's retort provides a memorable example of Inquisitorial commentary on

social and economic conditions: "She was told that this reason is frivolous, since children and poor people would have eaten that gnocco even if there was some residue."[31]

In a final, marathon interrogation conducted before the Inquisitor General and the Episcopal Vicar General of Modena, these themes rose to a crescendo.

> I: Why didn't she eat this gnocco herself since she is poor, or give it to her children or to rational creatures.
> R: I don't know, but I didn't eat it; rather I had them give it to the cats or dogs, because my aunt taught me this.
>
> She was warned to tell the truth, for it states in the acts that according to several witnesses and co-witnesses, the cat that ate the flour gnocco was oppressed by the illness that was lifted from Julia, and that this occurred immediately after eating the gnocco.
>
> It is therefore presumed and suspected that the maleficium was transferred from Julia to the cat. The gnocco was given to the animals and not to men, so that the cat might die but the rational creature would not, especially because of the common opinion that one bewitched person cannot be healed unless another is bewitched (precipue stante illa opinione vulgata quod non potest sanari unus maleficiatus, quin alius maleficietur).[32]

Although Maria Priora persisted in her denials of maleficial activity, she was ultimately sentenced to the most severe penalty imposed by the Modenese Inquisition in such cases, public whipping and exile from the jurisdiction of Modena.

Unlike Maria, there were a few defendants who did admit lifting footprints with the intent to do harm. For the period between 1600 and 1625, there are only four such cases in the Modenese trial records; during the same years, there were twenty-three cases of people who confessed to curing by lowering footprints. Less widespread than its remedial opposite, a traditional technique for causing magical harm nevertheless did exist; that technique was the inverse of the cure by "lowering a footprint". The method for lifting was described by Elisabetta Bosia at her trial in 1609.

> Father, I want to tell the truth. Eighteen years ago, some garlic was stolen from my garden. Because there were footprints on the ground, I took the footprint, that is the earth where that person stood, put that earth in an old cloth, tied it with a thread and attached it to the chain of the chimney for three or four days. A woman then came whose name I don't know, and begged me to heal her because she was sick. I said to her, 'What have I done to you?' She said, 'You have lifted my footprint', so I asked if she had taken my

garlic from the garden. She said no but I said that she should tell me freely and ask my forgiveness; still she said no, she hadn't taken it. I said, 'Well then, I haven't done you any harm, because I took the footprint of the person who took my garlic; if you didn't take it I haven't done you any harm.' She said she was sick and I said, 'Therefore you have taken my garlic', but she always denied it, though she did nonetheless ask my pardon. When she left, I went and took away that earth and threw it in the canal. I did this to know who took my garlic, for I had heard that by doing this, that person would get sick.[33]

"Lifting footprints" was thus a form of magical retaliation, probably originating as a means of theft detection, one that conveniently managed to punish thieves in the process of identifying them. The logic underlying Elisabetta's determined interrogation of her suspect reveals the firm conviction that this unknown person was in fact the thief, and that lifting her footprint had caused her sickness, forcing her to identify herself and to apologize in order to obtain relief.

Other cases confirm that levando la pediga was thought of primarily as a technique against thieves. Testifying against Margarita Savana in 1618, one witness cited her knowledge of lifting footprints as evidence of her magical abilities.

I: What about the life and customs of Margaret?
R: As for her behavior (costumi), Margaret is held as a good woman (donna da bene) in all other things. But in this matter of spells, witchcraft (fattucheria, strigarie) and such things, most people in the Villa of Rovereto hold that she knows how to do such things and does them with damage to her conscience and to the persons against whom she executes those arts. In particular, a pig was once stolen from her, which she could never find. Talking to my family about this pig, Margaret said, 'If I had known when that pig was stolen what I have since learned and now know, I would have lifted the footprint of the one who robbed me,' because she had seen the footprint and said they were large feet.[34]

In the annals of crime hunting, the clumsier but more obvious footprint may therefore have a longer history than the modern fingerprint. This was especially true in the unpaved countryside, where tilled earth and muddy paths provided at least a temporary record of unauthorized intrusions. A nocturnal raid on a neighbour's garden, chicken coop or pigsty would inevitably leave behind a set of footprints, and even though positive identification of the thief on this basis remained problematic, the victim could feel quite certain that those prints belonged to the thief, against

whom he could then retaliate. By the same token, public awareness of this risk must have deterred at least some rural trespassers. As unlikely as it may seem, these simple facts lie at the source of a complex series of beliefs in the Modenese countryside about the cause, diagnosis and cure of disease.

There is some evidence that the technique for lifting footprints could be exported to other areas, especially that of love magic (ad amorem). The technique of gathering dust from a footprint, so logical against thieves and trespassers, made equal sense in stalking a lover. The case of Polissena Barbari, a servant (massara) to the widow Signora Barbara Corisa, is unique but suggestive; she was instructed by her employer to "gather dust from the footprint of Signor Colonello Ambrosio Moreno... for she had been told that lifting the footprint in that manner caused a person to love another". The noble widow appeared spontaneously to corroborate the story, though she understood the agenda of the Inquisition enough to minimize her own belief in this charm, which the court interpreted as a magical attempt to subvert another's free will.

> Father with all my heart and with tears, I confess that years ago, loving someone with honorable affection, I desired that he should love me back. Having heard that a way to make oneself loved was through lifting a footprint, I commanded Polissena my massara to take the dust from under the foot of that gentleman and bring it to me. I didn't believe in this much, but more as a joke than otherwise... I did not do this with bad intentions, but for curiosity and to see if it worked or not. I did not however think that it could affect the will, but I had been persuaded of this by a woman who is now dead.[35]

In another, related case, pediga was used not so much ad amorem as ad matrimonium. Ursola Pontiroli was called by the mother of a young woman, Lucia, to lower the daughter's footprint. But, Ursola testified, "as far as I could see, she was not sick, but pregnant," a condition that her mother perceived as the result of maleficium. Despite her reservations about the diagnosis, Ursola went along with the cure, and with excellent results; once Lucia's missing footprint had been restored, "she was taken as wife by the one who had impregnated her".[36] These cases illustrate the way in which a magical procedure, one with a fairly specific purpose such as theft detection, could be generalized to serve broadly remedial functions - here that of saving Lucia's threatened honor by a timely marriage.

It was then not only thieves whose sicknesses were traced to a missing footprint; this hostile spell was suspected as the cause of many

unexplained illnesses. In the garlic theft episode described above, the malefica (Elisabetta Bosia) withdrew the spell herself, but in the majority of illnesses diagnosed as mal di pediga, the perpetrator remained unknown. Unless the sick person had a guilty conscience that might force him to confess a theft (for which his sickness was a magical punishment), or had an enemy known to possess magical knowledge, he had no way of guessing who might have lifted his footprint. But even if the culprit could not be identified, the condition could be cured by having his "footprint lowered", magically reversing the procedure that had removed and "dried out" the footprint, rehydrating it by throwing the ashes into water. The cure for pediga provides a classical example of countermagic at work, for as a remedy it makes no sense without the logically prior maleficial act it seeks to undo. But in the overwhelming majority of pediga cases tried before the Modenese Inquisition, there was no real attempt to identify the perpetrator of such an act. Rather the cure functioned on its own, as the independent, remedial half of a traditional peasant system of magic and counter magic, of healing and harming.

It is this sinister sub-text that underlies maleficium accusations against healers. Their services, for which some kind of payment was expected, were only needed when a hostile magical spell had resulted in a sickness they knew how to cure. In the absence of other suspects, the proverbial equation of healing and harming, together with the financial benefits to healers, cast them as likely perpetrators. The existence of traditional techniques for forcing reluctant healers to heal is also evidence of the suspicion that healers had caused the harm they knew how to cure; if these suspicions were correct, their intentions were hostile and their reluctance to heal made sense.[37] Moreover, as the case of Elisabetta Bosia illustrates, one person who could definitely lift a spell was the person who had cast it. According to this principle, the best healer is precisely the harmer, and the best place to go for a remedy is to the person who is suspected as the cause of a given disease. The nervous undercurrent of healer-client interaction can be traced to these usually unstated tensions.

On occasion, however, these implicit fears become explicit, as they did in a Modenese Jewish household in 1590. Benedetto Puntassur and his wife had called in a Christian woman, Tadea, so that, as the court put it, "she might write some superstition over their son" who was sick with quartan fever. Benedetto had been unsure whether the child was indeed bewitched, but his wife and daughter were convinced, and moreover felt they knew who was responsible. As the wife testified:

> My daughter suspected that the aforesaid Madonna Tadea might have bewitched (guasto) my son, so I sent for her in person. When she came to the house, my daughter slapped her several times so that if she had done this wrong, she would heal him.[38]

This approach is, in a sense, the logical extension of more mild-mannered techniques for forcing a healer to heal. As Jews, the Puntassur family could not avail themselves of clerical remedies, nor were they likely to denounce Tadea to the Inquisition. The family thus took their own quasi-vigilante steps against the suspected perpetrator of their son's illness, demonstrating that hostility against healers could exist independently of the opportunities for redress afforded by judges, theologians and Inquisitors.[39] Furthermore, the family's readiness to hold Tadea responsible for an illness that began before she was called in to heal the patient indicates that the malpractice model is not adequate to this case. The maleficial activity here attributed to the healer predates her therapeutic intervention in the case, and, from the moment of her arrival, her treatment by the family indicates that they see her as the witch responsible for their son's illness.[40] From their perspective, they called not on a healer but on the harmer to heal their son.

It was not unusual for sick people or their relatives to take a theatening approach towards the person they suspected in order to extract a cure. In 1608, Agnes Reci felt certain that Domenica Mengosa had made her sick: "I was afraid of her and suspicious because of her bad life and bad reputation; I knew she wished me ill, so I threatened and scolded her." In the encounter leading to her cure, Agnes was clearly the aggressor, acting more out of anger than out of fear. As she explained:

> My sickness could not be diagnosed either by the doctor or by others. But once as I stood at the door of my house, Domenica Mengosa came by and asked how I was. Angrily, I told her I was sick and I began to threaten her, because it seemed that inside myself I blamed her for my sickness. She said, 'Be careful Madonna Agnese, for your footprint must have been lifted, and if I was not afraid that you would go about telling others, I would teach you how to be healed." So I told her to go ahead, and she lowered my footprint in the following manner... Finally then with the help of God, I began to get better and am now healed.[41]

From Agnes' perspective, she had procured this cure not by seeking out a healer, but by threatening behaviour towards the person responsible for her sickness.

The majority of denunciations for maleficium in the Modenese jurisdiction, like that against Domenica Mengosa, were made by former clients against their would-be healers, and rely on this identification of healing and harming. The process by which the healer came to be seen as the source of the illness she claimed to cure is thus as central to the Modenese trials as the identification of the wronged beggar is to the English situation.[42] Moreover, it is clear from these trials that the perception of healers as witches was not imposed on a recalcitrant population by a conspiracy of theologians or male physicians jealous of their competitors, as was suggested in an early feminist comment on this issue.[43] Rather, it was a perception which arose spontaneously from the assumptions underlying magical healing, from the interaction between client and healer, and thus from the dynamics of the healing process itself.

Notes

[1]Archivio di Stato di Modena /here after ASM/, Inquisizione, busta 48, Contra Isabettam Benaiam, 1618.

[2]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 31, Contra Ursolina, 1607.

[3]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 62, Contra Giovanna Prandina, testimony of 8 June 1622.

[4]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 19, Contra Luciam uxoram Ioannis de Cerco, 27 May 1602, de superstitiones et maleficia, nihil probatum.

[5]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 33 Contra Domenica de Toleto, 8 August 1608.

[6]For example, healer named Giovanna Prandina was approached in 1622 by a young man with a bad back; his mother testified about their interaction:

> "My son said his back had hurt for quite a while, and would she please teach him something to heal it. She answered, 'You want me to teach you, but they say they want me to go to San Domenico /i.e. before the Inquisition/. The other day I taught how to heal an ox, and now they want to make me go to Modena.' But when my son asked a third time, that for the love of God would she teach him something, Giovanna said he should turn over stretched out on the floor of the house three times or nine times, put a white vite over his back and bathe in cow's milk. My son said, 'Will I then get well?' She said yes." ASM, Inq., busta 62, 1 June 1622.

Giovanna's awareness of orthodox prohibitions and of the consequences of her actions did not keep her from acquiescing in the traditional requirement that she provide her cures after three correctly phrased requests. In these cases, it is clearly incorrect to regard clients as passive dupes of charlatan healers; rather they shared assumptions concerning the efficacy of magical procedures, and frequently took the initiative in inducing, even forcing, reluctant healers to perform remedies.

[7]These developments are discussed at greater length in my book, Healing and Harming: Inquisition Trials for Magical and Superstitious Offenses in 16th-17th Century Italy, forthcoming from Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

[8]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 7, 1579, Contra Maria de Mariani, testimony of Andreas di Saviolis. For a discussion of this principle as applied against clerical healers, see O'Neil (1984: 53-83).

[9]This traditional assumption about undoing magical harm is present in the Malleus Maleficarum (Part II, Question 2), which recounts a story of how a magical spell was removed by sending it back upon the witch who had cast it in the first place.

[10]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 34, Contra Benedetta Collechina, 1609.

[11]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 33, Contra Ingarda Azalona, 2 February 1608; testimony from Liber Depositionum, 1611.

[12]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 40 Contra Ursolina Galla, called Zia Badina, testimony of 4 May 1611.

[13]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 70, Contra Maria Priora, detta La Bolzona, testimony of 16 April 1624, f69v.

[14]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 63, Domenica, 1623; busta 70, Contra Maria Priora, detta La Bolzona, 1623-24.

[15]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 42, Julia, 1612; ASM, Inquisizione, busta 70, Contra Mariam Costam, dictam La Priora seu Bolzona de Santo Felice, 26 Sept 1623.

[16]For the concept of the corpo chiuso as basic to traditional medical practice, see Pomata ('983).

[17]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 27, Contra Nicolosa, 1606.

[18]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 15, Contra Sanctam de Ferrariis de Santo Felice, dictam La Munchina o La Storta, quae alias in Sancti Officii Mirandulae abiuravit de vehementi, 4 April 1601; testimony of 9 October 1601.

[19]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 23, Contra Giacoma e Polissena de Barbari, et Barbara de Caritis, vidua nobilis, 15 July 1603. "Quella donna, che me levo la pedega, mi disse, che a chi era stata levata una volta la pedega, era buono di levarla a un altro." Although she refers here to this woman as having "lifted" her footprint, it is clear from the context that she means "unlifted", i.e. lowered. She describes the procedure saying "Una vedova chiamata La Signora Vanina mi levo la pedega in questo modo... diceva queste parole: 'A te dislevo, a laude di Dio et Santa Trinita, che ti torni in sanita'." /Italics added./ Her testimony is one of many examples of the confusion between lifting and lowering, though usually it is the court rather than the witness who confuses the two. See discussion below.

[20]For example Giovanna Fracassa, testified that she could lift footprints because hers had been lifted as a child. ASM, Inquisizione, busta 34, testimony of 23 October 1609, f. 20v.

[21]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 35, Contra Ursola Pontiroli, testimony of 16 September 1610.

[22]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 35, Contra Ursola Pontiroli. However, there also seems to have been some sloppiness in the popular vocabulary referring to this procedure; as the cases of Giacoma Barbari and Giovanna Fracassa (cited above), show, defendants might refer to lifting (levare) and unlifting (dislevare) interchangeably. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the procedure for "unlifting" actually does require the healer to "lift" the ashes into the cloth; but the magical purpose of the procedure remains that of restoring a missing footprint.

[23]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 15, Contra Sancta de Ferrara, testimony of 9 October 1601.

[24]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 70, Contra Maria Costa of San Felice, called La Priora or La Bolzona; tiral before Fra Giovanni Vincentio Reghezzo da Tabia, Inquisitor General of Modena, testimony of 22 April 1624, ff 76v-77r.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., testimony of 19 January 1624.

[27]Ibid., testimony of 22 April 1624.

[28]Ibid., testimony of Julia widow of Giovanni Battista Gossi, 12 March 1624.

[29]Ibid., Petro Antonio Paniglinis; testimony of 16 April 1623.

[30]Ibid., testimony of 16 April 1624. This citation of "experience" included testimony about the death or sickness of at least two other animals, both dogs and cats; see testimony of 16 December 1623.

[31]Ibid., testimony of 19 January 1624.

"I: Why did she cook the gnocco and give it to a cat or dog.
R: I don't know.
She was warned to tell the truth, because it states in the acts that she gave a reason why it was given to animals.
R: I don't know what they are talking about.
I: Why was it not given to men to eat.
R: Because it had been under their feet.
She was told that this reason is frivolous, and that children and poor people would have eaten that gnocco even if there was some residue.
R: My aunt taught me to give it to the cats and dogs."

Maria tried to get out from this line of questioning by admitting that she had on some occasions told the sick person to eat the gnocco themselves rather than giving it to an animal, but given the suspicions of maleficium, this did not really help her case.

[32]Ibid., testimony of 22 April 1624.

[33]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 34, Contra Giovanni Fracassa and Elisabetta Bosia of Villa Roveretti, de maleficio pedicae, trial of 9 September 1609; testimony of 25 October 1609, ff. 27r-v.

[34]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 58, Contra Margarita Savana, de malefitio, nihil probatum; testimony of Battista Lulio, 5 July 1618.

[35]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 23, Contra Giacoma et Polissena de Barbari, et Barbara de Caritis, vidua nobilis, 15 July 1603.

[36]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 35, Contra Ursola Pontiroli, 1609.

[37]On the frequent reluctance of healers to heal, and on the traditional techniques to force them to heal, see O'Neil, Healing and Harming, Chapter 4.

[38]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 7, f. i, Dominus Benedictus Puntassarus, Hebreus, 1590. In fact it was Benedetto rather than Tadea who found himself denounced to the Inquisition for having procured superstitious services from a Christian; the implication may have been that he, as a Jew, had corrupted her, for there is no record of a trial against Tadea stemming from this incident.

[39]For examples of vigilante action against persons suspected of witchcraft, especially in the absence of recognized judicial mechanisms for trying such cases, see Cohn (1975: 162-163).

[40]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 7, f. i, Puntassarus Hebreus, 1590; see above, note 38.

[41]ASM, Inquisizione, busta 32, Contra Domenica La Menghosa, testimony of Agnes wife of Steffano de Reci, 1 November 1608.

[42]The classic description of the English beggar witch is by Thomas (1971), especially Chapters 16-17.

[43]Ehrenreich and English (1973) presents a stereotypically feminist but historically wholly inadequate analysis of witchcraft.

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HEXENSAGEN UND HEXENPROZESSE IN KROATIEN

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Das europäische theologische Hexenmuster mit der magischen Schadenzufügung, den Sabbaten, dem Bündnis mit dem Teufel und dem Buhlgeschäft mit ihm, dem Abfallen vom christlichen Glauben mit all seinen Begleiterscheinungen war in Kroatien bekannt und in massenhaften Prozessen angewendet, allerdings wesentlich später, erst nach der Welle der Hexenverfolgung in den meisten europäischen Ländern.[1] Hexen und Hexerei erwähnt man in den Statuten der Städte im kroatischen Küstenland und in Dalmatien, aber in unterschiedlicher Bedeutung im Vergleich zum späteren theologischen Begriff.[2] Riesige Massenverfolgungen von Hexen, begründet auf dem internationalen theologischen Begriff des Hexereiverbrechens nehmen in Kroatien den vollen Lauf in den letzten Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts und verebben Ende der fünfziger Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts.[3]

Die Hexenverfolgung in Kroatien ist im kapitalen Werk Vladimir Bayers Bündnis mit dem Teufel umfassend dargestellt und mit Dokumenten belegt.[4] Unter diesen Gesichtspunkten werde ich versuchen, einige für die Volkszauberei und Hexensagen relevante Aspekte zu erörtern.

In Prozessen, die der grossen Verfolgung vorausgingen, waren am häufigsten Anklagen wegen Zauberei, die auf Schadenzufügung hinausgehen konnte, aber nicht musste, ohne Ketzerei und Beteiligung des Teufels. So war im Jahre 1362 eine Dragica in Zagreb angeklagt, dass sie einen Mann und seine Frau durch Hexerei einander zuwider gemacht habe, und 1475 gestand Jela Rogačica auf der Folter, dass sie die Frau ihres Verwandten in bösen Wurzeln gebadet und damit begossen habe, "damit sie ihr Mann liebe, selbst wenn dieser sie schlage und beschimpfe".[5] Darin erkennen wir leicht den Versuch, die Menschen durch magische Handlungen von ihren Leiden zu befreien. Diese Handlungsweise hat sich bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit im volkstümlichen Zauber erhalten.

Im Prozess aus dem Jahre 1585 in Varaždinske Toplice beklagt sich der Kläger, dass ihn auf dem Heimweg vom Weingarten ein starker Wind umwehte, wovon er krank geworden ist. Dieser Vorfall hat sich wiederholt und

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dabei erschienen vor ihm zwei ihm bekannte Frauen, ihn zu ihrer Hexenkompanie (consortium maleficarum) lockend; das Verbrechen wird schon teuflisch (scelus diabolicum) genannt. In diesem Prozess sind mehrere Frauen angeklagt worden, und eine hat ausgesagt, dass sie einem Hexentreffen auf einem Kreuzweg beigewohnt hat, und dass sie alle danach "ins Winzerhäuschen von Andrija Perdak geflogen sind".[6]

In dieser Anklage sind schon einige Elemente des theologischen Hexenbegriffs erkennbar, und zugleich bemerken wir Momente die aus dem Volksglauben und den Sagen bekannt sind: Windwirbel in dem Hexen herumtoben, Hexenflug, Zusammenkünfte im Winzerhäuschen und auf dem Kreuzweg. Einige theologische Vorstellungen, besonders die von Hexenzusammenkünften bzw. vom Sabbat sind aus der gelehrten Tradition in die mündliche Überlieferung übergegangen.

Die Zagreber Hebamme und Wahrsagerin Bara Tunčić war 1639 angeklagt, dass sie eine Magd in "dieses teuflische Hexengesindel" gelockt und ihr eine "teuflische Hexensalbe" gegeben hatte, damit sie sich damit beschmiere, und dann würden sie gemeinsam dahin fliegen, wo es "schöner und besser" für sie wäre.[7]

Laut den Akten von kroatischen Prozessen aus der Zeit der grossen Verfolgung, waren die Berge Medvednica und Klek besonders beliebte Hexentreffpunkte. Sie flogen dahin oder wurden vom Teufel in einer Kutsche gefahren, sie schmausten, assen und tranken; manche haben auf der Folter gestanden, dass sie mit dem Teufel Geschlechtsverkehr hatten, sie assen Menschenfleisch, sogar das des eigenen Mannes.[8]

Nach dem theologischen Muster mussten alle Hexen auf der Folter gestehen, dass sie mit dem Teufel Geschlechtsverkehr hatten, aber dies geschah, zwei Fälle ausgenommen, privat, und nicht bei der Hexenzusammenkunft.[9]

An einigen Beispielen aus kroatischen Prozessen wird gezeigt, wie sich die herkömmliche volkstümliche Zaubereiausübung unter dem Einfluss von theologischen Auffassungen in schauererregende diabolische Hexerei verwandelte, die natürlich, mit bekannten, grausamen Urteilen bestraft wurde.

Im Jahre 1660, auf die Anklage hin, dass es auf der Halbinsel Pelješac (auf dem Gebiet der Dubrovniker Republik) viele Vilenice und Hexen gibt, hat eine inhaftierte Vilenica ohne Zögern zugegeben, dass sie tatsächlich eine ist, und dass sie in der Heilkunde gewandt ist; sie sprach von Feen, von der Heilkunde und Zauberei mit Kräutern. Nachher, mit einer

anderen Vilenica eingesperrt, hat sie auf der Folter gestanden, dass sie mit dem Dämon Geschlechtsverkehr hatte, dass sie mit ihm zur "Versammlung" flog, wo sie ihren dreijährigen Neffen aufgefressen hat. Die andere hat auf eine ähnliche Weise ihre Tochter aufgefressen.[10] Der Wortstamm von Vilenica kommt von Vila und weist auf die Frauen hin, die ihre Heilkunde von den Vile ('Feen') gelernt haben. Auf sie kommen wir später noch zu sprechen.

Der Prozess gegen Jela Škvarić wurde 1699 in Zagreb geführt. Unter Folter gestand sie, wie sie Hexe geworden ist, und wie sie gottabfällig wurde, und auch wie sie den Stempel des Teufels auf sich nahm; sie hat eine ganze Reihe anderer Hexen verraten. In ihrer Aussage ist jedoch der volkstümliche Aberglaube erkenntlich: die Salbe bereiteten die Hexen um die Pfingstzeit von Kräutern, Früchten und Getreide; sogar Hagel machten sie aus Blumen und Früchten. Um den Georgitag behexten sie Getreide und Wein. Sie hat vorausgesagt, dass es in diesem Jahr an Wein und Brot nicht mangeln wird, und gegen Hexen hat sie die grosse Glocke des heiligen Markus als wirksamstes Mittel empfohlen; gegen Hexen ist man mit Knoblauch und auch mit dem heiligen Kreuz gut geschützt. Dabei hat sie die übliche Sabbatbeschreibung geliefert, wo Hexen Menschenfleisch essen, im Keller Wein trinken und nachher das Fass mit ihrem Harn füllen.[11]

Aus dem Prozess im Jahre 1749 gegen die Leibeigene Bara Petruša aus der Umgebung von Ozalj geht hervor, wie der alte Aberglaube im Verein mit lokalen Streitigkeiten um armselige Güter dieser elenden Leute zuerst zur Anklage wegen Hexerei führte, um sich danach zum bekannten Modell von ungeheuerlichen Anklagen und Geständnissen unter dem Druck der gerichtlichen Untersuchung und Folter zu entwickeln.[12]

Zu Auseinandesetzungen kam es wegen des Weingartens und des Waldes, wegen Kinder, die im Weingarten Muskat stahlen, wegen einer Kuh, die sich vor Baras Haus verirrt hat, wegen drei gefällter Zerreichen, wegen versteckten Specks, Selchfleisches, wegen Käse und Getreide bei der Teilung innerhalb der Familie, wegen des gestohlenen Geldes und eines Lappens, wegen dreier in ihrem Garten fehlenden Zwiebeln und ähnlichem. In solchen Fällen hätte Bara angeblich jedesmal mit ihrer Hexerei jemandes Krankheit verursacht und häufig auch den Tod. Wenn sie es wollte, konnte sie die verhexte Person wieder gesund machen. Allgemein hielt man sie für eine Hexe und alle hatten Angst vor ihr. Später, bei der Untersuchung, schrieb man ihr alle teuflischen Untaten aus dem europäischen Hexenmuster zu, ohne Rücksicht auf die konkreten Unterlagen von vorausgehenden Anklagen.

Bara Petruša wurde ausserdem angeklagt, dass sie einer Kuh im Dorfe die Milch verdorben hat. Dieses Verderben und Entnehmen der Milch fremder Kühe ist typischer Schadenzauber, der aus der volkstümlichen Magieauffassung in den theologischen Hexentumsbegriff übergegangen ist, und zugleich ist er im Volksglauben bis heute erhalten geblieben. Die kroatischen Hexen waren in mehreren Prozessen wegen dieses Verbrechens angeklagt,[13] und in folkloristischen Aufzeichnungen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts gibt es unzählige solcher Beispiele. Ein typisches Verfahren solcher Art ist, "dass die Hexe ein Stück Strick von dem Haus nimmt, wo eine Melkkuh ist, es zu Hause über einen Balken wirft und die Kuh durch diesen Strick bei sich zu Hause melkt".[14]

Die Kuhmilchzauberei ist freilich nur eine Art des schlimmen Hexengetues, das wir anhand von Zeugnissen bei Prozessen und im neueren Glauben parallel verfolgen können. Auch bei benachbarten Völkern finden wir Parallelen.[15]

Wir haben erwähnt, wie eine Vilenica, die laut eigener Aussage "in der Heilkunde gewandt ist", als Hexe angeklagt wurde. Eine solche Anklage konnte durch den Umstand begünstigt werden, dass nach der volkstümlichen Auffassung Schadenzufügung und Heilenkönnen verbunden sind,[16] wie auch durch die von einer italienischen Zeugin im Prozess 1499 geäusserte Ansicht: Wer heilen kann, kann zerstören.[17] Die Vilenice waren trotzdem keine Hexen, und ihre Gleichsetzung mit der theologisch aufgefassten Zauberei ändert gründlich das Bild von Personen, die kleine dörfliche Zauberei betreiben. Obwohl die Benennung Vilenica als Hexe in diesem geschichtlichen Dokument vorkommt, geht aus ihrer Aussage, dass sie "heilen kann", klar hervor, dass diese Frau eine örtliche heil- und zauberkundige Frau war. In folkloristischen Aufzeichnungen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts wird stellenweise erwähnt, dass solche Personen ihre Künste von den Vilen ('Feen') gelernt haben. Die Wahrsagerin Sena sagt über sich selbst: "Ich bin nicht vom Teufels Gesindel, ich bin mit Feen verbündet, sie geben mir die Heilmittel", und "den Wahrsager Đuro haben die Feen auf dem Velebit ermordet und wiederbelebt, sie haben ihm seine Fähigkeiten gegeben".[18] Man sagt, dass die Wahrsagerinnen Feen als Wahlschwestern haben, die ihnen unter anderem die Heilkunde beibringen; Hexen sind dagegen im Bündnis mit dem Teufel, sie zaubern und verkaufen dem Teufel ihre Seele.[19] Die Wahrsager sind Lieblinge von Feen, die ihnen die Heilkunde beibringen;[20] Manche Wahrsager und Wahrsagerinnen stammen "von den Feen" ab.[21] Es besteht eine seltsame slawonische Sage über die Entstehung des

ersten Wahrsagers: als krankes Kind wurde er von Hexen und einem Elfen auf den Berg Aršanj (aus den Sagen als Hexentreffpunkt bekannt) getragen, dem Initiationsritus unterzogen, und die Heilkunde wurde ihm beigebracht.[22] Denken wir daran, wie tief verwurzelt die südslawische Vorstellungen von dem mythischen Wesen Fee sind, wird es uns nicht verwundern, dass mit ihnen zuweilen übernatürliche, ja magische Kenntnisse von Dorfwahrsagerinnen verbunden werden. Dagegen ist die Meinung von F.S. Krauss, dass sich die Feen unter dem christlichen Einfluss in böse Hexen verwandelt haben, und dass die Krsniki (dem Benandante und Táltos nahe Gestalten) eine besondere Verbindung zu Feen haben, völlig unbegründet.[23]

Wie weit die Dorfwahrsagerinnen von Anklagen im Sinne des theologischen Hexenbegriffs entfernt waren, merkt man auch an einigen Zeugnissen in Protokollen anlässlich der Bischofsvisitationen im Laufe vergangener Jahrhunderte:

Auf der Insel Krk sprach man von Personen, die Schadenzauber betreiben und den Leuten Angst einflössen, aber auch von "einer Frau, die wie ein Gott angebetet wird" und zu der man kranke Kinder bringt (im Jahre 1656).[24] In Istrien berichtete ein Pfarrer 1657 über eine Frau, die alle Krankheiten heilen kann, zu ihr kommen Leute von weit her und nennen sie "Gottesfrau" (Bogovica), was er auf italienisch als strega oder fatuchiera, also Hexe, erklärt hat, aber dann hat er diese Frau doch als eine "gute Seele" in Schutz genommen.[25]

Die Grenze zwischen der magischen Heilkunde, die sogar als feenhaft und göttlich angesehen wurde, einerseits, und dem Schadenzauber anderseits, war immer fliessend und ambivalent, aber erst das theologisch geschaffene Hexenmuster hat es ermöglicht, Dorfwahrsagerinnen als böse Hexen mit allen Merkmalen dieses Begriffs zu beschuldigen.

* * *

Über Hexensabbate, gestaltet nach dem bekannten inquisitorischen theologischen Schema, ist es nicht notwendig jetzt ausführlich zu sprechen, und ebenfalls nicht über mögliche folkloristischen Quellen mancher ihrer Elemente.[26] Wie ich es am Anfang sagte, wurde dieses internationale Muster auch in kroatischen Prozessen angewendet. Nach Prozessakten wurden Zusammenkünfte der kroatischen Hexen auf Kreuzwegen und auf einigen als Hexentreffpunkte bekannten Bergen, unter Bäumen, u.ä. abgehalten. Dort schmausten sie, assen Menschenfleisch, Unrat und andere abscheuliche Dinge

und tanzten bis sie einen Hahn krähen hörten. Bei den Zusammenkünften war der Teufel zugegen, mit dem sie tanzten und auch Geschlechtsverkehr hatten; er nahm Menschengestalt an, manchmal auch die eines schwarzen Hundes. Dabei wurden neue Hexen in die Kompanie aufgenommen. Dort zauberten sie und richteten Schäden an, mit Hilfe und nach Anweisungen des Teufels machten sie Hagel, Frost und andere Formen von Unwettern, die die Saat vernichteten. In einem Zagreber Prozess wurde die Hexenkompanie als eine Militärorganisation dargestellt.[27] Das Beispiel des Bestreichens mit Hexensalbe wurde bereits erwähnt. Nach Aussage einer angeklagten Hexe, diente ihr die Salbe gleichzeitig zum Heilen und zum Anstecken mit der Krankheit.[28] Die Salbe, die man zum Fliegen zu den Hexenzusammenkünften brauchte, wurde aus menschlichem Körper zubereitet, der in der Anwesenheit des Teufels auf einem Misthaufen gefunden worden war.[29] Die Salbe wurde auch auf dem Kreuzweg von einem im Leib der Mutter ermordeten Kind zubereitet.[30] Hexen haben die Angeklagte mit "einer teuflischen schwarzen Salbe" bestrichen, und sie flog mit ihnen zum Kreuzweg.[31]

Laut Geständnissen während der Untersuchung, schnitten die kroatischen Hexen bei ihren Zusammenkünften Menschenherzen heraus, brieten und assen sie.[32]

Suggestive Darstellungen schauererregender Hexensabbate, über die auch gerichtliche Untersuchungen und Predigten Gerüchte in Umlauf setzten und über die ängstlich geflüstert wurde, fanden allmählich den Weg zum volkstümlichen Erzählen, befreit von unmittelbarer Angst, ausgelöst durch Prinzipien der narrativen Formgebung. Das theologische Sabbatbild, verflochten mit dem Volksglauben und das Bedürfnis nach Erzählungen, führten zur Entstehung eines breitgefächerten Bestandes an Sagen über Hexen und ihre Zusammenkünfte. Kroatische Sagen beinhalten verwandte Motive mit denen aus den gerade geschilderten Hexen-Prozessen, was freilich doch nicht bedeutet, dass sie teilweise nicht aus dem schon geformten Erzählgut anderer Völker übernommen werden konnten.

Die Struktur der Erzählungen über Hexenzusammenkünfte hat sich schon durch ihre meistens übliche Einführungsepisode vom theologischen Modell entfernt und die Spannung einer Unterhaltungsgeschichte angenommen. Es gibt unzählige kroatische Varianten dieses international bekannten Sujets.[33] Am Abend bestreicht sich die Hexe mit Hexensalbe, ungefähr folgende Formel murmelnd: "Weder gegen den Baum, noch gegen den Stein, sondern nach Pulja unter den Nussbaum", und fliegt aus dem Haus. Der zufällige Zeuge (Schwiegertochter, Gatte, Schwiegersohn, usw.) beobachtet

sie und ahmt aus Neugier ihre Handlungen nach, wiederholt die Formel dagegen falsch ("gegen den Baum und gegen den Stein"), so dass er ganz verhauen und zerkrazt zum Treffpunkt kommt.

Obwohl das Bestreichen mit der Salbe und der Flug zur Hexenzusammenkunft vom Sabbat inspiriert sind, ist die Szenerie ganz anders: grauenhafte Vorbereitungen für den Flug zur diabolischen Zusammenkunft sind gegen interessantes Fabulieren getauscht, gegen Einbeziehung von Neugierigen, das Wortspiel um die Zauberformel manchmal mit einem Schuss Humor.

Die Formeln weisen phantasievolle Variationen auf, z. B. so:

> "Der Dorn hake mich nicht ein, der Busch lasse mich sein, das Unkraut befreie mir den Weg, die Eiche stelle sich nicht schräg, die Zerreiche, die Buche, das Stroh, der Berg und Stein, nichts soll zu mir im Wege sein!"[34]

Zufällig gefundene Hexensalbe kann in unkundigen Händen zu komischen und absurden Effekten in den Geschichten führen: in seiner Unkenntnis beschmiert ein Knecht damit die Karre oder den Pflug und darauf fliegen sie auf einen Baum.[35]

Von vielen Hexentreffpunkten werde ich nur drei beim Namen nennen, die in den Sagen aus verschiedenen Teilen Kroatiens oft erwähnt werden: das ist der Berg Klek, gleichermassen berüchtigt in Hexenprozessen und in Volkssagen, dann Pulja (bzw. Puglia in Süditalien) und Aršanj (wahrscheinlich Harsány) in Ungarn.[36]

Bei der Zusammenkunft unterhalten sich die Hexen, essen und trinken aus goldenen Gefässen[37] und, was besonders wichtig ist, der Teufel ist bei der Zusammenkunft nicht zugegen (ausser in einigen Beispielen, von denen später die Rede sein wird).

In der Struktur von unterschiedlichen Erzählungen über Hexenzusammenkünfte wurde die Hauptrolle dem zufällig zugewanderten Zeugen zuteil, dem "Neuling", wie ihn die Hexen gleich nennen. Das ist ein ganz neues Moment im Vergleich mit den Prozessen (obwohl da neue Hexen in die Kompanie angelockt werden). Der Neuankömmling bleibt in Erzählungen ein Fremder bei der Zusammenkunft und treibt sie sogar öfters auseinander, z. B. indem er sich bekreuzigt, oder den Namen Jesu oder Gottes ausspricht, worauf alle ausser ihm verschwinden. Dies geschieht üblicherweise in einem Weinkeller, wo Hexen Wein tranken und (zuweilen) in die Fässer urinierten. Der Mensch bleibt dann alleine, nackt.[38]

Aus den genannten Beispielen wissen wir, dass die Hexen in kroatischen Prozessen wiederholt wegen der Zusammenkünfte in Winzerhäuschen und wegen des Urinierens in Fässer angeklagt wurden,[39] so dass dies auch in der mündlichen Überlieferung Erwähnung fand.

Das Auseinandertreiben böser Mächte mit Hilfe der Bekreuzigung und des Namens Jesu ist eine magische Handlung aus dem Volksglauben, entstanden unter indirektem Einfluss der Kirche. In unseren beschriebenen Sagen ist dieser Glaube zu einem Element der Erzählstruktur geworden. In Prozessen ist dieses Motiv nicht vorhanden, weil es dort auch keine Erzählung gibt, aber es war schon seit langem in der europäischen Überlieferung bekannt. Der Mailänder Jurist Andreas Alciatus erwähnte in seinen Schriften über die Grossverfolgung von Hexen (um 1515) folgende Geschichte als wahre Begebenheit: "Aus dieser Schrift ist festgestellt worden, dass bei diesem Fest eine gemeine Frau den Namen Jesu rief, worauf der ganze Glanz samt Tänzerinnen und ihren Liebhabern sofort verschwand."[40]

In den kroatischen Hexenprozessen, wie wir es in obigen Beispielen beschrieben haben, wurden viele Frauen angeklagt, dass sie mit Hilfe von Magie den Menschen, besonders ihren Nächsten, die Herzen aus dem Leibe reissen und auffressen, und dass sie auch sonst Menschenfleisch essen. Sie taten dies auf Sabbats oder bei anderen Gelegenheiten. Man könnte der fernen ethnologischen Herkunft derartigen Glaubens nachforschen, aber sicherlich hat die starke Suggestivität des theologischen Hexenbildes analoge mündliche Überlieferung beeinflusst und ihre Spuren hinterlassen als Glaube und als Erzählung. Man glaubte, dass die Hexe dem Kind (Mädchen, Jungen) einen Rutenschlag versetzt und mit dieser Rute das aufgespiesste Herz des Kindes herausreisst, so dass es danach stirbt. Die Hexen essen das Herz auf und erbrechen es auf die Wiese, wo danach eine Pflanze wächst, die als Heilmittel dient.[41]

Auf ihren Zusammenkünften "beraten sie sich, wessen Herz sie essen werden, und wo sie Hagel niederlassen".[42] Man sprach von einer jungen Hexe, die, das erste Mal zur Zusammenkunft gekommen, den anderen ihren Ochsen schenkte, der danach zu verdorren anfing und schliesslich verendete. Als ihn die Leute aufschnitten sah man, dass er kein Herz hatte.[43]

Laut Protokoll der Bischofsvisitation auf der Insel Krk aus dem Jahre 1590, erzählte ein Zeuge von einem Menschen, den man für einen Hexer (Štrigon, Vukodlak) hielt: bei einer Gelegenheit rief der Hexer dem Zeugen eine Drohung zu und als dieser nach Hause ging, "kam mir etwas schweres auf das Herz, und dann spürte ich, dass ich keins mehr hatte, so dass ich

kaum noch gehen konnte". Später kam der Hexer in sein Haus, "dann berührte er meine Brust und ich fühlte mich besser".[44]

Solche Erlebnisgeschichten sind offensichtlich unter dem Einfluss ähnlicher Beschuldigungen gegen Hexen und Zauberer aus Inquisitionsverfolgungen entstanden, aber das volkstümliche Erzählen hörte beim blossen Glauben ans Herzausreissen nicht auf, vielmehr wurde es zum Ausgangspunkt für freies Fabulieren.

Bekannt sind mehrere Fassungen der Sage, die als erster der bekannte Reisebeschreiber Alberto Fortis im achtzehnten Jahrhundert aufgezeichnet hat. Sie handelt davon, wie die Hexen das Herz ihres Opfers aufgegessen haben, das es später aber zurückerhielt. In einem neuzeitlich aufgezeichnetem Text beobachtet der Schwiegersohn, wie seine Schwiegermutter, die eine Hexe war, am Abend ihrem eigenen Sohn das Herz herausreisst und es ins Herdfeuer legt, um es zu braten und aufzuessen. Als die Hexe auf einen Moment hinausgeht, "springt der Schwierigsohn geschwind hinzu und nimmt das Herz heraus. Danach, verzeihen Sie, scheisst er auf ein Stück Papier, und tut die Scheisse samt Papier auf den Herd. Schnell läuft er dann mit dem Herz weg". Am Morgen kann der Junge nicht aufstehen, er ist so lange ohnmächtig, bis ihm sein Schwager Teile seines eigenen Herzens zum Essen anbietet und so wird er wieder gesund.[45]

Aufgrund der inquisitorischen Anklagen und des Glaubens, dass Hexen bei ihren Zusammenkünften Menschenherzen essen oder sich über derartige Verbrechen beraten, kam es zur erzählerischen Erweiterung bei den beliebten Geschichten über das Ankommen einer zufälligen Person zur Hexenzusammenkunft, die eine falsche Formel verwendet hat. So ein Neuling (meistens eine junge Frau) wird von Hexen beauftragt, das Herz von einem seiner Nächsten herauszureissen und den Hexen zu ihrem Sammelplatz zu bringen. Diese auswegslose Situation löst die junge Frau, indem sie statt ihrem Bruder oder Gatten, einem Hund das Herz herausreisst; die Hexen essen es und wundern sich, wie schlecht es schmeckt. Am nächsten Tag stirbt der Hund statt eines Menschen.[46]

International bekannt ist auch diese Geschichte über den Kannibalismus bei Hexenzusammenkünften: sie essen eine von den ihren und werfen die Knochen herum. Der versteckte Zeuge nimmt einen Knochen, so dass die Hexen, wenn sie am Ende ihre Gefährtin wieder beleben, den Knochen durch einen Zweig ersetzen müssen.[47] Ohne tiefe Wurzeln von solchem Glauben zu erforschen, möchte ich hier auf das phantasievolle Spiel des Erzählens aufmerksam machen, wie z. B. im Text, wo auf eine ähnliche Weise bei der

Hexenzusammenkunft eine Kuh aufgefressen und wieder belebt wurde, die statt der eigenen eine Holunderrippe bekam. "Als der nächste Morgen kam, wollte die Hauswirtin die Kuh melken, aber, o Wunder, auf der Rippe der Kuh ist ein blühender Holunderzweig gewachsen."[48] Es klingt wie eine Baron-von-Münchhausen-Geschichte, richtig heiter!

In den Geschichten des Mittelmeerraums haben die Hexenzusammenkünfte eine besondere Richtung eingeschlagen: mit Hilfe einer magischen Formel reisen die Hexen in einer Nacht mit dem Boot in ferne Überseestädte und zurück. Der Bootsbesitzer, versteckt und ungesehen, reist mit ihnen und erntet exotische Früchte; mit Hilfe dieser Früchte entlarvt er die Hexen am nächsten Tag.[49] In verwandten französischen Sagen begehen die Hexen in Übersee Vampiruntaten,[50] während in kroatischen Beispielen die Anziehung des seltsamen Abenteuers im Mittelpunkt steht.

Kurz erwähne ich die allgemein bekannte Geschichte über die beschlagene Hexe. Aufgrund der theologischen Vorstellung, dass die Hexen auf Tieren reiten, heisst es im Volksglauben, dass sie zu den Zusammenkünften auf einem Pferd reiten, in das sie ihren Feind verwandelt haben.[51] Daher stammt die Geschichte von der Hexe, die nachts auf einem Jüngling ritt, den sie in ein Pferd verwandelt hatte. Dies geschah so lange, bis es einem anderen Jüngling gelang, sie in eine Stute zu verwandeln und zu beschlagen, so dass sie am nächsten Tag mit Hufeisen an Händen und Füssen erschien.[52]

Die Geschichten von Hexen, die ein kleines Kind wegschnappen und statt seiner ein eigenes, abscheuliches Kind unterstellen, gehören, wie auch das vorausgehende Beispiel, dem Wandererzählgut an.[53] Sie haben kein Parallelmuster in kroatischen Prozessen, aber der französische Prozess aus dem Jahre 1437, in dem der Zauberer bei makabrer Beschreibung eine solche Entführung gestand, ist ein Beispiel, das auf die Verbindung dieser Geschichten mit Hexenprozessen hinweist.[54]

In den geschilderten Geschichten, die grösstenteils das Thema der Hexenzusammenkünfte behandeln, ist ersichtlich, dass obwohl das theologische Sabbatbild ihren Hauptanstoss liefert, bei den Zusammenkünften der Teufel doch nie zugegen ist.

Es scheint, dass in der volkstümlichen Hexenauffassung der Gedanke vom Schadenzauber tief verwurzelt ist, aber die theologische Vorstellung vom Vertrag und Buhlgeschäft mit dem Teufel hat kaum Spuren hinterlassen.

Doch wird auch diese Spur, als Abspiegelung der Erinnerungen an die Verfolgung, zuweilen bemerkbar im Glauben und den Erzählungen, jedoch sehr selten. Den Hexen wird nachgesagt, dass sie in Geldnot mit dem Teufel ver-

kehren; dass sie sich mit dem "Unreinen" anfreunden; dass sie dem höllischen Satan ihre Seele versprochen haben.[55] Wenn sie sich mit der Salbe bestreichen, kommt ein schwarzer Widder, auf dem sie "nach Pulja unter den Nussbaum" reiten.[56] Der schwarze Widder ist in diesem Text höchstwahrscheinlich der Teufel, obwohl dies nicht ausgesprochen wird. Der prägnante Einfluss vergangener Hexenprozesse widerspiegelt sich in der Erzählung eines Küsters aus Samobor bei Zagreb: eine Frau, die Hexe werden möchte, "muss mit dem Teufel Geschlechtsverkehr haben, dann ein Kind gebären, dieses Kind töten und so lange kochen, bis es zu Fett wird. Wer sich mit diesem Fett unter den Armen beschmiert, kann fliegen wohin er will. Das ist die Hexensalbe".[57] Mir ist nur ein Beispiel bekannt, wo der Teufel bei der Hexenzusammenkunft erscheint: Er ist in der Form eines Kalbes dargestellt, "das Feuer aus dem Maule spie", und die Hexen küssen es reihum in den Hintern.[58] Ich bin überzeugt, dass diese in ihrer Gesamtheit verzierte Schilderung aus der Abhandlung von F.S. Krauss nicht authentisch ist.

In Prozessen, wie wir allzugut wissen, haben alle Hexen ihr teuflisches Können mit ihrem Leben bezahlt, am häufigsten wurden sie verbrannt. Die Hexensagen haben grösstenteils nicht diesen Ausgang. Das Erzählen ist vom Alptraum aus der Zeit der grossen Verfolgung weggerückt, und, was sehr wichtig ist, der Ausgang wird nach der Erzählstruktur der jeweiligen Gattung gestaltet.

Es bestehen zwar einige Sagen, in denen das Gericht die Hexe zum Scheiterhaufen verurteilt, oder ihr Gatte sie verbrennt oder sie wird an Pferdeschwänze gebunden, zerrissen oder aufgehängt.[59] Den grössten Teil solcher Beispiele hat Krauss veröffentlicht. Vorausgesetzt, dass die Teste nicht nachträglich redigiert worden sind, zwingt sich die Erklärung auf, dass sie in manchen Fällen von Märchenausgängen beeinflusst wurden.

In manchen authentisch aufgezeichneten Hexensagen tötet ein Mann seine Frau oder Mutter in einem Kontext, der weder an Prozesse, noch an Märchen erinnert.[60] Doch ist in Hexensagen der Ausgang für sie meistens nicht verhängnisvoll. Oft endet die Sage mit der blossen Schilderung des Abenteuers, ohne nach dem weiteren Gang des Schicksals der Hexe zu fragen. Oder, was häufig vorkommt, verliert die Hexe ihre magische Kraft. Nach dem Volksglauben, besonders im dalmatinischen Küstenvorland, "ist jede Hexe, die beichtet, dies nicht mehr"; von diesem Moment an lebt sie wie alle anderen Frauen.[61] Auf diese Weise enden viele kroatische Sagen über Hexen: sie beichten und sind keine Hexen mehr.[62] Es bestehen unterschiedliche

Glauben darüber, wie man Hexen erkennt. Sie können der archaischen Volksmagie angehören, z.B. man spundet einen Kürbis voll Wasser und begleitet diese Handlung mit entsprechender Zauberei, so dass die Hexen im Dorfe nicht urinieren können; oder man bindet einige schwarze Knoten, an denen man später die Hexen erkennt.[63]

Magische Verfahren des Hexenerkennens sind oft mit der Gottesdienstordnung verbunden. Aus dem europäischen theologischen Konzept ist bekannt, dass Zauberer und Hexen in der Kirche beim Heben des Körpers Jesu, den Blick abwenden, oder die Finger kreuzen.[64] Ein analoger Glaube hat in der kroatischen Volkstradition Fuss gefasst: wenn der Priester während der Messe "Orate fratres" sagt, wird er auf dem Kopf jeder Hexe zwei Hörnchen erblicken; in diesem Moment drehen sie ihren Hintern zum Altar oder zeigen Hörner mit den Fingern, damit sie der Priester nicht erblickt und erkennt.[65]

Diesem Glauben verwandt sind der nordkroatische Glaube und die Sagen, nach denen man Hexen bei der Christmette erkennen kann, wenn man auf ein Tischlein steigt, das man von der Heiligen Luzia bis zum Heiligen Abend selbst getischlert hat.[66]

Laut den Aussagen der in kroatischen Prozessen angeklagten Hexen, haben sie Hagel und Unwetter in der Anwesenheit des Teufels und mit seiner Hilfe gemacht. Den Hagel machten sie aus der Asche von Wäschelaugen, sie schlugen darauf mit drei einjährigen Haselruten.[67] Auch die Asche vom Scheiterhaufen wurde zu diesem Zweck verwendet.[68] Bei einer Gelegenheit warfen sie von einem Berg den Hagel aus ihren Schürzen zu den Wolken, aber die Macht der Glocke des heiligen Georg hat sie vertrieben.[69]

Aus weisser Erde, Steinen oder Schnee, den sie im Winter in eine Grube auf dem Berg Medvednica schaufelten, machten sie Hagel bei Neumond, und der Teufel tränkte die Eisstücke ins Wasser, damit sie erhärten. Dabei sprachen sie: "Verwandle dich in den Hagel und vernichte die Ernte."[70]

Der Einfluss des Volksglaubens ist in diesen Beispielen an der magischen Kraft der Haselrute ersichtlich, während die Technologie des Verfahrens mit der Asche und das Horten von winterlichen Schneevorräten mit Hilfe des Teufels den folkloristischen Vorstellungen nicht entspricht.

Der Glaube an die schützende Macht der Kirchenglocke ist in der europäischen religiösen und folkloristischen Tradition tief verwurzelt.[71] Die Hexenaussagen aus den kroatichen Prozessen über ihre Angst vor Glocken haben wahrscheinlich zu der Zeit (Ende des 17. und in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts) schon den landläufigen Vorstellungen angehört. Jedenfalls sind in späteren Aufzeichnungen aus dem kroatischen Volksglauben die

Beispiele der Vertreibung von Hexen in den Wolken mit einer Kirchenglocke und des Anschiessens mit geweihtem Pulver sehr zahlreich.[72] Häufig wird dabei gesagt, wie man aus den Wolken Hexenstimmen hört, die ihre Gefährtinnen drängen, die Arbeit zu beenden, bevor die Glocke ertönt.

Ähnlich dem im Malleus maleficarum (Hexenhammer)[73] beschriebenen Hexenzauber, erzählt man in kroatischen Sagen, wie manche Hexen in ein Feldloch oder einen Ochsenklauenabdruck urinierten und dies so lange rührten, bis Rauch entstand und aus ihm eine hagelnde Wolke.[74]

Der Zauberei gehören auch Sagen über die Handlungen der Hexen, und manchmal auch der Geistlichen an, die wussten, wie man den Hagel im Haus verursacht, oder sie liessen ihn durch das Fenster hinaus über die ganze Gegend oder nur den Besitz desjenigen fallen, an dem sie sich rächen wollten.[75]

Den Hagel machten die Hexen laut Überlieferung auch so, dass sie auf zwei Berge stiegen, auf jeden mit einem Fuss, während es dazwischen Hagelte.[76] Diese burleske Vorstellung hat wahrscheinlich ihren Ursprung in der Tradition der Geschichten von Riesen.

Wenn man auf Hexen in den Wolken schiesst, ist es nach der Überlieferung möglich, sie zu verwunden oder töten, und manchmal nahmen sie die Gestalt eines Vogels an. In dieser Überlieferung offenbarten sich die Überreste des archaischen Glaubens. Ein Hirt hat während es hagelte mit Zaubergeschossen einen Adler angeschossen, der vor den Wolken flog, und am anderen Tag ist im Dorfe eine alte Frau gestorben, am ganzen Körper verwundet.[77] Ein Seekapitän schiesst in Sturmwolken und im gleichen Moment stirbt zu Hause seine Frau.[78] Während des Sturms wirft ein Mann sein Messer in die Wolken, und nach einiger Zeit trifft er einen auf einem Auge blinden Unbekannten und sieht bei ihm sein Messer. Das war der Hexer aus den Wolken.[79]

Die Erzählungen über Hexen und Hexer in den Wolken, die Unwetter und Hagel bringen, umfassen ein archaisches Motiv, das der theologischen Hexenauffassung fremd ist. Aus der wissenschaftlichen Literatur sind uns die Gestalten wie Táltos, Zduhač, Krsnik, Benandante usw. wohlbekannt, die mit denen aus einem anderen Gebiet oder mit bösen Hexen um reiche Ernte und den Wohlsstand ihres Heimatortes kämpfen.[80] Ohne diesmal eine Interpretation vorzunehmen, möchte ich nur etwas zugunsten der Auffassung von der fliessenden Grenze zwischen der gutgesinnten und bösen Natur dieser miteinander kämpfenden Wesen erwähnen. Auf dem dalmatinischen Gebiet kämpfen nämlich statt der Gestalten, die als wohlmeinende Beschützer bekannt

sind, Hexen und Hexer miteinander selbst, meistens in den Wolken. Dieselben Hexen und Hexer, die auf Weingärten und die Saat den Hagel niederlassen, fliegen vor dem Sturm in Rabengestalt und beginnen einen Kampf in der Luft, "weil die einen ihr Dorf beschützen, und die anderen es niederschmettern wollen".[81]

Bei ihrer Zusammenkunft "tanzen die Hexen im Reigen und beraten, welchem Ort sie mit dem Hagel einen Schaden zufügen wollen. Öfters kämpfen sie dabei untereinander. Die Siegerinnen wollen ihr Dorf nicht preisgeben, sondern greifen das eroberte an".[82] Zwei Vi̇šćuni (Hexer) von der Insel Brač und von der Insel Hvar kämpfen vor einem grossen Sturm in der Gestalt eines schwarzen und eines weissen Ochsen, und "wenn einer den anderen besiegt, dann hagelt es beim Besiegten".[83]

Auf dem Gebiet Istriens und des nahen Küstenlandes dagegen, sind die Gegner klar abgegrenzt: auf einer Seite sind die edelmütigen Krsniki und auf der anderen böse Hexen und Hexer.[84] (Ähnlich geht es bei den friaul'schen Benandanten zu). Sie kämpfen grösstenteils in Tiergestalt.

Die Krsniki sowie die Benandanti werden im Mutterkuchen geboren, was aus bisherigen Abhandlungen bekannt ist. Ähnliches wird auch von Hexen geglaubt, aber sie werden nicht im weissen Mutterkuchen wie die Krsniki geboren, sondern in einer roten oder schwarzen Blase, und wenn man ihre Geburt öffentlich verkündet, werden sie keine besondere Fähigkeiten besitzen.[85] Hexen können auch mit einem Schweif geboren werden,[86] manchmal auch mit Zähnen.[87] Die schon durch die Art ihrer Geburt gebrandmarkten Hexen unterscheiden sich von denen, die dies nach dem theologischen Modell des Vertrags mit dem Teufel geworden sind. Doch war auch in italienischen und anderen Prozessen die Rede vom magischen Gebrauch des aufbewahrten Mutterkuchens.[88]

Die internationale theologische Vorstellung aus Hexenprozessen, dass sie nachts zu den Zusammenkünften fliegen und statt sich selbst einen Gegenstand im Hause lassen, fand auch in kroatischen Prozessen Anklang: die Angeklagte erklärte, dass sie neben ihrem Mann einen Knüppel oder Besen liegen liess, eine andere spricht von Besen und Spaten.[89] In der mündlichen Überlieferung sind schwache Spuren davon geblieben: nur in einem Fall erwähnt man, dass "die Hexe zu Hause an ihrer Stelle einen Besen lässt" und auch dies haben sich die Leute in Samobor anhand der Erzählungen ihres Pfarrers gemerkt.[90]

Sehr verbreitet dagegen ist der Glaube, wie auch viele ihm entstammende Sagen, über einen Hexer (oder Hexe), der wie gelähmt schläft; seine

Seele ist ihm in der Gestalt einer Fliege, eines Käfers oder einer Maus aus dem Munde entwichen, und nun wandert sie herum und verrichtet Unheil. Später kehrt der Geist in den Körper zurück, aber wenn ihn jemand umgedreht hat, kann das Tier nicht mehr hereinkommen und so stirbt der Hexer oder die Hexe.[91] Viel seltener erwähnt man die Wanderung der Seele eines Krsnik.[92]

In kroatischen Prozessen kommt es ebenfalls vor, dass die Hexe in der Gestalt eines Tieres erscheint, z.B. ist die angeklagte Hexe auf die Zeugin zugeflogen, "in der Gestalt einer Fliege, und hat sie schrecklich belästigt".[93] Hier geht es aber, im Einklang mit der theologischen Auffassung (übernommen nach den bekannten Auseinandersetzungen) um die Hexe selbst, und nicht um ihre Seele. In der italienischen Tradition, wo die Seele von den Benandanten und Hexen auf eine ähnliche Weise wie im kroatischen Glauben den Körper verliess, glaubte die Inquisition an die Wahrheit solcher Geständnisse nicht.[94] Der Glaube an die Wanderung der Hexenseele ist von Hexenprozessen unabhängig und entspringt den archaischen mythischen Vorstellungen, aufbewahrt in der Tradition bis in die unmittelbare Vergangenheit.

Wir haben einige Erscheinungsformen der Hexer und Hexen in Tiergestalt aufgezählt: wenn sie in den Wolken fliegen; wenn sie miteinander oder mit den Krsniki kämpfen; wenn ihr Geist als Tierchen den Körper verlässt. Neben diesen archaischen und von Prozessen unabhängigen Glauben, sind auch Geschichten bekannt, die eine indirekte Verbindung zu der internationalen theologischen Konzeption aufweisen.

Johann Hartlieb schreibt im Jahre 1456 über ein Ereignis in Rom aus der Zeit vor etwa dreissig Jahren, als ein Vater mit dem Messer eine Katze in den Kopf stach, die sein Kind in der Wiege gebissen hat. Bald darauf erkrankte eine Frau mit einer Wunde am Kopf, die nachher als Hexe verbrannt wurde.[95] Wahrscheinlich war dies eine Sage und kein wirklicher Prozess, aber ihre Grundlage beruht teilweise auf der theologischen Hexenauffassung.

Sagen mit solchem Inhalt gehören zu den europäischen Wanderstoffen.[96] Von kroatischen Sagen erwähne ich die von einer Kröte, die Milch aus dem Kuheuter sog. Die Besitzerin der Kuh schlug sie derart, dass sie ihr den Vorderschenkel durchstach, und nachher sah sie eine Frau mit durchstochenem Arm.[97] In einer anderen Sage haut der Schwiegersohn auf einen Brombeerstrauch mit dem Säbel ein, aus dem dann Blut fliesst; später zu Hause findet er seine Schwiegermutter mit durchgeschnittenem Hals.[98]

In den kroatischen Hexensagen sind regionale Unterschiede ziemlich ausgeprägt, aber im Hinblick auf die internationale Zuhörerschaft, musste ich sie diesmal in den Hintergrund stellen. Die kroatischen Hexensagen, die auf dem ganzen Gebiet viele Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen, tragen südslawische Züge. Dies wurde aber nicht extra hervorgehoben, teils wegen des begrenzten Umfanges und besonders wegen des Vorhabens dieser Abhandlung, das Verhältnis zwischen den Hexenprozessen und -sagen zu veranschaulichen - was gerade auf dem kroatischen Gebiet kennzeichnend ist.

Ich habe versucht, den Parallelismus, Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede in kroatischen Prozessen und Hexensagen zu zeigen. Ich habe darauf hingewiesen, dass sich die Sagen vom mittelalterlichen diabolischen Grauen, dessen Ursprung in Inquisitionsprozessen liegt, entfernen. Die Sagen mit analogem Inhalt, die teilweise auch aus dem internationalen Erzählgut kommen, haben sich nach Narrationsregeln gestaltet und in zahlreiche Varianten verzweigt, manchmal auch mit der Betonung auf Unterhaltung, aber auch im dauernden Spiel mit menschlichen Ängsten aus dem Unterbewusstsein.

* * *

In dieser Abhandlung habe ich mehrmals die Gestalt des istrianischen Krsnik erwähnt, der mit Hexen als ihr wohlgesinnter Gegensatz verbunden ist. Über diese Gestalt habe ich eine dreimal publizierte Abhandlung geschrieben: das erste Mal in deutscher Sprache 1960 in der Zeitschrift "Fabula", dann auf kroatisch 1975, mit einigen aufs neue redigierten Formulierungen und einer wichtigen Ergänzung; diese berichtigte Textfassung ist vor kurzem auch in italienischer Übersetzung veröffentlicht worden.[99]

Ich erwähne all dies, weil ich bei dieser Gelegenheit, wenn man in Ungarn eine verwandte Thematik erörtert, gern einige Zweifel bereinigen möchte, die diesen Text betreffen und in einer ungarischen Zeitschrift zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden.

Meine verstorbene Freundin Tekla Dömötör hat mir mit Recht nachgetragen, dass ich in meiner Abhandlung die ungarischen Táltos ausser acht gelassen habe.[100] Dies habe ich in der neuen Textversion nachgeholt, mit der Erklärung, dass zur Zeit der ersten Publikation meines Artikels von den fremdsprachigen Abhandlungen über Táltos "Diószegis Abhandlung eben erst erschienen war und Gundas noch immer nicht - während mir die Literatur in ungarischer Sprache leider unzugänglich ist".[101]

Meine Abhandlung über den Krsnik hat noch eine Lücke: sie kennt die Gestalt des friaul'schen Benandante nicht. In der ersten, deutchen Fassung war dies freilich unumgänglich, da Ginzburgs kapitale Entdeckung dieser Gestalt in geschichtlichen Quellen noch nicht bestand. In der zweiten Fassung, veröffentlicht 1975, ist dies ein offensichtlicher Mangel. Eine schwache Entschuldigung könnte man dennoch in der Tatsache suchen, dass ich mich bei dieser Gelegenheit des Themas nicht wieder angenommen habe, sondern nur den schon bestehenden Text redigierte. Persönlich versuche ich mein Versehen auch dadurch zu lindern, dass auch Ginzburg von meinem Artikel in der "Fabula" nicht wusste.

Nach dieser Selbstkritik gehe ich auf die Verteidigung vor einem Einwand über, der, meiner Meinung nach, nicht gerechtfertigt ist.

In der wertvollen und bedeutenden Abhandlung von Gábor Klaniczay (die mir ein Zagreber Freund aus dem Ungarischen übersetzt hat), hat der Autor bemerkt, dass der Benandante und der Krsnik zwei Varianten einunddesselben Glaubenssystems angehören, weswegen meine Auffassung von dem Krsnik als einer Gestalt aus der slowenischen Volksmythologie nicht aufrechterhalten werden kann.[102] Er hat sich auf die Seite 294 meiner Abhandlung in der "Fabula" berufen. Dort habe ich folgendes gesagt: "Während man einzelne Eigenschaften des Krsnik für sich abgesondert auch unter den Italienern und auch bei anderen entfernten Völkern finden kann, gehört der Krsnik als Ganzes in seiner konkreten Gestaltung ausschliesslich den Slawen, d.i. den Kroaten und Slowenen eines begrenzten Gebietes an."[103]

Diese Formulierung ist nicht sehr glücklich und in der redigierten Fassung meines Textes habe ich sie nicht wiederholt. An einer anderen Stelle in demselben Artikel habe ich gesagt, "dass die Überlieferung vom Krsnik - als konkretes Ganzes mit all seinen spezifischen Einzelheiten genommen - genau auf das Gebiet von Slowenien, Istrien und das kroatische Küstenland begrenzt ist".[104]

Ich habe also weder im ersten noch im zweiten Satz von "einer Gestalt aus der slowenischen Volksmythologie" gesprochen, und ich habe es auch nicht darauf abgesehen, den Krsnik aus dem komplexen Glaubenssystem auszusondern. (Von den Benandanti konnte ich übrigens noch nichts wissen.) In meiner Abhandlung habe ich verschiedene südslawische Gestalten, die diesem Glaubenssystem angehören ausführlich geschildert, aber hier wollte ich gerade die Eigenartigkeit des Krsnik hervorheben - mit seinem rätselhaften Namen und mit dem besonderen Merkmal, dass er gegen Hexen kämpft,

während andere verwandte Gestalten üblicherweise unter sich kämpfen. Ein solcher Krsnik ist wirklich spezifisch für die genannten engeren Gebiete.

Die andere Streitfrage betrifft den Gegner des Krsnik. Er wird meistens Štrigo, bzw. Kudlak, Vukodlak u.ä. genannt. Klaniczay hat sich gewundert, warum ich die Gestalt des Vukodlak nicht kommentiert habe, wo der südslawische Glaube diese Figur doch gut kennt, d.h. den Werwolf, den Wolfmenschen. Auf vergleichende Beispiele des Werwolf-Glaubens hinweisend, insbesondere auf den bekannten Fall des litauischen Werwolfs Thiess, der mit Dämonen und Hexen kämpfte, hat der Autor seine Vermutung hervorgebracht, dass auch der südslawische Vukodlak früher vielleicht eine positive Funktion hatte, als eine die Fruchtbarkeit schützende Gestalt, mit den Eigenschaften, die denen des Krsnik und Benandante ähnelten.[105]

Diese Annahme ist verlockend, aber ich glaube, dass sie sich kaum halten kann. In meinem Artikel in der "Fabula" habe ich geschrieben: "Das Wort Vukodlak bezeichnet bei den Südslawen gewöhnlich den Vampir, jedoch in einigen Gegenden, und so auch in Istrien, ist dieser Begriff mit dem Begriff Hexer verschmolzen."[106] Klaniczay behauptet richtig, dass der südslawische Glaube die Figur des Menschenwolfes gut kennt. Er ist aber fast immer ohne einen Namen. Ganz selten kann man lesen, dass er Vukodlak heisst, obwohl diese Bezeichnung etymologisch auf die Bedeutung Werwolf hinweist (was man aus der entsprechenden Terminologie in einigen anderen slawischen Sprachen sieht). Vukodlak ist auf dem südslawischen Gebiet die allgemeine Bezeichnung für den bösen Vampir, so dass dieser Name leicht auch dem Štrigo, Hexer, der nach seinem Tode zum Vampir wird, zugeschrieben werden könnte. Die Traditionen von einem Manne, der sich in einen Wolf verwandelt, weisen in ihrer zentralen Strömung ebenfalls auf böse Geschöpfe hin, eigentlich auf Hexen und Hexer. Im istrianischen Zeugnis des Filippo Tomasini aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, kämpft schon der Vukodlak gegen den Krsnik. Das Problem ist, wie es ersichtlich ist, komplex. Ich könnte persönlich kaum der Annahme über die ehemalige positive Funktion des Vukodlak zuneigen, was natürlich die Fluidität der Grenzen zwischen den Wesen, die für die Fruchtbarkeit ihrer Gegend kämpfen, nicht ausschliesst. Im Artikel über den Krsnik habe ich darüber geschrieben. (In dieser kurzen Bemerkung über den Vukodlak habe ich keine Hinweise auf die Literatur gegeben, weil dafür eine gesonderte Abhandlung notwendig wäre.)

Abkürzungen

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Anmerkungen

[1]Aus der umfangreichen Literatur über die Entstehung des europäischen theologischen Hexenbegriffs und über ihre Verfolgungen erwähne ich nur einige Titel, in welchen die vorausgehenden Werke miteingeschlossen sind: Bayer (1982:19-211, 329-513); Unverhau (1980); Valentinitsch (1987) (darin besonders: Biedermann (1987a) und Unverhau (1987)); Ginzburg (1979:VIII-XIII); Ginzburg (1984:341-343, 348-350).

[2]Bayer (1982:219-223, 517-521).

[3]Ibid., pp. 272, 314.

[4]Ibid., pp. 11-13, 215-325, 517-773. Die Texte der Dokumente sind in Bayers Buch in kroatischer Übersetzung publiziert, doch mit genauen Angaben über die Quellen: wo die Dokumente bewahrt oder wo sie publiziert wurden und in welcher Sprache (meistens lateinisch oder manchmal in kroatischer alter kajkawischer Sprache).

[5]Ibid., pp. 522, 523.

[6]Ibid., pp. 231-235, 538-544.

[7]Ibid., pp. 239-240.

[8]Ibid., pp. 241-242.

[9]Ibid., pp. 245-247.

[10]Vojnović (1895:64-65); siehe auch op. cit., pp. 68-69 (die Hexen essen Menschenherzen); vgl. Bayer (1982:290-293).

[11]Bayer (1982:594-595).

[12]Ibid., pp. 657-680.

[13]Ibid., pp. 553, 587, 598, 600, 659-660, 709.

[14]Lang (1914:121); einige weitere Beispiele: Kurjaković (1896:235); Rožić (1908:97-98); Vučinić (1908:159); Kotarski (1918:49); Mikac (1934:199); Jardas (1957:103); Valjavec (1863: 256-257);Krauss (1908:76-77).

[15]Hörandner (1987:352); Brunner (1987:358-359); Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 39 und 40).

[16]Unverhau (1987:243).

[17]Ginzburg (1979:116-117).

[18]Bošković-Stulli (1952:69, 71).

[19]Stojanović (1852:385-386).

[20]Lorković (1863:242).

[21]Lovretić (1902:119-120).

[22]Ibid., p. 121.

[23]Krauss (1908:34-36, 42-43); siehe auch Ginzburg (1979:200). Über die Gestalt des Krsnik siehe Bošković-Stulli (1960; 1975a:205-227; 1988).

[24] Stefanić (1934:229).

[25] Bertoša (1986:370-371).

[26] Siehe darüber die in Anmerkung 1 zitierten Werke.

[27] Bayer (1982:242-244; siehe auch pp. 616, 707-708, 711).

[28] Ibid., p. 696.

[29] Ibid., p. 585.

[30] Ibid., p. 576.

[31] Ibid., p. 589.

[32] Ibid., p. 616. Die Hexen verübten diese Greueltat auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten (op. cit., pp. 600, 631-632).

[33] Christiansen (1958: Nr. 3045); Simonsuuri (1961: Nr. D 1791); Hörandner (1987:352-353); Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 30-32). Von den kroatischen Beispielen erwähne ich einige Texte aus meinen Sammlungen, wo in den Anmerkungen weitere Varianten zitiert sind: Bošković-Stulli (1963: Nr. 149; 1968: Nr. 88-90; 1987: Nr. 77).

[34] Bošković-Stulli (1986: Nr. 163).

[35] Bošković-Stulli (1963: NR. 149); Krauss (1908:74).

[36] Der Berg Klek wird in Hexenprozessen (Bayer 1982:242-243) und in Sagen erwähnt: Kombol (1863:328); Rožić (1908:98); Lang (1914:121); Krauss (1908:50); Đorđević (1953:29). - Von Pulja wird in den Sagen aus Dalmatien gesprochen: Milinović (1859:217); Kadčić (1859: 332); Ujević (1896:232); Banović (1918:191); siehe auch Ginzburg (1979:200). - Arsanj ist der Hexentreffpunkt in den Sagen aus Slawonien: Lovretić (1902:121-122); Bošković-Stulli (1963: Nr. 149).

[37] Lorković (1863:242); Ivanišević (1905:238); Bošković-Stulli (1987: Nr. 77).

[38] Über die Erwähnung des Namens Gottes zumeist im Weinkeller: Valjavec (1858:246) = Krauss (1908:56); Ivanišević (1905:231, 238); Ardalić (1917:308); Banović (1918:191); Bošković-Stulli (1968: Nr. 89; 1987: Nr. 77). Siehe auch: Bihari (1980: Nr. L/1, X 2, 2 F).

[39] Ausser den in Anmerkungen 6 und 11 zitierten Beispielen siehe auch; Bayer (1982: 587, 599-600). Das Motiv ist in den europäischen Hexenanklagen allgemein bekannt.

[40] Bayer (1982:412) aus: Hansen (1901:310f.).

[41] Ivanišević (1905:232); Milinović (1895:217); Deželić (1863:218-219); Đorđević (1953: 20-23). Nach dem Zeugnis aus dem 18. Jh. von I. Lovrić glaubten die Bewohner des dalmatinischen Küstenvorlands, dass die Hexen den Kindern das Herz herausnehmen und essen, wovon die Kinder sterben (Lovrić 1948:159, 160). Über die kroatische Ballade, in welcher Mutter, Schwester und Frau einem jungen Mann sein Herz herausnehmen, siehe: Bošković-Stulli (1971: 89-105).

[42] Ujević (1896:232).

[43] Lang (1914:125).

[44] Stefanić (1934:231).

[45] Boškovic-Stulli (1968: Nr. 86). Variante aus dem 18. Jh.: Fortis (1974:64-65= 1984: 44); neuere Varianten: Ardalić (1917:307-308); Mikulicić (1876:138-140) = Krauss (1908: 61-62); Bošković-Stulli (1959: Nr. 132 = 1986: Nr. 152).

[46] Ivanišević (1905:238); Ardalić (1917:306-307); Đorđević (1953:36); Bošković-Stulli (1968: Nr. 90).

[47] Žic (1935:243); Jardas (1957:104); Bošković-Stulli (1986: Nr. 164). Weitere Varianten und Literatur: Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 32, siehe auch Nr. 246 und 247).

[48]Bošković-Stulli (1963: Nr. 149).

[49]Ibid., Nr. 148; Kadčić (1859:333) = Krauss (1908:51-52); Bartulin (1898:268-269); Bošković-Stulli (1973:96).

[50]Sébillot (1968:157).

[51]Dežélić (1863:219); Lorković (1863:242); Lang (1914:121); Bihari (1980: Nr. L/1, IV 9).

[52]Valjavec (1858:244-245); Krauss (1908:51-52); Stojanović (1852:384-385); Dežélić (1863:219); Rožić (1908:98); Đorđević (1953:26-27); Bihari (1980: Nr. L/1, IX 3); Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 33).

[53]Bošković-Stulli (1963: Nr. 151); Christiansen (1958: Nr. 5085); Bihari (1980: Nr. L/1, IV 2); Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 400 und 401).

[54]Bayer (1982:489), aus: Hansen (1901:539f.).

[55]Modrušić (1863:296); Kotarski (1918:50); Banović (1918:190).

[56]Ujević (1896:232).

[57]Lang (1914:122-123).

[58]Krauss (1908:46).

[59]Ibid., pp. 51, 53, 54 = Valjavec (1858:246), Krauss (1908:60, 62) = Mikulčić (1876:140) und Krauss (1908:77); Dežélić (1863:159).

[60]Ardalić (1917:308); Bošković-Stulli (1968:90).

[61]Ardalić (1917:307, siehe auch p. 309).

[62]Ivanišević (1905:231, 234, 235, 238; Ardalić (1917:307); Banović (1918:191); Bošković-Stulli (1968: Nr. 86, 87, 89); siehe Rožić (1908:98) und Bošković-Stulli (1963 Nr. 148)- wo die Beichte ausdrücklich nicht erwähnt ist.

[63]Kurjaković (1896:235); Ardalić (1917:310); Đorđević (1953:11-13).

[64]Bayer (1982:368), aus: Hansen (1901:188f.); und Bayer (1982:410), aus: Hansen (1901: 279f.).

[65]Milčetić (1896:236); Ivanišević (1905:232); Bogdan-Bijelić (1908:307); Banović (1918: 192); Đorđević (1953:14).

[66]Dežélić (1863:218); Kurjaković (1896:234-235); Horvat (1896:245); Lovretić (1902: 122); Lang (1914:122); Bihari (1980: Nr. L/1, VIII 1); Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 23).

[67]Bayer (1982:547, 576, siehe auch 583 und 589).

[68]Ibid., p. 591.

[69]Ibid., p. 678; über die beschützende Macht der Kirchenglocke siehe auch p. 595.

[70]Tkalčić (1891:107).

[71]Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 43 und Anmerkung zu Nr. 539); Biedermann (1987b, 168 und Anmerkung auf p. 172); Hörandner (1987:352); Brunner (1987:357).

[72]Krauss (1908:81); Milčetić (1896:233); Kombol (1863:328); Ivanišević (1905:233-234); Kotarski (1918:49-50); Banović (1918:192); Đorđević (1953:26); Bošković-Stulli (1975b: 149-150).

[73]Siehe: Biedermann (1987b: 168); deutsche mündliche Varianten: Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 41 und 42).

[74]Ivanišević (1905:237); Bošković-Stulli (1959: Nr. 175).

[75]Krauss (1908:83); Bujanović (1896:234); Bošković-Stulli (1959: Nr. 176 und 177 = 1986, Nr. 173).

[76] Kotarski (1918:50).

[77] Ivanišević (1905:237); Ardalić (1908:153-154).

[78] Bošković-Stulli (1975b: Nr. 89 und p. 150).

[79] Ivanišević (1905:237, siehe auch p. 229-230); Bošković-Stulli (1975b: Nr. 88 und p. 150); Bihari (1908: Nr. L/1, VII/5).

[80] Siehe: Bošković-Stulli (1960; 1975a:205-227 und 1988); Ginzburg (1979); Klaniczay (1983; 1984).

[81] Banović (1918:192).

[82] Ivanišević (1905:231, siehe auch p. 230).

[83] Bošković-Stulli (1975b: Nr. 85; siehe auch Nr. 84, 86 und pp. 148-149); siehe auch Bošković-Stulli (1987: Nr. 78, 79).

[84] Siehe: Bošković-Stulli (1975a; 1959: Nr. 167 = 1986: Nr. 169; 1959: Nr. 168, 169 = 1986: Nr. 170; 1959: Nr. 170 und 171 = 1986: Nr. 171).

[85] Đorđević (1953:8-9); Bogdan-Bijelić (1908:307); Bošković-Stulli (1959: Nr. 148 = 1986: Nr. 165; 1959: Nr. 157, 159).

[86] Bošković-Stulli (1959: Nr. 143, 144 = 1986: Nr. 160; 1959: Nr. 145 und 148); Mikac (1934:198); Jardas (1957:97).

[87] Bošković-Stulli (1987: Nr. 77).

[88] Ginzburg (1979:23-25).

[89] Bayer (1982:244, 618, 632).

[90] Lang (1914:125).

[91] Milčetić (1896:233); Ivanišević (1905:228, 237); Banović (1918:192); Stojanović (1852:384); Mikac (1934:197-198); Đorđević (1953:6, 7); Bošković-Stulli (1959: Nr. 149-151 und p. 223).

[91] Žiža (1913:192); Bošković-Stulli (1959:227, 228).

[93] Bayer (1982:311).

[94] Ginzburg (1979:30, 31, 35; 1984:343-344).

[95] Bayer (1982:357-358) aus: Hansen (1901:130f.).

[96] Petzoldt (1970: Nr. 34); Bihari 1980: Nr. L/1, VII*7); Simonsuuri (1961: Nr. D 1731).

[97] Krauss (1908:59+ siehe auch pp. 59-60 und 76-77); Kotarski (1918:50).

[98] Bošković-Stulli (1968: Nr. 86).

[99] Bošković-Stulli (1960; 1975a:205-227, Titel des Aufsatzes: Hrvatske i slovenske usmene predaje o krsniku - kresniku) und Bošković-Stulli (1988).

[100] Dömötör (1965:315).

[101] Bošković-Stulli (1975a:226; 1988:48).

[102] Klaniczay (1983:121-122); siehe auch Klaniczay (1984:409).

[103] Bošković-Stulli (1960:293-294).

[104] Ibid., p. 293.

[105] Klaniczay (1983:121-122).

[106] Bošković-Stulli (1960:279).

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Abb. 1. Hexen Zeichnung von Ivan Lacković Croata



Abb. 2. Hexen Zeichnung von Ivan Lacković Croata



Abb. 3. Tanz der Hexen Zeichnung von Ivan Lacković Croata



Abb. 4. Hexenfaden Zeichnung von Ivan Lacković Croata



Abb. 5. Bittere Suppe Zeichnung von Ivan Lacković Croata



Abb. 6. Tanz der Hexen Zeichnung von Ivan Lacković Croata

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Au déclin du Moyen Age, l'habitant des bourgades et villages polonais manifestait les inquiétudes et les angoisses communément partagées par l'ensemble des sociétés agraires, la vie dans les petites villes différant peu en Pologne de celle des campagnes. Les soucis ordinaires de l'existence se doublaient de craintes de toutes sortes de menaces, surtout naturels,[1] engendrant l'appréhension de la paupérisation et de la faim. L'on craignait le désastre de la sécheresse et des pluies excessives, les déprédateurs ravageant les champs, l'épidémie frappant le bétail, les incendies provoqués par la foudre. L'homme craignait les maladies porteuses d'invalidité et d'impotence avec leurs évidentes conséquences existentielles. Il craignait enfin la mort, non pas tant naturelle qui devait venir en un temps inconnu de personne, que la mort subite. Les épidémies de maladies contagieuses apportant une grande mortalité avaient ravagé à plusieurs reprises au XV^{e} siècle différentes régions du pays.[2] Il ne faut pas oublier que l'enseignement de l'Eglise renforçait la vision du châtiment dans l'au-delà, frappant ceux qui mouraient non réconciliés avec Dieu, vision angoissante quoique non attachée dans la société polonaise du bas Moyen Age à l'obsession de la Géhenne éternelle.[3] L'individu évoluant dans la culture traditionnelle avait en outre hérité de ses aïeux la crainte des puissances plus ou moins connues du mal et de toutes sortes d'être mythiques démoniaques, vestiges du système autrefois cohérent de croyances slaves en ce temps oublié. La culture populaire qui n'était pas seulement celle de la collectivité paysanne, était ainsi une culture d'angoisse et, en même temps, une sphère d'action constante de l'homme contre les menaces qu'il appréhendait au plus vif. Dans cette sphère surtout des attitudes et sentiments humains se situait depuis très longtemps la magie populaire assumant au premier chef des fonctions préventives.[4]

Les textes des prédicateurs du tournant des XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siecles et d'autres, ultérieurs, apprennent qu'un très large éventail de moyens et

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pratiques appelés aujourd'hui magiques étaient depuis longtemps connus et utilisés.[5] Les procédés visant à assurer les bonnes récoltes, la fécondité des champs, à les protéger contre la grêle et le feu, ceux destinés à assurer la santé au cheptel domestique, ne requéraient généralement pas d'individus spécialement qualifiés. Ils consistaient en effet en des pratiques simples, connues tout aussi bien que les procédés des techniques agraires de ce temps. Ils se trouvaient à la disposition des chefs de famille ou des communautés familiales éventuellement des communautés villageoises. Il fallait uniquement posséder les objets dotés de vertu magique et observer les rites établis. La condition suffisante était la connaissance, générale dans la société agraire, du cycle annuel des occupations agricoles et, de plus, la connaissance du calendrier liturgique, extrêmement important dans les rites "christianisés", celui-ci étant d'ailleurs conforme à la structure fondamentale de la ritualité slave traditionnelle.[6] L'on savait donc que, le jour des Cendres, il fallait répandre dans les champs des cendres bénites à l'église (pour faire périr la vermine) ou ficher en terre les "palmes" bénites le Samedi saint. Après la messe du matin de Pâques, on faisait le tour des champs cultivés. Le jour de la Purification de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie l'on faisait le tour, des chandelles à la main, des maisons et du bétail, au feu l'on marquait aussi les vaches d'une croix.[7] L'on pratiquait les rites agricoles d'inauguration, notamment l'enroulement du houblon autour des cornes des boeufs le premier jour des labours.[8] Moins accessibles étaient les techniques et procédés traditionnels de la médecine populaire, cependant on enfonçait un clou dans un arbre pour lui "transmettre" le mal de dent, ou l'on mesurait l'homme avec un cordon contre la maladie appelée en polonais "miara" (mesure).[9] En milieu domestique on pratiquait aussi à certains jours fixes de l'année certains actes de divination; il semble cependant que la prédiction de l'avenir fût traditionnellement laissée aux spécialistes. L'on a d'ailleurs formulé la supposition que le terme "vědodeï" connu dans le vieux-slave (sorcier) désignait alors le devin.[10] Au XV^{e} siècle, on peut observer une grande extension des techniques et pratiques magiques très demandées. Les textes des prédicateurs relèvent d'innombrables "superstitiones" (en partie d'origine effectivement locale), ce qui semble témoigner de la généralisation de la magie non spécialisée comme de ses liens de plus en plus serrés avec les occupations concrètes de la population.

Les habitants des territoires polonais rencontraient cependant depuis

longtemps des personnes connaissant mieux que les autres les techniques et procédés pour la prévention des risques, l'éloignement des puissances du mal et la pénétration des mystères inaccessibles à l'ensemble des êtres humains. Le questionnaire des visites épiscopales d'un des diocèses polonais du XIV^{e} siècle recommandait aux visiteurs de s'enquérir dans les paroisses sur les femmes appelées incantatrices, qui déterrent les racines des herbes, effectuent des amulettes à suspendre au cou, pratiquent la chiromancie, prédisent l'avenir à partir de la cire fondue ou du plomb, des flammes, de l'eau et du vol des oiseaux.[11] Le relevé des services effectués par les femmes spécialisées dans la magie avait peut-être été puisé dans la littérature théologique, ces vetulae cependant n'étaient pas une invention des théologiens. Elles constituaient une composante de la vie dans les établissements humains ou une certaine sphère des procédés magiques restait du domaine des personnes dotées d'une puissance et de vertus particulières. Dans les pratiques de personnes accusées aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles de pratiquer la magie et la sorcellerie, on peut déceler leurs origines locales, slaves, fortement estompées dans les figures stéréotypées des sorcières de l nistoire contemporaine.[12] La christianisation de la société, devenue intense au bas Moyen Age avec l'afflux du clergé formé à l'Université de Cracovie rénovée au commencement du XV^{e} siècle, a mis au jour, dans les sources écrites, les individus spécialisés dans la magie et la sorcellerie. L'ingérence plus marquée de la juridiction ecclésiastique dans la sphère des procédés et pratiques magiques des laiques, était une des manières dont se manifestait le processus mentionné d'action exercée par l'Eglise sur les fidèles. Les sources des tribunaux épiscopaux dont, pendant longtemps, relevait presque exclusivement la connaissance des affaires de magie et de sorcellerie,[13] ainsi que les procès-verbaux ultérieurs, du XVI^{e} siècle, des tribunaux profanes,[14] décrivent plus nettement la sphère d'action des individus incriminés, leurs instruments professionels ainsi que l'horizon des croyances et de l'imagination des collectivités prenant une part active ou passive aux pratiques magiques. Ils ont aussi mis au jour, quoique fragmentairement, les attitudes de l'entourage devant les personnes accusées et jugées.

Une petite partie uniquement de ceux qui s'adonnaient aux pratiques magiques était traduite devant les tribunaux ecclésiastiques. L'Eglise de Pologne ne manifestait pas sous ce rapport de zèle excessif dans la répression: elle entamait certaines affaires d'office, pour les autres elle réagisssait aux accusations de particuliers. On les traitait d'ail-

leurs avec une sévérité modérée, se contentant volontiers de prendre note du serment approprié de l'accusé. De même les offices profanes compétents, conformes en cela à l'attitude de toute la société polonaise avant le XVII^{e} siècle, étaient loin de favoriser la persécution totale des "sorciers" et "sorcières".[15] On n'associait surtout pas universellement l'action de ces derniers à l'invasion des puissances impures. Remarquons à ce propos que dans les sources des procès ecclésiastiques et profanes des XV^{e} XVI^{e} siècles le diable apparaissait rarement et au second plan (on rencontre parfois la formulation banale comme si l'action avait été entreprise sur son incitation, ce qui n'entrainait pas de conséquences graves). On n'accusait pas d'avoir conclu un pacte avec Satan.[16]

Un historien de la culture de l'ancienne Pologne expliquait cet état de choses régnant au XVI^{e} siècle d'une part par la faible connaissance, très élitiste, en Pologne de la littérature démonologique, et de l'autre par la spécificité des représentations populaires du diable, moins menaçantes et effrayantes qu'en Europe occidentale.[17] A une période antérieure, le diable occupait évidemment dans l'enseignement de l'Eglise une place bien définie, il apparaissait dans les exemples des prédicateurs (empruntés principalement aux recueils occidentaux du XIII^{e} siècle), mais il n'avait pas été doté de l'attribut de l'omniprésence et de l'omniscience.

Les sources des consistoires du XV^{e} et de la première moitié du XVI^{e} siècle sont assez sombres en informations sur les personnes soumises aux interrogatoires et jugées. D'après elles, parmi les laïques accusés semblent prédominer ceux qui proviennent des petites localités urbaines ou rurales, quoiqu'on en relève aussi des villes moyennes et grandes (Poznań ou Gdańsk). On peut prouver assez rarement la profession agricole des accusés, on relève plus fréquemment diverses autres professions pratiquées dans les campagnes et dans les villes (tenue d'une auberge, pratique d'un petit artisanat). On rencontre des domestiques du clergé paroissial. Les sources du XVI^{e} siècle provenant des tribunaux profanes, nous orientent plus nettement que celles, plus anciennes, des consistoires, vers la population paysanne. Ainsi prédominent des représentants des basses couches sociales, tout au plus moyennes. Certains appartiennent aux couches les plus pauvres: la femme d'un berger villageois ou la femme d'un mendiant ("dziadowa"). L'on a pour une grande proportion affaire à une collectivité féminine avec, probablement, une prédominance de femmes d'âge avancé, quoique parfois seulement on en soit informé par des termes tels que mulier antiqua ou vetula. Ainsi les hommes figurent rarement parmi les

personnes accusées de pratiquer la magie et la sorcellerie. Parmi eux on doit distinguer un petit groupe, ceux notamment qui appartiennent au clergé paroissial (plutôt le bas clergé) convoqués devant le tribunal épiscopal d'office ou sur accusation d'autre prêtres. Ils sont le plus souvent accusés de donner des conseils en matière de magie et de mettre à la disposition des laïques les objets d'église consacrés, moins de pratiquer les procédés occultes.

Les personnes s'adonnant aux pratiques magiques et à la divination vivaient généralement tranquillement dans leurs localités natales. Elles étaient un élément de la culture traditionnelle locale, récalcitrante aux changements. La vie quotidienne confirmait incessamment leur utilité, n'était-ce que dans le traitement des maladies des hommes et des animaux ainsi que dans différentes pratiques visant à assurer la sécurité et la prospérité de l'existence humaine. Les personnes investies de compétences magiques reconnues adoucissaient toutes sortes d'angoisses et d'inquiétudes, devenant par là un appui psychologique dans les situations où les autres autorités refusaient leur aide et apparaissaient impuissantes. D'ailleurs, les gens simples n'étaient pas les seuls à reconnaître l'habileté des sépcialistes des procédés magiques: des médecins de Poznań, ne pouvant guérir un malade, lui avaient conseillé de s'adresser aux vieilles femmes.[18] La célébrité de certaines personnes spécialisées dans l'art occulte dépassait les limites du village ou de la bourgade. Quand, au milieu du XV^{e} siècle, un inconnu eut volé l'argent de l'hôtel de ville de Poznań, deux échevins s'étaient adressés à un sorcier et devin possédant dès ce temps une abondante clientèle, un aveugle d'une petite bourgade.[19] Il s'était en effet fait une réputation par son habileté à retrouver les objets perdus et à découvrir les voleurs.

La popularité de ces personnes ne leur valait cependant pas la sympathie de l'entourage. Elles vivaient dans une atmosphère de mystère et leur savoir, leurs aptitudes inaccessibles aux autres et leurs pratiques incompréhensibles suscitaient l'inquiétude. L'on traitait autrement, évidemment, les guérisseuses villageoises qui, avec les herbes, soignaient les yeux, réduisaient une luxation et effectuaient des amulettes avec des racines de plantes, et autrement un infirme pratiquant des sorcelleries et divinations compliquées au moyen d'étranges instruments, faisant des signes et marmonnant des incantations. Les gestes, mots et formules incompréhensibles, l'emploi d'accessoires mystérieux ou provoquant la répulsion et le dégoût, éveillaient un sentiment d'étrangeté et de crainte. Un

bourgeois de Poznań avait déposé qu'il avait abandonné sa femme a cause des sorcelleries qu'elle pratiquait; il avait vu une fois avec horreur comme elle jetait dans une cuve à bière un doigt coupé à un pendu.[20] L'on croyait à la vertu magique de tout ce qui avait appartenu au corps des condamnés, des hommes liés à l'univers du mal, mais ceux qui se servaient de ces objets, dépassant ainsi les tabous universellement reçus et la barrière de la peur, suscitaient l'aversion et des craintes.[21]

Toutefois le seul comportement différent et, sans doute aussi, l'aspect extérieur particulier, provoquaient un sentiment d'aversion dans les collectivités traditionnelles, habituées aux conduites uniformisées. Ces sentiments, normalement étouffés, se manifestaient dans les situations conflictuelles, quand on soupçonnait quelqu'un de vouloir nuire et de pratiquer une magie destructrice. Parfois on s'expliquait par de telles actions ses propres malheurs et échecs. Un rôle défini incombait aussi aux querelles entre voisins, à l'envie, aux bruits répétés de bouche à oreille, etc. Parfois il apparaissait qu'une habitante du village avait été soupçonnée de pratiquer la sorcellerie et diffamée "ex invidia vicinarum".[22] On ne doutait pas de la magie destructrice, nuisible, de certains individus. Quand, au commencement du XVI^{e} siècle, on a pour la première fois exécuté par arrêt du tribunal une sorcière condamnée au bucher dans une petite ville de Grande-Pologne, le baccalarius du lieu, ayant appris qu'elle avait été accusée de détruire les brasseries et d'empoisonnements, aurait déclaré aux habitants de la ville: 'plût à Dieu que fussent brûlés tous les sorciers et les hommes méchants".[23] C'était l'opinion d'un clerc, mais elle exprimait sans doute le point de vue des habitants de la bourgade sur ceux qui, à leur sens, constituent une menace pour la santé et la prospérité de tous.

Les accusateurs et les témoins invoquaient volontiers l'opinion généralisée selon laquelle la personne traduite devant le tribunal pratiquait la sorcellerie. Des expressions telles que: vox clamorosa in ipsa villa, communis fama, publica vox et fama, étaient souvent citées comme une preuve évidente de la culpabilité.[24] Cette "fama communis" pouvait évidemment être une phrase creuse destinée à appuyer une accusation trop faible. Parfois cependant nous relevons des traces de mécanismes analogues au moment de la formation de cette opinion. Au départ de "l'opinion universelle" pouvait se situer quelque déclaration publique, surtout quand celle-ci s'appuyait sur l'autorité de celui qui la formulait. Une femme appelée publiquement par le curé sorcière, hérétique et blasphématrice contre

l'Eucharistie tentait de se décharger de l'infamie devant le tribunal épiscopal.[25] Les humeurs et querelles de femmes façonnaient aussi l'opinion publique, surtout quand quelqu'une était appelée sorcière et empoisonneuse "en présence de nombreux gens".[26] Au XV^{e} siècle, en Pologne, le mot "sorcière" devenait dans le language courant une invective lancée dans la colère et dans l'intention d'offenser (il en allait de même en ce temps avec les mots "hérétique", "hussite").[27] Il se peut qu'une certaine influence doit ici être attribuée au conflit opposant le clergé paroissial aux fidèles laïcs.

Pendant la procédure judiciaire certains faits étaient mis au jour, événements gravés dans la mémoire des individus et des collectivités. On se les rappelait et on les présentait comme des signes permettant d'identifier les personnes pratiquant la magie et la sorcellerie. On indiquait par exemple qu'une femme avait déjà été autrefois condamnée à mort et ensuite graciée grâce à l'intervention d'une personnalité influente.[28] Dans une collectivité participant ensemble à la confession et à la communion pascales, on avait aperçu une autre femme qui "ne se confessait pas ni ne communiait".[29] On rappelait aussi des événements marquants liés à la personne de telle femme, sorcière présumée; le signe confirmant la culpabilité d'une femme accusée de multiplier magiquement le cheptel dans l'étable d'un prêtre était le beuglement retentissant des vaches quand la femme eut été subitement congédiée.[30] Le signe identificateur ce pouvait enfin être tout ce qui distinguait des autres la personne accusée ou soupçonnée de pratiques magiques ou sorcières.

L'analyse des objectifs visés par les pratiques magiques accomplies par les personnes traduites devant les tribunaux ecclésiastiques ou municipaux conduit entre autres à la conclusion qu'elles s'intéressaient relativement peu à la production agricole. Il semble plutôt que les procédés visant à stimuler la végétation et les bonnes récoltes des céréales[31] n'était pas du ressort des individus dotés d'aptitudes magiques. C'était en effet un savoir hérité par les collectivités agraires et l'on trouvait sans doute inutile de s'en décharger sur "les spécialistes". De plus, dans la collectivité rurale il n'engendrait pas les tensions se traduisant par l'imputation à quelqu'un de sorcellerie. Au XV^{e} siècle on ne traduisait pas non plus devant les tribunaux ecclésiastiques les personnes pratiquant des conjurations à la seule fin d'écarter les risques de la part de la nature. On peut l'expliquer par la connaissance généralisée, attestée dans les sources du bas Moyen Age, des moyens arrêtant l'orage, préservant

contre la grêle, etc.[32] Cependant dans les procès-verbaux ultérieurs des tribunaux municipaux, on voit apparaître les pratiques de ce genre et tout le rituel complexe d'actes et de textes prononcés. Cela semble indiquer que l'on commençait à se rendre compte dans les collectivités rurales de la nécessité d'une ingérence plus qualifiée, donc plus efficace, dans les mystères de la nature.

Les connaisseurs des pratiques magiques avaient enfin accaparé une partie importante des pratiques attachées à l'élevage du bétail, surtout au rendement des vaches laitières. Là on peut relever les pratiques visant à multiplier les biens dans sa propre étable ou dans celle du client, comme celles destinées à apporter un dommage (enlèvement magique des vaches, enlèvement de leur lait, etc.).[33] Les deux buts: multiplier les biens et les détruire, étaient aussi poursuivis par les sortilèges liés à la production et au débit des boissons alcoolisées, surtout de la bière fabriquée en abondance et massivement consommée en Pologne, mais aussi, plus rarement, de l'hydromel. Les pratiques de la magie destructrice frappant les bases de l'existence matérielle des producteurs étaient traitées avec une sévérité extrême. Une femme accusée d'avoir "détruit" par la sorcellerie six brasseries de Poznań était en même temps accusée d'empoisonnements[34] et il ne semble pas que l'on ait établi une distinction entre la gravité des deux délits. Au tournant du Moyen Age et des temps modernes, dans la magie pénétrait le monde de l'argent et du commerce. L'accroissement de la fortune, la récupération de la perte subie, la garantie d'un bénéfice certain, incitaient les habitants des villes et des campagnes à faire preuve d'initiative dans la sphère des pratiques magiques éventuellement à confier ses intérêts aux spécialistes des arts occultes. La recherche traditionnelle des trésors était plutôt entreprise à sa propre initiative;[35] les personnes initiées fournissaient uniquement les informations indispensables et les accessoires magiques appropriés. Ainsi là également les spécialistes étaient nécessaires, car ils connaissaient par exemple les moyens de déterrer l'argent qui brûlait la nuit.[36] Ils savaient aussi efficacement découvrir le voleur[37] et assurer un gain plus grand que l'on pouvait espérer le jour du marché ou de la foire.[38] La sphère des procédés visant la multiplication des biens se situait au niveau des connaissances et des représentations populaires, et l'on ne recourait pas aux expériences des doctes alchimistes. Mentionnons enfin les traditions vivaces et très anciennes de la magie amoureuse et les pratiques s'ingérant dans le commerce des conjoints. Dans ces domaines, les

spécialistes de la magie et des sortilèges assumaient le plus souvent le rôle de ceux qui transmettent leur savoir éprouvé à leurs clients. Aux tribunaux ecclésiastiques étaient enfin commises les affaires de tentatives d'empoisonnement, le plus souvent du conjoint, avec des ingrédients considérés universellement comme magiques.[39] A la sorcellerie et à la magie était associée la connaissance des poisons naturels, tel qu'ils se présentent dans la nature. Un artisan d'une ville moyenne accusait sa femme d'avoir voulu à deux reprises l'empoisonner en mettant dans sa boisson de la poudre d'araignées et lui donnant à manger des champignons vénéreux (terre morbos alias boletos mortiferos).[40]

L'inventaire des moyens et objets dont se servaient ceux qui pratiquaient la magie est complexe et ne se prête pas facilement aux interprétations. Nous observons une aire de culture populaire soumise depuis des siècles à la christianisation. Au déclin du Moyen Age et au seuil des temps modernes, cette christianisation se traduisait par la participation généralisée des fidèles au culte religieux, par une meilleure orientation qu'auparavant dans la liturgie, par la familiarisation avec les objets consacrés à l'église. Certains d'entre eux: l'eau bénite, les cierges bénits, les rameaux de Pâques, les herbes, etc. se trouvaient au foyer. C'étaient des accessoires d'une dévotion populaire déjà très développée où le signe matériel du sacré jouait un rôle immense. Ce rôle était combattu en territoire polonais par la Réforme; les concessions faites par les ecclésiastiques protestants acceptant l'eau bénite et le culte des reliques[41] disent combien forte était la résistance du catholicisme populaire. L'homme avait quotidiennement affaire à des objets dotés par le rite ecclésiastique d'une vertu particulière. Plus qu'aux siècles précédents, il essayait d'utiliser cette vertu dans des procédés visant à assurer sa prospérité. On considère parfois que l'arsenal des ressources de la magie christianisée éliminait efficacement les moyens magiques traditionnels. On peut en effet remarquer une véritable invasion des res consecratae dans les plus diverses croyances, pratiques et démarches. On utilisait à des fins magiques tout ce qui avait de quelque manière servi au rite ecclésial, donc non seulement l'eau bénite, le cierge bénit ou du baptême, la myrrhe, l'encens et l'or, mais aussi les brins d'herbe cueillis aux endroits ou était passée la procession des rogations de printemps, la nappe sur laquelle avaient été disposées les galettes bénites de Paques, le couteau avec lequel on avait coupé les aliments bénits. Les cendres et la fumée des objets bénits brûlés avaient aussi une signification magique.[42] En

tout cela résidaient une vertu et une énergie que l'homme habile dans les pratiques magiques pouvait utiliser conformément à ses intentions. Il pouvait aussi renforcer cette vertu: pour certaines pratiques était nécessaire l'eau bénite dans trois ou sept églises.[43]

Continuait cependant à fonctionner l'assortiment traditionnel des moyens et objets dont certains renouaient avec les anciennes croyances magiques préchrétiennes. Aux siècles considérés, ils coexistaient avec les accessoires de la magie "christianisée", utilisés parfois à des fins identiques. L'on n'avait pas oublié les herbes et les racines des plantes dont la connaissance des propriétés était transmise de génération en génération. On se servait de la matière des arbres entourés autrefois par les anciens Slaves d'un culte particulier, et aux arbres on "transmettait" également les infirmités humaines.[44] Un rôle essentiel était toujours dévolu au feu, qu'il soit allumé avec le cierge pascal ou par le moyen rituel traditionnel.[45] On utilisait les cendres des animaux brûlés qui, selon les croyances populaires, jouaient un rôle déterminé. On ne peut évidemment attribuer à tous ces objets et procédés rencontrés en territoire polonais une origine indigène. Il faut en effet se souvenir des influences et importations les plus diverses, dont certaines avaient pu émaner de l'aire de la culture cléricale, écrite, au travers de la prédication combattant "incantationes" et "superstitiones". D'autres étaient venues des territoires ethniquement étrangers, avec les colons, au temps surtout de la plus intense colonisation allemande.[46]

La "christianisation" de la magie et de la sorcellerie, tout en brisant la résistance de la tradition, envahissait aussi le domaine des rites et des gestes. Parfois, là où l'inventaire matériel restait profondément archaïque, pénétraient les signes chrétiens déterminant le succès des pratiques. Là où il s'agissait d'éviter la "dénaturation" de la bière (autrement dit d'obtenir une bonne production), devenaient indispensables trois petites croix exécutées avec la matière des arbres autrefois vénérés: on les enterrait sous la cuve contenant la boisson.[47] Pour protéger les vaches contre les sortilèges il fallait posséder des objets relevant de l'arsenal de l'ancienne magie: des oeufs et du miel; en les tenant dans les mains, il fallait faire sur les animaux le signe de la croix.[48] Ce signe, dont on connaissait universellement le contenu religieux et la symbolique liturgique, était en même temps un moyen d'écarter tout mal: les atteintes de Satan comme les dangers et insuccès de tous les jours. La magie populaire spécialisée du XVI^{e} siècle met au jour certains rituels et

pratiques associés aux pratiques chrétiennes de dévotion. Ainsi découvre-t-on l'horizon de la dévotion de masse des laïques avec ses traits caractéristiques inscrits dans un système de pensée selon les catégories magiques. Il y a donc l'impératif d'assister à trois messes (successivement: à la gloire de Dieu, de la Vierge Marie et de Saint Jean-Baptiste) pendant lesquelles il faut faire bénir les objets utilisés par la suite dans le procédé magique.[49] La recherche de l'argent "qui apparaît la nuit sous forme de flammes" doit être précédée de la communion et d'un jeune de neuf jours.[50] Il pourrait sembler que l'on est loin des attitudes mentales et de l'imagination traditionnelles. L'impression n'est qu'apparente: elles continuaient à fonctionner, inscrites dans un système unique de magie christianisée et de piété marquée au coin d'une finalité magique.

La tradition, qui résistait plus ou moins efficacement aux influences chrétiennes, gardait certains rites et gestes qui devaient apparaître extrêmement durables. C'étaient par exemple, pour éloigner un danger, la déambulation autour des champs, des maisons et des animaux d'élevage, l'enterrement d'objets magiques sous le seuil de la maison ou à la limite de l'enclos. Ce dernier procédé, rencontré également dans la magie destructrice, tirait sans doute son origine de l'ancien usage d'enterrer sous le seuil de la demeure les sacrifices dits de fondation (crânes d'animaux sauvages, oeufs, etc.). Aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles, la magie et la sorcellerie connaissent aussi en Pologne des techniques très simples et d'autres compliquées, requérant un rituel complexe, un ensemble spécifique d'objets magiques, etc. Celui qui avait retrouvé au moyen de la magie le voleur de l'argent municipal à Poznań s'était servi de verges tournées de diverses façons et de bouts de papier portant les noms des fauteurs potentiels. Ainsi recourait-il à l'écriture, de même que ceux qui pour conjurer les maladies, écrivaient des mots magiques sur du papier, des feuilles de pain ou des fruits.[51] Dans les procédés magiques populaires, le rôle de l'écriture semble cependant peu important. Nous rencontrons sporadiquement des signes magiques indéterminés: l'aubergiste d'une petite ville les aurait taillés sur la porte du presbytère du lieu.[52] Cet état de choses venait, d'une part, de ce que chez les gens simples l'art de l'écriture était peu répandu, et, de l'autre, du caractère traditionnel des techniques et rituels remontant à l'âge de la culture non écrite. La magie est la sorcellerie populaires fonctionnaient surtout dans la culture du geste et de la parole, et l'une des conditions fondamentales de les pratiquer était la connaissance des formules des incantations magiques où l'on ne pouvait rien omettre ni changer.

Les incantations rituelles magiques étaient sans doute déjà connues des habitants des territoires polonais dans le haut Moyen Age.[53] Aux siècles suivants, les sources mentionnent les incantations et invocations les plus diverses dont nous ne sommes pas en mesure de reconstituer la teneur. Les théologiens et prédicateurs du bas Moyen Age distinguaient en outre les incantations faisant appel aux forces démoniaques ou aux divinités païennes slaves identifiées à ces puissances, utilisées dans les appels et chants collectifs pendant les traditionnelles solennités annuelles.[54] Dans ces expressions, déformées par les auteurs ecclésiastiques et les copistes, on peut parfois déceler de faibles traces du systeme mythologique slave. Au XVI^{e} siècle seulement apparaît un corpus abondant d'incantations entrées dans le répertoire de la magie et de la sorcellerie populaires. Analysant la structure des textes des incantations magiques (repoussant, "conjurant" les infirmités corporelles) qu'il compare ensuite au matériel ethnographique parallèle, un historien de la littérature de l'ancienne Pologne a constaté leur cohésion interne, invariable en l'espace de plusieurs siècles.[55] Il y avait aussi découvert la composante fondamentale, la plus ancienne, sous la forme de la formule proprement dite selon laquelle devait s'accomplir le changement de la réalité (dans le cas de la "conjuration" d'une luxation: "Que s'unisse (...) la veine à la veine, le sang au sang, le cerveau au cerveau, la chair à la chair"). La vieille formule médiane s'enrichissait avec le temps de contenus chrétiens qui y sont restés à demeure (p. ex.) dans une partie initiale, le récit d'affabulation sur le Seigneur Jésus transmettant à ses Apôtres pendant un voyage sa puissance de guérir l'ânon malade, dans la partie conclusive, une phrase d'explication magique: "Par la puissance divine, par la puissance de la gentille Mère, avec l'aide de tous les saints".[56] La formule traditionnelle de conjuration de la grêle et de l'orage: "qu'il aille dans les forêts désertes, les montagnes désertes, les contrées désertes, où il ne nuira en rien à personne", a été précédée d'une invocation chrétienne à Dieu, à la Vierge Marie et à tous les saints, et terminée par une bénédiction au nom de la Sainte Trinité.[57]

Dans les formules des incantations-conjurations on doit relever aussi bien la strate archaïque que la strate contenant des éléments chrétiens. Dans la première, nous retrouvons la conviction profondément gravée dans la conscience traditionnelle sur la nécessité de chasser le mal (le danger, la maladie) "au dehors", hors du corps humain, de la maison, de l'enclos, du village, en un mot hors de l'univers proche de l'homme.[58] La grêle

devait passer dans "les forêts désertes, les montagnes désertes", l'orage "dans les forêts sombres, les contrées désertes". Ainsi le mal était rejeté vers des lieux étrangers à l'homme: l'ancien polonais "puszcza" (grande forêt épaisse) tirait son étymologie de "pusty" (vide, désert), car il désignait un terrain non habité par l'homme.[59] Les forêts épaisses et sombres étaient par contre peuplées de divers êtres démoniaques dangereux, d'origine préchrétienne. D'autres avaient élu domicile sur les sommets des montagnes. Le mal et le danger, traités d'une manière animiste, devaient donc être repoussés vers les régions des puissances du mal. On chassait aussi le danger et la maladie "vers les lacs, les marécages",[60] donc vers un autre lieu de démonologie populaire, particulièrement dangereux pour l'homme selon le folklore slave, parce que rempli de noyés et d'Ondines guettant les hommes.[61] Dans la mémoire collective pouvaient aussi subsister des réminiscences du mythe slave de l'antagonisme entre la foudre et l'élément aquatique;[62] chasser l'orage "vers les eaux" serait donc orienter sa puissance destructrice vers son ennemi naturel. Remarquons enfin qu'au temps où étaient prononcées les incantations citées, les marais et marécages étaient le domaine non seulement des anciens mauvais êtres mais aussi du diable mi-chrétien qui y entraînait volontiers les hommes égarés et les voyageurs. Les matériaux ethnographiques notés en des temps proches de nous élargissent d'une manière crédible l'horizon mythologique des incantations tirant leur origine de la culture archaïque. Nous y avons affaire à l'expulsion du mal "sur les nuages, à la croisée des chemins", "au vent", et la maladie de l'enfant est confiée à la "poludnica" (démon méridional) slave pour qu'elle l'emporte "au bout du monde".[63]

Dans les incantations archaïques destinés à défendre la maison contre le mal menaçant de l'extérieur pénétrait le sacré chrétien. "Trois anges saints derrière ma maison, trois saints apôtres devant ma maison (...) Dieu tout-puissant avec sa gentille mère dans la pureté au-dessus de ma maison";[64] ainsi confiait-on aux saints personnes la mission de protéger, d'entourer la maison de toutes parts et, par la même, de la séparer des puissances hostiles et impures. Le sacré se rapprochait de l'homme, de ses affaires et projets, par la répétition magique des saints noms connus de chaque chrétien: Dieu, la Mère de Dieu - les influences de la dévotion mariale s'y manifestent très visiblement - des Apôtres Pierre et Paul, de ste Anne, de ste Marie-Madeleine, etc. L'incantation magique rendait présent le temps de l'histoire sainte, le rapprochait du moment souhaité, décisif, du changement de la situation actuelle: repousser le mal, guérir la

maladie. Ainsi mentionne-t-on dans la formule magique le temps "où le Seigneur Jésus parcourait le monde avec st Pierre et st Paul";[65] c'est un motif très vivace dans le folklore polonais. On invoque le mystère marial de "l'enfantement du Fils de Dieu sans douleur". En même temps, les événements de l'histoire sainte qui s'étaient accomplis dans un monde lointain, topographiquement inconnu, sont transportés dans une réalité connue et proche. La conjuration de l'orage commençait par les mots: "à Poznań se dresse une table, sur cette table l'aimable Vierge Pure a enveloppé son Fils dans les langes".[66] Une ville proche et connue devenait un lieu digne du saint événement; ce fait rendait vraisemblable l'efficacité du procédé magique en faveur de la population habitant les établissements suburbains.

Les notions et représentations liées au rituel magique étaient, une manifestation de la mentalité profondément ancrée dans l'aire de la culture populaire, qu'il s'agisse de sa strate archaïque ou de celle soumise aux influences du christianisme. Ces deux strates d'ailleurs s'interpénétraient, formant un système de culture syncrétique. Les spécialistes des pratiques magiques vivaient dans les collectivités rurales et celles des bourgades, constituant un élément durable du paysage social et culturel local. Aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles ils étaient rarement arrachés à l'aire de la vie quotidienne ordinaire. Au XVII^{e} siècle seulement, période du déclin de la tolérance confessionnelle polonaise, des mesures énergiques ont été prises pour situer les sorcières et sorciers sur les positions d'ennemis dangereux de la société. A partir de ce moment seulement les sorcelleries ont graduellement commencé à manifester toute la puissance de l'enfer. A ce moment aussi a commencé à fructifier la mythe depuis longtemps connu des sabbats des sorcières. Dans ce même siècle cependant, le traducteur polonais de Malleus maleficarum se plaignait avec quelque exagération que "les tribunaux ne châtient pas les sorcelleries parce que les gens n'y croient pas".[67] La Pologne cédait lentement et comme à contre-coeur à l'obsession européenne des persécutions des sorcières. Il est significatif que les missions rurales des jésuites ne voyaient pas au commencement du XVII^{e} siècle leurs principaux adversaires dans les protestants ni les sorcières. Leur principal effort allait dans les sens donc de la lutte contre tout ce que les savants théologiens catholiques aussi bien que protestants considéraient comme des vestiges du paganisme et qui, dans la réalité était un symptome de la vitalité de la culture populaire traditionnelle. En même temps était entrepris l'effort d'enseigner à la population rurale les principales vérités de la foi.

Notes

[1]Sur la place de l'homme dans son milieu naturel et ses attitudes devant ce milieu, voir Tyszkiewicz (1983).

[2]Se fondant sur les témoignages des chroniqueurs Malewicz (1980:145 et suiv.) a relevé les phénomènes d'épidémies.

[3]Bylina (1987:1231-1234).

[4]Pour la période du plein Moyen Age, voir les remarques de Dowiat (1985:175-192).

[5]Voir en particulier les sermons de Stanislaus de Scarbimiria Sermones super "Gloria in Excelsis", ed. R. M. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1978, pp. 103-104 et Sermones sapientales, ed. B. Chmielowska, t. II, Warszawa 1979, pp. 82-93. Cf. aussi Kowalczykówna (1979:5-18).

[6]Voir les observations de B. Geremek dans J. Dowiat, ed. (1985:461). Sur les rites annuels populaire, voir Łydkowska - Sowina (1980:159-172). Cf. aussi: Biernacka, Frankowska, Paprocka, ed. (1981:132 et suiv.).

[7]Stanislaus de Scarbimiria, Sermones sapientiales, II, p. 86.

[8]Ibidem, p. 85.

[9]Ibidem, pp. 92-93.

[10]Dowiat, ed. (1985:184).

[11]Librowski (1964:170).

[12]Pełka (1987:192 et suiv.).

[13]Ces textes, provenant du XV^{e} et des quatre premières décennies du XVI^{e} siècle, ont été publiés par Ulanowski (1902-1908).

Rappelons qu'en 1543 la diète polonaise avait transmis aux tribunaux profanes (municipaux et villageois) la connaissance des actes de sorcellerie par lesquelle la personne accusée aurait provoqué des dommages matériels au détriment de quelqu'un ou suscité la maladie ou la mort de quelqu'un; voir Tazbir (1980:293).

[14]Le texte des procès-verbaux du tribunal municipal de Poznań pour 1559 a été publié par Łukaszewicz (1838:123-124, 275-276), celui des procès de 1544 et 1549 - par Woronczak (1972: 49-57). Il faut voir aussi Maisel (1963:210-216).

[15]Tazbir (1980).

[16]Ceci était relevé par Korányi (1928:8). Il faut cependant citer l'incident qu'a été le procès intenté devant le tribunal ecclésiastique à Jakub Czaba, un paysan du diocèse de Płock, accusé en 1524 de célébrer en l'honneur du diable un rite modelé sur la messe catholique - voir Ulanowski, ed., (III, 1, No. 432).

[17]Tazbir (1980:287); du même (1981:19-33).

[18]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1835). Voir aussi Bugaj (1976:114); Korányi (1928:4).

[19]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1252). Voir aussi Bugaj (1976:114).

[20]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1016). Sur l'emploi de la corde de pendu, efficace dans les pratiques magique, cf. Łukaszewicz (1838:123).

[21]Cf. sur ce sujet Zaremska (1986:98 et suiv.).

[22]Korányi (1928:11).

[23]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1660).

[24]Voir e.a. Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 465, 1574; III, 1, No. 202).

[25]Ibidem, II, No. 1373.

[26]Ibidem, II, No. 1809.

[27]Voir sur ce sujet Bylina (1985:19 et suiv.).

[28]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1578).

[29]Ibidem, II, No. 147.

[30]Ibidem, III, 1, No. 202.

[31]Ibidem, II, No. 1477.

[32]Stanislaus de Scarbimiria, Sermones sapientiales, II, 93.

[33]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 845; III, 1, No. 202); Woronczak (1972:53-55, 57). Dans les sources dépouillées, nous ne rencontrons pas le motif apparaissant dans certains pays occidentaux de l'emploisonnement du lait, ni celui de l'empoisonnement du blé, présent dans les croyances magiques du monde slave oriental, voir Kovács (1973).

[34]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1660).

[35]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1994; III, 1, No. 553).

[36]Woronczak (1972:52).

[37]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 1552); Woronczak (1972:51).

[38]Woronczak (1972:57).

[39]Ulanowski, ed. (III, 1, No. 600; II, No. 1691, 1709, 1833).

[40]Ibidem, III, 1, No. 600.

[41]Voir les remarques de Tazbir (1980:288 et suiv.). Sur ce sujet il faut consulter Sipayłło, ed. (1966-1972).

[42]Stanislaus de Scarbimiria, Sermones sapientiales, II, 89.

[43]Woronczak (1972:55, 57). Voir aussi: Tylkowa (1983:84-86).

[44]Stanislaus de Scarbimiria. Sermones super "Gloria in Excelsis", 104; Woronczak (1972: 51). Voir aussi: Karwicka (1983:44).

[45]Tyszkiewicz (1976:591-597):

[46]Les croyances et pratiques magiques répandues parmi la population allemande établie en Silésie sont attestés par un fragment de la somme pour les confesseurs, de la plume du moine cistercien Roudolphe du milieu du XIII[e] siècle; voir Karwot (1955:19-30).

[47]Woronczak (1972:51).

[48]Ibidem, 53.

[49]Ibidem, 51.

[50]Ibidem, 52.

[51]Stanislaus de Scarbimiria, Sermones sapientiales, II, 91-92. Voir aussi: Kowalczykówna (1979:9-10).

[52]Ulanowski, ed. (II, No. 845).

[53]Voir les remarques de Dowiat (1985:192). Pour le bas Moyen Age: Kowalczykówna (1979:15).

[54]Cf. Łowmiański (1979:212 et suiv.).

[55]Cf. les remarques de Cz. Hernas (introduction à:) Kotula (1976: 14 et suiv.).

[56]Woronczak (1972:55).

[57]Ibidem, 51. Cf. aussi: Kotula (1976:189 et suiv.).

[58]Stomma (1986:175 et suiv.).

[59]Puszcza (Grande forêt), dans Słownik staropolski, VII, 400-401, Trawkowski (1979:276), tout en constatant que la forêt était l'espace le moins apprivoisé et, par son étrangeté, suscité l'épouvante chez l'homme, relève cependant le bon aménagement des forêts vierges en plein Moyen Age.

[60]Woronczak (1972:56). Les sources ethnographiques: Kotula (1976:192).

[61]Cf. les observations de Gieysztor (1982). Cf. aussi: Pełka (1987:82-99).

[62]Voir le texte d'un conte biélorusse cité par Gieysztor (1982:60 et suiv.).

[63]Kotula (1976:187, 189).

[64]Woronczak (1972:51).

[65]Ibidem, 55.

[66]Ibidem, 56.

[67]Tazbir (1980:281).

[68]Hernas (1965:90 et suiv.); Tazbir (1980:294).

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HEXENGESTALT IN DER UKRAINISCHEN FOLKLORETRADITION

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Das religiöse Bewusstsein der traditionellen Agrargesellschaft ist nicht zu trennen vom Glauben an die Existenz einer besonderen Kategorie von Menschen, die Zauberfähigkeit besitzen und die als Vermittler zwischen der irdischen Welt und der Welt von geheimnisvollen übernatürlichen Kräften auftreten. Für die Erforschung der Evolution dieser archaischen Ansichten sind die Materialen der ukrainischen demonologischen Folklore von zweifellosem Interesse, die insbesondere zur Hexengestalt gehören.

Das ukrainische Wort "Hexe" (ѣдьма) entstammt vom altrussischen Wort вѣдѣ ('Wissen'), die Hexerei ist auch etymologisch mit den urslawischen und indoeuropäischen Sprachen verbunden (Sanskrit. Veda - 'Heiliges Wissen'). Die magische Ritualtätigkeit von Frauen, die sich auf dem Gebiet der Hexereikenntnisse spezialisierten, wurde auf dem Territorium der Ukraine schon lange Zeit vor dem Empfang des Christentums bekannt, was durch die Angaben der archeologischen und schriftlichen Quellen bestätigt wurde. Beachtenswert sind in diesem Zusammenhang die in der rechtsuferigen Ukraine und im Vordonauland in den Schichten der neolitischen und eneolitischen landwirtschaftlichen Kulturen entdeckten irdenen Frauengestalten, die sogenannten "Zauberinnen", die das heilige Wasser in den bemalten Ritualgefässen beschwörten. Nach der Auffassung des bekannten Archäologen B.A. Rybakow, der diese einzigartigen Denkmäler erforscht hatte, ist im gegebenen Fall unter der Zauberei eine der Abarten der Agrarzauberei zu verstehen, und zwar das Beten um den Regen.[1]

Die altrussischen schriftlichen Quellen aus den 11.-14. Jahrhundert kennen die Frauen-Hexen unter verschiedenen Bezeichnungen: "Wahrsagerinnen", "Hexen", "Zauberinnen", "Wundertäterinnen", "Verwöhnerinnen", "Nachsichterinnen". So wurde zum Beispiel in der russischen Chronik aus dem Jahr 1071 eine besondere Anhänglichkeit der Frauen zur Zauberei bemerkt: "Sogar die Frauen können Hexen sein... Sie verstehen viel Zauberei und Gifte und anderes Teufelleben".[2]

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Die ausdrucksvollen Züge der Chrestomatiehexe treten deutlich in der Darstellung der zentralen handelnden Frauenperson der altrussischen Sage "Dobrynja und Marinka" auf, deren Schaffung in die Periode der Einführung des Christentums im Alt-Russland gehört. Die Geliebte des grausamen Drachen ist eine junge Kiewerin Marinka (Maria Ignatowna), sie verwandelt die mächtigen Recken (Helden) in die braunen Ochsen-Auerochsen oder Pferde. Sie kann auch die Liebeszauberei in Mengen zuschicken und insbesondere nach der Spur zaubern.[3]

Die lückenhaften Mitteilungen über die Hexen in der Ukraine wurden in den Quellen aus dem 15. und 17. Jahrhundert entdeckt, aber das Grundmassiv der Information über die Hexen bilden die Dokumente der Gerichtsprozesses aus dem 17.-18. Jahrhundert und insbesondere die ethnographischen Angaben, die im Laufe des 19.-20. Jahrhunderts gesammelt wurden. Gerade diese Materialien sollen als Ausgangsbasis für eine zusammengefassende Charakteristik der uns interessierenden handelnden Person der Volksdämonologie dienen.

Der Widerspruch der Gestalt der Hexe besteht darin, dass sie zugleich zur Welt der Menschen und zur Welt "der Bösen" gehört. Laut den traditionellen Vorstellungen der Ukrainer können die Hexen zweiartig sein: die natürlichen - die "angeborenen" und die "gelehrten". Die ersten unterscheiden sich durch das Vorhandensein eines Schwanzes, und manchmal durch das Fehlen der Brust oder des Haares an den Geschlechtsteilen, die zweiten haben aber keine besonderen Merkmale, doch sie sind die aktivsten in der Verübung der schädlichen Taten. Es existierte der Volksglaube, dass, wenn in der Familie 7 Töchter nacheinander geboren wurden, so sollte eine von ihnen unbedingt eine Hexe werden. Solches Schicksal hatte auch eine Neugeborene in dem Fall, als die schwangere Mutter zufällig ein Kohlchen verschluckt hat, in dem sie die festlichen Gerichte zu Weihnachten bereitete. Ausserdem glaube man daran, dass die "angeborenen" Hexen schon im Mutterleib die Folge einer Beschwörung waren, die in einer unglücklichen Minute ausgesprochen wurde. Deshalb gelten sie als Schuldlose in ihrer Sünde, im Unterschied zu den gelehrten Hexen. Die Anzahl der letzten, wie man in einigen Bezirken der Ukraine glaubte, wurde gewöhnlich auf Rechnung der bösen, zänkischen Frauen ergänzt.

Es existierte die Vorstellung dass die gelehrten Hexen ihre Kenntnisse von anderen Zauberinnen und unmittelbar vom Teufel erwerben. Bevor man eine neue Schülerin in die "geheimnisvolle Wissenschaft" einweiht, organisierte die Lehrerin für sie eine Mutprobe, die gewöhnlich in der Nacht am Fluss oder am Brunnen verlief. Hierher wurden mit Hilfe des Käses

die Schlangen und die anderen Bewohner des unterirdischen Reiches zusammengerufen, mit denen ein nicht schriftlich fixierter Vertrag über die Zusammenarbeit in der Zauberei abgeschlossen wurde.

Es ist sehr schwer, eine Hexe unter den gewöhnlichen Umständen zu erkennen: sie kann eine Greisin oder ein Mädchen sein, schön oder hässlich, oder das Aussehen eines Tieres und verschiedener Gegenstände annehmen. Für ihre Erkennung wurden spezielle magische Verfahren und Mittel verwendet, viele von denen galten als unersetzbare bei der Identifizierung überhaupt aller Vertreter des Zaubereistandes. So war ein Volksglauben verbreitet, dass man eine Hexe durch das Loch an der Stelle eines ausgefallenen Ästchens im Brett sehen kann, das für den Sarg bestimmt wurde. Dasselbe Ziel versuchte man auch mit Hilfe der Espenegge zu erreichen, die im Laufe eines Tages hergestellt und bebaut wurde.

Meistenteils entdeckte man die Hexen unter den Dorfgenossen an den grossen Kalenderfesttagen: zu Weihnachten, Ostern, Juri, Hl. Georg, Iwan Kupala, Pfingsten und andere. Es wurde zum Beispiel angenommen, dass, wenn man jeden Montag der grossen Fasten ein Holzscheit zurücklegt und am Ostermorgen aus ihnen ein Feuer macht, so kommt die Hexe selbst, um Feuer zu bitten. Wie bei den anderen europäischen Völkern waren unter den Ukrainern die Erzählungen über eine besondere (gewöhnlich aus Espe geschnitzte) Bank im Umlauf, an der man insgeheim während der grossen Feste gearbeitet hat. Indem man sich beim Ostergottesdienst daraufstellte, konnte man, wie es angenommen wurde, alle sich in der Kirche befindlichen Hexen sehen. Nach anderen Glauben konnte man dasselbe mit Hilfe der gesegneten Stücke des Käses, der Zwiebel, des Knoblauches, der Eischale erreichen, die während des Ostergottesdienstes unter die Zunge genommen wurden. Einen breiten Umlauf hatten die abergläubischen Vorstellungen, dass man eine Hexe entdecken kann, indem man die Milch auf der Pfanne anbrät und an die Schwelle ein erhitztes Pferdehufeisen legt sowie im Wasser ein Stück des rohen Leinen mit 9 hineingesteckten Haarnadeln kocht und so weiter. Eine wichtige Rolle in der Entdeckung der Zauberei gehört den Erstgeborenen in der Familie des männlichen Geschlechts und den "Jartschukam" - Rüden, die als erste zur Welt kamen (manchmal in der 9. Generation von der 9. Hündin). Vor den letzten hatten die Hexen besondere Angst, und deswegen versuchten sie sie immer zu vernichten, während sie noch schwach und schutzlos waren.

Nachdem man eine Zauberin entdeckt hatte, versuchte man sie manchmal festzunehmen. Es gab einen Volksglauben, dass das nicht mit einer nackten

Hand zu machen war, sondern mit einer speziellen Einrichtung: zum Beispiel wurde den Frauen empfohlen, den Stoff ihres Unterhemdes zu benutzen, und den Männern - die Hosen. Ganz passend für so einen Fall galt ein "Otschkur", - eine Schnur, die in die Männerpumphosen für ihre Unterstützung eingefädelt wurde, mit der man sieben Jahre lang Osterbrot weihen ging, oder eine besondere Leine, die man in umgekehrter Richtung winden musste, das heisst, von der Weberin selbst.

Die oben beschriebenen magischen Verfahren und Arten bilden in ihrer Gesamtheit eine eigenartige Folkloremethode des Untersuchungsprozesses der Hexen, der nicht unbedingt mit der nachfolgenden Abrechnung am Opfer der Beschuldigung verbunden war. Im Unterschied zum katholischen und protestantischen Europa hatten die Hexenprozesse in der Ukraine keine breiten Massstäbe. Trotzdem gebrauchte man auch hier die sogenannten Wasserproben: man fesselte mit einem besonderen Verfahren eine in der Zauberei verdächtige Frau, dann tauchte man sie auf einer Leine in den Fluss oder in den See ein, wenn sie unterging, so hielt man sie für unschuldig, im anderen Fall erklärte man sie als Hexe und richtete sie unverzüglich hin. Ähnlichen Proben sind zum Beispiel in den Gerichtsurkunden der Stadtverwaltung der Stadt Dubno aus dem Jahre 1711 und im Buch der Stadt Kamenz gegen 1709 vorhanden.[4] Es lohnt sich zu erwähnen, dass in einigen Gegenden der Ukraine die Wasserproben als Element des Gewohnrechtes im frühen 19. und sogar am Anfang des 20. Jahrhundertes angewandt wurden.

Die radikalste Weise, die Ränken einer Hexe zu verhindern, ist ihre Verbrennung im Feuer. Die grausamen Abrechnungen häuften sich den Dokumenten nach in den sogenannten "dunklen Zeiten", als die Zeitspanne des relativen Wohlstandes durch Epidemien, Hungersnöte, Dürren, Viehseuchen und andere Naturkatastorphen unterbrochen wurde. Die sozial und geistig unterdrückten Volksmassen verstanden die wahre Natur dieser Erscheinungen nicht, und sie waren geneigt sie zu erklären, in vollem Einvernehmen mit der Lehre der christlichen Kirche, durch die Ränken des Teufels und seiner Helfer. Da angenommen wurde, dass die Hexen eine vielzählige Abteilung "der Krieger des Teufels" ausmachten, wurden gerade sie meistenteils "Sündenbock" - unschuldiges Opfer der erschreckten und fanatischen Menge. Für die Übergangsepoche vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit sind, wie die Geschichtsforscher festgestellt haben, solche Züge der Sozialpsychologie charakteristisch wie die leichte Erregbarkeit, die Neigung zur Panik und zu unerwarteten irrationalen Ausbrüchen.[5] Unter solchen Bedingungen konnte man eine beliebige Frau ziemlich leicht der Zauberei, der Zuschickung "der

Beschädigung" beschuldigen, weil sie sich durch ihr "Äusseres" oder andere Merkmale auszeichnete. So zum Beispiel im Jahre 1720, als sich im Süd-Volyn die Pest verbreitete, hielten die Kleinbürger der Stadt Krassilow für die Urheberin dieser Epidemie die älteste Frau, die 120 Jahre alt war. In Anwesenheit aller Gemeindemitglieder vergrub man diese Frau bis an den Hals in die Erde, und dann verbrannte man sie und legte auf die Stelle der Hinrichtung einen Mühlstein.[6]

Es ist interessant zu bemerken, dass in der Folklore der Ukrainer und der Belorussen bis zum 20. Jahrhundert die Erinnerungen an die grausamen Abrechnungen mit Hexen in der Form des Karnevalspielrituals bewahrt sind. In vielen Dörfern des Polessje hatte man zum Fest von Iwan Kupala (am 7. Juli) einen Strohbalg als Hexe gezeichnet und ausgeschmückt, dann trug man ihn zum Wasser, wo man das Urteil las, den Balg verbrannte und ins Wasser warf. Es existierten die speziellen Kalenderlieder, die diesem Ritual gewidmet waren.

Die mündliche Tradition der Ukrainer inkriminierte den Hexen vor allem, dass sie die fremden Kühe "verdarben" und von ihnen die Milch mitnahmen. Zu diesem Zweck schlichen die Zauberinnen angeblich in den Stall, sie veränderten ihr gewohntes Aussehen, sammelten den Tau auf den Wiesen zum Juri-Fest, brachten ihre anderen Zauberfähigkeiten zum Einsatz. Um eine Kuh zu schädigen, ist es für eine Hexe genug, ihre Spuren und Exkremente zu sammeln. Die Milch kann die Hexe laut Volksglauben mittels verschiedener Gegenstände stehlen, zum Beispiel: eines Pfeilers, einer Einrichtung zum Flachsbrechen, eines Hakenpfluges, eines Zaumes u.a. Auf solche Weise melkten sie die Kühe nach ihrem Wunsch.

Die grösste Gefahr für das Vieh bedeuteten die Hexen in der Kupalanacht, wenn sie gegen sie die verschiedenen apothropäischen Mittel (Brennessel, Mohn, Espenpfahl, Kreuze u.a.) verwendeten.

Die schädliche Magie der ukrainischen Hexen gegenüber den Kühen erschöpft die Liste der Missetaten nicht. Die dämonologische Folklore zeigte ihre grenzenlosen Fähigkeiten, auf allen Gebieten der Wirtschaft und der Lebenstätigkeit eines Menschen einen Einfluss auszuüben (vorwiegend negativ), sich in den Lauf der Naturprozesse aktiv einzumischen. So zum Beispiel, laut den Vorstellungen der ukrainischen Bergbewohner - Huzulen - existierte bei den Hexen so eine enge Spezialität, wo jede Hexe für ihren Abschnitt verantwortlich war: Hausvieh, Waldtiere, Natter, Menschen, Regen, Hagel, Dürre usw.[7] Unter den Hexen waren auch universale, die fähig waren, alles zu "verderben", was sie wünschen.

Sehr verbreitet waren der Volksglauben darüber, dass die Hexen Krankheiten auf die Menschen schicken, das Blut aussaugen (von hier ist ihre dialektische Benennung "Opiriza"), sie machen die magischen Schiebungen der Ähren und beschädigen das Korn. Wie die anderen Zauberei schaffen sie verschiedene Wunder: gehen durch den Baum, das Wasser, die Wand, können die Schlangen zusammenrufen. In den ukrainischen apokryphischen Sagen besiegt die Hexe den christlichen Gott selbst. Als Gott versuchte, sie wegen ihrer Verbrechen in einen Stein zu verwandeln, zerstörte die Hexe diese Pläne und verbot Gott, sich in den Himmel zu heben.[8]

Die Zauberei der Hexen verbreitete sich auch auf das Gebiet der kosmischen und der meteorologischen Magie. Man erzählte zum Beispiel, dass sie die Gewohnheit haben, die Sterne vom Himmel zu stehlen, dafür kletterten sie mit den Beinen nach oben auf die Kreuze, die auf den Wegegabelungen aufgestellt wurden. Die gestohlenen Sterne wurden wie der Hagel und Regen mit dem Zauberverfahren in den gedeckten Töpfen auf dem Ofen bewahrt. Es ist passend zu bemerken, dass der Ofen und alle mit ihm verbundenen Gegenstandsrealitäten eine grosse Rolle in der magischen Praxis der Hexereikenntnisse spielen. Man kann mit ihnen in diesem Plan nur die Attribute der Weberei vergleichen, die auch zur Anzahl der traditionellen Frauenbeschäftigungen gehörten.

Mit den legendären Vorstellungen von der Hexe als Herrscherin über die Naturkräfte assozieren sich die Vorstellungen über ein anderes dämonologisches Wesen der Ostslawen - Baba Jaga. Man verbindet sie insbesondere mit der Funktion der Flüge. Die Volksphantasie der Ukrainer schrieb den Hexen die Fähigkeit zu, auf einigen Haushaltsgegenständen durch die Luft fliegen zu können: auf dem Schüreisen, auf dem Besen, auf dem Mörser u. a. Dem Fliegen geht gewöhnlich eine magische Zeremonie voran, die in der Herstellung der speziellen Flüssigkeit oder der Schmiere bestand. Nach dem Volksglauben wird für diesen Zweck der Ton benutzt, der unter der Schwelle ausgegraben wurde; das Öl, das mit dem Zauberverfahren aus dem Flachs hergestellt wurde, der in derselber Nacht gesät und aufgezogen wurde, und andere Zaubermittel. Die Hexen wurden mit dem Zaubertrank beschmiert, dann flogen sie angeblich durch den Rauchabzug (manchmal durch das Fenster, die Tür) zu dem geheimnivollen Nachtkonventikel. Es existierte die Überzeugung, dass diese auf den Wegkreuzugen) oder "Hotaren" - Grenzen zwischen den Dörfern - stattfanden. Die zwei genannten Lokative sind wie bekannt semantisch bedeutend im System des archaischen religiösmythologischen Raumes.

Überall war in der Ukraine der Volksglauben bekannt, dass die Hexen ihre regelmässigen Konventikel (Hexensabbate, Seime) auf den nackten Berggipfeln durchführen. Hier berieten sie sich miteinander unter Anführung von "Hexern" (Männeranalog der Hexe), führten wilden Orgien durch, vollführten Schlachten mit hölzernen Schwertchen (die in der Weberei Verwendung fanden). Besonders viele Sagen erzählte man über den Kahlberg (Лиса гора) in Kiew. Hierher flogen nach den Volksglauben in der Iwan-Kupala-Nacht die Hexen nicht nur aus der Umgegend, sondern auch aus den entfernten Gegenden der Ukraine, aus Belorussland und aus Litauen. Die Quellen der gegebenen Folkloretradition nehmen ihren Anfang wahrscheinlich noch in der Epoche des Heidentums, was indirekt die von Archäologen auf dem Kahlberg entdeckten Reste der altslawischen Siedlung und einer grossen Grabstätte bestätigen, die in das 8.-10. Jahrhundert gehören.[9]

Die traditionellen Konventikelstellen der Hexen verfolgte man auch in anderen ukrainischen Regionen, zum Beispiel, dem Gutin-Berg in den Karpaten. Nach den Huzulen-Sagen reifen auf seinem Gipfel sogar im Winter Apfel, Birnen, Weintrauben, Pflaumen und andere Früchte. Man kann annehmen, dass die Genesis der Folklorenarrative über die Hexensabbate teilweise mit der Ritualtradition der heidnischen Gebete verbunden ist, die auf den Gipfeln der heiligen Berge stattgefunden haben.[10]

Gewöhnlich war der Volksglaube, dass sich während der Flüge die Hexenseele vom Leib trennte. Wenn man das liegende Weib mit dem Kopf dorthin umkehrte, wo die Beine waren, konnte die Seele angeblich nicht in den Leib zurückkehren. Die Ukrainer haben eine ganze Reihe von märchenhaften und sagenhaften Fabeln, die diese animistischen Vorstellungen darstellen. Das wichtige Merkmal, das die Zugehörigkeit der Hexen zur Welt des Bösen bestimmt, ist ihre Fähigkeit, die Menschengestalt abzuwerfen und verschiedene andere Gestalten und Ähnlichkeiten anzunehmen. Meistenteils benutzen sie dieses Verfahren während der Verfolgungen. Der Umfang der Hexenreinkarnationen ist in der ukrainischen Folklore breit. Nach unseren Berechnungen schliesst er mehr als 30 potentielle Varianten ein, unter deren antromorphen und zoomorphen Gestalten, verschiedene Gegenstände und materielle Substanzen sind. Die beliebten Menscheninkarnationen einer Hexe sind eine hässliche Greisin mit krummer Nase oder ein schönes Mädchen; bedeutend seltener ein junger Bursche (Kosak), oder die Vertreterin eines fremden Volkes. Zum Kreis der Tierwelt gehören die Verwandlungen in ein Pferd, einen Hund, eine Katze, ein Schwein, ein Schaf, eine Kuh, eine Ziege, einen Frosch und eine Schlange. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass unter

den Tierinkarnationen der Hexe die, vom Standpunkt des Christentums her, "bösen" Tiere vorherrschen.

Im ukrainischen Folklorestoff gibt es viele Erzählungen davon, wie man in der Nacht ein scheinbares Pferd beschlägt, die Pfoten bei Hunden oder bei Katzen abschneidet, und am Tage gelingt es mittels dieser Beweise eine Frau-Werwölfin zu entlarven. Eines von diesen Motiven wurde in der fantastischen Erzählung von N.W.Gogl "Eine Mainacht oder Ertrunkene" verwendet.

Die Reihe der Verwandlungen bei ukrainischen Hexen ist zahlreich. Die einzelnen Glieder dieser Reihe, wie zum Beispiel ein Rad, ein Sieb, eine Nadel, das Leinen, ein Besen, das Heu, u.a. haben in dem traditionellen Ritus einen magisch-symbolischen Status, was ermöglicht, sie mit den heidnischen Ritualattributen zu assozieren.

Die Tat der Verwandlung in der ukrainischen Folklore versteht man als einen hastigen Schlag, eine Kreisbewegung oder einen Sprung. Als Werkzeuge der Verwandlung können eine grüne Gerte, ein Stock, eine Peitsche, ein Zaum, ein Gürtel u.a. dienen. Mit ihrer Hilfe, und auch mit Hilfe der speziellen verbalen Formel, die streng geheim aufbewahrt sind, könnten die Zaubererinnen und Zauberer das Äussere andere Menschen verändern. Laut dem Volksglauben, der in Podljaschje aufgeschrieben war, wünschte eine Hexe, einen Hochzeitszug in Wölfe zu verwandeln, sie drehte ihren Gürtel und legte ihn unter die Schwelle eines Bauernhauses, wo diese Hochzeit stattfand, und jeder, der über diesen Gürtel schritt, wurde mit Wolfshaar bedeckt. Einer anderen Version zufolge zwirnt sie die Lindenbäste, kocht sie und verwandelt mit Hilfe der vorbereiteten Brühe die Hochzeitsgäste in Wölfe. Um den Werwölfen ihr usprüngliches Aussehen zurückzugeben, bedeckt die Hexe sie mit einem Schafpelz.[11]

Es ist interessant zu bemerken, dass der Glaube an die Reinkarnation auch in den Gerichtsdokumenten seinen Ausdruck gefunden hat. Ihre Verwandlungen haben manchmal die scheinbaren Hexen unter Foltern eingestanden, sie zogen den Tod den weiteren Foltern vor.

Ein ähnlicher Fall fand im Jahre 1714 in der Stadt Lubny statt, wo eine gewisse Frau "unter Foltern" bekannte, dass sie sich "in Elster und Rauch verwandelt". Vor der Todesstrafe durch die Verbrennung wegen "der Zauberei" rettete die Beschuldigte nur das Handeln des berühmten staatlichen Funktionärs und Historikers W.N. Tatischtschew.[12]

Die fantastischen Verwandlungen der Hexen in die Erscheinungen und Gegenstände der beseelten und unbeseelten Natur sind als Relikte des

mythologischen Denkens zu betrachten, dessen logische Methode laut A.F. Lossew die allgemeine universale Werwolferscheinung ist.[13]

In der bildhaften Struktur der Folklore verloren die irrealen Metamorphosen allmählich ihren magischen Inhalt, und sie verwandelten sich in eine stilistische Wendung, ein Mittel der künstlerischen Ausdruckskraft.

Der Beschleunigung der gegebenen Tendenzen standen die konservativen Mechanismen "des Volksglaubens" im Wege.

Die Betrachtung der Zauberfunktionen einer Hexe in den traditionellen ukrainischen Versionen lässt uns die Schlussfolgerung ziehen, dass vor uns eine komplizierte dämonologischen Gestalt ist, die ihre Entwicklungsgeschichte in der Zeit und im Raum hat. Es ist zweckmässig, eine Hexe als eine märchenhaft handelnde Person und als eine handelnde Person des Volksglaubens, der Erzählungen des Memorattyps zu unterscheiden. Im ersten Fall ist diese Gestalt mehr verallgemeinert und stilisiert, im zweiten Fall sind die konkreten Züge des Alltaglebens und der Weltanschauung ersichtlich.

Die Volksvorstellungen der Ukrainer über die Hexen wurden auf Grund des altslawischen heidnischen Glaubens an die guten und bösen Geister, des Glaubens an die Zauberei und an das Werwolftum gebildet. Einen bestimmten Einfluss übte auf sie die christliche (hauptsächlich die byzantinisch-orthodoxe) Kirchentradition und die westeuropäische Dämonologie aus. Man kann annehmen, dass man in der heidnischen Epoche bei den Altslawen solche Frauen für Hexen hielt, die als Hüterinnen von geheimnisvollen magischen Kenntnissen galten. Später erfolgte unter dem Einfluss des Christentums die Verwandelung dieser Gestalt mehr ins Negative. Aber die allgemeine Auffassung von der Hexe in der ukrainischen Folklore bewahrte in bedeutendem Mass ihren heidnischen Archetyp, der sich wesentlich vom Standpunkt der kirchlichen ortodoxen Dogmatik und des europäischen wissenschaftlichen Mystizismus unterschied, der eine Verbreitung seit Ende des Mittelalters bekam.

Anmerkungen

[1] Rybakow (1981:73-74).

[2] Schachmatow (1916:228).

[3] Kirejewskij (1977:54-56).

[4] Antonowitsch (1872:346-347).

[5] Gurewitsch (1987:21-24).

[6] Antonowitsch (1872:336).

[7] Schuchewitsch (1908:209).

[8] Etnografitschnij Sbirnik XXXIC (1912:142).

[9] Tolotschko (1970:68-69).

[10] Rybakow (1981:286).

[11] Afanassjew (1869:552).

[12] Scheinmann (1977:61).

[13] Lossew (1957:13).

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LES CROYANCES DÉMONOLOGIQUES DU FOLKLORE DE LA CONTRÉE LIMITROPHE DE L'UKRAINE ET DE LA HONGRIE

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Les croyances populaires sont une notion dotée de très large sens comprenant tout un complexe de diverses idées se rapportant à l'agriculture, à l'élevage du bétail, aux liens familiaux et clanaux, etc. là ou l'on trouve encore sous une forme quelconque des bribes de mythes anciens.

Les croyances se trouvent en contact étroit avec le folklore. Liées directement à certains genres de la prose orale, les chansons épiques connues sous le nom de bylitchki et byvalchtchina qui les expliquent et les commentent, les croyances ont donné naissance à de nombreux thèmes images et sujets fantastiques. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi plusieurs traits caractéristiques d'anciennes superstitions et croyances perdues servent jusqu'à nos jours de source initiale aux contes folkloriques.

Toutefois les images et motifs des croyances changent dans les contes, ils perdent leur signification traditionnelle et acquièrent des traits de quelque chose d'insolite, d'exceptionnel, ou la réalité, elle, prend une couleur fabuleuse, l'imaginaire, lui, une peau réelle. Le conte, en tant que genre folklorique, à la particularité de faire de l'invention un phénomène qui remplit dans le contre une fonction esthétique. Cette fonction qui domine toutes les autres détermine la structure poétique du conte, qui acquiert un caractère stable, les particularités de son existence et de sa présentation.

C'est ce qui explique pourquoi l'interprétation de l'image de la sorcière que l'on trouve dans les contes populaires se distingue quelquefois de celle que l'on trouve dans les croyances. En partant des canons des contes en tant qu'oeuvres d'art, Baba-Iaga (la fée Carabosse) joue le rôle d'un personnage qui accomplit des fonctions découlant du sujet du conte. La sorcière perd les traits que possède tout être démoniaque, esprit malin de la nature en l'existence duquel croit bien le conteur. On fait de la sorcière un personnage fantastique qui cause de la peur, du dégout mais d'un genre tout autre que ce que l'on trouve dans les récits populaires,

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là, toute rencontre avec la sorcière est lourde de conséquences diverses. Toutefois cette image conserve dans le conte ses particularités "initiales", ses contours principaux, cela parce que génétiquement, elle remonte aux croyances. C'est ce qui explique aussi pourquoi les contes et les croyances pourvoient leur image de sorcière d'un grand nombre de traits identiques.

Les sorcières sont des personnages très populaires des contes ukrainiens magiques de Subcarpatie. Les conditions géographiques, historiques et ethniques de la région ont contribué à la naissance d'une tradition de conte toute particulière. "Les occupations, le mode de vie de la population, ainsi que les conditions naturelles de la région laissent une empreinte ineffaçable au conte et déterminent dans une grande mesure sa couleur nationale" remarque N. Novikov.[1]

Le conte d'Ukraine occidentale à sa particularité, il reflète la vie des habitants de la région, leurs occupations principales - l'élevage, et la production forestière, décrit les bergers qui font naître leurs moutons sur les pâturages alpestres, qui les soignent dans des conditions compliquées, des montagnes, les gardes forestiers, les bokorachi ("flotteurs"). Les contes évoquent également les métiers populaires exercés depuis des temps éloignés dans la région et pour lesquels elle est renommée.

L'imaginaire du conte a subi l'influence de la couleur locale - on y trouve des personnages connus sous le nom de povitrouli ("ondines volantes"), de levi ("géants), de tatochi ("chevaux ailés"), de Mych-baba, de Tavorina, Kalina, de Pavel le Sauvage, etc.

Le conte ukrainien de Subcarpatie a subi l'influence du folklore des divers groupes ethniques peuplant le pays des Hongrois, des Roumains, des Polonais, des Slovaques, etc.

L'influence du folklore hongrois s'est avérée particulièrement forte. La preuve en est le fait qu'un des héros qu'on rencontre souvent dans les contes d'Ukraine occidentale est le roi Matiach (Mathias), image fort populaire de l'art oral poétique hongrois. Les sujets et motifs des contes de fées de Subcarpatie rappellent souvent ceux de Hongrie (motif du choix du roi à l'aide de la couronne volante, le sujet du conte L'arbre qui a atteint le ciel et bien d'autres). Le sujet de certains contes est devenu plus long et plus compliqué - résultat de diverses contaminations qu'éprouvent généralement l'architectonique du conte hongrois.

Nombreux sont surtout les emprunts linguistiques.

Ainsi: nytche (nincs--'non'), kychassonka (kisasszonyka--'demoiselle), kotchi (kocsi--'chariot'), pogar (pohár--'verre'), leguin (legény--'gars'), les prénoms Iantchi, Ergika, Marika, etc.

Le monde des personnages du conte d'Ukraine occidentale est très varié, il forme un système déterminé d'images exprimant des notions éthiques et esthétiques populaires. Chacun des personnages est doté de qualités personnelles à caractère constant, il est typique dans le sens propre du mot, autrement dit il possède des traits d'individualisation de groupe.

Deux forces populaires agissent dans le conte - celle du bien et celle du mal. Les personnages se répartissent conformément au conflit et aux personnages négatifs. La place de choix est réservée aux héros du conte - aux "preux-héros" et aux "veinards blagueurs". S'inspirant des notions mythologiques le conte dote ses personnages humains d'une certaine passivité, ce qui fait naître des forces magiques qui aident le héros. Ce sont ses aides des hommes, des animaux, des êtres et choses surnaturels.

Le héros qui est doté des meilleures qualités humaines entre en opposition avec les forces du mal - les saboteurs-antagonistes. Elles peuvent être des hommes ou des êtres fantastiques - des serpents, des diables.

L'antipode typique du héros est la sorcière qui figure parmi les personnages secondaires, il arrive même qu'on ne lui réserve qu'un rôle épisodique ou qu'on se borne à s'en souvenir une ou deux fois seulement. La sorcière est un personnage assez populaire des contes de fées de la région bien que ses actions ne se limitent qu'à un nombre restreint de sujets.

La sorcière est un personnage compliqué qui se prête avec difficulté à l'analyse. Il se compose de plusieurs divers éléments et est en somme une image contradictoire. "Le caractère polyfonctionnel qui caractérise les personnages du conte est dû en partie au fait qu'ils sont tous pourvus de plusieurs traits distinctifs, de traits se trouvant en rapport tant avec le système d'actions qu'avec le système de l'état du personnage, avec son statu quo (familial, social, personnel).[2] Ainsi la sorcière peut dans le cadre d'un seul sujet être ou bien une bonne aide qui aide le héros ou une méchante bossorkania à caractère vindicatif. Ce fait témoigne que les personnages sont ambivalents, qu'ils ont une double nature ce qui a été relevé à maintes reprises par plusieurs chercheurs;[3] le fait est sans doute dû à l'origine génétique de l'image.

V. Propp souligne que les contes russes mentionnent quelques espèces de Baba-Iage ("vieille sorcière; 'fée Carabosse'): Iaga la donatrice, Iaga la guerrière, Iaga la ravisseuse d'enfants. V. Novikov a, en étudiant le conte slave oriental, établi six types de Baba-Iaga ('fée Carabosse'): 1. Iaga la guerrière 2. Iaga la possesseuse de miraculeux objets animés et inaminés 3. Baba Iaga la vengeresse 4. Baba Iaga la méchante enchanteresse 5. Baba Iaga la femme perfide et méchante conseillère qui sépare les amoureux 6. Baba Iaga la ravisseuse d'enfants.

Le nom le plus répandu que l'on donne à cette image de forme féminine dans les contes slaves-orientaux est celui de Baba-Iaga (Baba-Iazia, Iazia, Iaguichna et autres). Toutefois la Baba-Iaga et l'Indjy-baba de Subcarpatie ne sont pas équivalentes. Baba-iaga est le nom de l'image appelée aussi sorcière, baba la sorcière bossorkania, bossorka, baba au nez de fer, Indjy-baba au nez de fer, Guindjy baba, Iazi baba (rarement), baba de fer, baba povitroulia. On l'appelle assez souvent baba (terrible, méchante) et chkribania, ce qui est caractéristique des contes ukrainiens en général. Un autre nom qu'on lui donne souvent est le serpent. Les rôles que joue la sorcière est une quantité variable. Il lui arrive d'interpréter le rôle d'autres personnages (de la belle-mère, du dragon, du petit vieux, etc.).

Les contes de fées ukrainiens de Subcarpatie distinguent quelques types de sorcières: 1. les sorcières-donatrices (bonnes conseillères), les sorcières-saboteuses. Parmi ces dernières les sorcières-possesseuses de magnifiques objets et animaux; 2. les sorcières-vengeresses; 3. les sorcières-guerrières; 4. les sorcières-conseillères méchantes qui séparent les amoureux.

En qualité d'amie bienveillante la sorcière donne de précieux conseils au héros du conte, elle lui fait don d'objets magnifiques. La sorcière lui dit quel chemin mène à l'enfer, comment trouver la jeune fille vierge (la fille du tzar, la mère du héros) enlevés par Poganine, comment rechercher en mariage une fiancée (résoudre un problème difficile, etc.). La bossorkania (sorcière) offre un asile au fils d'une veuve, elle lui raconte comment et ou trouver la fille du tzar. Elle lui donne un bon compagnon, son domestique, un diable qui va l'aider à la trouver. Le héros du conte[4] rencontre sur son chemin un groupe de trois babas-soeurs qui lui offrent des cadeaux: une d'elles - un balai qui se transforme à la suite en une forêt, l'oeuf d'une autre soeur prend la forme d'une montagne de verre, la fichu de la troisième soeur, celui d'un pont. Les sorcières lui

donnent à boire du vin fait du sang de boeuf, cela pour qu'il rétablisse sa santé.[5] Parfois la sorcière prend l'aspect d'un objet miraculeux (d'un grain de blé, capable de transformer en lièvre l'homme qui l'a mangé ou d'un autre animal quelconque pour aider le héros.[6]

II. 1. Un motif assez répandu dont s'inspire les contes ouest-ukrainiens est le suivant - le héros est au service de Baba-iaga, propriétaire d'un cheval magique.

Le héros entre au service de la sorcière pour faire paître ses trois chevaux (chèvres),[7] ses trois filles qui ont pris la forme de trois loups. La sorcière le prévient que s'il s'acquitte mal de ses tâches elle le détruira (le mangera, lui coupera la tête).[8] Elle lui offre à la fois du pain pour l'endormir, elle le fait trois jours de suite.[9] Pendant qu'il dort les juments se transforment en mottes de terre (en meules de foin, couveuse avec ses poussins, poissons et autres animaux) et se dispersent. Le héros réussit à les rechercher et les réunir en troupeau. Celà grâce à l'aide des bêtes (le renard, le loup, l'aigle, l'écrevisse) qu'il avait grâciés à l'époque. La sorcière punit impitoyablement ses filles, elle les bat avec une barre de fer chauffée au rouge.[10] La sorcière tient sa promesse, elle se voit obliger de remettre au héros un poulain chétif (sa vieille rosse, son ânon) qui se transformera à la suite en un magnifique cheval ailé (tatoche).[11]

La fée Carabosse peut habiter une ville de palais où chacun d'eux brille tel un petit soleil; son palais, à elle, est placé sur une patte d'oie, il tourne de tous les côtés et on voit à l'intérieur, assise sur une chaise d'or la vieille sorcière. Mais arrive le chat rusé qui lui enlève son bien.[12]

II. La sorcière - mère de trois dragons volants (charkani) se venge du héros qui a tué ses fils. Ses brues ou elle-même se transforment en puits (auberge, poire) pour égorger le héros.[13] Mais ce dernier devine ses intentions, il la met hors d'état de nuire et s'enfuit. La sorcière le poursuit, sa bouche crache du feu, une de ses lèvres vole dans le ciel, l'autre rase le sol.

D'autre contes relatent que la vieille sorcière essaie de se venger du héros à l'aide de son fils-ours.[14]

La sorcière se venge de sa filleule qui lui a désobéi[15] - elle est entrée dans la chambre défendu et a vu la sorcière en train de se baigner dans un tonneau plein de sang. La vieille décide d'ensorceler la jeune fille, de lui faire perdre le don de la parole pour qu'elle n'en souffle mot à qui que ce soit.

Un sujet de contes bien connu dans la région est celui de la sorcière (fille du tzar, aigle femelle) à qui le héros enlève la fille pour l'emmener avec lui (Histoire de Seipentel Ilonka, etc.). La fille de la sorcière - povitroulia ("ondine volante" se marie avec le héros, mais un jour elle le quitte pour revenir chez sa mère. Le héros veut la reprendre. La sorcière exige qu'il résolve d'abord quelques problèmes très compliqués. Il les résoud avec l'aide de sa femme mais la vieille ne tient pas sa parole. Le héros et sa femme se voient obliger de se sauver. La sorcière enfourche un balai (une pelle) et se lance à leur poursuite. Chemin faisant elle prend l'aspect d'un nuage noir (aigle femelle). Pour ne pas être reconnus, le héros et sa femme se transforment à leur tour en jars et étang d'abord, puis en cygne et lac, et enfin en moine et monastère. La sorcière qui a perdu de vue les fugitifs rentre bredouille (dans certains contes elle se noie dans la mer, etc.).[16]

II. 3. Tout proche des croyances populaires est le sujet des contes consacré à la sorcière - fille du tzar "qui se lève dans son cercueil". La fille du tzar est sorcière, personne ne le sait sauf le serviteur du tzar. Elle se meurt et demande à l'homme de son père de passer trois nuits à son chevet et de dire tout le temps des prières. En pleine nuit elle quitte son cercueil et cherche l'homme pour l'égorger mais ne réussit pas à le faire. Le matin du troisième jour la morte résusscite, l'esprit malin l'abandonne.[17] Selon d'autres variante elle se marie avec son sauveur.[18]

L'image de la sorcière - guerrière n'est pas typique pour les contes que nous étudions, toutefois on la rencontre aussi. La sorcière (bossorkania) attaque le preux qui attend ses compagnons dans la forêt et lui enlève la nourriture qu'il leur a apportée.[19] Selon d'autres contes la sorcière se bat avec le héros qui sort vainqueur.[20]

La sorcière use, quand bon lui semble, non seulement de sa force physique qui est très grande ("elle a pris une hache longue de douze mètres et a abattu l'arbre d'un seul coup"),[21] mais a recours aussi à la sorcellerie "Mirko a tiré son sabre en fer, il se transforme aussitôt en sabre de bois").[22]

La sorcière sait tisser non seulement le tissu, elle tisse des troupes aussi ("il lui suffit de jeter son métier de tisserand à gauche pour qu'apparaisse un fantassin et un hussard, si elle le jette à droite d'elle").[23]

II. 5. La sorcière intervient en tant que mauvaise et perfide conseillère. Ainsi conseille-t-elle dans un des contes à une mère malade de

manger le coeur de son fils, si elle veut rétablir sa santé.[24] C'est toujours elle qui apprend à une jeune fille comment détruire son fiancé etc.[25]

La sorcière possède des capacités surnaturelles, elle sait faire de la sorcellerie. Il lui a suffi de donner un baiser sur l'épaule de son neveu pour que celui-ci oublie sa bien-aimée.[26] Elle est capable de se transformer elle-même en animaux et objets divers.[27] Ensorcelle-t-elle le héros, qu'il prend l'aspect d'une couleuvre (grenouille, chien, etc.).[28] Dans un des contes la sorcière qui vit dans une terrible forêt touche le héros et ses bêtes avec une baguette d'or pour les transformer en morceau de pierre.[29]

Un autre sujet populaire de contes ukrainiens et slaves orientaux est celui où la vieille offre à une jeune fille un petit miroir et une pomme empoisonnée.[30]

Dans le conte l'histoire de Dolmanche il s'agit d'une sorcière qui la nuit avait voulu égorger, pendant qu'ils dormaient, douze enfants - douze frères qui étaient descendus chez elle pour quelques jours. Ce n'est que le matin qu'elle s'aperçut qu'elle avait détruit à leur place ses douze filles, à elle, cela parce que le plus petit des frères avait eu l'idée de coucher ses frères dans les lits, ou dormaient d'habitude les filles.

La sorcière est capable de se substituer à une fiancée, à des enfants.[31]

Indjy - baba ('sorcière') connaît le mystère de l'eau vive et de l'eau morte.[32]

En ce qui concerne ses attributs, les chercheurs remarquent qu'ils ne sont pas les mêmes dans tous les contes. La description de l'extérieur de la sorcière manque souvent dans les contes. Elle ressemble le plus souvent à une très vieille femme âgée de (70, 100, 200, 777 ans) à fortes dents (une, deux et plus) et aux longs bras, ses paupières, quand elle les baissent, recouvrent son menton (ses genoux, ses pieds); on les relève avec une fourche de fer, son nez est long est parfois en fer, ses yeux rappellent de grandes assiettes, sa lèvre inférieure pend et s'appuie sur les genoux. "Elle était horrible, très horrible, avait un nez long busqué, de grandes dents jaunes, des yeux luisants, etc."[33] Quand elle est hors d'elle sa bouche crache du feu: "lorsque la bossorkania le vit, elle s'arrache deux cheveux de la tête, des serpents commencèrent à sortir de sa bouche."[34]

Dans certains contes la sorcière prend l'aspect d'une jeune fille.

La fée Carabosse loge dans une habitation en fer (vieux moulin, maisonnette posée sur de grosses jambes de chevaux et plus rarement, dans un palais posé sur une patte d'oie ou de poule). Le palais de la sorcière peut, tout comme la demeure de Kostchei, prendre la forme d'une pomme d'or ou d'une poire. La demeure est entourée de plis avec des têtes humaines au bout.

L'isba posée sur des pattes de poules évoquée souvent dans les contes russes et ukrainiens est chose rare dans ceux de Subcarpatie. On en parle pourtant dans certains contes en disant en même temps qu'elle aide le héros, lui sert de refuge.

L'habitation de la sorcière est située dans une forêt épouvantable (au bord de la mer, au milieu d'un désert, dans un champ en rase campagne, au sommet d'une montagne en verre). Il arrive souvent qu'elle vit dans un autre monde - au-dessous ou au-dessus de la surface du sol, de l'autre côté des nuages.

Il est de règle que le héros du conte tombe par hasard sur l'habitation de la bossorkania. Toutefois cette rencontre peut avoir lieu aussi dans une forêt (la sorcière se tient sur une branche), sur une route, dans un champ. Elle apparaît la nuit en rampant, la bouche pleine de sang (ce qui est plus caractéristique des types II, 3, 4).

La notion de sorcellerie est liée inséparablement à celle des vols effectués dans les airs. A la différence des contes russes et ukrainiens ou la sorcière vole montée sur un mortier, celle des contes d'Ukraine occidentale préfère un balai ou une pelle. Au cours de son déplacement dans les airs la vieille prend diverses formes. Ainsi quand elle poursuit quelqu'un elle se transforme en aigle ou en nuage en feu. Elle possède un cheval ailé (tatoch). Dans certains contes c'est le héros qui enfourche la sorcière. Elle se transforme alors en une jument rapide capable de parcourir le monde en un jour. La sorcière se transforme souvent en vipère ou en crapaud. Les croyances populaires affirment que les serpents, les couleuvres et les grenouilles sont des créatures de l'esprit malin, les sorciers et les sorcières recourent souvent à eux quand ils accomplissent leurs sortilèges.

La sorcière des contes d'Ukraine occidentale est pourvue de vices humains les plus pires, elle incarne les forces qui luttent contre le genre humain.

La sorcière est en contact avec tous les esprits malins - les diables, les serpents, elle peut avoir même des liens de parenté avec eux, tout

comme avec les héros des contes. C'est le héros qui sort toujours vainqueur de leur lutte, l'esprit malin, lui, est sévèrement puni.

Le cercle d'occupation où tourne l'existence de la sorcière permet de la rapprocher des devineresses et des guérisseuses. Le mot vedma ('sorcière') provient de ved, vechtch - vedat ('savoir'), vechtiat ('prophétiser').[35]

Les sorcières sont souvent des prophètes, elles prédisent les événements, connaissent l'histoire des choses qui ont eu lieu au cours des temps éloignés "savent tisser le fil de fer, font couler le plomb, prédisent à l'aide de grains de fève".[36]

Toutefois leurs possibilités de sortilège ne sont pas sans bornes, l'esprit malin, lui, est puni, mais toujours de façon que l'auditeur n'éprouve pas d'émotions négatives. La sorcière étouffe de colère (tombe en poussière, disparaît sous terre), les diables détruisent sa demeure.

L'image de la sorcière s'est formée au cours des siècles, elle possède plusieurs traits caractéristiques que l'on représente à l'aide de divers moyens plastiques. Pour reproduire les attributs de la bossorkania les auteurs ont recours à des épithètes, à la comparaison, aux répétitions, aux hyperboles, aux antithèses) elle a autant de rides qu'à de plis la jupe d'une bohémienne, un énorme nez si long qu'il s'enfonce dans le sol lorsque la vieille baisse la tête. Et ce nez est, remarquez-le, en fer; il bourdonne telle une cloche lorsqu'on frappe dessus...".[37] Important est le rôle qu'acquièrent dans le récit les formules artistiques, les "lieux communs" qui passent d'un conte à un autre. Ils diffèrent d'après leurs détails mais en somme leur image est la même. Il s'agit de formules médiales - d'avis, d'allocutions, d'entretiens, etc. dont on a besoin pour caractériser Indjy-baba ('sorcière'). Ainsi l'entretien qu'à eu la sorcière avec le héros montre à quel point méchante et perfide elle est: - Bonjour, petite mère. - Bonjour, fiston. Tu as de la chance, car si tu ne m'avais pas saluée et ne m'avais pas appelée petite mère je te détruirais (mangerais), etc.

L'image de la sorcière a une très longue histoire, elle a sa source profonde dans les représentations mythologiques. Maints chercheurs rattachent l'origine de l'image à la foi qu'ont les humains en les animaux totemistes, aux représentations qu'ils se sont faites des esprits protecteurs de genre féminin.[38] V. Propp écrit dans son ouvrage Les racines historiques du conte merveilleux qu'avec le temps l'image de l'animal (comme le suppose aussi K. Laouchekine - serpent)[39] s'est antropomorphysée,

elle a pris l'aspect d'un personnage de la mythologie slave - de la déesse de la mort, idée que partagent beaucoup d'autres chercheurs.[40]

L'influence de la tradition des contes hongrois sur l'image de la sorcière des contes d'Ukraine occidentale se manifeste surtout dans le domaine du lexique de la langue, des emprunts qu'elle a faits au hongrois. A commencer par le nom - même: bossorkania, bossorka (Boszorkány--sorcière), baba au nez de fer (vasorrú bába), ainsi que les êtres et phénomènes qui la touchent. Elle vit dans un palais (kastély) qui se trouve dans un jardin (kert), possède une brosse magique (kefe), une chaîne (lánc), un chat (kacor), une chatte (macska), etc.

Ont été empruntés aux contes hongrois certains noms de personnages chevaux ailés (tatochi), dragons à plusieurs têtes (charkani), palais posé sur une patte d'oie, etc. Ont exercé de même une influence sur les contes ukrainiens quelques motifs et sujets hongrois: le conte ou la sorcière détruit la fille méchante du tzar et du corps de laquelle sort une vipère, le conte des jumeaux à cheveux d'or, celui ou on enlève des astres célestes, etc.

On doit également aux Hongrois le nom sorcière au nez de fer. En général l'attribut "de fer" se rencontre assez souvent dans les contes slaves de l'Est et les croyances populaires,[41] il est présent dans les groupes de mots: mortier de fer, dent de fer, balai de fer, bâton de fer, nez de fer, etc. D'ailleurs c'est justement ce qui a fait longtemps penser que le nom "nez de fer" était un mot d'origine slave. Ce n'est que plus tard, au cours des études effectuées, qu'on a découvert que la désignation "nez de fer" était bien connue des autres peuples du groupe hongrois, d'où son origine de Hongrie orientale.[42]

En ce qui concerne l'origine de l'épithète "de fer" il faut le rattacher, nous semble-t-il, à la force extraordinaire de la sorcière. C'est qu'elle est capable de ronger avec ses dents un arbre, transperser un mur avec son nez, etc. Une autre hypothèse expliquant l'origine de la nature de fer de la sorcière est celle liée à ce que le fer, chez les peuples primitifs, était soumis au tabou. "L'interdiction, due à la superstition de l'utilisation du fer remonte, sans doute, à une époque très éloignée de l'histoire de la société humaine, aux temps ou ce métal était peu connu et nombreux étaient ceux qui lui témoignaient de la méfiance et du mépris. Tout ce qui est nouveau cause de la frayeur et de l'horreur à un sauvage."[43] Ce sentiment, le sauvage le rattache à l'existence des êtres qui inspirent la peur aux humains.

L'image de la sorcière des contes d'Ukraine occidentale est en somme proche de celle de la sorcière des contes slaves de l'Est. Les diversités insignifiantes qui existent entre elles ont plutôt trait à la nomenclature de la sorcière, à quelques-uns de ses attributs, au degré de la diffusion des sujets.

La sorcière des contes de fées de Subcarpatie à une double nature, elle remplit les fonctions d'une bonne aide et celles du héros, son adversaire. Elle est un être fantastique possédant des capacités surnaturelles. On la présente le plus souvent sous l'aspect d'une vieille horrible et perfide à la fois. Lors de sa description nous avons tenu compte du coloris local et des particularités du conte hongrois et aussi d'autres pays. Une étude approfondie de cette image réalisée, sous divers aspects-historique et comparatif, génétique, sémantique, etc. permettra d'obtenir des résultats précieux qui enrichiront la science.

Notes

[1]Novikov (1968:140).
[2]Novik (1975:218).
[3]Potebnia (1865), Novikov (1974), Propp (1986).
[4]Loukka (1964:5).
[5]Etn. (1898:8).
[6]Ibid., p. 4.
[7]Lintour (1968:33).
[8]Kalyn (1955:14), Korolovytch (1968:2).
[9]Lintour (1979:32; 1988:20).
[10]Revtia (1962:15), Kalyn (1955:13).
[11]Etn. (1909:22).
[12]Verkhovyna (1970:58), Kalyn (1955:23):
[13]Etn. (1898:8, 10).
[14]Korolovytch (1968:3), Lintour (1984:75).
[15]Lintour (1969:23).
[16]Kalyn (1969:17), Korolovytch (1968:9), Lintour (1969:34).
[17]Loukka (1964:33).
[18]Lintour (1969:44).
[19]Ibid., p. 26.
[20]Fintsytskyi (1979:19).
[21]Etn. (1909:6).

[22]Korolovytch (1968:3).

[23]Lintour (1984:74).

[24]Lintour (1969:31).

[25]Kalyn (1955:12).

[26]Lintour (1968:13).

[27]Revtia (1962:15), Etn. (1898:4).

[28]Lintour (1969:29), Etn. (1898:19).

[29]Etn. (1909:21), Loukka (1964:25).

[30]Lintour (1968:35).

[31]Etn. (1909:18), Fintsytskyi (1979:21).

[32]Fintsytskyï (1979:21).

[33]Verkhovyna (1970:82).

[34]Loukka (1964:15):

[35]Afanassiev (1982:277):

[36]Etn. (1898:8):

[37]Korolovytch (1968:13).

[38]Vedernikova (——:277).

[39]Laouchkine (1970:181-187):

[40]Toporov (1963:28-38).

[41]Barag (1966:20).

[42]Beke (1957), Diószegi (1982).

[43]Frazer (1980:256):

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Table des abrévitations

Etn. - Etnografitchnij zbirnyk. Vydaje Etnografitchna komissiia naukovogo tovarystva i.m. T.G. Chevtchenka ou Lvovi. t. XXXVIII. Lvov, 1895-1916.

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LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCI - HOMOK/AMHAGEN 1735

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Hungarian witch-trials offer a unique source of material for European cultural history and, at the same time, important motifs in Hungarian witch belief cannot be understood without deciphering their European message. In spite of some significant attempts to bridge Hungarian witch-hunting studies and European social and cultural history, there are very many striking features in Hungarian witchcraft, which must be studied according to that principle. Because of the limits of my paper I chose only one (according to my knowledge, the most important) case to illustrate my assumption.

Among the more than a thousand published items on witch-trials in Hungary one can enumerate only a few cases when we meet outstanding motifs which demonstrate the necessary philological accuracy. In 1742-1743 in Egervár (in the County of Sopron, in westernmost Hungary) a witch-trial against Mrs. István Jurinkovics, née Luttza Horváth took place. Nine witnesses spoke about events in the village of Homok. This events had occurred in the years 1733-1740. Luttza (= Lucia) Horváth, together with her daughters Dora (= Dorothea) and Rusinka (= Rosalia, Rosé or ?), had participated in various doubious activities, and several persons stated that her mother and her grandmother were also witches. Thus the mother, who lived in the neighbouring village of (Fertő)széplak, had once been set to trial by ordeal (i.e. by the ducking-stool).[1]

According to the first and chief witness, Mrs. Ferenc Divos (= ? Diós), née Juditha (= Judith) Sobor on the 16th August 1735 (or some years later, but on the same day) she was suddenly struck by an intermittent cold fever, and a deep dream. It is written that "Luttcza Horváth, together with her daughter Dora, went to the witness' bed, crouching on the chest in front of her, both with crooked nails and snarling teeth, saying: There is a Devil in your heart, I will take away your heart". The witness could not cry, and after a while both persons disappeared. She then went to her mother and told her of the event, how Luttcza Horváth and her daughter had

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

scolded her and snarled at her, and how they had wanted to take away her heart. (Fortunately, in the case of the witness, the important sentence has, in this way, been repeated.)

The investigation ended somewhere around the 10th December 1741, and Mrs. Jurinkovics (already in chains) was sentenced to torture. On the 16th March 1743 the daughter, Dora Jurinkovics was investigated in the same way. The first point in her accusation was that she, together with her mother, "had with devilish art sent shivers, tormenting her (= Judith Sobor), and tempting her with a deep dream. At the same time, together with her mother - her master in devilish teaching - before Judith Sobor, crouching on the chest, both with crooked nails and terribly snarling teeth, and delivering a horrible scolding, she wanted to take away Judith Sobor's heart".[2]

Both trial materials are fragmentary. Still, it is clear from the documents that between 1741 and 1743 the story about two witches, who wanted to "take away" a young woman's heart, was well known in Homok. If we sum up the available data, it seems clear that there was a witch, around about 1720-1730, in (Fertő)széplak, a Hungarian and Roman Catholic village with less than 100 houses. Her daughter, Lucia Horváth, probably by her marriage moved to the neighbouring village, Homok (in German Amhagen). This village was half the size of (Fertő)széplak and was populated by Hungarians and Roman Catholics. Judging from the family names, Germans (more exactly Austrians from Burgenland) and Croatians lived among them, but the common language in the village might have been Hungarian. Here Lucia Horváth was exercised several times and at least three years her witch practices, and she was interrogated from 1741. One of her daughters, Dorothea was also involved in witchcraft and in the ensuing trials. Three generations of witches in the same family is a rarity in the data on Hungarian witch-hunting. It is regrettable that we do not possess any document about the (grand)mother's (Fertő)széplak trial. The fact that we do not know exactly about the later fate of Lucia and Dorothea does not make the trial less important. Among other trivial accusations, the "stealing heart" motif is evident from the documents, referring to Homok and the two interrogations (in three years) differ and coincide in a way which makes it sure that the motif was alive among the Homok people.

Witches made various love charms referring to the heart and they were also said to "eat" various persons, usually small children. In a trial protocol in 1631, in the county of Komárom,[3] a witch, Mrs. András

Hevesi told a sick victim that she was ill because "your head's brain has been taken away and its place filled with tow (or chaff). Your intestines have been taken away too and their place filled with tow (or chaff)". However, this is an unusual motif in Hungarian witch lore and, moreover, beside the trial quoted above, we do not have any similar data on "taking away a heart" in Hungarian witch tradition.

As Schrade admits, in his far-reaching summary on the heart as a motif in art and history,[4] one of the most important and beautiful depictions of the "stealing heart" scene is to be found in the famous love allegory Le Livre du cuer d'amours espris by "king" René Ier d'Anjou, dit le Bon (1409-1480) (Fig. 1). A sovereign exceptionally talented and educated both in literature and arts, René wrote his poem before 1477, and the famous Vienna copy Cod. 2597 (of which on page f.2r the illustration occurs) was made before 1477.[5] The picture does not reflect the very beginning of the poem, lines (2r)1-6 written under the illustration, but, in fact, is a true picture about lines 41-42:

(2r) Une nuyt en ce mois passé,
Travaillé, tourmenté, lassé,
Forment pensifz ou lit me mis
Comme homme las, qui a si mis
Son cueur en la mercy d'Amours
Que ma vie en plains et en plours
...(2v)...(3r) Ou que fust visïon ou songe,
Advis m'estoit et sans mensonge
Qu'Amours hors du corps mon cuer mist
Et que a Desir il le soumist
Lequel lui disoit enscement,
"Si Doulce Mercy nullement
Desires de povoir avoir,
Il fault que tu faces devoir
Par force d'armes l'acquerir,
Sicque tu puisses concquerir
Dangier (Discort), lequel garde le fort
Contre tous amans a grant tort,
Ou Doulce Mercy est lïens
Prise en deux paires de lÿens,
Que la tiennent Honte et Cremeur.
Vien o moy, si avras honneur"
Dist Desir, "et plus ne demeure".
Lors mon cuer part o luy en l'eure.

The otherwise very complicated allegorical poem[6] speaks about the love of the poet (King René). Because nouns occur as allegorical persons, it is difficult to tell the story in a simple and true way. The text uses first person singular for the King, and we can admit that there are some



Fig. 1. René d'Anjou: Livre du Cuer d'Amours Espris.
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Cod. 2597. fol. 2^{r}

hints to his actual love. The whole construction is, nevertheless, of a scholarly, sophisticated and even mystic character.

We can summarize the beginning of the poem in the following way: Tired and sick of love I wanted a rest and laid down on the bed; my heart was about my beloved, in that confused night, half in fantasy, half sleeping, half awoken, as in a vision or in a dream it happened to me, and it was not a lie (line 41:) that Amour took away my heart from my body (42:) and gave it to Desire, (43 ff.:) who said: "If you want to gain a hearing from your mistress Doulce Mercy, you ought to free her from Honte et Cremeur".

From the prose text after verse line 56, and from other part of the poem we learn that the lady (Tres)doulce Mercy = (very) sweet grace is in the power of the grim Reffuz (refuse) and of Dangier (danger), guarded by

Honte (shame) and Crainte (or Cremeur 'fear'). A young lad, (vif) Desir (vivid desire) and the taken-away heart ("cuer" or "cueur" in the orthography of the text) wander together to various places. Finally they arrive at the Manoir de Rebellion (manor of rebellion), where Cuer enters Doulce Mercy's room and immediately is enchanted by her beauty. He expresses his love, and asks for a kiss. Immediately Dangier and his men appear and they fight with him. Doulce Mercy is again taken into the custody of Honte and Crainte, and the heavily wounded Cuer asks to be taken to a hospital, where he will stay for the rest of his life, because Doulce Mercy was lost to him forever.

The end of the poem offers another surprise. René awakes from his dreamful sleep and complains to his servant that (during the night) Amour has drilled through his chest and taken away his heart. The servant examines his chest and there is no wound. In the morning René writes down his dream.

From the illustration, the "stealing heart" pattern is simple and clear. There is a sleeping person, sick or tired in bed. The night visitors appear, one takes away the heart, giving it to the other. The heart is alive, undertakes adventures (and, in the case of the poem, is defeated). In the morning the sleeping person awakes, and feels the loss of his or her heart (although in case of the poem it is only a figment of the imagination).

In the Vienna manuscript (cod. 2597) there are 16 miniature illustrations, and empty places on the pages for 13 more illustrations. Unfortunately the final scene (in which the poet, after his awakening, writes down his dream) is not illustrated. We know of five more copies of the work, and two of them also have illustrations. In Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 24 399 has 70 miniature illustrations; Ms. fr. 1509 has 24 illustrations. (Two more Paris manuscripts, Ms. fr. 1425 and Arsénal 2984, as well as one in Rome, at the Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Reg. 1629, have no pictures.)[7] It is easy to find Cuer and Desir on the pictures. Desir wears a white smock with flame emblems ("vif desir"). Cuer appears in a suit of armour as a knight, and his horsing bears an emblem showing many feather-winged hearts. Of course, the "stealing heart" scene occurs only once among the illustrations.

Art historians, qualifying the illuminator (called either as "Cuer (= Heart) Master" or "René Master") as one of the most talented painters of the second half of the 16th century, have written very often on his artistic and iconographic merits.[8] If we mention here only some results

gained by them, it is because of the special topic of our investigation. We do not know why the Vienna manuscript is a combination of three different parts, written and illuminated (or intended to be illuminated) by different hands. The Paris manuscript (Ms. fr. 24 399) was made after (!) the Vienna one, but we are not able to say why only 45 (or perhaps 46) pictures were scheduled for the Vienna manuscript, while in the Paris manuscript there are 70 pictures. Perhaps the difference was caused by the fact that in the Paris manuscript miniatures with coats of arms, which occur in the second half of the text, were duplicated. Thus the 45 illustrations in the Vienna manuscript seem to be the complete original series. The Paris illuminator was following the Vienna series, with varying degrees of adherence. Because of textual data the Paris copy is usually dated before 1461.

The first illustration in the Paris copy has only two figures. Amour is absent and Desir, leaning over the sleeping king, takes the heart. This corresponds well with the text, where Desir gives a lengthy teaching to Cuer on how he must behave if he is to gain Dame Doulce Mercy. It is important to notice that the Paris picture has a close parallel: a frontispiece illustration to a French "Troilus and Cressida" manuscript, the text of which is generally ascribed to Louis de Beauvau, an intimate to King René. The posture and gestures of Pandarus towards the back of the leaning Troilus are the same as those of Desir in the Paris frontispiece of the Livre du cuer d'amours espris.

On the intellectual background of the stealing of the heart scene we learn much from art history studies. According to Pächt the "René Master" was (besides Jean Fouquet) the most talented French painter of the 15th century. He illustrated two other works by King René: Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance and Livre de Tournoy - and perhaps also Les Amours de Renault et Jeanneton. He illustrated at least two works of the above-mentioned Louis de Beauvau (Theseide, Troilus et Cresside) and at least two books for personal use of King René (the so-called London and the Paris books of hours). As a young artist he was working around 1436 in Dijon, later in Anjou and Provence until about 1460. His style was inspired by the light-painting technique of Van Eycks, and he was the first classical master of the French school, magnificently depicting the effects of concentrated lights in their paintings.[9]

All the mentioned works belong to one strict thematic tradition of European love allegory and philosophy - more precisely to its Anjou-Pro-

vence region. In this respect special attention should be paid to the other major work by King René; the famous Mortifiement..., which was created as a close counterpart to Livre de cuer d'amours espris. His Traittié de Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance (= Treatise on the Killing of Vain Pleasure) is an essay (with verse parts) on heavenly love (in contrast to Livre du cuer... which describes earthly love). As we have noticed, Livre du cuer... was ready in 1457, and the earliest data concerning Mortifiement... is the following: "S'ensuit une petit traittié d'entre l'Ame devote et le Cuer, lequel s'appelle le mortifiement de vaine plaisance, fait et composé par René roy de Sicile, duc d'Anjou. ... Lequel traittié fut fait en l'an mil CCCC cinquante et cinq..."[10] It means Mortifiement is a few years older than Livre du cuer, but both express the same ideology (Fig. 2).

In Mortifiement... in the introductory part the eternal soul laments about the affectionate heart, who drives him away from the right way and towards seeking earthly pleasure. After various debates, soul gives the heart into the hands of two women, Fear of God and Revenge, who take him up a mountain where, in a beautiful garden, four women stand at a crucifix: Faith, Hope, Love and Grace; with nails they fix the sinful heart to the crucifix, and every drop of his blood stands for a forgiven sin. After purification of the heart Fear of God and Revenge bring him back to the soul, who then says a thankgiving prayer to God. The poem ends with an evocation to the Archbishop of Tours.

While in the illumination pictures of Livre du cuer the figure of the heart (Cuer) is that of a well-equipped knight, in Mortifiement it is depicted in its schematic form: a red, symmetrical shape best known from later European art tradition. Symbolism of the crucifixion is an overt allusion to the Lord's Passion, as in the text the four women express it explicitly: "pour donner a cestui Cuer recouvré, que cy nous apportez, vraye medicine, est besoin et necessité que sur l'arbre de ceste croix, que cy voyez, humblement le posez, a ce que mieulx le puissons joindre a la tresbenoiste et saincte passion de son tresbon Saulveur. Si le faittes, et chacune d'entre nous troys, par ordre, y mectera et fichera son sainct clou. Et puis après Grace divine avecques sa lance, si Dieu plaist, fera saine playe, de laquelle yssera lors sang abhominable, puant et detestable, de vaine Plaisance, qui si fort et tant luy est, pour vray, grevable."[11] In fact, it is a torture of the heart in its very close and cruel meaning. Here again women are torturing the heart.



Fig. 2. René d'Anjou: Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 165. Soul is holding her heart at her breast, while Fear of God is holding the hand of Soul. Contrition is looking and pointing at them

As for the iconographic patterns followed by the "René Master", Trenkler has suggested that the stealing of the heart scene shows striking similarities with a fresco by Pierro della Francesca "Dream of Emperor Constantine", in the church of San Francesco in Arezzo. The painting was completed before 1466, and the motionless standing guards, the sleeping sovereign and the angel showered in light from an unseen source, in fact, could have served as models for the René Master.[12] There are other iconographic parallels between King René's illuminations and European painting which, however, fall out of the scope of our present essay.

Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance is known in 8 illuminated copies and 3 more copies without pictures. In Brussels, in the Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10308 (with a picture of the author and 8 miniatures by Jean Tavernier) dates from before 1467, probably from 1458; in Paris, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, can be found Ms. fr. 19039 (with a picture of the author and 7 miniatures by the master of the Scenes from the Life of King David in Breviary Grimani) which was written in 1514; in Cambridge, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 165 (with no picture of the author, and 9 miniatures by Loyset Liédet from Bruges) a very free work in its artistic creation; in Berlin, in the Kupferstichkabinett HS. 566 is a work by the scribe Jehan Herlin, copied in Angers in 1457; in New York, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 705 (with a dedication picture and 8 miniatures) is close to the copy of Jeanne de Laval; in Chantilly, in the Musée Condé, Ms. 1477 (with a dedication picture and 8 miniatures) is a (possibly) Franco-Flemish work from about 1470; there was a copy in the Public City Library of Metz, with 5 pages of illustrations by Jean Colombe, dating from about 1470, but the work was destroyed during World War II; Genève-Cologny, at the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodmer 144 (without a dedication picture but with 8 miniatures by Jean Colombe from about 1470, and with 2 "historical" initials) are the illuminated copies. In Oxford, in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Cherry 4; in Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, are Ms. fr. 960 and Ms. fr. 12443 (the latter being and 18th century copy). These are without illustrations. Pächt accepts the opinion[13] that in Anjou, around about 1457, a copy was made with a dedication picture. This served as the source for the later copies, especially for the Berlin, and New York ones; it also served as a very close jource for the Metz and the Geneve-Cologny copies, while the Brussels, Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 19039) and Cambridge copies can be grouped together as reflecting a different line of tradition. There are some hints of a lost Vienna copy as well.

As for the illustrations, Lyna in his book[14] has reproduced the most striking pictures, which show the similarity and difference both in artistic and ideological traditions. One of the most popular ones in a picture about "Soul holding the heart at the chest". This shows a naked winged woman (Anima = fem. in Latin) holds and emblematic-shaped, large heart under her left (naked) breast (Fig. 3). Later, during her conversations, the Soul holds the heart in the same manner in other illustrations, or even gives it to Contrition and Crainte de Dieu (= Fear of



Fig. 3. Soul is in conversation with Fear of God and Contrition.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 165

God) (Fig. 4). The heart is being hammered onto the Cross by the four virtues. (Contrition and Crainte de Dieu, and the four "virtues" are depicted as women, wearing the attire of a nun.) Finally, the cleaned heart (still nailed to a T-shape patibulum) is given back to Soul by Crainte de Dieu and Contrition. From the 9 miniatures of the Cambridge copy we see in five cases the heart in an unforgettable and impressive way.

The Paris copy miniatures (Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 19039) are painted in a different way, although the topic and iconographic patterns are still the same. Soul is dressed as a nun. However, her upper body is



Fig. 4. Soul offers her heart for Contrition and Fear of God.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 165

naked, showing her breasts, and in later scenes she also appears with a flagellant's whip.

The same above naked, flagellant figure offers her heart to Contrition and Crainte de Dieu in the Metz copy, and the crucifixion motif, as well as the regaining of the purified heart, also follow the already fixed pictorial tradition.

The Pierpont Morgan Library copy paints the same episodes in a different way. There is still the holding of the heart, the flagellant and

nun-like figures, and the crucifixion, soul regaining the heart, and the scenes are, in fact, the same ones.

The Berlin copy illustrates the surroundings of a peasant rather than those of a nobleman. The Chantilly copy is very elegant. The illuminations are of the above characterized tradition.

In one word: a female holding, offering, receiving her heart; a sometimes winged, in some cases bare breasted figure; and the heart tortured by 3 or 4 women (virtues or princess-like beauties who were commonplace in allegories about heavenly love).

In later European tradition love and heart (both in poetry and art) continue as inseparable elements of positive and negative magic. However, as far as I know, the oldest written and depicted cases of the composition in Europe can be found around the circle of King René's works.

Before we draw further conclusions, a bizarre motif in medieval European literature should also be mentioned: the topic of "eating one's lover's heart".[15] Usually called by the German name Herzmäre (= Heart-story), the story might stem from Ancient India. In Europe the first mention of this was in the Lai Guiron (South France, 11th century) but the text has been lost, and thus we have to reconstruct it from Thomas de Bretagne's Tristan. A Provencal troubadour, Guilhelm de Cabestaing (active between 1180 and 1215 in Roussillon) gains the love of the wife 'Sermonde' of his lord, and praises his luck in poems. The lord kills him, rips out his heart, grills the heart and gives it at a feast to his wife. After she has eaten the tasty food, the lord reveals the events. Sermonde replies that after such delicious food she will not eat anything more, and commits suicide by jumping from the balcony. (The story might also have influenced Boccaccio, who in Decamerone IV, 9 names the protagonist Guiglielmo Guardastagno.) Petrarca, Hans Sachs and Stendhal used the same motif as well.

The two most widely accepted versions in medieval European literature are from the same age. Its German version was made by Konrad von Würzburg (circa 1220-1287). He was a pupil of Gottfried von Strassburg, and he lived in Strassburg and Basle. In his Herzmaere (a story in verses, dating from about 1260) he adds further, unnecessary complicated motifs concerning the basic topic. In his work the lover is a knight who, in order to calm the suspicious husband, leaves for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. However, he dies on the way, but before dying orders his servant to enbalm his heart and take it back in a casket to his mistress. The jealous husband

discovers the servant, seizes the casket, and orders his cook to prepare the heart it in an exquisite way. After the meal, the wife learns what she had eaten; her heart is the broken and she follows her previous lover with her own death.

Its French counterpart, another roman in verses (Li roumans dou chastelain de Couci et de la dame de Fayel, dating from about 1285) begins with the description of the secret love between the warden of the castle of Coucy, and its Lady, the wife of Sir Fayel. The Lord tries to trap them. He suggests a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but then suddenly he changes the plans. The castellan travels alone, and on the way he dies from a wound. Then follows the motif of the embalmed heart in a casket; the husband finds it, makes the terrible food - Lady Fayel eats it and, recognizing the fact, dies at once. The story names the hero as Chatelain de Coucy, a troubadour.

In fact, there was a French troubadour in Picardie by that name (who died around 1190). He disappeared during the third Crusade, and thus it is historically plausible that he was the eaten-hearted poet. Historical sources tell us about a certain Guy de Thourette, castellan of Coucy castle between 1186 and 1203. Of course, the identifications are later inventions, since the theme of the "eaten-hearted lover" was already known. It is possible that there was a story which served as a close model both for Konrad of Würzburg and the French author of the Romans de Châtelain de Coucy. The name "Castellan de Coucy" could come from the history, and the motif of a poet dying on a pilgrim's road, from the life of the troubadour.

This versified roman was very popular and we know about a prose variant from 1380, in Dutch and English translations. After 1581, the year of republication of the then 200 years old prose work, the topic became imitated world wide. Dozens of French, Italian and German poems and even operas chose it because it appealed to a large public.[16]

Another German version shows the popularity of the topic. A famous poet of the Minnedienst, Reinmar von Brennenberg, was killed in 1276. He used to say in his poems (according to the very principle of German courtly love) that his heart was not in his body, but belonged to his mistress. Probably, this was the reason why quite soon afterwards, most likely by the end of the 13th century, the "Bremberger song" was written. Here the princess of Austria eats the heart of the poet Bremberger, and after that she does not take any food, dying twelve days later. We possess various later variants of the song, which also entered into German folk ballad

lore.[17] We find another reshaping of the story in a German Meistergesang, called Ein hübsch lied von des Brembergers endt und todt, in des Brembergers Ton.

Excellent philologists, such as Gaston Paris, John Meier, Matzke, K. Nyrop, Wolfgang Stammler, V.M. Zhirmusky and others[18] have written important studies on the origin, dissemination and changes in the topic. It is well known in European balladry (see Deutsche Volkslieder - Balladen No. 16, and even No. 18. "Grausiges Mahl"), and it has been listed in the international folk tale type index by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, as type 992 "The Eaten heart. Adulteress is caused unwittingly to eat her lover's heart". It is simple to summarize the common European form: a poet praises his (successful) love to a lady, he is killed and the jealous husband eventually serves the poet's heart as a delicious dish to the lady, who eats it and dies. In some cases the husband (or his men) kill the poet, or literally tear away his heart.

Guilhelm de Cabestaing died in 1215, Boccaccio's Decamerone was written from 1348 on, Herzmaere by Konrad of Würzburg dates from about 1260, the French Chastelain de Couci was finished by about 1285, and the German Minnesänger, von Brennenberg died in 1276. The story, from Provence to Regensburg, was thus known by the end of the 13th century, and did not lose its popularity for many centuries.

More than a hundred years ago (1879), in a classical study of comparative literature, Gaston Paris suggested that all medieval European variants of the story arose from a single source: old Celtic oral traditions, first mentioned in the famous episode of Thomas de Bretagne's Tristan (about 1160). This is where Isolde asks for the performance of the well-known Lai Guiron (the original text is lost and thus is only available from this quotation). The husband gives the heart of the poet Guiron, as a meal, to his wife ("Et comment li cuns puis dona le coeur Guirun a sa moiller / Par enjin un jor a mangier...").[19] Four years later (1883) in the newly-founded English journal Folk-Lore, Reverend Swinnerton published an article: Four Legends of King Rasalu of Sialkot.[20] One of the texts (most probably from the 10th century, i.e. older than any European versions) tells about the story of Raja Rasalu. He married Kokilan, but as he got older his wife became unhappy. The neighbouring Raja, Hodi finds the way to the queen, and they became lovers. A true parrot tells the story to the king who, in a forest fight, kills Hodi, cuts off his head, rips out his heart and presents it as game food, the result of a hunt. The

wife eats it, confesses her adultery, and praises the taste of the food, the best she has ever eaten. Rasalu tells the truth and the Queen jumps from the balcony and dies. (Because the story is known in more variants, there are slight differences in her suicide and the preparation of the food, etc.)

In 19th century comparative philology, migration was cited as the origin of the similarities between texts from very far regions, and thus as the cause of such striking cases. Even Gaston Paris tended to accept it,[21] and then Zhirmunsky, an ardent champion for typological similarities instead of genetic similarities, has accepted this solution. From India we know only the Punjab folk novels about Raja Rasalu, where the subject of the eaten heart occurs as one of many stories, and the main heroes historically can be traced back to the 1st-2nd century A.D. This is why we cannot imagine that any European influence upon the Indian texts existed. The Punjab stories, in the form that we know them, show some traces of the later Muslim reconstruction of the Rasalu stories. That is the reason why we think that the story came from India to Europe, more precisely to the area around Provence. This was not much before the time of the oldest known European variants, i.e. probably in the 12th century, or somewhat earlier. The time of the Crusades might serve as a good assumption for a possible link between Moslimized Indian and pre-Provencal poems.

A striking feature of the Indian and medieval European stories is that in both cases the stories are well elaborated, and correspond even in small details (riping out of the heart, jumping from a balcony, etc.). At the same time, there are different motifs which do not occur in both traditions. In the Indian version sometimes the Raja gets his wife by winning a chess match, there are hunting scenes, or occasionally the revenge by the kinsmen of the lover over the ruler; in the European versions there is pilgrimage and the lover appears as a poet, who boasts about his success in love. In both traditions the simple and otherwise well-known magical motivation of eating the heart is missing. It was widespread phenomenon in most parts of the world that people ate the heart of hunted animals or killed enemies, in order to gain strength or show their superiority. In all variants of our subject meal occurs in a more elaborated form: as a punishment for the adulterous wife - it is cruel and old-fashioned, but still in principle against the primary magical form of the eating of defeated enemies. If we take the husband's vengeance too seriously, it reaches just the opposite of its primary aim: it does not extinguish the

love, but makes the bond between the lovers eternal and symbolic. Expressions of the very tastiness of the heart from the side of the woman, or her immediate reaction to this and thus join her killed lover show this attitude well.

In one word, a highly stylized literary text achieved long standing popularity in the form of the Herzmäre.

Both in Hungarian and in European witchcraft magical practice with hearts is a well-known phenomenon. During a trial in the town of Keszthely in 1756 a young woman was interrogated as to whether she had been teaching other women to love magic, and whether she had used menstrual blood for baking cakes, etc. According to the accusation she told at least two girls that they should "take away two dove's hearts, keep them under the tongue as long as beating could be felt, then dry them, and mill them, and bake, with the powder, cakes or pretzel".[22] We know from the protocol that she had learned the practice in the same town, probably from her landlady, and several other women also knew the same. The allegory of two dove's hearts is significant indeed.

According to studies summarized by Liungman and others, it was believed - especially by Romanians and South Slavs living close to the Adriatic - that witches, usually called striga or something similar, ate the hearts of their victims.[23] Witches were believed to attack young children, unmarried persons, their own relatives (including their own children) and then to take away their hearts. The persons either died immediately, or at a later time, according to the witch's wish. In Dalmatia they used a very elaborate technique: they opened the chest with a thorn or spine, a stick or other tool, and took away or ripped out the heart. Sometimes they cooked the heart and then ate it.[24]

It is important to notice that other mythical beings or dramatics personae in folk belief legends (e.g. the otherwise very numerous vampires) usually do not eat hearts (yet they have in common with witches the habit of sucking the blood of their victims). Since the data available to me are mostly from folk belief descriptions, and not from witch trial documents, their dating is not a simple task. The only exception is a trial in Eszék /Osijek/Esseg 1747-1748 against Anica (= Anne) Paukovič, of Greek-Non-united Confession. After her torture she confessed that she and her fellow-witches and their master-devil took away children's hearts. She had herself eaten one child's heart, and ripped out with her teeth three other children's hearts. In sum, in two villages in close proximity to her about

hundred children had suffered removal of the heart.[25] She was sentenced to be burnt alive. We should notice that only after her torture did she confess her crimes. In some cases she (or they), after having taken away the hearts of the children, merely looked at them and some of the children later recovered, while other turned out to be worse and soon died. There is no evidence in the data concerning the witches heart magic against grown up people. In this case another difference from the Homok trial concerns religion. Anica Paukovič and all the persons around her were of the Eastern Church, not Roman Catholics.

The villages mentioned in the 1747-1748 Eszék trial are situated in Verőce county, south from river Drava, in Western Slavonia. Čepin (in Hungarian Csepén) is situated about 8 miles southwest from Eszék, and in 1910 had 3500 Croatian, Serbian, German, Hungarian, Slovak and Czech inhabitants. Dalj (in Hungarian Dálja), about 15 miles eastwards from Eszék, is a busy river port, the estates of which for centuries belonged to the Serbian patriarch of Karlovci/Karlóca. In 1900 about 5900 Serbians and Croats, 500 Hungarians and 700 Germans lived there. The third village, Tenj (Tenje or Tenja in Hungarian sources) in 1910 had 3500 Serbian, German and Croatian inhabitants. That village is midway between the two other villages mentioned, being only about 5 miles from Eszék.

Perhaps it should be noticed that three important counties in south Hungary - Szerém/Srem, Pozsega/Požega and Verőce/Virovitica - belonged directly to Hungary before the Ottoman invasion against the Hungarian Kingdom (i.e., before the second half of the 16th century), and were thus part of the Hungarian (and of course not in the later Croatian) jurisdictional system. During the Turkish occupation of that area (from about 1540 for about one and a half centuries) they had been politically administered together with Croatian territories. After 1684 the counties stood first under military rule (by the Austrians), then were annexed to the main Croatian territories, and in legal terms the practice of law in Croatia (and not that in Hungary) was implemented. That is why the language of the Eszék witch trials was Latin (and not Hungarian, as it was in Hungary, or Croatian eventually Serbian, following the same principle of using the peasants' own language).

Differing from those areas in South Hungary, the 1735 Homok trial involved (?) Croatians in West Hungary (before the end of World War I more than 55 000, and after the Trianon Peace Treaty about 15 000 persons) lived as a scattered minority in more than 100 villages. Wealthy noblemen, in

Southwest Hungary, as the Zrínyi, Frangepán, Nádasdy, Batthyány and Endrődi families recruited colonists to then Western Hungary between 1522 and 1579 from their serfs or peasants in Dalmatia and from the Turks neighbouring areas in Croatia; Croatians in Homok came in this way to Hungary, too. To be precise we do not know much about the origin or the probably very small number of Croatian inhabitants in (Fertő)széplak, during the first third of the 18th century.[26]

It is obvious from the historial facts that both Eszék region and Homok area witch trials should be understood through comparative research, referring to the Croatian and Serbian parallel sources. It is clear from witch trial documents and recent folk belief legends that heart-eating witches in Hungary (among the Hungarians) cannot be associated directly with their Romanian or Dalmatian "sisters". The very elaborate heart-eating motifs occurring among witches along the Adriatic deserve special investigation. But comparative research should not be restricted only to that area.

The very origin of heart-eating practices of the European witches is a well studied and long debated topic. Already the Grimm brothers in their Deutsche Mythologie (first edition 1835) have referred to early German legal and ecclesiastic documents, in which ill-willing females eat their victims. The famous Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens (1931) summarizes the data, and source analytic works, gave also some interpretation of the data, as e.g. Saupe and Homann on the Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, and other authors on the famous Corrector (i.e. the XIX. book of Decretorum libri by Burchard, Bishop of Worms, a manual for church confession questions), which work was in many cases the ultimate source of medieval both penitential and interrogation practice as well. Just recently Harmening in his source analytic summary on medieval superstitions tried to sum up the available data.[27] There are some dark spots in the interpretation attempts, which (according to my impression) were caused by the fact that not all the involved scholars knew about the "heart taking away" motifs in witchcraft. It seems to me the data show clearly an "evolution" toward the standard idea of the "heart riping witch", the earlier sources have a vague assumption only, while the later ones use explicitly this kind of interpretation.

In the German legal document, called Edictum Rothari (from about 643 A.D.), there is a sentence about women who could eat living persons (most probably men: ut mulier hominem vivum intrinsecus possit commedere); another famous legal document, called Lex Salica (from the mid-8th century)

explicitly says the same about witches: si striga hominem commederit. In Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae (775-790 A.D.) tells the same in a more detailed way: si quis a diabolo deceptus crediderit secundum morem paganorum, virum aliquem aut feminam strigam esse et homines commedere. Even Harmening accepts the opinion that the Indiculus superstitionum and Burchard of Worms follow those sources.[28] In fact, in the famous 30 sentence of the Indiculus (dated at the 8th century) the term "heart" occurs, and not only inn a general claim against human-eating sorcerers, witches, etc. Curiously the Indiculus connects this with the "moon-eating" beings: De eo, quod credunt, quia femine lunam comendet, quod possint corda hominum tollere juxta paganos.[29] In the documents the expression "cordam tollere" seems to be a very special term, and its meaning is word by word 'taking away the heart'. In the Corrector by Burchard, bishop of Worms, another famous motif occurs, too: the witches take away the heart of the living person, and replace it with straw or wood still the victimited person acts as if being alive. Burchard of Worms (born about 965, died 1025) reflects the ideas of the early 11th century.[30] Two centuries later, a German poet, Herbert von Fritzlar in his work Liet von Troie (about 1210, an adaptation from the French L'Estoire de Troie by Benoît de Saint-Maure) refers to the motif as to a well-known fact, which needs no special interpretation.[31] By this time we are again at the earliest European Herzmäre documents, as regards both their time and their social background. Eating the heart of somebody was a very popular and highly elaborated motif in European culture by the beginning of the 13th century.

I think it is not necessary to repeat that the Hungarian data, mentioned above, concerning "to fill one's head with tow or chaff" ultimately belong to this European tradition. One must not interpret them without knowing the early European (and mostly German) documents.[32]

Stressing one particular element of such stories, Norman Cohn was perhaps the first major scholar, who (over)emphasized the importance of "German cannibalistic women" of the 11th century. Quoting paragraph 170 of chapter 5 in Burchard's Corrector. ("Have you believed what many women, turning back to Satan, believe and affirm to be true... and that without visible weapons, you kill people who have been baptized and redeemed by Christ's blood, and together cook and devour their flesh; and that where the heart was, you put straw or wood or something of the sort; and after eating these people, you bring them alive again and grant them a brief spell of life? If you have believed this, you shall do penance on

bread and water for fifty days, and likewise in each of the seven years following."[33]) It is important to mention that in Burchard's description three major elements are closely bound together: to kill innocent Christians - to eat them - to bring them alive again (by a special method of magic). The "heart-stealing" motif occurs among them, without a more precise reasoning on why people exactly steal the heart. The "German and cannibalistic" connection, which fascinated the 20th century scholar from England, Cohn so much, on the one hand, is being caused by the sources known to us. In fact, we do not have other than "German" penitential questionaries from Europe from the same time. (And, to be more precise, according to several studies the very origin of some beliefs around those might be dated back as early as to the Roman times, as is the case with the "magical straw puppet", etc.) Again, if we remember the flesh-eating Lamiae and witches in contemporary (!) South-East Europe (see above), we cannot say so firmly that cannibalistic elements occur only among ill-famed German speaking peoples.

Returning to more general cultural history comparison, it is not necessary to list here all the demonic women who enchanted or destroyed human hearts. Demonic women as lovers have their origins in the earliest times. Medieval stories about mermaids or the like very often accuse them of eating their own children. In most cases innocently persecuted heroines in medieval European literature were accused either of giving birth to monsters or eating their own child(ren).[31] Both the heroine and the calumniators are often named as witches. There is a long list of vampires, devils and alike who act (or disguise themselves) as women and hurt or kill the heroes. In Goethe's Die Braut von Korinth (1798) the ghost of the bride sucks the blood of the hero's heart, preparing his death. E. Th. A. Hoffmann, Baudelaire, Turgenev, Gogol and many other writers portrayed the femme fatale in this way. English romanticism was preoccupied by this topic. In Coleridge's Christabel (1816) Lady Geraldine became more and more active and lively while destroying young Christabel. Perhaps the most famous poem of this sort is the ballad by Keats, La belle dame sans merci (1820), in which the young knight is taken away to a grotto, where he sees pale kings and knights, and his demonic lover makes him extremely ill. It is not necessary to explain, only a vampire-woman could suck his blood, causing him quick decay. Mario Praz in his famous book La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letterature romantica (1930, and in later, more elaborated versions) devotes the entire 4th chapter to the topic "La Belle Dame

sans Merci", describing in 30 small parts the endless literary varieties of the vampire figure.[35] Destructive women often occur in the works as perfect witches, and in some cases it seems that the writer had studied witchcraft literature in order to give a deeper impression. From the beginning of the trend we find this method. Matthew Gregory Lewis in his famous gothic novel The Monk (1795) depicts Matilda as a real witch. Chateaubriand, Mérimée, Sue, Gautier, Flaubert, and Baudelaire almost invariably initiate this motif. Satanism, sexuality, occultism and witchcraft are so closely interwoven, that we might understand and interpret them as a curious continuation of the horrid fantasies of witch-hunting in Europe, and not only as mere documents of poetic clichés or personal extravagance.

Terms, scenes and illustrative patterns follow that long tradition which we might call "allegorical". This is in the strict sense of the word, for Greek allegory was a "description of one thing under the image of another". Withcraft as love, love as witchcraft, poetry as theology, theological subtleties as topics for poetry: our material shows clearly this "allegorical" tradition. The poet's heart is cooked and eaten exactly as the two dove's hearts are baked in the cakes and then eaten. The love-sick face of dreaming King René, ardent flames on Vif Desir's clothes and winged hearts on the cloth on Cuer's horse, the terms "Dame Doulce Mercy" and "la belle Dame sans Merci", together with popular terms for witches, like szépasszony, mulier speciosa (beautiful mistress = belle dame), and torture scenes of the heart's crucifixion at Mortifiement belong to the same allegorical complex of European cultural history. The famous lines by Keats have the allegorical witchcraft imagery as their subtext:

> I saw pale kings, and princes too,
> Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;
> Who cry'd - "La belle Dame sans Merci
> Hath thee in thrall"

The allusion is even stronger if we know that his poetic vision about "pale kings" comes from Dante, and the grotto of enchantment is that of the Tannhäuser.

Consider the 1735 night scene in Homok, when a witch and her daughter (seemingly a coming witch too) visit the neighbour's poor peasant house, where a young woman is shivering with intermittent fever. They sit on the only furniture, the chest, in a posture of attacking voracious beasts,

with crocked nails and snarling teeth. This fits perfectly into that allegorical imagery. As an episode in witch belief it is important to stress that witch(es) rip out and eat one's heart. However, it was not necessary that they for a simple witness of witchcraft were uttering horrible words, crooking their nails and saying "there is a Devil in your heart". It is not clear from the protocol, exactly what it was the witches wanted: to destroy the sick woman's life, or to frighten her? Even the motif about the eating of the heart is missing from the documents. The whole nightmare scene is more allegorical than realistic. Of course, it is the same case in King René's dream.

I do not want to suggest that poor and uneducated peasant women in West Hungary read biographical romances about troubadours and studied highly sophisticated medieval love allegories, were familiar with Jan van Eyck's painting Love Charm or Peter Flötner's emblem of Neid, or knew about Ulrich von dem Türlin's 13th century additions to Wolfram von Eschenbach's Willehalm on the youth of Willehalm von Oransche (where Frau Venus cuts out the passionate lover Tybold's heart, and locks it is Kyburg castle) - but the parallels are many and striking. Without understanding that allegorical tradition in European culture we cannot evaluate in a proper way the down-to-earth data in our witch trial documents.

Artifical and confused, as his life and poetry was, a curious French poet, self-styled reform Catholic and at the same time, Rosicrucian and magus, Joseph Péladan, in his famous book, Le vice suprême (1884) quotes a poem (which is probably a free translation of an earlier Provencal one), where the demonic and sinful is praised, and everything, including Leonardo da Vinci's Gioconda serve as adherents to it. It is impossible not to recognize the allegorical witchcraft scenery as its subtext, and the actual message is to praise the "Aesthetics of the Evil".[36]

Dans l'attente du Bien-Aimé, elle n'a point eu d'amants.
Elle l'eût pressé, étouffé peut-être, sur sa poitrine plate.
... sa lèvre se fût ouverte au baiser,
Si Saint Michel eût pu être aussi Satan, si Satan eût été Saint Michel.
...
Fidèle à ton vice monstrueux, O Fille du Vinci, Muse
Dépravante de l'esthétique du mal, ton sourire peut s'effacer sur la toile,
Il est facsimilé dans mon coeur...
...
Chimère, tu vue m'altère de cette soif du Beau Mal,
Que tu es morte sans savoir.
O soeur de la Joconde, ô sphinx pervers, je t'aime!

In Hungary we should finish the quotation by adding a name in the same tradition: the above image also depicts the world of our great modern poet, Endre Ady.[37]

Notes

[1]Trial documents were published in: Schram (1970: II. 138-144, 194-195), No. 278 (against Mrs. István Jurinkovics) and No. 287 (against Miss Dóra Jurinkovics). Original documents are kept in the National Archive (Országos Levéltár), Budapest, sigla "családi levéltárak, Széchenyi cs. P. 623, Acta Criminalia dominii Egervár 190/N." Shram's publication is more or less correct, Nos 278 and 287 can be found at the same archive folder, but on different pages, and his transcription was not checked carefully.

[2]See Schram (1970: 139 and 194) slightly corrected from the original documents at the National Archive, mentioned above. "Horváth Luttcza és Dora névü Leányával edgyütt a Fatens Asszony ágyahoz mentenek a Ladára eleibe gugulván, mind a kettő körmeit megh hagétván (or: hornyétván) a fogaikat ell vicsoritották mondván néki: Ördögh vagyon a szivedben, maid ki veszem a szivedet." And: "... ördöngi mesterségébűl hidegh lelést ereztet, s azal kinzotta volna s mély a'lommal megh környékezte volna, ugyan azon alkalmatossággal, Annyával, őrdőngős tanito mesterével edgyütt Szobor Judith elött a Ládáro le gukkolván, mind ketten körmöket megh horgétván fogoknak, iszonyu vicsorgatásával s irtoztato szidalmakat közbe vetvén Sobor Judith szivet ki akarták vennyi..." Among the papers "Acta Criminalia" quoted above, on page 88a there is a third version of the story (unpublished or perhaps unnoticed by Schram), which differs only in some words: "... s leányával edgüt Jurinkovicz Dorával ördöngös Tanitvánnyával edgyüt elöttö a Ládára gugulván mind a kettö körmeit megh horgétván és fogait vicsorgatván iszonytató KáromkodaSsi közöt szivét ki akarvák venni, S nagyon megh is kinozták..." (Together with her daughter, Dora Jurinkovicz, her devilish Disciple, before (the witness), crouching on the chest both crooking their nails and snarling their teeth amongst terrible curses, they wanted to take away her heart, and they have tortured her very much...) Because of the very close wording in the three documents we can assume that the story was told only once, and the three transcripts in fact reflect only one confession. The very lucky coincidence that we have three texts about the same story dissolves any doubt as regards the wording or small details of the event. An unusually good opportunity in Hungarian witch hunt documents!

[3]See Schram (1970: I. 431), nr. 163.: "... kiuetek az feied veleiet es cöpüuel töltötek megh az helet. Az beledet is kiuetek es cöpüel töltötek megh az helet."

[4]Schrade (1969): The publication is available also as a set of six booklets, by Dr. Karl Thomae Gmbh. In this form Schrade's summary dates from 1968.

[5]The best description of the manuscript is: Pächt, Otto - Thoss, Dagmar (1974: 37-48; 1977: Farbtafel III and Abbildungen 57-73).

[6]I followed here the text edition of the Vienna manuscript: Handschrift 2597: Smital and Winkler (1926), 3-4. The best available general edition of the thext: Wharton (1980: I used it for correction of the punctuation, too.)

[7]See the works mentioned above and in footnote 8. After Pächt's description (quoted above in footnote 5) an excellent book was published (also in French and English): Unterkircher (1975).

[8]Summarizing paper, with references to earlier studies: Pächt (1973: 85-126, and 1977: 7-106.)

[9]Pächt (1977) gives a full list of existing copies of the works mentioned, namely of Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance by King René; La Theseide by Louis (?) de Beauvau, a French

translation of Boccaccio's La Teseida; Traictié de la forme et devis comme on fait le tournois by King René (Usually referred to as Livre de tournois); Livre du Cuer d'Amours espris by King René; a Lettre d'Anoblissement, donnée a Jehannon Roy... issued at Aix; and Regnault et Jehanneton the debated author of which might be King René (the only text of the work is a copy kept at the Leningrad Public Library). See Pächt (1977: 72-78).

[10] I have used the following edition: Lyna (1926). The quoted text was first published in: Lecoy de la Marche (1875: II. 162 ff.).

[11] de Quatrebarbes (1846: 52).

[12] Trenkler (1946: 6-7).

[13] Pächt (1977: 72-73).

[14] See Lyna (1926), in a special folder called "Planches documentaires".

[15] All German Stoffgeschichte handbooks deal with the topic, referring to bibliography. An entry "Herzmäre" is foreseen for one of the forthcoming issues of Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Köpf (1978) gives a short picutre about Konrad von Würzburg (pp. 57-58, and passim), but does not enter into comparative or thematic problems. Standard summaries of German "Märendichtung" and "Versnovelle" (quoted by Köpf op. cit., p. vii.) deal with the topic. In the following notes I refer only to some of the important secondary studies.

[16] For orientation see: Frenzel (1962: 268-271).

[17] See: Meier and Seeman (1935: Nr. 16). For further literature see ibid., footnote 18.

[18] See some of the most important studies, mentioned above (in most cases with further references to other publications): Paris (1879), Patzig (1891), Nyrop (1908), Lee (1909), Hibbard (1924), Meier (1934). Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la dame Fayel par Jakemes, ed. John E. Matzke and Maurice Delbonille. Paris, 1936. - Stammler (1963), Zhirmunsky (= Žirmunskij (1979: 375-396, 470-472). - In general on the motif see Type 992 "The Eaten Heart" in: Aarne and Thompson (1961: 346). An earlier, still more extensive list of variants and secondary literature: Thompson (1955-1958), Motif: Q478. 1. The Eaten Heart. See also ibid., motif: Q478.1.1. "Man sends his daughter the heart of her lover", with further literature. It is regrettable that comparative literary scholars did not use data published by folklorists and philologists during the last half century. Texts not only from Europe, but also from India, Hawaii, Greenland, Cap Verde Islands and by North American Indians show a very large dissemination of the story, which would need a further comparative interpretation.

[19] Thomas de Bretagne: Le Roman de Tristan. Verses 833-846.

[20] Swinnerton (1883) also in the form of a separate publication: Swinnerton (1884). There are some other variants, published later.

[21] See Paris (1879) quoted above in footnote 18. After seeing Swinnerton's above-mentioned publication, he revised his view. See: Paris (1885).

[22] See Schram (1970: II. nr. 442. p. 689.): "... két Galambnak szivét vegye ki és tarcsa az nyelve alat mighlen valami érzékenséget azon két Galam(b) szivben érezne, az után vegye azon két szivet szárogassa megh s törgye porra annak porával pedig pogácsát vagy perecet süssön."

[23] Summarizing works on Romanian or Serbian mythology (e.g. by Zečević 1981: 137-146, 201-202), and Vulcanescu (1987: 301-303, 655-656, passim) do not reflect the great variety and richness of the witch beliefs of Romanian or Serbo-Croatian peoples. Local descriptions or fieldwork summaries give more. Here I have to express my thanks to Dr. Éva Pócs (Budapest), who kindly provided me with some Romanian and Serbian texts (in Hungarian translations). In fact, two of the Romanian texts were unknown tome, and they belong to a different tradition. After completing my present paper I was able to read the very rich article by Éva Pócs (1986), where in footnote 57, on page 190 she mentions the "north Greek, Serbo-Croatian cannibalistic, human chest-opening, heart-picking witches", without closer refer-

ences. Perhaps at this moment I should mention that in Hungarian witch-trial documents, at least in a hundred cases the witches "eat" something, which is a general term for making harm, a disease or pain. In quite a few cases the part of the victim's body which was eaten by the witch is specified. It is perhaps interesting to notice that in some trials curious motifs occur (e.g. biting the penis, taking away the uterus through the vagina of a woman lying in childbed, etc. as acts of enchantment), which might be better described in terms of sexual pathology or fantasy, or gynecological fears. A very "dark", still allegorical love magic of stealing the heart, which is the topic of the present paper, is in many ways different from those.

[24] A very good summary about "Serbian" beliefs of this kind: Djordjević (1953a: 20-28). It is interesting to mention that in Djordjević's other book on vampires (1953b) the motif of heart-eating does not occur in the same way. Both books have a good index of motifs. (The two consecutive publications appeared as offprints from "Srpski Etnografski Zbornik", knjiga LXVI, as pp. 1-146 and 147-282, the second one ("Vampire") with a table of contents of pagination 1-136.) Without going into details, it is important to notice that the majority of Djordjević's data belong to the very southern and south-western regions of Serbian tradition, and should be characterized as Dalmatian or Adriatic belief.

[25] Bayer (1982). The trial documents: Ibid., Nr. 64. pp. 619-634, the most important data on pp. 631-632. The original was in Latin and the publication gives only a Croatian translation by Mihajlo Lanovi. Its first publication was made by Ivan Bojnićić. There is no recent Hungarian publication of the trial texts. As far as I can see the only Hungarian summary of witch trials in Croatia (Tarczay (1915)) does not refer to the 1747-1748 Čepin document. At the 1988 Budapest conference on Witch-Hunting in Central and Eastern Europe Maja Bošković-Stulli from Zagreb gave a summarizing paper (Hexenprozesse und Hexen sagen in Kroatien), which was later published in Croatian (1989). Her paper does not solve problems mentioned in my study. In our conversations during the Budapest meeting we agreed that a complete publication of Croatian witch trial texts (in their original language) will be the next step in evaluating the Hungarian—Croatian witchcraft complex. Another interesting contribution to the Budapest conference (Rajšp, Vinko: Hexenprozesse in Slowenien) dealt with Slovenian material, but gave hints for Styrian and in general for Austrian witchcraft studies. In fact, today available material is four times higher than it was available in sources not a long time ago; see e.g. Byloff (1929). New summaries, first of all Valentinitsch (1987), would suggest to Hungarian scholars too to study more precisely the "next western" (i.e. from Austria) patterns of witch trials. As for the present moment about the very topic of my paper I could not find new, decisive data in Slovenian or Austrian documents. For general German context see e.g. Merzbacher (1978).

[26] Primary descriptions on Croatians in West Hungary: Bajza (1933, 1934). A summarizing book: Kővágó (1964: 38). The latest summary, based upon older publications: Šarošac (1977). List of villages: ibid., p. 8, map of the villages ibid., pp. 10-11.

[27] Bargheer (1931); Saupe (1891): Homann (1965); Harmening (1979). For references see author's and other indices at the end of the book.

[28] Harmening op. cit., pp. 250-252.

[29] Saupe op. cit., p. 33. His textual emendations (out of the scope of the present paper) I do not reprint here.

[30] It is not less typical that German scholars keep saying that Burchard in his Corrector followed the Roman Canon Episcopi (which was in fact a collection of resolutions made at a capitulary or a council of the Carolingian church, parts of which are available to us in a later work by Regino, Benedictine Abbot of Prüm, about 906 A.D.), and which even expressed his (!) doubts concerning witchcraft. To some German scholars witch accusation motifs do not seem appropriate and genuine to Germans, and, moreover, they claim it is a Roman "import" to the north. See e.g. already von Riezler (1896).

[31] Quoted after Bargheer (1931: Sp. 1811). The strophe by Herbert von Fritzlar was often quoted (and not always with the necessary care).

[32]Most recently Gábor Klaniczay in his seminal paper (1986: 281, esp. notes 106-107) mentions European (and Hungarian) witch stories on "killing and resuscitating" animals and children. It seems to me that his European parallels focus on "eating the animal, keeping the skin intact, then filling back the skin with the bones and the revitalizing by magic the commensed animal", i.e. on "skin and bones" motif. (See the special study, quoted by Klaniczay: Bertolotti (1979). Klaniczay does not exclude the influence of "shamanistic cutting into pieces" on such European stories. In fact in "Master of the animals (Herr der Tiere)" stories it is a common motif that persons who eat animals, must collect their bones, keep them very often unbroken, and then, by putting those back to the skin of the killed animal, they can resuscitate them). The so-called "symbolic horse burial" known also among Hungarians at the time of the land-taking (i.e. conquering of the territory of present Hungary, about 896 A.D.) exercises the burial in the following way. At the funerals horses are sacrificed, their bodies are missing from the tombs, but the entire skin, with bones of the legs (perhaps stuffed with straw or alike) can be found. Hungarian witch trial stories, referred to by Klaniczay represent a more simple motif. In 1743 in the vicinity of Sopron, west Hungary, at a nightly witches' meal a cow was eaten, then "they have erected her again upon her bones and filled with chaff (or tow)". In 1734 in Hódmezővásárhely, east Hungary "a nice fat suckling child was cut, cooked in an iron pot, and commonly eaten, then they have collected the bones and mixed with hay chaff they have putting it together". In both cases "skin and bones" motif can be admitted, still the "chaff" motif can be traced back separately to the "filling with straw or wood" motif, as it was formulated in bishop Burchard's Corrector more than seven centuries earlier. On the other hand, similar elements, like the puppet stuffed with straw, who acts as the alter ego of an enchanted (or perhaps in fact bewitched) boy, mentioned already by Petronius (1st century A.D.) belong to a very early form of magic, and are inseparable from funeral enbalming, stuffing, etc. The motif "puppet alive or resuscitated by magic" is again a very old and widespread commonplace in beliefs. I do not think, however, that we could derive the belief mentioned by Burchard of Worms directly from any Roman source.

[33]Cohn (1975: 209 and note 14 on p. 287). Data quoted after: Schmitz (1883: 446).

[34]See the excellent and nearly forgotten summarizing work: Schlauch (1927). Important data about the topic, with rich bibliography: Bernier (1971).

[35]I have used the authorized German translation: Praz (1981).

[36]Ibid., pp. 221, 223, the text in original: p. 486.

[37]Because of time and publication limits I was not able to deal with all the questions involved. I have to mention furthermore that from discussions concerning my paper I got further hints related to the study of other crucial questions. I thank for their criticism and suggestions. Further problems, like still await a special study.

My paper here is the same as it was by the autumn 1988. During the discussion there and by new publications since then I could rewrite many parts - without much difference in my conclusions. That was the reason, why I tried to keep my original text. Still I want to stress that important works appeared after delivering my lecture. Not to speak about new editions of the sources (or editions which have been inaccessible to me while writing my paper), I have to refer to Éva Pócs's summary (1989a in English, 1989b in Hungarian). Hilmes (1990) came too late in order to include it into my sketch. To my positive surprise Gier (1990) - as foreseen in my footnote 15 - gave not only a very mature evaluation of the theme Herzmäre, but data hitherto less known. Alas, I could not discuss it in my paper properly. The complete and longer Hungarian version of my paper (still not in print) will give the necessary remarks to those and to other new sources. I have to express here again my thanks to the colleagues, who forwarded me data or their views. In spite of my sincere gratitude I have inserted to my bibliography only the four "new" aforementioned works, in order of keeping tight the limits of my writing. Because of the same reason I did not refer to my other papers around the same topic.

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WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC PRACTICES IN COLONICAL BRAZIL: 1580-1770

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I.

In 1500 the Portuguese navigators incorporated the coast of the region that now corresponds to Brazil to the Crown of Portugal. Almost forty years passed by before the Portuguese established colonies in the new land, where they planted sugar cane and captured Native Indians to work the plantations that little by little they formed along the coastal region. In the third quarter of the century the Northeast already stood out as the most successful colonial nucleous. For various reasons that cannot be discussed here, the colonists began to prefer Black labour over that of the Indians, and slave traffic from the West coast of Africa became established.

At the end of the 16th century Brazil was already the most important portion of the Portuguese Colonial Empire and it was connected to Europe by economic, political, and cultural bonds. The Colony's population was becoming continuously more heterogeneous and multiform. With the Portuguese, a European Catholic culture was taking root, although it was still strongly influenced by pagan elements. Since the beginning of the settlement, new Christians and Jews had arrived in large numbers as though they were searching for the promise Land. French Huguenots and Calvinists from the United Provinces of the Netherlands tried to establish colonies in the Southeast, the Northeast, and the North, while the Dutch were in fact successful in their attempts for about thirty years. Thus, in America, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish Europeans found themselves side by side, and they were also in a close contact with Africans and Native Indians. Furthermore, the Blacks belonged to various ethnic and cultural groups, so they brought quite diverse forms of religious life to the Colony. This was also true of the Native Indians, even though the majority of them belonged to either of the two large linguistic groups, the Tupi or the Gê.

It must also be said that Brazil was incorporated into the European sphere in the beginning of the Modern Era, a revolutionary period in Western History. As some of the most important historians who study this

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period - like Hugh Trevor Roper and Jean Delumeau[1] - pointed out, this was a time of both Illumination and Darkness, of Renaissance humanism and of stakes and gallows that executed heretics, witches, and deviants generally.

Initially with six courts, the Inquisition was instituted in Portugal in 1536, but soon it was reduced to three courts in the Mother Country - Coimbra, Évora, and Lisbon - and one in Goa, India, the only court of the colonial world. Just as the Portuguese holdings in Africa and among the Atlantic Islands, Brazil was under the jurisdiction of the Lisbon Court. There is a documentation to attest to three visitations that this Court made to the Colony, the first occurring between 1591 and 1595, when it acted in Bahia and Pernambuco in the Northeastern region. It came again in 1618, this time only to Bahia, while a whole century passed by before its final visitation, when it acted in the North, in the state of Grão-Pará e Maranhão, between 1763 and 1769. Besides these visitations, the Holy Office's network made it possible for various denouncements to make their way from the Colony to the Mother Country, where they ended up in trials. On these occasions the defendants were taken to Lisbon, where they answered Inquisitorial interrogations, locked away in the prisons of the Holy Office.

Here we are interested in examining what constitutes guilt of witchcraft for the Inquisition, and we try to define it on the basis of its own documentation. At least in 16th century Portugal such accusations could be judged by civil, ecclesiastic, and Inquisitorial courts, but it is in the archives of the Inquisition that one finds the greatest number of documents about Portuguese and colonial witchcraft from the 16th to the end of the 18th centuries, although by the end of this period the rest of Europe was no longer preoccupied in persecuting witches.

Based on the trials and denouncements that can be found in the National Archives of Torre do Tombo which refer to Brazil, it is possible to trace a general profile of witchcraft in the Brazilian Colony over a period of three centuries. Yet since only the material referent to the 16th century is adequately cataloged, it is impossible to make quantitative - or even more precise qualitative - analysis of the material. Even so it seems safe to say that the greatest number of trials involving witchcraft in the Brazilian Colony occurred in the 18th century.

This data is in contradiction to the general profile of witchcraft persecution in Europe, where this activity was particularly intense between 1550 and 1650, while it declined considerably in the 18th century.

Later I shall try to explain this Portuguese specificity. Furthermore, none of the Brazilian witches accused by the Inquisition were executed, which does not mean that colonial witchcraft was considered irrelevant by the Holy Office.

Another Portuguese specificity - the absence of an articulated sabbat complex - was recently analyzed by Francisco Bethencourt in his book O Imaginário de Magia.[2] While this phenomenon is also true of Brazilian witchcraft, I believe that the causes for the absence are not the same in Brazil and in Portugal, as I shall also try to show further ahead.

Finally, not to allow for confusion, it must be said that the documentation does not provide elements to permit us to distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery, for the two terms appear undifferentiated an alternately in the trials and accusations.

II.

The witchcraft cases related to the Holy Office's first two visitations to Brazil are quite similar to the 16th century Portuguese cases analyzed by Bethencourt. They involve potions and magical ebullitions that were meant to achieve amorous objectives - either to conquer a lover or to seek vengeance from former lovers and rivals; conjuration of demons to obtain favors in the affective realm; magical cures of persons or animals; divinations of lost or stolen objects; foresight into the future, and so on. Witchcraft was part of daily life, for it was a constituent element in the fight for material survival and in the attempts to preserve affective lie. A peculiarity that is clearly observable is the strong relationship that can be established between magic practices and witchcraft within colonial quotidian life and the fact that the Colony was isolated from the rest of the world by a large body of water. This assocation is understandable in a context in which life was defined and determined to a great extent by the ships that crossed the Atlantic Ocean bound for Europe and Africa.

Thus, it was thought, in that period, that witches had the power to alter a ship's route as they wished; they could know ahead of time that a certain ship would be arriving and they could also foresee battles with pirate ships. Moreover, many women were left alone in the colonial towns while their sailor husbands travelled all over the vast Portuguese Empire or went to war in India or China. Many of these women wanted to know their

consorts' destinies to be sure of their marital status, for it was common for them to want to marry again. Since they needed to be sure that they had become widows, they consulted those people who were said to practice witchcraft and foretell the future.

In colonial Brazil some of the manifestations of the night flying myth were clearly connected to specific preoccupations relative to an ultramarine context. At the end of the 16th century, a certain Goody Lianor claimed she was able to go from Bahia to the Mother Land in a single night, which made of her a suspect of witchcraft.[3] During the same period, a woman called "Crooked Moth", who had been locked in jail and stigmatized as a devil's sorceress, "claimed she saw what was said and done in Lisbon".[4] Explicitly and implicitly, flying seems to indicate a desire to return to the Mother Country, serving also to mitigate a vague feeling of inferiority for living in the Colony and south of the Equator, the part of the world which Europeans considered inferior. Right through to the 18th century this link between night flying and the ultramarine context of the New World was still present. Around 1758 in Grão-Pará, part of the Amazon region, Isabel Maria de Oliveira prided herself in taking people from Belém to the Metropolis, using some glass rings she had bought at the Terreiro do Paço in Lisbon. On other occasions - possibly as a means of causing envy among her acquaintances - she claimed to have the gift of transporting people to wherever they wanted to go. For this all she needed was to get into a canoe with a black rooster, but she could not say the names of Jesus or Mary, nor could she take gold or silver coins.[5]

These examples indicate a profound and complex reality, in which witchcraft and the Colonial System appear tightly related. The lists of those condemned by the Autos de Fé in Lisbon show that many of the women accused of witchcraft were related to sailors; they were their wives, widows, daughters, sisters. Furthermore, Brazil was one of the places favored for the deportation of Portuguese witches in the 17th century. Through a purification mechanism in which there was an attempt to protect the Mother Country, the New World became associated with Purgatory and Hell, thus making it the depository of the corrupt portion of the Metropolis's social formation. The Jesuit Letters of the 16th century; the Portuguese chroniclers that from period on started to document the steps of Portuguese colonization in the tropics; Englishmen like Pirate Knivet, Frenchmen like Jean de Léry and André Thevet, Dutchmen like Kaspar Barlaeus were all prodigal in providing us with infernal images when they wrote

about Brazil. In describing an Indian ceremony presided over by pajés (types of tribal shamans) which he confessed had enchanted him, Léry related the event to the sabbat of the witches,[6] the ceremony which most haunted the imagery of the 17th century Europeans. One of the aspects of the relationship between witchcraft and the Colonial System, therefore, was the demonization of the colonial population - the Blacks, the Native Indians, the mestiços (people of mixed blood), or simply those who had rebelled against the Mother Country.

In the accusations of witchcraft that can be found in the Brazilian documents of the beginning of the settlement one can also trace elements of metamorphosis. During the period of the First Visitation to Bahia two respectable women from Salvador had been found in the street "in the form of ducks". Their ability to tansform themselves into animals was commented on by the population with a certain naturalness and when one of the local priests saw one of these women he would say: "There goes Goody Duckling".[7] On the same occasion it was believed that the wife of a certain André Gavião could transform herself into a cat and, in this form, she would suck the blood of newborn babies.[8] Another woman, who was married to a local jailer, was accused of transforming herself into a "very large butterfly with very large eyes".[9] When the representatives of the Holy Office arrived, all these women were denounced as witches, which attests to the importance of metamorphosis in the construction of the stereotype of the witch from the Inquisition's point of view.

The ways in which the witches of the first periods of the colonization process dealt with Satan were similar to some old European patterns in which devils were invoked and subjugated to obey their masters' orders.[10] Some remind one of the medieval tradition of conjuration; certain cases that allude to familiar demons - quite curious ones - resemble the English tradition, though they lack the breast-feeding element. Nobrega, one of the most well-know witches of the colonial period, was proud to claim she had a familiar spirit called Antonim. She said that he was "her personal servant and did all that she told him to, and that Lucipher had given him to her as a guard".[11] Another 16th century witch, Leonor Martins, had a habit of showing people a strange mark - possibly a birthmark - which she had on her hip. It looked like a human face and she claimed that it was a familiar devil.[12]

III.

The 18th century Brazilian cases of witchcraft are significantly different from the cases of the first periods of the settlement, which were marked by Portuguese and European elements. This change is directly related to the nature of Brazil's social configuration, a colony based on modern slavery. In the 18th century the population of the land was already predominantly mestiço and Black while economic life was defined for the most part by the production of goods that could be sold in the European market. Those individuals accused of witchcraft dedicated themselves to practices that were very different from those persecuted by the 16th century Inquisition. This becomes clear when we view the tensions that led to witchcraft practices in the first place. In the 18th century, besides the tensions in the affective realm and those that derive from community living, there was an increase in the tensions between slaves and their masters, and these must be understood within the context of a slaveholding colonial society. The system itself impelled the captives to make use of malefic magic or witchcraft; it provided them with weapons for promoting a silent war against their owners - quite often the only mode of combat at their disposal.

The manifestation of the tensions between slaves and their owners occurred on various levels. In its mildest form, the slaves tried to protext themselves against ill treatment, calling upon spells and ritual magic practices, some of which involved the use of herbs. Many of the slaves from Minas Gerais, the mining region of Central Brazil, believed that the "roots of the wheat that grew in the swamps" had the power of freeing them from punishment.[13] Others - like the Black known as Manuel de Piedade - scraped the soles of their masters' shoes so they would no longer be beaten.[14]

In a somewhat more direct treatment of these tensions, witchcraft and magic practices served the slaves as a means of freeing themselves from the System, although the measures were not directed at the System itself. In these cases ebullitions or magical procedures were used to lead masters to concede freedom to the slaves that made use of these practices.

The Blacks could also act against the property of their owners, the most direct form of contestation to the slave system. Quite often these modes of confrontation involved magic and there were a good number of accusations against slaves in which it was claimed that they had used

magic spells and poison to kill other slaves. Furthermore, suicides were quite frequent in colonial Brazil, acts that should also be viewed as crimes against property. The most extreme cases were obviously those that threatened the lives of the slaveholders, which could occur in the form of spells or poisonings. Around the middle of the 18th century, Quitéraia, a slave who lived in Minas, was accused of charming her mistress, causing her death.[15]

Another typical form of magic in colonial Brazil was the use of mandinga purses, and this practice should also be understood in connection to the colonization process. The first references to the use of these purses can be found in documents that date from the 17th century. They were made of cloth and contained a variety of objects, such as written prayers - like the prayer about the Last Judgement -, bits of altar stones, bits of parament used by the priests who celebrated the Catholic masses, bones, sulphur, gunpowder, lead bullets, twigs from plants considered efficacious in cures, drawings of Solomon's signs, and other things. They were used by the most diverse segments of the colonial population, by the free men and those well-positioned on the social scale as well as by the African slaves. It was believed that the purses were good for keeping the "body closed", that is, they protected their bearers against stabbings and sword slashes and they helped one obtain success in the affective realm. There is no doubt about their syncretic nature, for they superimposed old pagan traditions - the use of magical amulets and virtue stones - over practices current in Moslem Africa, where the term "mandinga" seems to originate from. In Lisbon during the 17th century, it is possible to find echos of the use of mandinga purses among the slaves and the Black population of the Empire's capital. There, many of the Blacks that had come from Brazil with their owners - generally high functionaries of the colonial administration - were involved in a wide commerce of mandinga purses, where they made and sold them to other Blacks.[16] In some trials, an explicit association was made between these purses and the Brazilian Colony, which was qualified as the "land of mandinga", that is, of magic.

The mandinga purses can be understood as typically colonial magical amulets, for they congregated European, African, and Native Indian elements and they were held in prestige among Whites, Blacks, and Indians. They only took form at the end of the 17th century because first it was necessary for the colonization process to take shape before colonial magic

proper could develop. The makers and bearers of the mandinga purses were frequently persecuted by the Inquisition and suspected of witchcraft and of having made pacts with the devil.

The process of congregating the elements of the mandinga purses and the diffusion of the amulets among the 17th century Brazilian population must have been complex. Imbedded in the daily life of the Colony, they were modified according to their bearers' cultural contacts and to their immediate needs. Thus, there were purses with traits that were more accentuatedly African; others were influenced basically by Indian elements, like those of the North of Brazil. In this region, the mestiços and the Native Indians tried to protect themselves against the perils that most frequently threatened their daily existence, such as wild animals and unfriendly tribal groups. In 1764 in Grão-Pará, twenty-two-year-old Matias wanted a purse so he would not die before confession and so he would be "free from drowning and from being bitten by a snake and preserved from tigers and from everything that could harm him".[17] During the same period and Indian known as Joaquim carried a purse that held a host that had crumbled with his sweat. He believed that by bearing it "knives would (not) enter him, nor swords, because everything would break in his body".[18] In other words, the purses were magical amulets that dealt with the colonists' concrete needs and their syncretic nature reflected the peculiarity of the multifaceted aspect of the Brazilian Colony's social configuration.

In the domain of magical practices, the element of the mandinga purses differed fundamentally from another group of 17th century practices - the calundus, the catimbós, and the pajelanças that were frequently denounced and persecuted by the Inquisition. While the mandinga purses were individualized practices, the calundus, the catimbós, and the pajelanças had a collective ritualistic character. For example, the calúndus, practised by African Blacks or their descendents, were conducted under the leadership of persons with special powers for curing illnesses and for divination. The other two ritual types were also related to cures and divination, but they had a more syncretic nature, albeit they had a close relationship to Indian witchcraft traditions.

While the Inquisitors saw implicit pacts with the devil in the purses, in ceremonies like the calundus and the catimbós they scrounged to find the European sabbath and they tried to make the participants in these rituals confess to having established explicit pacts with the Prince of Darkness. It was also common for them to try eliciting confessions to sexual encounters

with the devil from the practitioners. When we compare the purses to the calundus, the catimbós, and the pajelanças, the ritual complex seems less significant in the whole process of 17th century religious and cultural synthesis, although in Brazil today the ritual practices have remained more visible, both in the urban and in the rural contexts.

Since it is not possible to discuss each of the three ritual settings, I shall treat only the calundus, for it seems that they can be viewed as the most probable models for present day Brazilian candomblés, religious rituals that are quite common, particularly in the large cities of the East and Northeast of the country.

The most complete description of the calundus that I know of dates from 1742 and - once again - it was obtained from an inhabitant of Minas Gerais. During this period, a liberated slave named Luzia Pinta was publicly designated as a witch, for she "made diabolical appearances by way of dances, which (were) vulgarly called calundus". To divinate the location of lost objects and money or to discover secrets, she dressed herself "in certain attire that (were) not worn in that land". For her ritual she stood at a type of altar, dressed like an angel, with a large ribbon tied around her head, and she would be accompanied by the singing and percussion instrument played by other Blacks around her. She would smell some small sacred objects and then begin to tremble, such that she would appear to be "out of her own judgement, saying things no one understood and she would lay the people she cured on the floor, pass over them many times, and on these occasions she claimed she had the power of divination".[19]

Even if the African myths that were symbolized by the calundus may have gotten lost and undergone change over time, it is surprising to note that the ritual, as it was crystallized in the colonial period, has been maintained incredibly similar up to the present day.

One of the people that testified at the trial said he knew the Black woman to be a calundureira (person who participates in calundus rituals), although he pointed out that he did not know whether the woman was a witch. This was the doubt that the Inquisition tried to eliminate in its attempt to identify one with the other, as it searched for the confirmation of pacts with Satan. "Asked whether at some time she believed in the devil and adored him like a god, accepting that he was worthy of a cult and of veneration and endowed with the power to save souls", Luiza replied negatively, answering similarly when the Inquisitors asked her in a more direct fashion if she had made a "pact with the devil by herself or

through the mediation of another person". Confronted with a negation, the Inquisitors tried to demonize her curative practices and her gift to cure. While the Black woman viewed these activities as part of her destiny, she could not explain their significance: "the reason, only Our Lord God understands, for what, as a sinner, she is uncapable". She negated any sort of pact throughout the whole trial; "she knows perfectly well that she has no pact with the devil and that Our Lord God knows that she has said the whole truth before this table".[20]

IV.

The trials against practices like calundus, catimbós, and pajelanças are particularly good examples of those instances in which distinct discourses intersect. In Luzia Pinta's case the defendant did not conform to the elite conceptions of the Inquisitors. Although the cultural levels bordered each other, they did not reach the stage of interpenetration. This may be just as interesting - or more interesting - than those cases in which fusion does occur, for it permits us to get a glimpse of traumatic acculturation mechanisms and allows us to retread their paths.

In the 18th century there were many trials concerning witchcraft in the Court of the Lisbon Inquisition. They occurred at a moment in which Brazil's specific historic formation differed from Portuguese patterns. The Colony and its specific traits were well established by then and began to become antagonistic toward the Mother Country's interests. In fact the New World's first nativistic and anti-colonial revolt occurred in 1789 - curiously, in Minas Gerais, - where witchcraft denouncements were numerous.

This high incidence of witchcraft trials in the 18th century contrasts with the European persecution as a whole. There are many indications that the bulk of the witchcraft trials during that period came from the Portuguese colonies, particularly from Brazil. There is no doubt that magic practices were part of the Brazilian quotidian context and they were associated with the Colony's specificities (i.e. its strong connection to life at sea and the tensions between slaves and their owners). At a time in which the acculturation efforts of various power mechanisms had been successful throughout Europe, to the point that they could already be deactivated, the Portuguese Inquisition was still having trouble with acculturation in the vast colonial territory, which was actually

moving against the conformity to the European model. Thus, right in the century of Enlightenment, the Portuguese Holy Office still tried to associate the witches' sabbath with African and Brazilian magic practices.

The Inquisition's efforts at cultural homogenization were only moderated when it became clear that the motives leading towards a loss in Portuguese primacy in Brazil were mainly political ones. During the 1760s, towards the end of the Holy Office's Third Visitation to the Brazilian Colony, the Inquisition was no longer preoccupied with the identification of African and native Indian rituals with the European sabbath and they no longer cared to search for pacts with the devil. Under the guise of an assumed complaisance, they disqualified the colonial condition. Those accused were warned against practicing witchcraft and magic, but they were no more condemned. The Inquisitors chose to see their attitudes as the echos of "their rusticity and lack of instruction", or still as a "different knowledge of the things of religion",[21] attributing them a more limited understanding, "that judgement which one must impart toward ... Native Indians".[22] We are dealing with a conjuncture in which there was an increase in the contradictions of the Colonial System itself and this led the Inquisition to halt the persecution of witches and support the Portuguese State in an attempt to preserve the Colony. Thus, the Inquisitors closed their eyes to the specific forms of magic and witchcraft practiced by the Colony's mestiço inhabitants.

V.

Given the fact that Brazil had no articulated sabbath complex, what contribution could the study of magic practices and witchcraft in the Colony make to the analysis of European witchcraft, in which the witches' sabbath was fundamental?

First of all, the fact that collective magic practices said to be primitive were identified with the European sabbath forces us to rethink some questions of historiographic analysis. In the bulk of historiographic production, the division of witchcraft studies into rational and romantic interpretations - and I include in the second group those authors who went so far as to propose the effective existence of practices that were considered heretic - deserves reconsideration, since it is possible that the romantics were not really all that unrealistic.[23] Calundus did in fact exist, for they were widely documented by non-Inquisitorial sources, even

if we do not view them as demoniac assemblies like the judges of the Holy Office.

In making further considerations it is impossible to evade analogies with Carlo Ginzburg's study of the Italian Benandanti. The Friuli sources show the Inquisition's constant action over a group of historical agents - the Benandanti - and they illustrate how ancient popular beliefs could become denatured, as they were joined to elite demonology and integrated into a sabbath complex.[24] In colonial Brazil, the Holy Office worked in a more tenuous manner, for it could act over the consciousness of the defendants emprisoned in the Mother Country's dungeons, but they could not act in the same way, however, over the calundureiros and catimbozeiros (those active in catimbó rituals) who were scattered all over the Brazilian territory. Furthermore, the distance between the center of Inquisitorial power and the alleged criminals made it very difficult for a synthesis like the sabbath to develop or even to be made viable. It is always useful to remember that one of the most complete images of the sabbath was the one established by the demonologist Pierre de Lancre, who was also one of the protagonists to the witchcraft trials of Labourd.[25]

Finally, the persistence over time of Afro-Brazilian rituals and of other syncretic rites - like Umbanda - that are still quite present today, sets before us the issue of the vitality of popular forms of witchcraft and of magic practices, which are asystematic and - quite often - alien to the sabbath stereotype. While the calundus were persecuted by both civil and ecclesiastic authorities throughout the 17th century, the Holy Office - which also acted against these rituals - saw in it the witches' sabbath, even though this complex was unknown to the Brazilian colonists. Demonological thought was alien to the calundus and such isolated elements as night flying and metamorphosis, present since the 16th century in the quotidian practices of colonial life, ended up being covered over by practices of an Indian or African origin - practices of those people, said to be primitive, who adhered to a religion that was unknown and threatening to the Europeans. In Brazil today witches who fly on broomsticks only exist in the imagery of children - the most conservative of human societies, according to Philippe Ariès[26] - while rituals such as the colonial calundus are still present - even if at an archeological level - in the candomblés of Bahia, Pernambuco, and the large cities of the Southeast.

Notes

[1]Trevor-Roper (1967); Delumeau (1978).

[2]Bethencourt (1984).

[3]Abreu (1925: 343).

[4]Abreu (1925: 412).

[5]National Archives of Torre do Tombo (NATT), Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 5, 180.

[6]Léry (1880: 71).

[7]Abreu (1925: 540).

[8]Abreu (1925: 349-350).

[9]Abreu (1925: 342).

[10]Cohn (1975).

[11]Abreu (1935: 62).

[12]Garcia (1929: 108).

[13]NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 11, 163.

[14]NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 9, 972.

[15]Arquivo Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Mariana, Livro de Devassas - 1748-1749, fls. 15C.

[16]See especially: NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trials no. 11, 774 and 11, 767.

[17]NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 218.

[18]Idem.

[19]NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 252 and no. 26.

[20]Idem.

[21]NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 210.

[22]NATT, Lisbon Inquisition, Trial no. 218.

[23]Muchembled (1978).

[24]Ginzburg (1966).

[25]Pierre de Lancre (1982).

[26]Ariès (1973: 63).

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LEARNED DEMONOLOGIES AND POPULAR MYTHOLOGIES - ORIGINS AND PATTERNS OF THE WITCHES' SABBATH

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CONJUROR, SORCERER, WITCH

Courtly and University Contexts in Late Renaissance Central Europe

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Szeged

Definitions

As the definitions and interpretations of witchcraft are numerous and widely varying, in a paper dealing with any aspect of this subject it is advisable to clearly explain the exact scope of the study and the definition of the term as to be used. I intend to deal with university and courtly contexts, so I will disregard witchcraft as the practice of primitive tribes or cunning village people. Instead, in the range of my interest witchcraft will appear as a kind of intellectual ambition and so it must be located somewhere between high magic and popular necromancy.

In developing my typology of witchcraft I have found particularly useful Keith Thomas' monograph, Religion and the Decline of Magic,[1] and Sydney Anglo's paper in the collection of essays in the literature of witchcraft, The Damned Art.[2]

As Thomas explains, the original and most widespread understanding of witchcraft attributed misfortune to occult human agency, that is some occult means of doing harm to other people by physical contact, pronounced cursing, or using technical aids, such as making wax images, burying a piece of clothing, etc.[3] In the late Middle Ages, however, a new element was added to the European concept of witchcraft: this was the notion that the witch owed her/his powers to having made a deliberate pact with the Devil. The witch-character thus gained a heretical coloring and appeared as a devil-worshipper. At the same time, the conjuror became intellectualized, as it is shown by early 17th century definitions: "a person that has conference with the Devil to consult with him or to do some act";[4] or, "One that exercise the devilish and wicked arts, such as be named in Deut 18.10, Ex. 22.18".[5] It is easy to recognize that from the viewpoint of university context this second definition will be our model, and that the archetypal figure of this class of sorcerers will be Doctor Faustus.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

The problem of Faust calls attention to the question which is pondered by Sydney Anglo: what is the relationship between high and low magic, between divination, sorcery, and necromancy? According to Anglo "witchcraft beliefs arose from the blurring of such distinctions and from a cosmic vision which saw witch and magus operating within a single system".[6] Anglo means the system of occult correspondences, the so-called organic world picture of the premodern era.

Faust, witchcraft, and university

The story of Doctor Johannes Faustus is an archetypal fable to demonstrate the correspondences between magic, witchcraft, and university. We can clearly see this by looking at a well-developed literary version, in Christopher Marlowe's drama, Doctor Faustus.

Faustus' opening soliloquy is one of the most majestic manifestations of Renaissance thought, aspiration and ambition in 16th century English literature. The first scene presents a conflict between the infinite aspirations of Renaissance man and the boundaries of knowledge, the limits of science at his disposal. In his solitary study, Faustus enlists and reviews the branches of the curricula of the contemporary universities - logic, medicine, law, and theology - but the conclusion is embittering. What suits University departments and busy scholars, proves to be mean and little for the new type of human intellect as none of these sciences can compete with the ambition of human imagination.

Faustus finally takes a further step in order to realize his ambitions: it is magic in which he supposes to find the means of access beyond human possibilities:[7]

> O what a world of profit and delight
> Of power, of honor, of omnipotence,
> Is pormised to the studious artisan!
> (...)
> ... his dominion that exceeds in this
> Stretches as far as doth the mind of man:
> A sound magician is a demi-god.
> (1.1.51-60)

Faustus thus wants to reach a state of mind which is superhuman (demi-god), providing him with knowledge which is more than ordinary knowledge (omniscience), by means of a kind of meta-science which is superior to all ordinary sciences (magic).

A contemporary of the legendary Faustus, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535) compiled a complete system of magic (De occulta philosophia, 1533) in the third book of which he enlisted several examples of superhuman deeds of magicians, some of them very similar to Faustus' wishes. He also described incantations which were used to perform demon-invocations. He asserted that the spirits appear by the power of geometrical figures, just as in Faustus' soliloquy:

> ... necromantic books are heavenly;
> Lines, circles, signs, letters and characters...
> (1.1.48-49)

A thorough analysis, however, behind the formal correspondences reveals the striking differences between the world pictures of Marlowe's Faustus and Agrippa. The neoplatonists turned to magic in order to get closer to God and they always separated their religious, pious magic from the ignorant, dark, and wicked practices of witchcraft.[8]

Comparing these pious aims to Faustus' magical practice, we see that only the initiatives are similar, but Marlowe's protagonist chooses a different world in which to realize his goals. Instead of invoking deities like the contemporary Renaissance sorcerers, he casts aside this pretense and dedicates his ceremony directly to Satan. Consequently, Faustus' magic ought to be separated from Renaissance hermeticism,[9] which treated white magic as a religious means. For Faustus, his "black art" stands in sharp contrast to orthodox Christianity. His pact, actually, fully satisfies the criteria of witchcraft as defined by the famous 15th century manual, the Malleus maleficarum:

> ... this heresy, witchcraft (...) differs from all other heresy in this, that (...) by a compact which is exactly defined and expressed it blasphemes the Creator and endeavours to the utmost to prophane Him and to harm His creatures, for all other simple heresies have made no open compact with the devil...[10]

The Malleus... mentions four points as necessary to the practice of "this abominable evil" (ibid.), three of which can be found in the Faust story, too.

> First, most profanely to renounce the Catholic Faith, or at any rate to deny certain dogmas of the faith; secondly, to devote themselves body and soul to all evil; thirdly, to offer up unbaptized children to Satan; fourthly, to indulge in every kind of carnal lust with Incubi and Succubi and all manner of filthy delights.[11]

Faust also renounces the Catholic Faith by his infernal evocation:

> Faustus, begin thine incantations
> And try if devils will obey thy hest,
> Seeing thou hast pray'd and Sacrific'd to them.
> (1.3.5ff.)

He offers his soul and body to Satan by making the pact with Mephistophilis; and though he does not deal with unbaptized babies, he commits a most capital sin by having carnal intercourse with a devil, a Succubus which takes the shape of the beautiful Helen of Troy.

The case of Faust makes the question - whether white magic and necromancy can be easily differentiated - more difficult to decide than it might seem when comparing learned magic and popular cunning mumbo jumbo. Naturally, the famous Renaissance magicians, the neoplatonist enthusiasts passionately emphasized their pious aims and distinguished themselves from any wicked, black practices. The "enlightened" posterity, especially in the last century, did not take this claim seriously and the history of philosophy discarded Renaissance magic as charlatanry and superstition. It was only in our century that cultural historians, from Aby Warburg to Frances Yates in an increasing number, realized the importance of this intellectual trend but by now we also see that perhaps Dame Frances overexaggerated certain aspects of this recognition.[12] If we examine Faustus' intentions, we find among them common roots with the religious reform movements of the 16th century. After diagnosing the limits of human sciences, including theology, he was looking for an alternative way to fulfill the ambitions of the increased self-esteem of Renaissance man. Certainly, there is a great difference between performing magic with the desire to unite with god in a more perfect and immediate way than in ordinary church rituals on the one hand, and challenging God by rejecting him and turning for help to the Devil on the other. But apart from this, the philosophy as well as the world picture and methodology of white and black magic are very near to each other and this can be explained from various viewpoints. Looking at the psychology of divination we must agree with Jung who remarked: "Dabbling in these arts - no matter how enlightened one thinks one is - is not without its psychological dangers. Magic always was and still is a source of fascination".[13] From a theological viewpoint this revolt, however, is nothing but the deadly sin of pride making the hero dissatisfied with his position in the universe ordered and arranged by God.

It is also worth looking at the social context of the Faust legend. Faust is a scholar, graduated from a university and is armed with the knowledge medieval universities could provide to their students. But Faust also oversteps this knowledge and the conflict arises in the field which was central and most important for the traditional universities: theology. We can generalize: magic as such naturally meant a kind of heterodoxy, even if it was combined with the most pious framework of thought. And this heterodoxy, quite naturally, was fiercely attacked from the side of the representatives of university orthodoxy. There were two main lines of the attack: (1) those who "dabbled in magic" were immediately called conjurors, sorcerers, devil-worshippers, that is witches; (2) besides, magic, as any other kind of heterodoxy provoked the accusation of heresy, and, as we shall see, the most common charges were Anabaptism and Arianism.

The magician as witch and as heretic

There are innumerable examples for both cases. Cornelius Agrippa defined his own magic totally dependent on religion, actually, according to him, religion is the accomplishment and key of magic, a discipline leading to the dignifying of man.[14] Still, he was often accused of black magic and in Marlowe's drama he appears as a major sorcerer, Faustus' instructor in the damned arts. The charges of conjuring and witchcraft came very handy against the unorthodox thinkers and advocates of magic of all ages. Agrippa himself apologized for being a magician, and the English magus, John Dee, in his own apology compared himself to Socrates, Apuleius of Megara, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Trithemius - who all had to suffer because of slanderers.[15] Similarly, Conrad Gessner, the Swiss orthodox humanist accused Paracelsus and his pupils of sorcery. He claimed, that

> ... once a pupil of Theophrastus and his private assistant reported strange tales concerning the latter's intercourse with demons. They are given to senseless astrology, geomancy, necromancy, and other forbidden arts. I myself suspect that they are the last of the Druids, those of the ancient Celts who were instructed for several years in underground places by demons. (...) From this school also arose the wandering scholars. (...) The most famous of these was Faust, who died not so long ago. (...) Theophrastus has assuredly been an impious man and a sorcerer, and has had intercourse with demons.[16]

This motive is also known from Hungarian cultural history. Péter Bornemisza, one of the most important literary figures of the Hungarian Reformation, wrote a kind of demonology under the title Ördögi kísérletek (The Temptations of the Devil), which was published in 1578. In this we find the first Hungarian variant of the Faust-legend: the story of a drunkard student from Wittemberg, who made a pact with the Devil for money.[17] The same story appeared later, in a 17th century manuscript, only that the student of Wittemberg was replaced by Albert Szenci Molnár, a Calvinist preacher, renowned scholar, and translator of the Psalmody.[18] While in Germany the name and personality of Doctor Faustus was incorporated to the developing story about the Wittemberg student,[19] in Hungary also a university graduate, a historical personality took the role of making a pact with the devil.

Frank Baron[20] has made a very interesting comparison between the German and the Hungarian stories of making a contract with the devil. The ability to perform magical acts plays a major role in both cases. The German versions, however, put a much greater emphasis on the scholarly aspect of the pact, the conjuration and the act of black magic, though these are naturally treated as capital offences. The Hungarian derivations, on the other hand, tend to neglect the university context, instead, they moralize on temptations like lechery and drinking. Though Baron uses this comparison to draw conclusions about the origins of the Faust-legend, we can have a look at the social realities, too, and ask about the reasons of this difference. We should observe that in the paraphrases made by theologians, the story transforms itself into a moral treatise rather than being a philosophical, scientific parabole. This is the case already in Germany, when Luther and Melanchton comment on the legend.[21] The fact, that in Hungary there was no university in the 16th century, and generally the prestige of learning and education was much lower than in Western Europe, further stregthened the dominance of moral-theological aspects. The story thus naturally underwent a transformation of becoming more primitive and popular. The Hungarian interpreters of this story considered lechery and the inclination for drinking as the most dangerous features in Faustus' character. This change happened not because the black arts were accepted in Hungary (we have hardly any Hungarian occult texts surviving from the period) but rather because people did not understand the role and methodology of high magic.

To mention once more Marlowe's drama, we can find these two aspects,

the scholarly and the popular, in that play, too: the scenes written by Marlowe show a high degree of sophistication and sensibility to questions of theology, philosophy and science. The scenes, on the other hand, that were probably inserted by fellow actors are more akin with the crude humor and practical jokes of the Volksbuch.

As we have seen, those dabbling in magic became almost automatically accused of committing witchcraft. Another common charge against them was heresy, particularly either of Arianism, or of Anabaptism. The followers of the latter most stressed the dictates of individual conscience, and urged nonviolence and separation of church and state. The Renaissance magi, although stressed their pious aims, always preferred the ways of individual interpretation of religion to following the prescribed dogmas. Their individualism was often far from the orthodox trends of theology so it was the easiest to deal with them by calling them heretics. As Gessner wrote about Paracelsus:

> I know that most people of this kind are Arians and deny the divinity of Christ... (quoted by Jung 1983, 119).

In a similar manner, John Dee's editor, Meric Casaubon concluded that during the angelic conversations the English doctor lapsed onto the path of Anabaptist exaggerations.

From university to court: the case of John Dee

In the documents of ordinary witchcraft-trials, that is in the cases of burghers and village people, the charge of dogmatical heresy not too often occurs. The accusations claim more concrete actions such as pacting with the devil, having intercourse with demons and doing intentionally harm to other people. The charge of heresy needs theologians to decide about it so it usually involves a university environment. To call an endeavouring magus a sorcerer, again supposes some intellectual context, at least some general interest in matters of science which generates suspicion and envy. In a way we can say that the university produced a special kind of scholarly sorcery and heresy but soon after giving birth to it, it turned against this individual, too dangerous-looking occult art. Esoterism thus had to flee from the universities, in the direction of aristocratic courts where individual achievements could be better regarded.

It is well known that while Renaissance science got into conflict with the conservative medieval universities, it tried to reorganize itself in private academies that were not depending on the church institution. The rivalry of the universities and the academies show a clear-cut power struggle and this was in close connection with the patronage system of the Renaissance. While the universities enjoyed royal endowments they were also subject to church supervision and eventually local government control. On the other hand, the private academies were totally independent except the influence of the royal or aristocratic patron, many of which themselves were eccentric characters. Consequently, they quickly became reservoirs of various kinds of free thinkers, enthusiasts, unorthodox scientists.

In Hungary and Transylvania, where there was no university thus the institutionalized rivalry was much less dominant, and where the whole period of the 16th century can be characterized by anarchy and political decline, quite naturally gathered a colorful and international layer of interconfessionals and heterodox intellectuals. It was partly the intellectual curiosity of the patrons - in harmony with the general mood for esoteria of the Mannerist period - partly their greed for gold that they ventured at supporting all kinds of wandering theologians, doctors, astrologers and alchemists. As it is well known, the greatest of all these weird courtly menageries in Central Europe was that of Rudolf II in Prague, but also Stephen Báthory's court in Cracow, and the seat of the Transylvanian Princes attracted this kind of folks.[22]

One of the most extraordinary characters of this class was Dr. John Dee, the English mathematician and conjuror who extensively travelled in Central Europe and enjoyed the hospitality and protection of a number of royal and aristocratic courts. His younger years are well documented by monographs - it is known that he studied at Cambridge (1542-1547), then, after some time of Continental studies around 1550 he lectured at the University of Paris. During his continental studies he got acquainted with the hermetic philosophy of the Italian and French neoplatonists and became more and more interested in the occult. Being a scientist, and also a neoplatonist philosopher and religious enthusiast, quite naturally, he had to face the accusation of sorcery and witchcraft already in his early university years. First in 1547, still in Cambridge, where he constructed a mechanical stage effect for a student performance at Trinity Hall. He managed to fly up an actor, "where at was great wondring, and many

vaine reportes spread abroad of the meanes how that was effected".[23] Later, in 1555, under the rule of Queen (Bloody) Mary, he was again suspected of witchcraft and in this case we can observe an intricate intertwining of theological charges and political issues - Dee's fate well exemplifies to what extent the charge of witchcraft was exploited in the power politics of the age. Dee was - probably rightly - suspected of having sympathies with the Protestant party and personally with Princesse Elizabeth. The easiest way to deal with him was the accusation of sorcery and witchcraft and the false witnesses immediately were ready to report about personal harm brought upon them by the doctor: Dee and a certain Benger

> "did calculate the King's, the Queen's and My Lady Elizabeth's horoscopes (and) are accused that they should have a familiar spirit, which is the most suspected, for that Ferrys, one of their accusers, had immediately on the accusation, both of his children stricken, the one with death, the other with blindness".[24]

In these years he was still mostly interested in pure science (mathematics) and mystical philosophy but the universities looked at him with conservative suspicion. This is how they reacted to Dee's most compact philosophical work, the Monas hieroglyphica (1564):

> ...concerning my booke, titled 'Monas Hieroglyphica', against such Universitie-Graduates of high degree, and other gentlemen, who therefore dispraised it, because they understood it not.[25]

Unorthodoxy was attacked not only by the universities but by the church - Catholic or Protestant alike -, too. John Foxe's Acts and monuments (1563), which commemorated the Protestant martyrs, executed by the Catholic Mary, devoted some damaging remarks to Dee. He was charged with pacting with the Pope and called "the arche coniurer" of the whole kingdom.[26] In his famous Mathematical Preface (1570) he tried to defend himself with great determination:

> And for (...) such like marueilous Actes and Feates, Naturally, Mathematically, and Mechanically, wrought and contriued: ought any honest Student, and Modest Christian Philosopher, be counted, & called a Coniurer? (...) He that seketh in the Creatures Properties, and wonderful vertues, to finde iuste cause, to glorifie the Aeternall, and Almightie Cretaor by: Shall that man, be (...) condemned, as a Companion of the Helhoundes, and a Caller, and coniurer of wicked and damned Spirites? (Dee 1570, Aii.v-r).

Pickering is right when claims that "Whatever the cause of the upsurge of the Conjuror Dee myth at the end of the 1570s, the situation could only have been made worse by Dee's entry into angel magic in 1581".[27] Soon after the start of angel conjurations with Edward Kelley he left for the continent in 1583 and stayed there at various noble courts till 1589. They tried to make gold for Olbracht Taski, a Polish aristocrat, and performed angel magic in front of Stephen Báthory, the Polish king who earlier had been Prince of Transylvania. From Poland they shifted to Prague and tried to gain the favor of the eccentric Emperor Rudolf II. Having failed in this attempt, the Englishmen stayed on the estate of a Czech magnate, Villém Rožmberk.

All throughout this time Dee was writing a most curious diary, entitled A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for many Years Between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits.... This set of documents of his angel conjurations were published by a humanist scholar, a doctor of divinity, Meric Casaubon in 1659. The several hundred pages' True and Faithful Relation... is a valuable storehouse of historical, anthropological, and esoteric information, still it has not been really thoroughly examined by scholars.[28]

Much remains to be said about the True and Faithful Relation... but within the limits of this paper I shall try to concentrate on one aspect: how the magus is turned into a witch and heretic in the interpretation of the pious but conservative scholar who represented both university and Church.

Meric Casaubon attached a 54 pages' Preface to Dee's "relations", "Confirming the reality (as to the point of Spirits) of this Relation: and shewing the several good uses that a sober Christian may make of All" (Dee 1659, title page). In this Preface he mostly concentrates on the questions whether (1) there were spirits appearing to Dr. Dee and (2) if yes, what were their nature.

Casaubon had no doubts about the reality of the spirits that appeared to Dee's medium, Edward Kelley. But he took great pains to prove that these spirits were not good angels, rather devils. He obviously followed the path of opinion of Luther and William Perkins. And in this case, the person who got in contact with them, according to our - and also Casaubon's - definition, has become a witch. Though Casaubon shows some sympathy to Dee, he clearly indicates what he thinks of this kind of witchcraft. He says it is nothing else but "pawning your soul" to the devil[29] and soon he comes up with the other common charge: heresy, specifi-

cally, Anabaptism. There are a number of places where he ascribes Dee's personal characteristic features or his philosophical self-steering to Anabaptism, for him a most serious heresy. For example the following exegetical vision from Dee's angel-records is commented by Casaubon as "Esdras again. Strange Predictions (but Anabaptistical, and false) of the destruction of Kings and Kingdoms, within few years after...".[30] And here are parts of the original entry. The speaker is Uriel, one of their frequent angel-guests:

> Monday, Januarii 13. Stetin.
> This moneth in the fourth year, shall Antichrist be known unto all the world. Then shall wo, wo, dwell amongst the Kings of the earth: For they shall be chosen all anew. Neither shall there any that ruleth now, or reigneth as a King. (...) live unto the end of the third year: But they shall all perish.[31]

Throughout the book Casaubon keeps on repeating the charge of Anabaptism what he combines with that of conjuring, or witchcraft. He does not consider Dee to be a wicked, Faustian character, rather a naive, deceived person who took the devil's jokes seriously and believed in the godly nature of his conjurations. The reasons are obvious: from among the walls of an English university the noncomformist behaviour and the unorthodox way of thinking could not be positively classified.

Conclusions

In spite of the efforts of the Renaissance magi - and many a modern cultural historians - it is far from self-evident to draw the line between high magic, sorcery and witchcraft. Because of the theological issues involved, most pious occultism could be interpreted as heresy, dissent, and practices tempted by Satan. On the other hand, because of the similarities of the philosophical background of the two, also in relation to the general characteristics of the organic world picture, high magic could easily lapse in the territories of the black arts.

John Dee's angel magic is a good example for both cases. Often he was unjustly charged to be a heretic and a wicked conjuror. On the other hand, his professed interconfessionalism, and the medium, Edward Kelley's frequent revocations of the angelic messages as wicked intervention of devils, make one skeptical about the possibilities of clear-cut distinctions between various principles, intentions, and practices.

As for Hungary and East Central Europe, because of the backwardness of the system of higher education in the region, and because of the dominance of theological thinking over scientific, we find here comparably few examples of learned magic and intellectual witchcraft. On the other hand, this region, with its fairly high degree of tolerance and religious freedom offered temporary asylum to heterodox intellectuals from Western Europe. They could satisfy the intellectual curiosity of the local magnate and at the same time could well fit in the vacuum of local cultural power-politics. Again, John Dee's career in East Central Europe is a good test case to examine these tendencies.

Notes

[1]Thomas (1973: 517-701).

[2]Anglo (1977: 1-14).

[3]Thomas (1973: 518-519).

[4]Sir Edward Coke's Institutes; quoted by Thomas (1973: 524).

[5]Thomas Wilson's Complete Christian Dictionary, 1612; quoted by Thomas (1973: 527). As for the biblical references: "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch" (Deut. 18:10). "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. 22:18).

[6]Anglo (1977: 4).

[7]I am quoting Doctor Faustus from Roma Gill's edition, London, 1965, Ernest Benn, The New Mermaids.

[8]Cf. Yates (1964: 108); on Agrippa's religious intentions Nauert (1965: 202).

[9]Cf. the argumentation of Kocher (1962: 160ff).

[10]Kramer (1971: 20; Pt. 1, Quest. 2).

[11]Kramer (1971: 21; Pt. 1, Quest. 2).

[12]The Yates-theses were already criticised from the viewpoint of historians of science in the late seventies (cf. Rossi 1975 and Westmann 1977), some more recent criticism have already challenged the anthropological and intellectual foundations of Frances Yates' arguments. Most severe of these is Vickers 1984. It has many good points but I still maintain that a total rejection of the importance of hermeticism would be as great a mistake as the uncritical enthusiasm over Yates' propositions was in the early seventies.

[13]Jung (1983: 118).

[14]As summarised by Seligmann (1971: 214).

[15]Dee (1570: Aiir). Also referred to by Pickering (1986: 7).

[16]Quoted by Jung (1983: 119).

[17]Bornemisza (1955: 138).

[18]Cf. Tolnai (1964); Vásárhelyi (1977); Szőnyi (1978).

[19]For the early stages of this development see Baron (1982: passim).

[20]Baron (1986: 31).

[21]"In general, the philosopher Faustus, who wandered about chiefly in Southern Germany, and whose patrons were Catholics, gradually became a renegade theologian and alumnus of the foremost university of the Reformation movement" (Baron 1978: 84).

[22]On Rudolf's Prague cf. Evans 1973's thorough monograph. On alchemy at Báthory's court see Bugaj (1976) and Zwozniak (1978) on the position of the occult in Transylvania cf. Orient (1927); Szathmáry (1928).

[23]The Compendious Rehearsal... in Autobiographical Tracts of Dr John Dee, Manchester, 1851, pp. 5-6. Quoted by Pickering (1986: 7).

[24]Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580. Quoted by Pickering (1986: 4).

[25]Compendious Rehearsal, p. 10, quoted by Pickering (1986: 7).

[26]Pickering (1986: 7).

[27]Pickering (Op. cit.: 9).

[28]R.J.W. Evans (1973) tried to distill all information from it concerning Dee's appearences in East-Central Europe and it was Shumaker's 1982 study which ventured at an overall evaluation of this material for the first time. Shumaker approaches and tries to explain the psychological context of this early and absolutely determined spiritism and concludes that the angelic conversations are nothing more than an extrapolation of the beliefs he had held throughout his career as a magus (op. cit., 50)".

[29]Dee (1659: 34).

[30]Dee (1659: lxvi).

[31]Dee (1659: 60).

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Abbreviations

Itk - Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények (Budapest).

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WITCHCRAFT AND POPULAR CULTURE IN PROTESTANT DEMONOLOGY: SOME CENTRAL EUROPEAN EXAMPLES

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The papers being given at this conference are an excellent illustration of the very wide range of current academic interests in the history of witchcraft. But one area of the subject which has become relatively neglected is 'learned demonology' itself. By 'learned demonology' I mean the beliefs about the devil, demonic magic and witchcraft which were held by the producers and communicators of educated opinion in the early modern period - that is to say the natural philosophers and physicians; the jurists, lawyers and magistrates; and, above all perhaps, the theologians and clergymen. There are, I think, three main reasons for this neglect. First, the decline of traditional intellectual history has had the general effect of discrediting the study of ideas, largely because it found them only in books and treated them as autonomous and self-explanatory. In the field of witchcraft studies itself, the fact that, for a long time, research was based narrowly on demonological texts and was also highly rationalistic in inspiration, has made recent researchers unsympathetic to the subject of demonology. Second, there has of course been another general shift of interest away from the opinions of the elite and towards the lives and experiences of the more humble. This too has had the effect of making the theorisings of the demonologists seem much less significant than, for example, the magical elements in popular culture. Third, the adoption by historians of witchcraft of sociological and social anthropological perspectives, some of which have been highly functionalist in character, has also led them to neglect the question of what witchcraft meant in particular cultural settings - a question that cannot be answered unless demonology is taken partly into account.

As a result of this neglect, demonology is still, I think, being misunderstood. It is true that we are no longer as rationalistic in our readings as were, for example, George Lincoln Burr and Henry Charles Lea, as well as H.R. Trevor-Roper. But concepts of witchcraft, especially those

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expressed by magistrates and clergymen, are still regarded as little more than rationalisations of witch hunting. Relatively few texts have been well studied and disproportionate attention is still given to the sceptics and opponents of witch hunting; as though these somehow merit more attention than those who supported it. It is still often assumed that demonologists discussed only one kind of witchcraft - the classic, highly stereotyped diabolism of the sabbat. Above all, I think, demonology is usually read out of context. Historians have failed to see that learned witchcraft beliefs were not sustained in isolation and that they depended not merely on a set of social and institutional practices but on a range of other intellectual commitments - scientific, historiographical, political and religious.

I want to suggest to you that we should pay a lot more attention to demonology as one of the key ingredients in the history of witchcraft. And I say this principally because, in my view, the history of witchcraft itself ought to be conceived as, essentially, a history of meanings. Intellectual history has, after all, been transformed in the last ten years by the influence of linguistics and semiotics, and functionalism has disappeared as a governing principle in the social sciences. Everywhere the stress is now on the instrinsic meaning and significance of the forms which constitute different cultures and the changes they undergo. Sociology, anthropology and history have come much more genuinely together as exercises in the interpretation of signifying practice. And it no longer seems possible to distinguish between the 'social' history of external events and the 'intellectual' history of internal ideas - as if experienced reality and linguistic form were not entailed by each other.[1] It therefore ought to be possible to write a more unified cultural history of witchcraft in which the writing of demonological texts is not seen as somehow less concrete, less real, less 'social' than the hunting of witches; and the hunting of witches is not seen as somehow less to do with concepts and meanings than the writing of demonological tests. Both these things, and indeed every aspect of the history of witchcraft ought (in my view) to be seen in the same terms - as practices whose meaning was situated contextually in particular sets of cultural conditions.

As an illustration of how demonology might take its place in a cultural history of witchcraft let me take the example of Protestant witchcraft writings, especially those by German Lutherans.[2] Of course, these writings were inspired partly by theological considerations and might be seen as

theoretical contributions to the great European witchcraft debate. But to think of them only in these terms would be seriously to misunderstand their significance and, especially, the view of witchcraft they express. Far from intellectualising the subject, they were dominated by the demands of religious reform. Here, what witchcraft meant was inseparable from the experience of evangelical practice, while that practice was itself constituted (in part) by a particular notion of witchcraft. The authors were usually pastors or those in a position to influence the education and training of clergymen. Many of them were also active in drafting new church ordinances, making visitations, devising educational programmes and providing Lutheranism with its casuistry and its propaganda. But this is not so much the context for their demonology - it is continuous with it. The relationship is not one of text and context, but of text and text, both of which require the same kind of interpretation. In form, tone and content there is an identity between a particular set of pastoral experiences and a particular interest in witchcraft.

Many Lutheran demonologies had been given as individual sermons or series of sermons and retained this form in print. Their tone is homiletic and didactic and they rely almost totally on Biblical support. They were addressed to a general lay audience rather than to academic specialists. The spiritual and moral implications of witchcraft are stressed, not their concrete manifestations. Traditional demonological topics such as transvection, metamorphosis and sexuality are rarely treated and the sabbath in particular receives few extended discussions. The pact with the devil is seen in terms of spiritual apostasy and damage to the soul, not physical allegiance or the power to inflict maleficium.

This is because the subject of witchcraft was only really important to Lutheran demonologists at all because of its relevance to the clerical experience of attempting to bring a new piety to ordinary people. It arose at a point of intersection of clerical and popular culture - in particular, at the point where two conceptions of the origin, nature and significance of misfortune came into cultural conflict (needless to say, a cultural account of witchcraft would not be merely a history of meanings but a history of contested meanings). There were two reasons for this conflict. First, ordinary people blamed their afflictions on local witches instead of on themselves. This, said the Lutherans, was a kind of hypocrisy and probably outright atheism. It undervalued the spiritual function of misfortune as a retribution for sin and a test of faith, and it questioned

God's providential control over affairs. It even implied Manicheism, since it suggested a source of evil independent of God. Second, and much more important, ordinary people reacted to their afflictions either by adopting their own counter-witchcraft an other remedies, or by seeking these from specialists in beneficent (or 'white') magic. This, argued the Lutherans, was idolatry. It ignored the need for repentance and the benefits of 'bearing the cross', and it attributed specious powers to the protective or curative properties of persons, places, times and things.

In concentrating on these two issues Protestant pastor-demonologists were really writing casuistry rather than pure demonology. They did not conceive of witchcraft in terms of an organized anti-religion or as a physical threat; nor did they think it should be punished for these reasons (in fact, they all thought that, in physical terms, witches were utterly powerless). For them witchcraft was essentially a case of conscience (eine gewissensfrage) in which the faith of the general populace was at stake. The misfortunes attributed to witchcraft should really be the occasion for spiritual self-scrutiny and improvement on the part of the victims; while the remedies commonly used against misfortune were themselves so much like witchcraft that they signified a major loss of faith on the part of those who used them.

Witchcraft mattered to Lutherans, then, because their church was engaged in a campaign to evangelise ordinary people. Consider the cases of three experts from Central Germany and the Baltic region of Livonia. The first is Hermann Samson, clergyman in Riga from 1608 and superintendent-general of the Livonian church from 1622. He was inspector of the Riga schools and later professor of theology at the Gymnasium. For twenty years he ordained pastors, wrote church and school ordinances, held disputations, made visitations and organized synods - as well as conducting a fierce polemic with the local Jesuits, carrying out his own teaching duties and writing on a wide range of subjects. He was in fact a classic reformer - the 'Elias' of Livonia - and famous enough generally to be invited to positions in Hamburg, Rostock and Danzig. But he was also a classic pastor-demonologist; in 1628 he published at Riga Neun ausserlesen und wolgegründete Hexen Predigt.[3] My other two examples are Bernhard Albrecht, who studied at Wittenberg and Jena, was a pastor first in Halle in Saxony and later in Augsburg, and who published his Magia, Das ist: Christlicher Bericht von der Zauberey und Hexerey at Leipzig in 1628; and Johann Rüdinger, who preached at Ober-Oppurg and Weyra in Saxony under the patronage of

members of the Dresden court, and who published his Decas concionum secunda, de magia illicita at Jena in 1635.

All three texts had started out as weekly sermons; Samson's, for example, were given in Riga cathedral. And all three were the product of the evangelical experiences of the authors. Samson complained that during his visitations of the Livonian parishes he had discovered much 'horrible superstition'; he was publishing his sermons to help his colleagues eradicate sorcery from their congregations. What 'witchcraft' means in these texts is in fact any aspect of popular belief and practice which reformers wished to proscribe - but especially the extensive repertoire of techniques, recipes and rituals for good health, healing and fertility for securing good fortune and preventing misfortune, and for detection and divination which existed outside or along the borders of official religion and yet constituted the practical dimension of what we tend to call 'popular culture'. Over these practices Samson, Albrecht and Rüdinger placed a grid of Biblical categories derived from the Old Testament; not from Exodus xxii ('Die Zauberinnen sollst du nicht leben lassen') but from Deuteronomy xviii ('Dass nicht unter dir gefunden werde, der seinen Sohn oder Tochter durch's Feuer geben lasse, oder ein Weissager, oder ein Tagewähler, oder der auf Vogelgeschrei achte, oder ein Zauberer, oder Beschwörer, oder Wahrsager, oder Zeichendeuter, oder der die Todten frage'). It was common in Protestant demonology to adopt these very categories as the framework for discussion. Of Rüdinger's ten sermons, for example, one is devoted to the whole Deuteronomy text and the other nine to the individual arts it condemns - 'das Opffern oder gehen der Kinder durchs Fewer', 'weissagung', 'tagwehlung', 'verkündigung', 'bezauberung', 'beschwerung', 'warsagung', 'zeichendeutung', and 'Erforschung der Warheit von den Toden'.

To us, these are not practices which seem to have anything to do with witchcraft; nor, evidently, did those who used them think in these terms. Nevertheless, the main purpose of Protestant demonology was to argue that they were genuine witchcraft. The techniques, recipes and rituals had no warrant in Scripture; but they also had no natural efficacy. Samson, Albrecht, and Rüdinger based their case not only on religious grounds but on what was, in effect, a natural philosophy. Each thing in Creation, said Albrecht, had its natural properties and uses (seine Natur, Tugend, Krafft und Verrichtung').[4] But the village conjuror, soothsayer, exorcist and blesser used things unnaturally; they used them to bring about effects which they had no created power to achieve. Magic and witchcraft were, in

effect, identical. They occurred, said Albrecht, 'wenn man eine Creatur Gottes, als Kräuter, Holtz, Stein, wort, zeiten, stunden, gebärden, und dergleichen anderst gebraucht, oder andere wirckung darinnen suchet, denn es Gott verordnet...'.[5] Using things in this way must always be demonic in principle; for only the devil could provide the necessary efficacy. And if a forbidden technique, recipe or ritual actually worked to bring about a result then it was demonic in fact; for there was simply no other way the result could have come about. Those who used things unnaturally, therefore, made a tacit or implicit pact with the devil - 'ein heimliches verborgenes vertrawen zu dem bösen Feind'. These German demonologists agreed with the Englishman William Perkins (Samson had read the Latin translation of his The Damned Art published at Hannover in 1610) when he wrote: 'By witches (I) understand not those only which kill and torment, but all Diviners, Charmers, Juglers, all Wizards, commonly called wise men and wise women; yea, whosoever doe any thing ... which cannot be effected by nature or art.'[6]

A good example of what the pastor-demonologists called 'witchcraft' and of how that term was extended to some of the most mundane observances of the countryside is seen in their attitude to blessing ('die Segnung'). Carefully separating out the approved uses - for example, between pastor and flock, or before meals, or at the bed of a dying person - they condemned a wide range of misuses of holy words to bring about physical effects - for example, healing, protection from maleficium, and the preventing of bad weather. They argued that since the devil wished above all to subvert the religion of the word, his first task was to corrupt the sense in which words were efficacious. The power of words was only semantic, depending on use and context not on intrinsic properties; the segensprecher who assumed that it was physical was making a mistake about nature as well as flouting God's laws. In effect, he was looking to the devil for the results he expected. The 'observation of days' ('tagwehlung') likewise had its licit uses - in medicine, in agriculture and especially in religion (the sabbath). But Samson and Rüdinger devoted whole sermons to the paganism and superstition in treating days (or hours) as propitious or unpropitious, 'welche nicht in der Natur ihre Ursach hat, sondern aus menschlichem Aberglauben erdacht, und durchs Teuffels Betrug bestetiget ist, wie der heydnischen Volcker Aussmerckung'.[7] All forms of divination were also offensive to these demonologists; exact foreknowledge could not, again, be defended naturalistically and it was obviously inconsistent with God's Providence and Revelation.

These are the arguments that dominate these texts, and it is clear from the ethnographic detail alone that they embraced a considerable number of the techniques and observances of popular culture. In effect, demonology became a commentary on the every day behaviour of ordinary men and women and the sin of witchcraft became universal. These Lutherans were concerned with the spiritual predicament of anybody who, faced with a need or a misfortune of any kind, turned not to God or to approved physical remedies, but to the resources of popular tradition. This showed lack of patience, lack of belief and above all lack of trust in God; it therefore involved a direct transfer of spiritual allegiance to the devil. This was a moral polarity reflected in the continual resort to two of the key role-models of the Old Testament - the Job who trusted in God and the Saul who consulted magicians. Hermann Samsom explained that while the clients of magicians did not make their own demonic pact they nevertheless called on the devil via those they consulted. Albrecht said that this was nothing else 'dann den Teuffel selbst umb hülffe ansprechen, als dessen Diener solche Leute sind'.[8] It was a sin against God, Christ, the Holy Ghost and the angels; and it was a reversal of holy baptism, since it made men and women members of Satan ('Satans Mitglieder") instead of members of Christ. This was true even if they did not consult anyone but simply indulged in their own private, domestic blessings, conjurations and divinations. The logic of the argument was that even the simplest cultural transgression was a piece of witchcraft - 'witchcraft' in the sense established in these particular texts.

I have argued that demonology ought to be looked at in particular cultural settings, and not simply as a blanket rationalisation of witch hunting. In the case of German Protestantism this means reading the demonology of men like Samson, Albrecht and Rüdinger as integral to the practice of religious reform. This, I think, has two consequences. First, we should not treat their witchcraft writings as contributions to the wider European debate on the physical powers of devils, the physical reality of witchcraft as a crime, and the need to punish witches in the courts. This is the debate we associate with Henri Boguet, Jean Bodin, Reginald Scot, and so on, and to which German Protestants also contributed - for example, the Rhinelanders Johann Weyer and Thomas Erastus, and the Rostock lawyer Johann Georg Gödelmann. Instead, the texts I have been considering ought to be read alongside the general soteriology and casuistry of Lutheranism, alongside the specialist studies of 'magic' and 'superstition' in which Lutherans expressed their hostility to popular culture, and alongside the

records of church visitations and other agencies of parochial surveillance and reform. The first of these has been well studied, and Gerald Strauss has made a special study of the third. But the second category has been neglected. It includes works like the following: a treatise of 1564 entitled Confutatio magicae ac idolatricae consecrationis creaturarum, aliarumque horrendarum superstitionum by the Thuringian pastor and superintendent general of Alfeld, Nicolaus Erbenius: Conrad Platz's Kurtzer, Nottwendiger, unnd Wollgegrundter bericht ... von der Grewlichen ... Sund dem Zauberischen Beschwören und Segensprechen of 1565 (Platz was pastor of Biberach in Württemberg); Christoph Vischer's Einfeltiger Bericht wider den ... Segen, damit man Menschen und Viehe zu Helffen vertmeinet of 1571; the Westphalian reformer Hermann Hamelmann's 1572 study Der Segen und Wickerteuffel ... der Chrystallen teuffel, das ist, Ein Bericht von dem Segen, Büssen, Wickern, Nachweysen, Teuffelsbeschwere, Chrystallensehers und Schwartzkünstlern; and Abraham Scultetus's Warnung für der Warsagerey der zäuberer und sterngücker. Vischer's study, for example, was published at Schmalkalden where he was superintendent and concentrated on showing how just one item of popular behaviour, the blessing, when used superstitiously, contravened the first, second, third, fifth and eighth Commandments, the Creed, and the Lords prayer, as well as going against the laws of the Old Testament and the opinions of all the Church Fathers. Even though the word 'hexerei' never appears in this tract, its conceptual basis and its detailed arguments are identical to those found in the demonologies. For example, Vischer's question concerning the apparent benefits of blessings is the one which underlies the whole Lutheran campaign against popular attitudes to fortune and misfortune; 'Das ist aber die frage, wo solche hülffe her komme, von Gott, oder von der natur, oder vom Teuffel.'[9] My point is that a tract like this is in fact a piece of demonology, since demonology was not restricted to books dealing with what we call 'witchcraft'. Another way to illustrate this point would be to read Samson's Neun ... Hexen Predigt not in connection with Bodin or Weyer but alongside the writings of his Livonian colleague, the Kurland superintendent Paulus Einhorn; he published his own study of 'superstition' in Riga in 1627 entitled Wiederlegunge der Abgötterey und nichtigen Aberglaubens, and a history of the Livonian reformation, Reformatio gentis Letticae in ducatu Curlandiae, also at Riga in 1636.

The second consequence of tracing Protestant demonology to religious reform is that it emerges as a particularly good example of acculturation.

Important and valid criticisms have recently been made concerning the notion of acculturation when applied globally to cultural change in early modern Europe. But it remains a useful notion in particular contexts, and in the particular context I have been describing it seems indispensible. For in intention (though not of course in achievement) Protestant demonology is one of the purest examples of cultural proscription to be found anywhere in early modern history. This is because Lutherans aimed at a complete translation of the categories which shaped ordinary people's experience. Clerical and popular lay beliefs about fortune and misfortune were placed at opposite ends of the spectrum of accountability. The distinction between a spiritualised and a this-wordly reading of everyday life became total. Moral absolutism replaced the variable, contingent morality of the countryside. The boundaries between natural causation, demonic causation and supernatural causation were redrawn, and a very wide range of everyday techniques, recipes and rituals were denounced as having no efficacy and no value. Everywhere the categories of good and evil were reversed. Witches traditionally assumed by villagers to be harmful in matter-of-fact physical ways were now said to be vehicles of spiritual benefits brought by a better understanding of Providence and sin; while those local healers and diviners who brought much needed physical relief to villagers were now said to be the real agents of the devil and those who consulted them not Christians but 'pagans' or 'heathers'. Nothing sums up this attempt to reverse popular cultural assumptions better than the continued repetition in the texts of the idea that it was better to die in piety with God than to be healed by the devil's magic. Albrecht: 'Solte aber ein rechtschaffener Christ nicht tausentmal lieber mit Gott Kranck und arbeitselig seyn, als mit den Teuffel gesund werden? Solte er nicht lieber mit Gott sterben, denn mit dem Teuffel leben?';[10] Rüdinger: 'Solte aber ein Mensch nicht tausendmal lieber mit Gott Kranck und siech, als mit dem Teuffel gesund werden? ... Solte er nicht lieber mit Gott sterben, dann mit dem Teuffel leben?'[11] Vischer: '... sol ein Christ ... lieber sterben, denn durch den zauberischen Segen und andere Teuffelsgespenste gesund werden und leben... Sterben gleich deine Kinder, so lauff nicht zum Teuffel...[12] Here is the heart of the difference in kind between the preferences of many of the laity, and the ambitions of the agents of acculturation - a difference which explains the latter's limited success.

Notes

[1]Toews (1987: 879-883).

[2]For a fuller account see Clark (1990).

[3]Biographical details in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (xxx: 312-315).

[4]Albrecht (1628: 22).

[5]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[6]Perkins (1610: 255). The Latin translation was Baskanologia, hoc est tractatio de nefaria arte venefica.

[7]Rüdinger (1635: 110).

[8]Albrecht (1628: 248) cf. Samson (1628), Sig. Piv^{r}.

[9]Vischer (1571), Sig. Hviii^{v}.

[10]Albrecht (1628: 47, 255).

[11]Rüdinger (1635: 239).

[12]Vischer (1571) Sigs. Eiii^{v}-Eiv^{r}.

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THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE WITCHES: AN EXPERIMENT IN CULTURAL HISTORY

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1. The anonymous philosopher mentioned in the title of my paper is a great one - probably the greatest of the entire fifteenth century: Nicholas of Cusa. In his book Individuum und Kosmos in der Renaissance Ernst Cassirer suggested that Nicholas of Cusa's philosophical, theological and mathematical works had a powerful impact on Italian humanists.[1] This view was later on rejected by Eugenio Garin, who emphasized that Nicholas of Cusa to his Italian contemporaries was known above all for his role in ecclesiastical affairs.[2] Certainly Nicholas of Cusa was far from being a pure metaphysician, uninvolved in politics. Let us recall the basic events of his life. Born in Kues, near Trier, in 1400, he was a student at Padua, where he took his law degree in 1426; later on became a priest; was sent to Constantinople in order to organize the council for the unity with the Eastern Church, which was then convened in Ferrara and Florence in 1438-1439; became a cardinal in 1449; was appointed bishop of Brixen (or Bressanone) where he lived between 1452 and 1458, struggling against Sigismund of Tirol; acted as governor of Rome in 1459, when pope Pius II went to Mantua in order to start a crusade against the Turks; went back to Brixen in 1460; died at Todi in 1464. Even the titles of some among his works - De concordantia catholica, de pace fidei, de docta ignorantia, Idiota, Reparatio kalendarii - reflect the wide range and complexity of his religious, political, intellectual commitments. The same complexity emerges from the text I am going to deal with here. It is sermon delivered by Nicholas of Cusa during the Lent of 1457, when he was bishop of Brixen: a South Tirol town, which after having been for centuries (as we will see) close to the border between German-speaking and Italian-speaking areas, was incorporated, after the First World War, into another political entity - the Italian state.

The sermon (which is included in Nicholas of Cusa complete works, published in Paris in 1514) was based on a passage from the Gospel of Luke (4.7). In commenting on the words said by Satan to Christ in order to

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tempt him - "Haec omnia tibi dabo", "I will give you everything" - Nicholas of Cusa mentioned the case of two superstitious old women, living in a nearby valley. In mentioning the sermon, several scholars have emphasized Nicholas of Cusa's mild reaction, so different from the persecuting attitude which was already prevailing at that time. Instead of putting the superstitious women to death as witches, Nicholas of Cusa condemned them to some light penance, followed by an unspecified time to be spent in jail.

The philosopher's lack of fanaticism is certainly remarkable: but I do not think that his attitude can be fully understood unless it is placed in its proper context. This implies, first of all, a detailed analysis of the sermon.

The text printed in the Paris edition of 1514 is not complete. Unfortunately, the critical edition of Nicholas of Cusa's works, started by Heidelberg academy many years ago, has published until now only one volume of sermons and does not include the one I am speaking about. My analysis will be based, therefore, on one of the extant manuscripts - Vaticanus latinus 1245 - whose textual value is enhanced by the presence of some handwritten corrections by Nicholas of Cusa himself. Now, all the manuscripts I have seen (including this one) display at the very beginning of the sermon a rather long passage which is missing in the printed edition. Among other details, it gives some additional circumstances which shed some light on the otherwise obscure reference to "illas mulieres vetulas ob fascinatione notatas", "those old women notoriously involved in charms". Nicholas of Cusa says that three of them had been brought to him, probably by their parish priest, from Fassa Valley - a mountain area which was part of Brixen's diocesis - in order to be interrogated. One had been acquitted; two had been interrogated, either formally or informally.

I came across this text when I was working on a book on the origins of the witches' sabbath, to be published next year in Italian (Storia notturna).[3] For some time I cherished the idea of adding to my evidence two witchcraft trials performed by such an eminent personality like Nicholas of Cusa. But my research in Brixen's ecclesiastical archives was totally unsuccessful. I was forced to conclude that the two trials - if they ever existed - had been either lost or destroyed. The only evidence of the dialogue between Nicholas of Cusa, the great philosopher, and the two old women from Fassa Valley, is provided therefore by the former's sermon. Before starting an analysis of this quite exceptional document let me stress its limitations. The text, written in Latin, is obviously a

translation, presumably prepared by Nicholas of Cusa himself: the German original, which was delivered to the crowd assembled in Brixen's cathedral, is lost. Some, at least, among the learned allusions I am going to discuss were presumably addressed to an audience quite different from the original one. It seems sensible to regard them (as well as the first, more philosophical part of the printed sermon) as later accretions, added by Nicholas of Cusa when he collected and revised his sermons in order to publish them. They allow us to reconstruct the intellectual framework through which Nicholas of Cusa perceived the two women's confessions.

A goddess (they said) had appeared to them by night. Her name was Richella. She asked them to swear obedience to her and to renounce to the christian faith. Then they went to a place where some people danced, other people devoured babies who had been imperfectly christened, and so forth. They had gone to the same place for several years, usually during the Embers. These were just follies, Nicholas of Cusa said: sheer absurdities inspired by the devil, father of all superstition. Before the birth of Christ, he explained, the Devil had inspired many false religious cults: among them, the cult of Diana, the great goddess whose famous shrine in Ephesus is mentioned in a passage of the Acts of Apostles. But - he went on - "some hidden followers of Diana still exist: men and women who believe (as the text reads) that in certain nights (certis noctibus) they have a jolly time with her, honouring her as Fortune; in vernacular language they are called Hulden, from Hulda".

The text referred to by Nicholas of Cusa was the so-called Canon episcopi - a text which had been quoted for the first time (as far as we know) by Regino of Prüm, probably at the very beginning of tenth century; then quoted again, one century later, by Burchard of Worms; still later included in the famous collection of canon laws by Gratian of Bologna. The canon condemned "those wicked women" who believe that "in certain nights" (certis noctibus), riding upon certain animals, they go to some distant places, following Diana, the pagan goddess, whom they regard as their master. According to the canon, all these were follies, phantasies inspired by the devil: therefore, the women who share these beliefs should purify themselves by performing fasts and other penances. This relatively mild punishment as well as the explicit rejection of the physical reality of the nocturnal flights, explains why, from the fifteenth century on, the Canon Episcopi was regarded as a nuisance by ecclesiastical and lay supporters of the reality of the witches' sabbath. This implicit reference to

the famous canon already gives us a clue of Nicholas of Cusa's attitude towards witchcraft.

To this identification it could be objected that neither the "jolly time" that the followers of Diana believed they were spending with their goddess ("delitiari", the Latin text reads), nor the allusion to the goddess herself being honored as Fortune, are mentioned in the Canon Episcopi. But this objection can be easily overcome. We know that the canon circulated for centuries in a large part of Europe in slightly different versions, which included, for instance, the addition of synonyms to Diana; names taken from local folk beliefs, such as Herodiades, Herodiana, Perchta, Holda, Bensozia (the last name being, probably, a corruption of Bona Socia). These attempts to adjust the old text to specific local realities suggest that the beliefs mentioned in the canon were (or were believed to be) still alive. The same attitude was shared, as we have seen, by Nicholas of Cusa, who thought that "some hidden followers of (Diana still existed)".

Some scattered but strong evidence shows that in late medieval and early modern times, in an area including northern and central Italy, France and some parts of Germany especially the Rhine region) a popular cult centered on a nocturnal goddess did in fact exist. She was identified by inquisitors, bishops and preachers, on the basis of the Canon Episcopi, with Diana paganorum dea ("goddess of the pagans"). According to the Historia Imperialis, written around 1330 by a priest from Verona, Giovanni Mansionario, these beliefs were shared by many lay men and women: but the involvement of males in this cult seems rather exceptional. In Milan, half a century later, in 1390, the inquisitors condemned to death two women, Sibillia and Pierina, who for several years (as they confessed) had paid homage, during certain nights, to a mysterious goddess, whom the inquisitors called "Diana or Herodiades". Sibillia and Pierina, however (as far as we can judge from the fragmentary surviving evidence) called her by a different name: "Madona Horiente". The inquisitor's distortion also implied an effort to interpret a distant cultural reality.[4] The same effort can be detected in the sermon delivered in Brixen by Nicholas of Cusa - or, more precisely, in the Latin translation he personally prepared and revised.

2. "Having examined the two old women" Nicholas of Cusa wrote "I found them half crazy (semideliras): they ignored even the basic tenets of the christian faith". But this conclusion, conceived in purely negative

terms, was immediately followed by a genuine attempt to shed some light on the elusive religion of the two old women. Leaning on his own extraordinary learning Nicholas of Cusa tried to decipher their obscure confessions. Diana and the Canon episcopi had provided a starting point: following this track Nicholas of Cusa remarked that Diana, sometimes identified with Fortuna, had been called by the two old women, in their italian dialect, "Richella, that is, the mother of richness and good luck". But two hundred years earlier William of Auvergne and Vincent of Beauvais had mentioned in their encyclopedias a cult which was also centered on a nocturnal goddess: Abundia or Habonde. Peasants used to give offerings to her, in order to get richness and prosperity. According to a passage (mentioned by Nicholas of Cusa as well) from the life of Saint Germain of Auxerre included in the Legenda aurea, the well-known collection of saints' lives written in thirteenth century by Jacopo of Varazze, food and drinks were usually offered to some invisible beings as well, called bonae res, that is "good things".

As we have seen, the close similarity, both in name and in content, between Abundia and Richella (as well as, implicitly, between both of them and the bonae res) was immediately recognized by Nicholas of Cusa. Looking backward, his comparative approach seems surprisingly familiar to us - not so different, after all, from the approach we, as historians, use in our research. But Nichols of Cusa is not our contemporary. His tolerant attitude towards the two old women from Fassa Valley cannot be labelled as "enlightened". As he explained to his Brixen parishioners, the belief in the effectiveness of magic seems to suggest that the devil is more powerful than God: moreover, the devil's cause is helped by the rise of the witches' persecution, in so far as it implies that some crazy, but thoroughly innocent women can be put to death. It is better to be cautious, he concluded: otherwise we would spread the evil in trying to uproot it. These remarkable statements become more clear when we read the bitter rhetorical question which introduced them. After all, Nicholas of Cusa asked his parishioners, are not Christ and saints addressed in these mountains only for the purpose of getting more richness, more crops, more living stocks? In a similar spirit, he implicitly suggested, the two old women from Fassa Valley had addressed themselves to Richella.

3. Thus, according to Nicholas of Cusa, praying to God for merely materials goals was not so different from praying to the devil. The gap between this austere religion and the peasant cult centered on Richella,

"mother of richness and good luck", seems very wide indeed. It is all the more remarkable that Nicholas of Cusa tried to overcome it. But his erudition and his compassion were not enough. In the end, that obscure feminine religion was to remain a mystery to him.

It is, of course, not less mysterious to us: first of all, because the available evidence about it has been filtered by foreign eyes, usually far less sharp than Nicholas of Cusa's. But even a distant perspective can sometimes be enlightening. An exemplum included in a sermons' collection, preserved in a fifteenth century mansucript of the Breslau University Library, tells the story of an old woman who, lying unconscious in her bed, opened her arms, threw off a pot of water which she had previously offered to Herodiana (one of the many synonyms of the nocturnal goddess) and fell on the ground. The ironical adjective - "laeta", happy - used by the anonymous clerk in order to describe the old woman's silly joy in front of her goddess, shed an unexpected light on the deep emotional implications of these elusive peasant cults.

Some of these implications can be detected also in the sermon I am speaking about. So far I have tried to read this text as evidence of Nicholas of Cusa's attitude towards superstitious beliefs. But the same text can be also taken as evidence - albeit indirect and fragmentary - of the beliefs themselves. This statement seems far from obvious. Several scholars have mentioned the sermon, but none of them have tried to read it in this perspective. A male philosopher seemed to be, by definition, more interesting (or more historically relevant) than two old, ignorant peasant women. But if we reject such assumption, all parties involved in this extraordinary dialogue look equally relevant - which does not mean, of course, equally accessible to us.

4. As a dialogue, it must have been a difficult one, for cultural and linguistic reasons as well. According to Nicholas of Cusa, the two women spoke Italian: presumably the Italian dialect which is still spoken in the Fassa valley. The possibility that Nicholas of Cusa asked for an interpreter (as sometimes the inquisitors did in Friuli one century later) in order to understand the two women, cannot be dismissed. But even without this additional element of potential distortion, any reconstruction of the two old women's beliefs is bound to be indirect and (at least in their most idiosyncratic elements) conjectural. However, the basic elements emerging from the sermon follow a well-known pattern. As we have seen, the close similarity among Richella, dame Habonde and other nocturnal god-

desses - whose cult, mostly feminine, had been the target of clerical rebuttals since the Middle Ages - had not been missed by Nicholas of Cusa. This older core was wrapped into a layer of more recent, diabolical beliefs. A similar transition, from earlier cults related to nocturnal goddesses to the witches' sabbath stereotype centered on the Devil, had emerged for the first time on both sides of the Alps in the second half of the fourteenth century. Fifty years after Nicholas of Cusa's sermon the same development took place in Fiemme Valley, not far from Fassa, where the two old women lived; two hundred years later, in Scotland. All over Europe, the witches' sabbath stereotype was imposed, by a strikingly similar process, upon a layer of even more strikingly similar beliefs. In my book Storia notturna these conclusions are based upon the analysis of a large evidence. Here I will limit myself to discuss two small details of Nicholas of Cusa's sermon, in order to show some implications (which seem quite relevant) of them.

Several women from Fiemme Valley, accused of being witches, were put on trial, between 1505 and 1508. In court they spoke at length about a goddess, called by them la donna del bon zogo, "the Lady of the good play", and identified by the judges in Trent (on the basis of the Canon episcopi) as Herodiades. According to Margherita, also called Tessadrella, she had two stones besides the eyes, one on each side, which could be opened and shut at her will. Another woman, Caterina della Libra from Carano, gave a slightly different description of the same mythical being: "she had a black band around her head and two stones on each side, over her eyes and ears (dinanzi le orecchie et occhie), in order to prevent her from seeing and hearing: because what she sees or hears, that she wants for herself". "She flies in the air" Margherita dell'Agnola, also called Tommasina, said "and she has two stones besides her eyes, one an each side, in order to prevent her from seeing: because if she could see everything, the entire world would be damaged". Convergences and small variations like these are obvious, insofar as they come from people living in the same area. More surprising is a description of the "Lady of the Play" having "eyes as big as plates", provided in the same years by a woman, also accused of being a witch, living in a nearby valley, Fie' allo Sciliar. Those "eyes as big as plates" look like a simplified version of the goddess' bizarre ornaments (the two stones covering her eyes and ears) recorded in Fiemme Valley. More precisely, a misunderstanding - either by the defendants, or by the judges, or by the notaries - based on a verbal description of the goddess'

physical appearance. But even the obscure allusion to the stones covering the goddess' eyes and ears seem to be a distorted reception of an earlier, much more vivid description, which conveys the distinct flavour of an ecstatic experience. In 1457 the two old women from Fassa Valley told Nicholas of Cusa that Richella had come to them by night. They had not been able to see her face "being prevented by the protruding parts of a semi-circular ornament attached to her ears" (propter quasdam protensiones cuiusdam semicircularis ornamenti ad aures applicati).

5. Are specific morphological similarities necessarily related to historical links? Storia notturna, my book on the origins of the witches' sabbath, tries to answer this question, by analyzing a large amount of evidence from the Eurasian continent over a period of three thousand years. I cannot give here detailed examples of myths and rituals which would exemplify these outstanding (and theoretically challenging) continuities. I will say only that the dangerous, aggressive eye ascribed to the "Lady of the Good Play" in Fiemme Valley (as well as in other places like Ferrara) echoed similar traits displayed by morphologically related mythical beings, like Artemis, as well as by characters of the European folklore, like the slavic Vij, whose deadly eyes were covered by enormous eyelids.[5] In the case of Artemis the evidence for a historical (as well as morphological) continuity seems very strong. The idea that the similarities between Richella and the "Lady of the Good Play" implied some historical link is even easier to accept. Women from nearby valleys went on for half century (and possibly much longer) talking - but talking about what? The graphic quality of their descriptions seems to imply two different (but intertwined) kinds of experiences: verbal diurnal conversations related to non verbal nocturnal ecstasies. An ecstatic fertility cult was still alive among male and female peasants in late sixteenth century Friuli, as I showed in my book I benandanti (Torino, 1966). Nicholas of Cusa's sermon suggests that an ecstatic peasant cult, also centered on fertility, had existed in a nearby region one century earlier.

The sermon can be regarded as the last (and only surviving) link of a much longer chain of evidence. Behind its latin text we must assume a speech in German, which would have provided some account of the mumbling words, possibly translated by an interpreter, by which two presumably scared old women tried to describe in their native dialect the extraordinary event they had experienced, like a sudden flash, some years before - the nocturnal appearance of Richella.

6. Notwithstanding this series of potentially distorting mediators, however, some unpredictable fragments of that ecstatic experience have reached us. The two old women - Nicholas of Cusa explained in his sermon - said that Richella had hairy hands (dicunt eam habere irsutas manus): with her hand she had touched their cheeks. A German scholar, who eighty years ago wrote a short article on the sermon I am analyzing, found this sentence definitely shocking. Irsutas, "hairy" - he decided - should have meant something else: either "naked" or "rough".[6]

We can safely reject such a preposterous suggestion. The possibility that Richella, the nocturnal goddess, had a bear-like appearance, seems very strong indeed. A bear-like goddess was worshipped in the second or third century A.C. on the other side of the Alps. A woman called Licinia Sabinilla inscribed her name - Artio - on a small bronze group, found in Switzerland, not far from Berne, in which the goddess has been represented both in animal and human form. But a recent restoration has shown that the woman is a slightly later addition: in the original group the goddess had been represented only in animal form, as a bear. Her name, Artio, has been connected to a conjectural Celtic word - *artos - as well as to an old Irish word, art. So far we are on a safe ground. Much more uncertain is the relationship between Artio, the Celtic goddess, and the Greek Artemis, which the Romans identified with Diana. The possibility, raised many years ago, that Artemis historically derived from Artio, that is from a celto-illyrian goddess brought into Peloponnesus by Dorian invaders, has still some serious supporters. They maintain that words like Ate-mi-to and -A-ti-mi-te inscribed on some Pylos tablets - that is, well before, the so-called Dorian invasion (XIII century B.C.), if it ever took place - should not been necessarily referred to Artemis. In fact, the existence of a close connection between Artemis and bears has often been emphasized by historians of Greek religion. The famous passage from Aristophanes' Lysistrata, in which a woman recalls the time she spent as a young girl, "playing the she-bear in a sapphron-coloured dress" at Artemis' sanctuary at Brauron, has been frequently mentioned in this context, as well as the story of Callysto, the nymph transfomed by Artemis into a she-bear. Even the popular etymology suggesting that Artemis would derive from arktos, she-bear, although linguistically untenable, points in the same direction. Richella's hairy hand, caressing the wrinkled cheeks of the two old women, would then reinforce in a truly unexpected way the identification with Diana (or Artemis) suggested by Nicholas of Cusa. His erudition, his

insight allowed him to look deeply into that strange peasant religion which was so foreign to him.

7. We can imagine the two old women from Fassa Valley speaking about Richella in front of their bishop. From the height of his power and learning he tried to convince them to give up their absurd beliefs. They did not. In his sermon Nicholas of Cusa spoke with some astonishment of those "old, crazy, greedy women". As we know, the poor women regarded Richella as "the mother of richness and good luck". But "greed" alone (to use Nicholas of Cusa's contemptuous word) cannot explain their deep and stubborn attachment to the mysterious goddess who periodically visited them in ecstasy.

Let me emphasize again that the two old women's words and gestures have been filtered - that is, distorted and clarified as well - by the bishop's perception. We can capture a faint echo of those obscure beliefs using the framework provided Nicholas of Cusa's sermon as well as trying to go beyond it. The sermon itself, therefore, can be considered a dialogic text (in the sense suggested by Mikhail Bakhtin) in so far as it conveys a clash of two different cultures. Both the dialogue and the impossibility of a dialogue between Nicholas of Cusa and the two old women are relevant to us.

Notes

[1] Cf. Cassirer (1935: 79 ff.).

[2] Cf. Garin (1961: 393-395).

[3] See now Ginzburg (1989: 70 ff.).

[4] Ibid. pp. 65 ff.

[5] See Gogol's short tale Vij (I owe this reference to the kindness of A.J. Gurevich).

[6] Ginzburg (1989: 107 ff.).

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THE WHITE SABBATH AND OTHER ARCHAIC PATTERNS OF WITCHCRAFT*

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1. Observations on Chronology and Geography

During the seventies we have come to know a great deal about European witch persecution and its chronology.[1] But we should not forget that the persecution was only a symptom of the presence of belief in witches; what this meant at the different times and places is still a big question. In fact, the history and geography of European witchcraft is still a field where our ignorance is embarassing and where our knowledge is bound to be limited, depending as it is on the trial records which generally constitute an oblique angle to the local beliefs system. To take the case of Denmark our witch trials usually concentrate on the theme of maleficium. and only occasionally reveal the existence of counter witchcraft and legends about witches, albeit the witches' sabbath. Folklore records of the last hundred and fifty years, however, demonstrate the existence of an elaborated system of beliefs and stories about witches, including notions about the sabbath which are totally absent from the trial records.[2] Did these notions also exist at the time of the witch trials in 16th and 17th century Denmark? Or were they added in the 18th or 19th century when popular magic was still flourishing and the main occupation of cunning men and women still was to control the local witches? It is difficult to know for certain, but I would insist on the importance of making this kind of comparison between contemporary folklore and historical records of the Early Modern period, including the regions where judicial records are poor on folkloristic aspects or where judicial records are totally lacking because there was no persecution of witches. Only in this way will it be possible to reconstruct the geography of the popular magical universes

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which like languages and dialects divided Europe at the time of the witch persecution.

Our knowledge of this map of popular mentalities is still very fragmentary, I would like, however, to draw attention to the parts of Europe where witchcraft is lacking. Thus in the southern regions of the Iberian peninsula misfortune is explained in terms of sorcery, for instance occasioned by someone pinching a waxpuppet with needles or other kinds of magical techniques, but never in terms of witchcraft. 'Evil people' in Andalucia did not fly to nightly gatherings with the Devil, did not turn into animals and haunt the houses of their neighbours to suck the blood of their children; nor were this kind of people thought to be born or equipped with some personal magical power to do harm. In southern Spain we do not find witchcraft in the anthropological sense of the word and consequently at the time of the Inquisition there were no witch trials but hundreds of trials for sorcery. Northern Spain on the contrary has a deep-rooted tradition for witchcraft and here the Inquisition kept trying endless series of witches along with ordinary sorcerers, wise women and other magical agents; however, with remarkable few death sentences.[3]

For Italy we may notice the same division: A northern region with both witchcraft and sorcery, and a southern one with only sorcery. But there is an important difference from Spain: In southern Italy and in Sicily we find special kinds of magical agents equipped with powers of transforming themselves into animals, of flying and of curing and divining. These people, however, have nothing to do with witches, they were highly estimated by the local population who considered them as benefactors to society. They are still to be found in remote parts of the Mezzogiorno, but I ignore to what extent they have been studied, so I will turn to the Inquisition records of the 16th and 17th century for a brief description of the belief system. In the Kingdom of Naples they were called ianare ("femina che vada Ianara"),[4] but what I can refer about them stems from the records of the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily where they were called donna de fuera (Spanish form of the Sicilian donni di fuora). The literal translation is 'women from outside', but a donna di fuora also happens to be the Sicilian word for fairy. So in order to better understand the meaning we could translate: "fairy". In other words these magical agents, almost exclusively women, were labelled "fairies" because they specialized in curing all illnesses caused by the fairies on human beings as well as on animals.

This fairy cult is also found in Greece and the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula and we continue to find it in the eastern and southern Mediterranean cultures where a kind of specialized magical agents cure a series of diseases by acting as intermediaries between the human world and the world of the jnun (sing. jinn).[5] We might continue our roundtrip to another European periphery where witch trials were almost totally absent: Ireland. This is also an area dominated by a strong belief in fairies and by healers acting as intermediaries. And from 16th century Wales we find a pastor complaining about "swarms of soothsayers and enchanters" who claim "that they walk on Tuesdays and Thursdays at night with the fairies of whom they brag themselves to have their knowledge. These sons of Belial, who should die the death (Levit. 20.6) have incited such an astonishing reverence of the fairies into the hearts of our silly people, that they dare not name them without honor".[6] Unfortunately the good priest did not give more details of the Welsh fairy cult. To gather an impression of what it could have been like we may direct ourselves to its contemporary counterpart in Sicily described in great detail by the Spanish Inquisition.

2. The White Sabbath

The following is a brief outline, a report on the Sicilian dona de fuera in the 16th and 17th centuries published elsewhere.[7] Inquisition court in Palermo conducted almost a hundred cases against men and women who served as mediators between the fairy world and the human world. In the reports of the hearings which generally were conducted without torture we find the accused explaining to the inquisitors that they are organized in local companies of 12, 30 or 33 people who - in spirit - go out on certain nights of the week to join with the fairies, who are beautiful women clad in white, but whose non-human nature is revealed by animal feet or a tail. The fairies are usually seven in number and one of them is the Fairy Queen. She is also known as "La Matrona", "La Maestra" or "The Greek Lady". Sometimes they ride to the meetings on billy goats, sometimes they just go suspended in the air. The main activity during these nightly gatherings is the visit to the houses of the local town or village. Together with the fairies the dona de fuera enter invisibly like a wind and after rejoicing by dancing and singing, by dressing up in fine clothes which they take out of peoples chests, and by eating and drinking, they go on to the next place after giving their blessing to the house. The dance

itself seems to have had a magical function, because when they went into a house with their sweet songs and music and their fine clothes they would say: "With God's blessing let the dance increase! (Dios la bendiga y crezca la danza!)" And when they left to go somewhere else, their parting salute was: "Stop the dance and let prosperity increase (Alto la danza y crezca el bien!)"

Less frequent than the rounds to the houses the defendants confess to a meeting held by the dona de fuera and their fairies. It is described in great detail by the very first dona de fuera who came before the inquisitors of Sicily. In the month of November 1587 they wrote to the Council of the Spanish Inquisition informing it of the confessions of an old woman, the wife of a poor fisherman at Palermo. Her name was Lauria de Pavia, and she had been arrested because she boasted of having permission from the Holy Office to cure sicle people. But this was not the reason why the tribunal wrote to its superiors in Madrid. The inquisitors among whom were the famous Ludovico a Paramo were perplexed with the confessions obtained during the hearings: "If it is true what this woman says", they tell in their letter, "a new sect of witches has come into being".[8]

The inquisitors' conclusion is understandable when we read the summary of the woman's confession: She is describing a kind of witches' sabbath quite unheard of; a sabbath without devils, without pain and without all the ugly and nasty things which are usually inferred - everything what Lauria de Pavia confesses is beauty and delight and there is no track of the Devil. She describes how she and her company with their "enseign" at their head rode on billy-goats through the air to:

> a country called Benevento that belongs to the Pope and lies in the kingdom of Naples. There was a great plain there on which there stood a large tribune with two chairs. On one of them sat a red young man and on the other a beautiful woman; they called her the Queen, and the man was the King. The first time she went there, - when she was eight years old, - the ensign and other women (sic) in her company said that she must kneel and worship this king and queen and do everything they told her, because they could help her and give her wealth, beauty and young men to make love with. And they told her that she must not worship God or Our Lady. The ensign made her swear on a book with big letters that she would worship the other two. So she took an oath to worship them, the King as God and the Queen as Our Lady, and promised them her body and soul... And after she had worshipped them like this, they set out tables and ate and drank, and after that the men lay with the women and with her and made love to them many times in a short time.

The fisherman's wife explained further to the inquisitors that:

> All this seemed to her to be taking place in a dream, for when she awoke she always found herself in bed, naked as when she had gone to rest. But sometimes they called her out before she had gone to bed so that her husband and children should not find out, and without going to sleep (as far as she can judge) she started out and arrived fully clothed.
>
> She went on to say that she did not know at that time that it was devilment, until her confessor opened her eyes to her errors and told her that it was the Devil and that she must not do it any more. But it spite of this she went on doing it until two months ago. And she went out joyfully because of the pleasure she took in it... and because they (i.e. the King and the Queen) gave her remedies for curing the sick so that she could earn a little, for she had always been poor.

I have gone through the Council's correspondence with the Inquisition of Sicily in the 16th century and not found any earlier mention of dona de fuera. So Paramo and his colleagues were probably in their good right to speak of a "new sect" of witches. But for an historian of witchcraft the dona de fuera appear to be just the opposite: They belong to an archaic belief system which may be traced back to the 14th century, that is before the era of witch persecution. Our main source is two famous trials of the Inquisition in Milan brought against two wise women of that city in the years between 1384 and 1390. It appears from the confessions of the two women that they set out every Thursday night with a certain "Signora (or Madonna) Oriente" and her società, a secret society for which both living and dead were eligible. Oriente explained to her followers that she ruled in her società as Christ ruled in the world, and in order not to offend her it was forbidden to utter the name of Jesus during the meeting. At the nocturnal meetings we find them practising a well-known shamanistic ritual: they slaughtered all kinds of animals and ate them, where upon the bones were carefully put into the skins, for at the end of the meal Madonna Oriente would go around touching the bundless of bones with her magic stick, after which the animals were restored to life. At least two animals had to be represented during these ritual meals, otherwise the world would come to an end. At the meetings Oriente instructed her followers in the use of medicinal herbs, in foretelling the future and in exposing evil spells. In the same manner as the Sicilian fairies and donas, Oriente and her band went on nightly rounds to the houses, eating and drinking with the rich and giving their blessing where they found the

home clean and tidy. One of the two wise women confessed to the Milanese inquisitors that she was thirty years old when she first went "to Diana's game (ad ludum Dianae)" and that her family had obliged her to take part in place of her aunt, who was a member of the "company" and who was unable to die before she had found a substitute.[9]

Although elaborated with sceptical laughter by Boccaccio it is clear that the same tradition lies behind his Ninth Tale of the Eight Day of Decameron, written about 1350. It tells of a secret society of 25 men meeting twice a month in whatever place a pair of them should decide, but apparently always in luxurious palaces. Here they are served delicious meals and entertained by beautiful women who sing, dance and make love with them. The transport to the meetings is effectuated on a black, horned animal and while travelling the rider is not allowed to think of God or the saints, otherwise he will be thrown to the ground. The activity of these happy night goers is correctly referred to by Boccaccio with its popular term: "Andiamo in corso (we go the course)", explain the two tricksters to the physician Maestro Simone to whom they are revealing all details of the society in spite of having taking an oath of secrecy.

Both the 14th century Italian sources and the Inquisition records from Sicily witness to a popular tradition with all the details described by the demonologists of the 16th century: It is merely that all elements have acquired opposite value: the beautiful fairies have turned into horrible demons; the splendid food into a rotten, stinking mess; the sweet musci has become hateful catervauling, the joyful dance exhausting capering and the pleasurable love - painful rape. How are we to explain this congruence which is almost total between the two belief systems? In northern Italy we may observe a process of diabolization by which the white sabbath is turned into a black sabbath. Attempts to have the same development were made in Sicily, but here the diabolization campaign of the Church was a failure: the population strongly opposed to the slander against their lovely fairies claiming that they were not afraid of the cross and therefore not evil, but spirits living in the hope that the Salvation might be extended to them as well.[10]

3. Witchcraft, Shamanism and Dream Cult

It is tempting to explain the black sabbath as a simple inversion of the white sabbath. Indeed there was a prototype for every element of the

black sabbath: A leader; subordinate, supernatural beings; instructions of followers, homage to the leader; a militarily structured organization of the members; special characteristics and supernatural powers of the members; weekly night meetings; flight or transportation through the air; meeting activities as dance, music, banquets, and sexual orgies; entering of houses; compulsory attendance and cruel punishment for non-attendance; secrecy and prohibition of naming God during the meetings. - All what the learned demonologists of the 15th and 16th centuries had to do was to take the details confessed by the enthusiastic members of these fairy and mystery cults and reinterpret them as devilish. Such an explanation would be preferable both to Norman Cohn's hypothesis of the sabbath being a demonological coctail of at least four different traditions[11] and the accumulation proposed by Carlo Ginzburg.[12] There are, however, problems with applying the diabolization theory to other areas of our witchcraft map, where almost no trace of a white sabbath can be found. One might escape this difficulty by arguing that the monopoly of the black sabbath in these areas is precisely a proof of the diabolization process having been completed earlier and which eradicated every track of the white sabbath. Or one may resort to the diffusion theory. But none of these explanations are satisfactory, because both lead to the quite untenable assumption that all folk legends about the witches' sabbath are derived from learned tradition.

The way out of this dilemma is probably the one suggested by Gábor Klaniczay in a 1984 article.[13] We should concentrate our study on magical counter action against witchcraft taken by the diviner, the cunning man, the wise woman, and the other kinds of European "witch doctors" (French *désenvouteur*, Spanish *saludador*, English *witchfinder*, German *Hexenbanner*, and Danish *Hekse-mester* (master of witches). These people appear almost always as the cardinal point in the local belief system and by focusing on them we might avoid the oblique angle of witch trials referred to in the beginning of my paper.

Maybe we should also start searching in court records and in historical and comtemporary folklore for popular demonologists, or better popular mythologists: Semi-professional authorities on oral traditions related to the supernatural, who functioned as local opinion leaders. In the same way as some of the most popular Sicilian *donas* were experts on fairy lore and great story tellers, the *benandanti* of northern Italy were using stories about the witches as an important part of their therapy.

Both were operating as mediators between the human world and a spiritual counterworld and both had to make travels into the other world in order to settle things in the present world: curing illness, repairing mischiefs, securing prosperity or avoiding the end of the whole world. Klaniczay contributes with an interesting catalogue of magical agents behaving in similar ways in Central Europe. However, in most parts of Europe the professional magicians do not travel into the spirit world, but control the witches actuating from the present world with a series of magical techniques.

There is, however, one point where I am slightly in disagreement with Klaniczay. He hypothetically imagines "a transition from basically shamanistic beliefs to a belief-system, dominated by the paradigm of witchcraft" and then starts looking for "a place in the witchcraft paradigm where .. shaman-like personalities could fit in".[14] I do not know of any ethnographic example where such a paradigm shift has taken place, neither is there, in my view, any need for such an assumption. We know of Asian belief systems where witchcraft is an integrated part of shamanism and where the shaman happens to be a sort of popular demonologist. Such a system has been described by the German ethnographer Michael Oppitz in a series of studies of the Magar shamans in the Kingdom of Nepal. In widely circulated Nepalese prints based on oral tradition and on codified mythology of the shamans one may read detailed descriptions of what witches look like and what they do in this world, albeit when on sabbath. On reading of the rites and beliefs of the Magar shamans, for instance the dance of the nine mythological witch sisters, one constantly has the feeling of being at the roots of European witchcraft

> Dieser Tanz ist ein eigenständiger ritueller Akt im nächtlichen Drama der Heilungsséancen und findet spät in der Nacht statt, vor der Schlachtung des Opfertiers. Dabei tanzen neun Akteure, acht Laien und ein Assistenz-Shamane, zum Trummenspiel des Meisters neun Tanzrunden um den kränkelnden Lebensbaum des Patienten. Jeder der Tänzer hält ein Utensil des Hausrats, der Landwirtschaft oder der Jagd in Händen, und am Ende jeden Tanzrunde deponiert jeweils einer von ihnen seinen Gegenstand am Fusse des Zentralpfostens. Und damit scheidet er aus der Gruppe der Tanzenden aus, dergestalt, dass in der letzten Tanzrunde nur noch einer der Tänzer übriggeblieben ist. Die gewöhnlich verwendeten und am Hauspfosten niedergelegten Gegenstände sind: ein grosses Holzgefäss, ein Webstock, eine Axt, ein Röstbesen, eine Sichel, ein Spaten, die Spitze einer Pflugschar, ein Spreuteller, Pfeil und Bogen.
> ... Gemeinsam repräsentieren diese Gegenstände das Universum der menschlichen Kultur, aus dem die Hexenschwestern ausgeschlossen sind.

> Mit der Ablage der Gegenstände werden die Hexen von den Akteuren der Séance eingeladen, sich ihrer zu bemächtigen und so im Gemeinschaft der menschlichen Kultur zurückzukehren, mit anderen Worten, sich zu redomestizieren und von ihrem Hexentum, samt seinen malefikatorischen Handlungen, die ausserhalb der menschlichen Kultur stehen, abzulassen.[15]

Magar witches are red-eyed, blood thirsty and constantly associated with domestic and agrarian utensils like the broom, the spindle, the sickle and the plough-share. When a shaman is ritually born a witch comes into being as his personal, negative double. "Shamans and witches are antipodes", concludes Oppitz[16] (whose report makes me wonder whether we should not give up the comparison with African witchcraft and pay more attention to what has been published on the phenomenon in Asia).

In opposition to Klaniczay's idea of a transition from shamanism to another belief system dominated by witchcraft we should maybe consider the possibility of European witchcraft having developed out of a shamanistic system of which it was an important and integrated part. Indeed we might imagine a kind of reduction process obliging the European shamans to cut off all those sides of their activity which were too compromising in a Christian society, thus leaving us with an atomised version of what originally constituted a European folk religion based on shamanism. In this way we might even be able to reconstruct a <u>popular</u> version of the black sabbath and demonstrate that this was the fundament on which the French and Germans constructed their demonologies.

What then could be the origin of the white sabbath? Maybe some kind of white shamanism characterized by the shaman dealing with a spirit world where the forces are not negative but ambivalent and where the role of the intermediaries is not to combat each other or fight with the spirits, but to mediate and restore harmony between the two worlds.

We should, however, consider whether the very concept of shamanism at all is appropriate for describing the different dream cults and variations of lethargism which have been brought to light during the last twenty years of European "witchcraft" studies. In fact, most of the so-called shamanistic beliefs systems which have been discovered since the pioneering work of Carlo Ginzburg conform to a European pattern which differ from the classical definitions of shamanism: (1) while the shaman is a master of his trance, the European agents have no control whatsoever over how and when they are falling into catalepsy; (2) while the trance of the shaman tends to be a collective spectacle, their European colleagues are

usually alone when their soul leaves the body or at most they are being watched by their spouse or another member of the family; on the other hand (3) while the shamans almost always are travelling alone, the European agents are likely to meet with many other of their kind when going on their soul journeys; (4) while the shamans have a public position as folk-healers this is far from the rule with their European counterparts many of whom keep their soul journeys as a secret and strictly private activity;[17] (5) finally the very psychological basis for the soul journeys of the European agents does not seem to be the trance but a deep lethargic sleep with a strong, visual dream experience. Some of the European dream cults suggest conclusions which bring us to the borderland of parapsychology, that is unexplored psychological phenomena. Could we imagine a kind of collective dream or communication while dreaming? In my Sicilian materials I have come across examples of "rêve à deux", that is cases where two (or even three or four) individuals report on the same events during their nightly soul journeys. That these people were capable of having collective dream experiences would be a logical but controversial conclusion. However, I must admit that I find it boring to explain away all these remarkable coincidences in a rationalistic way. There are similar problems with understanding how these people manage to make there soul journeys with regularity, for instance every Tuesday and Thursday night. Is there a way of controlling ones dreams? I do not have the answers to these questions; I only want to point out that we are bound to find another psychological vehicle as soon as we give up the trance theory, which in most of the European cases seems to be an impossible explanation.

Rather than identifying the archaic forms of European "witchcraft" as shamanism, it would probably be worth while trying to find a new term and to elaborate a new concept based exclusively on the European material. Indeed the whole field of study could need a redefinition of its concepts and terminology which until now are based almost entirely on African anthropology. The ideal thing would be a classification of magical agents and charismatic individuals in the European folk religion based not only on historical sources but also on contemporary fieldwork. Anthropological and folkloristic case studies are indeed a precondition for a closer understanding of the different kinds of cunning or charismatic men and women which we are acquainted with in the trial records. Without such models, based on interviews with living persons, we are likely to end as a new sort of inquisitors classifying our historical "cases" according to learn-

ed theories but blind to psychological and social realities which cannot immediately be reconstructed from our sources. For my own part I feel an urgent need for investigations into the social role and psychological character of some of those "flying women" who are still travelling in the Mediterranean night.

Notes

[1]See e.g. Ankarloo/Henningsen (1990: "Introduction" et passim), based on a Symposium on European witchcraft held in Stockholm 1984; for a more recent survey see Behringer (1990).

[2]For a representative collection of 19th century Danish witch lore, see Kristensen (1892-1901; 1928-1939), especially vol. 6 in both series, Christiansen (1958) "The Black Book of Magic. The Experts", pp. 18-38; "Witches and Witchcraft", pp. 39-56.

[3]These conclusions are based on an analysis of 2172 cases of supersticiosos brought before the Spanish Inquisition courts in Barcelona, Logroño Valencia, Zaragoza, Cordoba, Galicia, Granada, Llerena, Murcia, Sevilla, Toledo and Valladolid, see Contreras & Henningsen (1986), especially table 1, p. 114. It should be noted that the subdivisions of supersticiosos into witches and other types of magical agents has been untertaken only at the back side of our card index. This part of the information was not included in the statistics and remain unpublished in my witch trial collection at the Danish Folklore Archives.

[4]For information about the Neapolitan ianare I am indebted to Giovanni Romero whom I visited in his home at the island of Procida where he kindly looked through his excerpts from the records of the Inquisition of Naple.

[5]See Henningsen (1990), esp. the "Appendix" with examples from Greece, Tunisia and Morocco.

[6]Penry (1960: 33), cf. Thomas (1971: 608f.). In the 1540's one of these soothsayers a certain Harry Lloyd confessed to a Welsh court that he had "conference" with the fairies (in Welsh Tyllwith Tegg) on every Tuesday and Thursday night throughout the year, and that they gave him plenty of gold, cf. Williams (1956) and Jones (1964-1965: 98) reference by courtesy of Stuart Clark.

[7]Henningsen (1990), a shorter version was published in Hungarian (1985). Where no reference is given I am merely summarizing the aforesaid report.

[8]Archivo histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Inquisición, Libro 879, fo. 117r-v.

[9]Verga (1899: 165-188).

[10]Cf. Henningsen (1990: 205f.).

[11]Cohn (1975) supposes the learned mythology on witches to have originated from four different traditions: (1) ancient slanderous assertions about religious minorities, (2) popular sorcery rituals used when casting spells, (3) learned ritual magic and conjuration of demons, and (4) popular notions of night-flying witches and the traditions concerning women who went out by night to join Diana's train.

[12]Ginzburg (1989), esp. part I and p. 276 ff. Much more convincing is the analysis of the popular traditions exposed in part II of the book.

[13]Klaniczay (1984).

[14]Klaniczay (1984: 415f.).

[15]Oppitz (1981: 50f.).

[16] Idem. p. 42 f.

[17] Cf. Ravis-Giordani (1979: 370); Ginzburg (1989: 150).

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THE POPULAR FOUNDATIONS OF THE WITCHES' SABBATH AND THE DEVIL'S PACT IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

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The problem complex of the witches' Sabbath and the Devil's pact - the latter bound up with the former - is a question of the European research on witchcraft and witch persecution which, though frequently studied with various approaches, has never been definitively explained. The real point at issue is the origin of the witch-concept of demonology: the witch who - as Norman Cohn defines[1] the witch stereotype of persecution - is a member of a secret sect under the command of Satan. All along, there have been doubts as to whether the doctrines on the Sabbath and the Devil's pact, cropping up in the theological literature of the 14th-15th centuries,[2] were entirely the inventions of demonologists. In addition to the elements inherited from the ideology of the eradication of heretical movements, an important factor was - as has been shown by Cohn, in a detailed charting of the relevant development[3] - the views and practice of the "ritual magic" of the Middle Ages and early modern times, - its views and practice, that is, relating to the conjuration of spirits and devils, to the procurement of devil-servants and incubus-devils. But there was yet another highly important source: it was also Cohn who, of those surveying the early phase of the persecution of witches, drew attention most emphatically to the popular elements in the charges of witchcraft. There are well-known references in medieval ecclesiastic sources to people - riding on the backs of animals or actually turning into animals - flying in groups to night-time meetings; to the women joining the train of Diana (Holda, Herodias); to the beliefs clustered around the beings that European research has termed "night witches".[4] Of these it was known or suspected that underlying them were partly Graeco-Roman and partly Germanic and Celtic - possibly Thracian and Illyrian - "pre-witchcraft" folk traditions, which subsequently merged into witchcraft. Such pre-witchcraft traditions, which subsequently also came to enrich the official concepts of the witches' Sabbath, have been revealed - in regard to

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the "soul trips", "other-world battles", and metamorphoses into animals of Italian and Southern Slav, as well as of Baltic shamanistic magicians - by Carlo Ginzburg, Mircea Eliade, and Gábor Klaniczay.[5] As regards the Sicilian and Southern Slav fairy cult, I must mention the researches of Gustav Henningsen and a study by myself.[6]

The circle of the popular elements may be further broadened. Both Cohn and Kieckhefer refer to the fact that even the more strictly defined demonological motifs - such as the figure of the devil himself, the conjuration of him, and the relationship with him - contain elements of that type.[7] This demonology anchored in the peasant world of beliefs - as far as my knowledge of it in regard to Central and Western Europe enables me to judge - was a constant feature of the European witch persecution and of the peasant testimonies uninfluenced by torture or by leading questions.[8] Yet, we know little about the kind of relationship that exists between "official" and "popular" diabolism, and how the elements of these may be separated from one another; nor, to the best of my knowledge, has their concrete origin been studied in a wider perspective: which people's concepts of the devil became the "official" devil, entering into a pact with the witch; what was the origin of these concepts; and how they acquired their official status?

To be able to explain these processes in a Hungarian - or, indeed, in a Southeastern European - context, we have to know, first of all, what the witch persecution going on in a particular place demanded. Was it necessary in Hungary, too - as in Western Europe - to bring in the charges of the Devil's pact and the witches' Sabbath, or was the bewitching - the maleficium - sufficient grounds; were they content with general references to "devilish" magic? The latter seems to be the case for the Hungarian trials and for those Orthodox areas of Southeastern and Eastern Europe where there was witch persecution.[9] In the 16th century, the view that all evil (including the black magic or bewitchment attributed to the witch) was the "work of the devil" gained currency in Hungary as well; but, as Klaniczay has summarized in a recent study of his,[10] there was a lack of any demonological literature, of an acquaintance with the learned demonology contained in the Central and Western European manuals on witch persecution. In the absence of any knowledge relating to that, there was little expectation of the devil entering into a pact and of the witches' Sabbath, held in worship of Satan. In 1562, for example, Péter Méliusz Juhász, in "The Debrecen Confession", writes about those who "have sur-

rendered themselves to the devil"; yet, nowhere do we find any detailed explanation as to how that might have happened. Thus the diabolism appearing in the trials cannot, in general, be derived from the demonological manuals, which, after all, were unknown to the witch hunters themselves. On the contrary: our trials are relatively untouched storehouses of popular notions on the devil and the witches' Sabbath.

With the present paper, I wish to contribute to explaining the popular foundations of the demonological doctrines under scrutiny. Moreover, I wish to do so mainly by using examples from Southeastern Europe which come from the areas of non-demonologized persecution. Indeed, the main centres of the latter are located in areas - Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian areas belonging to the Orthodox Church - where demonology in service of persecution could not exert an influence if only because there was no persecution of witches. The official and apocryphal demonology of the Orthodox Church is extremely rich, but it was not in the service of a mechanism of judicature purposefully aiming to track down persons who had formed a pact with the devil. Russel Zguta, surveying the Russian trials published by Novembergsky, found only one data on a Devil's pact, observing that "The absence of Satanism in these trials is the more puzzling since the demonic theme was already quite popular and well-developed in Muscovite literature by the late sixteenth century."[11] All that said, there was some kind of popular demonology as well in the area under examination, but this is intrinsically not a regular ingredient of the popular system of witchcraft.

The "beginning" of witchcraft - witch predecessors

Historians studying the files on witch hunts noted, one after the other, the figure of the village witch to be detected "behind" the trials, they noted the folk institution system of witchcraft, the system which, in the words of Keith Thomas, is "the attribution of misfortune to occult human agency".[12] It is obvious that this institution and the figure of the "village witch" existed both before and independently of the mass-scale persecution of witches. However, in certain peripheral areas of Europe - including a portion of Orthodox Southeastern Europe, which is the present focus of our scrutiny - this folk institution designed to explain misfortunes and to resolve conflicts[13] (an institution characteristic of large parts of early modern Europe) does not exist, to this day, in a

fully developed form. Here the figure of the "village witch" possessed only marginal significance or none at all; the ills that befell human beings proceeded not from the enemy within the community but from the realm of the natural and the supernatural world, falling outside the world of man - from the sickness demons, child-bed demons, ghosts, and other demonic beings of various folk mythologies. These - with differences of emphasis, depending on the particular area and the people one is dealing with - perform an important role in the behaviour-regulating system of norms of the communities. Alongside the other important predecessor, the magician, they may, in many respects, be regarded as the "ancestors" of the European witch. Wherever "village witchcraft" struck root, these demons - losing their original function - merged into the beliefs surrounding the "human" witch. This is especially true of the Hungarian, as well as the Slovenian and the Croatian areas, where witch persecution was active in influencing the popular belief-system. This offers an instructive comparison with the more pristine, more archaic systems of the "trial-free" region.

As the institution of village witchcraft got firmly implanted, the figures of the village specialists of positive magic, of magicians and healers entered, in a most natural fashion, the "accuser - accused - witch-identifier/healer" network of relationships of witchcraft. In this Southeastern European region, this new system coexisted, even in the modern age, with the remnants of a more archaic stage, which it had only partly integrated into itself. This is represented by community magicians whose task it was to prevent and to ward off calamities arriving from the supernatural sphere, to offer sacrifices and to practise other rites intended to establish contact; - they were mediators between man and the world of demons/the dead/the gods. It is a common feature of these mediators - who, among different peoples, have different historical roots - that they are active within the compass of mythological systems which are characterized by intimate, direct contacts and a constant interaction between the human world and the other world (or nature, as a quasi-otherworld), between the living and the dead. The traces - palpable, in places, right up to modern times - of the ritual constraints governing relationships are localized precisely in those types of magicians who are important determinants of the genesis of several different Central and Southeastern European witch types.

Where (and if) the figure of the witch is known in the area under survey, it is by no means uniform and homogeneous. In broad terms, it may

be said that, ranging from the varied figures of the afore-mentioned demonic beings and the "magician-ancestors" to the multiplicity of "village witch" figures that had emerged, there are countless degrees and transitions, many kinds of local variations and contaminations. I cannot, in this place, enumerate all those variants. I shall discuss only those major types which - according to my investigations - had an important role in the formation of folk diabolism, i.e. the concepts of the witches' Sabbath and of the devil.

As regards the demonic witch-ancestors, the list of demons relevant to the question is a fairly eclectic one: sometimes possessed of different historical roots and sometimes related to one another, the mythical beings of various peoples share one - from our perspective, important - characteristic (which, indeed, in the modern age, tends to standardize them as well): namely, that, in one way or another, they do harm to man or his household and crops, they are hostile towards the human world. That invested them with just the sort of attributes which, given the right circumstances, could become the presumed property of the "human pest", the village witch. In my above-mentioned paper, I described in detail the Balkan fairy, as one of the prime demonic antecedents for the East-Central European witch, the traces of the mythology and cult of fairies - traces which, particularly in the Orthodox Eastern Balkans, still survive in a "pure" form -, and the humanization/"witchicization" processes of fairy mythology. Hence, in this respect, I shall make a few supplementary remarks only in connection with the Sabbath. In the same paper, I also wrote about the "black", underworld demons of Southeastern Europe, as mythical beings which had merged into the figures of the fairies and thus indirectly influenced, too, the belief-system pertaining to witchcraft. Here I would emphasize the direct role of demons: given their nocturnal, deathly character, they might, without any alteration, have been the immediate shaping antecedents for the "night witch".

In this place, we should, first of all, talk about the mora demon (also known under the names of morina, mura, zmora, etc.), which is one of the most important demonic predecessors of the Southeastern European witch (indeed, I am convinced that the situation is much the same in Central Europe, too). In the light of recent researches it seems that the mora demon (like the Germanic Mahr, mare also) is a descendant of the common Proto-Indo-European figures of malignant "revenants", which claim their shapes and being from the dead. Originally, it is a nocturnal in-

cubus demon, harmful to both man and beast.[15] In this area, however, it has a presumably secondary characteristic. Here it is only rarely a returning dead person or a demon of death from the lower regions (which is the case in certain locations in Bulgaria or on the island of Hvar; or which is true of the Romanian moroi, which is, in effect, identical with the "unbaptized" demons, to be mentioned below). In Serbian and Croatian beliefs, the mora is, in most cases, the soul of a living person which - in a trance or in a dream - departs from him/her, assuming animal form. We shall, therefore, come back to the mora, as a human predecessor of the witch, when we are discussing magicians. Here we will first talk about the real demons, which - as beings attacking in groups - had an important role in the genesis of certain concepts of the witches' Sabbath.

In the area under review, this category includes the hosts, passing in storms, of the dead - known under the names of the "unbaptized" or "shadows" - who visit people at the turn of the year (near relatives of the Central European Wilde Jagd, Wütendes Heer, the soul-troops led by the Perchtas) or, in general, the "cloud-driving", storm-bringing souls sojourning in the clouds, in the storm, as in some kind of archaic other world.[16] "Black" demons of this kind include the demons called karakondzuli, karakondzhi, etc., which - appearing in likeness of animals, centaurs, or deformed, black men or black children - emerge, also at the time of the winter solstice, from the lower world to visit mankind;[17] or the horse and centaur demons called todorci (Serbian) and sântoaderi (Romanian), which make their visits during the "week of the dead" between the Orthodox Easter and Whitsuntide: "St. Theodore's horses".[18] Common to all of them is the essential feature - essential, that is, from our focus - that they are all dead people - generally appearing in animal form - who, in specified periods associated with the dead (night, winter solstice, new moon, Easter), attack the living, and - as the archaic "revenants" in general - "carry them away". Joining the processions of the souls and demons, the living who have been carried off themselves die - either a final, irrevocable death or a temporary one - and, in accordance with the close and direct relationships between the living and the dead which we have discussed above, they become demons similar to those.

Passing over, for the moment, those demons which, as lonely attackers, do not have any major role in the concepts of the witches' Sabbath (striga, lamia, other child-bed demons, sickness demons), we may state that all these mythical beings - specializing in various forms of

mischief - became, in degrees varying from area to area, witches; that is to say, there occurred a process of humanization whereby the supernatural functions, the attacks or sanctions against man of the various illness demons became the bewitching of the human witch within the community; we witness the emergence of the human shape of demons and of a frequently dual terminology, signifying, by turns, man and demon. The designation "witch", in these areas, often stands for a demonic being; in a great many instances, the witch is "still" a demon, who, in certain cases, might be identified as a human being.

The fully-developed witch versions of all these demons are known already from the time of witch persecution, from both the Southern Slav and the Hungarian witch trials. The demons appearing at the time of the winter solstice or the cloud-driving souls are - according to Hungarian, Croatian, and Slovenian data - equivalents of the witch. The terms used in the Hungarian trials, such as "evil ones", "wicked souls", "damned souls", and "unclean ones", as well as the similar appellations of modern popular belief (especially those to be found in Southern Transdanubia and Transylvania, Moldavia and Bucovina), either denote demons or beings that are a cross between a demon and a human witch.[19] In other cases, they expressly refer to the village witch; as, indeed, the data of the witch trials, too, must, naturally, always ascribe the characteristics of the demonic predecessors to the human witch, the person of the accused. Here is an example of the latter phenomenon, from a trial held in Békéscsaba in 1756: on Christmas night, a noise is heard from the loft; then an old woman, identified as a witch, comes barefoot, dressed in a shabby frock.[20] At the same time, the witches "prowling about" at the time of the winter solstice tend - even according to our twentieth-century data - to be demons, rather than human beings: "... someone was moaning on the hill... It was the evening of St. Lucy's day, and we were frightened in case it was some witches prowling the countryside".[21] As regards the transformation into witches of the cloud-driving "storm-souls", of the "unbaptized", they are, in all probability, the principal source of those properties of the Balkan (and the Hungarian) witch that have to do with the raising of storms, the bringing of hail, and with storms in general: "Witches get to know their companions when they are moving in the wind".[22]

That the transformation of demons into witches happened relatively late is attested by the fact that the witch of the Hungarian areas and of the areas situated to the southeast of the Hungarians does not possess any

original, characteristic "witch-mythology" whatever, all its supernatural traits deriving from systems predating the belief-system of witchcraft. In this respect, I must contradict Gábor Klaniczay, who, in connection with the beliefs of Hungarian witch trials, says that, compared to the rich mythology of witches, "archaic patterns" had a relatively minor role to play.[23] In my opinion, an "archaic pattern" is virtually all they had; there being no original mythology of witches, it was this archaic pattern that had to be adapted once the popular institution of witchcraft had become part of the fabric of social practice.

It is a question whether that change was induced by the persecution of witches. Indeed, going further, one could even raise the question whether, in Hungary (Croatia, Slovenia), it was witch persecution that gave rise to the figure of the human witch, the institution of village witchcraft. We can be sure that it was not the sole factor responsible. The Serbian and Romanian beliefs on witches provide proofs that this "humanization" also occurred within the folk belief-system, in a spontaneous fashion, as it were. On the other hand, the process was incomplete: as I have said before, the Romanian or Bulgarian human witch does not, to this day, perform the kind of role that one may observe in the "trial area"; up to modern times, the demons had survived as an independent species, to, alongside the semi-humanized figure of the witch.

The "demon - human" relationships, the process of the evoluation of demons into humans/witches, were presumably influenced to a large degree by the fact that all these demons were intimately connected with certain types of magicians - precisely with those (and not by accident, either) which we also include among the predecessors of the witch. The magician and demon predecessors of the witch are part of the same archaic belief-systems. Within the ritual framework of the relationships between the living and the dead, the above demons appear as the guardian or calling spirits of the magicians who maintain contact with the other world - or as the spirits who accompany them to the other world; on the other hand, they more or less coincide with the deathly variants of the magicians, the forms they assume after death. It is natural, therefore, that the integration into witchcraft of the "demon - magician" pairs belonging together often became interwoven even with each other, generating - amongst other things - beliefs in transitional or two-faced part-demonic, part-human witches.

Here we can only briefly refer to the magicians discussed elsewhere in detail by several authors and to those of their attributes which

are important in our present context. The "wind magicians" - associated with the souls passing in storms, the "unbaptized" - are carried away to their other world by these demons. Assisted by the "good" storm-demon-souls, they fight soul-battles in groups against the "bad" storm-souls, the unbaptized. The examples include one of the types of the Serbian and Croatian stuha/zduhač and the Eastern European pŀanetnyk; from the historical material, we also know of some Central European parallels from the region of the Alps. These cognate figures are, in all probability, repositories - active, in certain points of southeastern Europe, until the modern age - of a Proto-Indo-European shamanistic practice.[24] By keeping away the demons bringing bad weather, these magicians ensured good weather and good crops for their own tribes. From the data, the process of their partial transformation into witches is clear: in addition to their characteristics as storm-demons, the figures of the "storm-witches" - known in both Central and southeastern Europe -, who fight in whirlwinds, bring hail onto the village, and carry people off into the storm, - well, in addition to their storm-demon's attributes, these storm-witches also bear the traits of the magicians just mentioned. According to a data from the island of Hvar, for instance, witches "fly about in the air in order to drive the malignant clouds which carry hail in them over the vineyard of the person that they want to take revenge on".[25] (In the figures of the witches possessing the attributes of the storm-demon it is often impossible to distinguish the features referring to the souls passing in storms, the "evil ones", and those referring to the magicians, who originally maintained a ritual relationship with the former, and who were "carried away" into their company - as features referring to demonic and human antecedents, respectively.)

An important predecessor of the witch among all the peoples of Southeastern Europe is the werewolf; in the area under survey, it is in Romanian folk belief that it has the most prominent role in this respect. Here I must point out that the werewolf-beliefs of these Southeastern European peoples are by no means uniform; alongside the rich and varied Slavic traditions, there are many traces, too, of Graeco-Roman, Turkish, and - in the beliefs of the Hungarians, for instance - of Germanic werewolf traditions. In the present age, all these produced amalgams varying from people to people. Here we cannot go into this immensely ramified problem complex; we can only record a few facts from the rich implications of the "werewolf - witch" relationships.

In Romanian and Serbian folk belief - and less clearly among all the peoples of the Balkans -, the werewolf fits into the dual system of the living and the dead as a peculiar dual being: those who were man-wolves while they lived become wolf-demons - demonic werewolves - after their deaths. The principal animal forms of both the living and the "dead" werewolf are the wolf and the dog, besides which it also has horse, pig and/or wild boar, bear, snake, bird and fish, cat and other forms. The terminology vukodlak, kudlak, etc. preserves the original wolf shape.[26] The "living" werewolf, therefore, is a transitional being possessing the ability to change into a wolf (or some other animal) - i.e. capable of changing into a demon; while the "dead" werewolf is exclusively a demon. In specified periods, the "living" werewolf - joining the wild packs that carry him away - changes into an animal. According to archaic data, on these occasions it is the soul leaving the body that assumes an animal form: it is the animal-soul of man, flying out in a trance or during sleep, that attacks people and their household, chiefly their flocks of sheep and goats, and their herds of cattle. The concept of the soul temporarily leaving the body is related to that of the werewolf being born in a caul, with two hearts, and two rows of teeth. This betokens the presence of two souls: the "superfluous" body part is the seat of the soul which is capable of leaving the body, and which, surviving after death, keeps returning as a demon. Upon his death, the soul of the man-wolf finally enters the other world of the wild packs and from then on, as a werewolf demon, it attacks its own former community and/or the hostile "alien" communities: the neighbouring village and its flocks. Given all these attributes, the Southern Slav and Romanian werewolf was assigned a peculiar role in the process of witchicization - humanization: as a part-human, part-animal transitional being, it was, without any alteration, suitable for embodying the village witch, who, assuming the form of an animal, worked mischief. In several areas of Romania or of the eastern sections of the Hungarians, there is, for all practical purposes, no difference between the belief-figure of the "wolf-witch" and that of the werewolf, which bears animal traits - a tail, sometimes hair, bristle, horns, and "wolf teeth" - even on its human form; yet, the werewolf-witch has a prominent role in Serbian beliefs as well.[27] This type of the witch is chiefly male, as, indeed, the werewolf predecessor, too, tends to be - though not exclusively - a male being. This "wolf witch" - by turning a somersault, slipping through a belt, or by some other traditional procedure of chang-

ing into a wolf; or as has been said, at night, in his/her "sleep" - changes into a wolf, dog, snake, cat, etc. and harries the flocks, tearing into the animals. As a Hungarian data from Szolnok-Doboka county says, "some children are born with a tail, with nine strands of hair on them. Those are real witches".[28] According to certain Romanian data, the priculici (the Romanian term for 'werewolf') is expressly a strigoi (the Romanian term for 'witch') incarnated as an "animal".[29] The witches' metamorphosis into animals, too, takes place at characteristic times associated with werewolves: at new moon, at Easter, on St. George's day, on St. Andrew's day, and around Christmas. Also having their origins in the werewolf are the "animal-soul" witches, who, at the stated periods, fall into a trance and leave their bodies - for instance, the Romanian "living strigoi", whose soul leaves his/her body on Eastern night or on the night of St. George's day or St. Nicholas's day and "goes about its business" in animal form. This type of witch is "not yet" a true village witch: it does not hurt people, only beasts - to that extent, it still preserves its werewolf origins. The sole mark of the emergence of witch like characteristics is that (the Romanian strigoi, for instance, often does this) they do not kill or tear at the animals but take their milk away. In this region, the werewolf attacking the flock is - though perhaps not the only, at any rate, a very important predecessor of the "milk-harming witch". Their origin is proved by their appellation, which is often identical with that of the werewolf (e.g. "priculici"). A Transylvanian Hungarian example of the characteristic milk-stealing werewolf-witch: "There was a woman who had a tail; she was a witch. Every year, she took away the milk on St. George's day. She had so much milk, she had pails full of milk. And she had only one cow... she was so thin - she was, indeed, like a prikulici".[30]

The other activity of werewolf origin attaching to the witch is damaging, on these same days, the crops of the neighbouring community. In these beliefs connected with demonic werewolf and/or witch - for instance, the dead strigoi of the Romanians -, and particularly in the Southern Slav beliefs, the werewolf traits also blend with the crop-stealing attributes of the "dog-headed demons" and dragons. These "complex" crop-stealing demons plunder the corn and, during the "werewolf's times", they carry off the crops into hell or to "the ends of the earth". According to other variants, it is the werewolf-demons - performing the role of guardian spirits - of the neighbouring tribe that "steal" for themselves the crops. Throughout the entire region, the crop-stealing attributes, too, were in-

herited by the demonic witches of werewolf origin. This is a prime characteristic of especially the romanian strigoi; indeed, there exists a special sub-species, namely, that of the "corn strigoi".

The dual figure of the human and demonic werewolf was the main determinant of the living and dead, as well as "two-souled" figures of the Romanian, Serbian (and Ukrainian) witches. The other prominent ingredient was the belief that those who were, while they lived, norm-breakers, people without status, became, after their deaths, "evil", attacking demons - werewolf-demons, unbaptized demons, vampires: the demonic werewolf - no differently than the "dead strigoi" or the "dead" variant of the Serbian vještica ('witch') - claims its being from norm-breakers, those who died unbaptized, or those who were werewolves in their lives (the person who is a werewolf in his/her life - as a transitional being - is also a norm-breaker outside human status and community).[31] The dual witch-figures represent an intermediate stage in the humanization of the demon-witch: the infringement of the collective norms entails witchcraft accusations, but not "yet" as part of a tissue of human relationships designed to resolve conflicts within the community - in short, not yet within the compass of "village witchcraft". The breach of the norms already manifests itself within one's own community, but the sanction is still supernatural.

As far as the Hungarian werewolf and werewolf-witch are concerned, these are, on the one hand, surrounded by werewolf-beliefs that are common to a larger Central and Southeastern European Germanic-Slavic region. They are mostly shepherds (in the witchcraft trials, mainly cowherds), and as such, are men, who, in the form of a wolf or dog, attack the "hostila" (neighbouring) flock. The Hungarian witch, who, in the form of a wolf, dog, or snake, attacks animals and flock, is clearly of werewolf origin. From our witch trials, we also know the werewolf-witch, which is more intimately allied with the above Southern Slav and Romanian belief-figures; its distinctive characteristics join it to the Southeastern European figure of the "two-souled" werewolf. A relevant attribute may be the "sending of a wolf" on another's flock, given that the "sent wolf" ("sent dog") is presumably connected with the archaic ability to project the soul; it may be a "rationalized" version, as it were, of the werewolf who "spiritually" performs the change into an animal - of the wolf or dog form of the projected soul or the guardian/helping spirit, which is identical with the former.[32]

Nonetheless, a "milk-harming" version - one fully developed into a witch - of the many-faced Hungarian werewolf-witch is known already in

Hungarian witchcraft trials; he/she, "in the shape of a black dog, carries away in a jug the yield from other people's cows...".[33] Through the motif of personal revenge, the werewolf which out of revenge, causes harm to the flocks of other people is only a small step away from the "real" witch; that step is taken when it is not the flock of the neighbouring community but the animals of particular individuals that he/she harms, thereby opening the way to his/her entry into the web of relationships involving the conflicts within the community and the resolution of those conflicts. "On the evening of St. George's day and on the night of St. Lucy's day, while they were walking in other people's stables and courtyards, the milk of the owners' cows was lost and the cows mooed in an unusual manner."[34]

Also worthy of mention among the werewolf-concepts integrated into witchcraft are the archaic beliefs on the "master of the animals". These concepts, rooted in erstwhile hunting cultures, have survived in traces in the Balkans, in Italy, and in the region of the Alps. The masters of the game stock of what were originally particular forest districts appear as St. Andrew, St. Sava, and St. George, as the patron saints of wolves and as patrons protecting the flock from wolves.[34] It seems fairly natural that the region's sole surviving range of beliefs connected with wild forest animals became the sustainers and conservers of that (still more archaic?) composite of motifs. In Slav and Romanian areas, there also lives a layer of these conceptions that is "more original" than the beliefs regarding patron saints - namely, the wolf-shepherd (vučji pastir). This "master of the animals", who has preserved his animal form, is the leader of the werewolf pack - or, as the Romanians say, he is the "chief of the prikulicis", the "king of the wolves".[35] It is his traits that appear - in modern Southern Slav (Eastern Slav) and Hungarian folk belief - in the figure of the werewolf who understands the language of wolves, bears, and snakes and knows how to handle them, too. A case in point is the "evident witch" of a trial held in Dés in 1742, who - being a werewolf-witch - has a tail, too, and, "by virtue of her witchcraft, has power over the beasts and the birds...".[36]

An important type of the Southeastern European magicians integrated into the system of witchcraft is the "werewolf-magician". The figure of the "benignant" werewolf - defined by Jakobson and Szeftel, and subsequently by Ginzburg and by Klaniczay[37] - is a community magician, who, besides his other werewolf attributes, is born with a caul, and it is to this that he owes his shamanistic faculties: his soul - in a trance - de-

taches itself from his body and, in the other world, it battles with the hostile animal-demons (who are "evil", "alien" versions of the above werewolf-demon) for the welfare of his community: for good crops or for good weather. Alongside the Croatian-Slovenian kresnik - described by Maja Bošković-Stulli and subsequently by Gábor Klaniczay -,[38] as well as the zduhač (not its "wind-magician" type) and the Slovenian vedomec, it is also possible to include the Eastern Balkan - Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian - magician called zmj, zmej, zmija, zmajevit čovek, zmeu ('snake', 'dragon', 'snake-man', etc.), who is born with a caul or is born of a snake father, in the shape of a snake. In the form of a dragon, snake, eagle, and rooster and in other shapes, he battles in the storm clouds for good weather to be given to his community; or he has guardian spirits, calling spirits which perform that office. Alongside the archaic "own - alien" opposition of the battle waged with the guardian spirit of the neighbouring tribe, the images of the mythical battles also feature the mythological universal of celestial, "fiery" divinities, which is then continued with underworld, "watery" monsters, since the battle is often waged against flame-throwing, lightning- and thunder-bringing celestial eagles and dragons - which also inherited the attributes of the Old Slav Perun -, as well as against watery/underworld snakes and reptiles having their abode in puddles.[39]

Naturally, the existence and activity of these magicians cannot be narrowed down to their werewolf character; the werewolf nature of magicians may, in fact, be just an overlying stratum, a Slav characteristic superimposed, as it were, on the Old European shamanism of which these magicians were the last repositories, as it were (and of which the "wind-magicians" may preserve a more original stage). The question is complicated, but we may simplify it in our present context: in the question of the "pre-Sabbath" and the "popular Devil's pact", the werewolf nature of the magicians is the most important thing - not only in regard to the animal form assumed in the other world but also because the guardian and initiating spirits of the magicians are werewolf-demons acting as "good" patrons of his own community, while his adversaries are often the neighbouring, "alien", "evil" magician-spirits - evil, that is, from the standpoint of his own community. The times of the other-world battles coincide with the werewolf's times and with the periods at which crops and animals are "attacked": St. George's day, Easter, Whitsun, and the times around Christmas. In the varied beliefs and mythological images of the battles,

we also encounter the motif of the dead visiting people at the beginning of the agricultural seasons and of the year and the motif of the "obtaining of crops from the dead" during other-world battles waged with agricultural implements - motifs whose parallels may be traced to Caucasian and Iranian shamanism.[40]

As regards the magician attributes of the witches of the region under review, here too we see an intertwining of the strands leading to the magician and demonic predecessors, which may be interpreted as parts of the selfsame mythical and ritual system. In the magicians, the above "living and dead werewolf" duality declares itself in this, that those who were magicians in their lives become demons or, indeed, vampires after their deaths. To the extent that these magicians became witches, their ability to change into animals, their animal-shaped guardian spirits, and their demonic animal forms returning after their deaths - the one bound up with the other - combined to enrich the demonic attributes of the witch, living on, as they did, in the dual - living and dead - figure of the witch. This is most clearly to be seen in Romanian beliefs, in the ambivalent character of the strigoi, who, born with a caul, is at once endowed with powers of divination and magic and inclined to work mischief.[41]

The lattice of relationships of these magicians is the triangle of "own community - neighbouring community - supernatural sphere". The mythical battles over crops, enacted within confines that were ex-territorial to one's own community, were adapted virtually without alteration to the figure of the Romanian witch, who was, as yet, neither a "village witch" nor a "human witch".[42] When he/she is "already" a witch, he/she is a "good" witch of his/her own community; only for the adjacent tribe or village is he/she "bad": to them, he/she is the dangerous "alien magician". The dimensions have been narrowed down to a network of relationships within the community and between individuals, when these same beliefs on the harming of crops and the acquisition of crops appear as attributes of the village witch. In the Romanian and Bulgarian witchcraft beliefs, alongside the phase of the crops stolen for the village from the witches of the neighbouring village, this phase is also represented - namely, harming the ploughland, pasture, and cows of one's next-door neighbour in the village for the sake of enhancing one's own profit. With their cosmic timing - if with nothing else -, these "earthly" magic operations, as performed by the witches, still refer to the shamanistic soul-battles. At this point, the village witch may already become a person suspected of deliberately be-

witching members of his/her own community, but the "pre-witchcraft" traits are also clear: the inflicting of injury is not a deliberate exercise of maleficium but the negative side of the ambivalence - localized in an archaic "own - alien" opposition - of positive magic. The Bulgarian witch par excellence is the brodnica, who obtains wheat from other people's fields and milk from other people's cows, and who, on the day of St. John the Baptist, acquires the corn of the neighbouring village community. However, the bewitching of particular individuals, the causing of human illnesses through black magic is rarely, if ever, attributed to her/him. The Romanian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian witches generally remained at the stage of taking away the cow's milk and the corn; on the other hand, they are often experts on love magic.[43] Besides this, the real "village witch", denoted by the words vestica and magiosnica, - who practises good and presumed bad magic as well, and hence turned from a good magician into a fictitious black magician partly active within the community - well, this real "village witch", then, scarcely has any scope in Bulgarian folk belief. That "pre-witchcraft" stage is represented, too, by the Hungarian "dew-picking witch", who, by acquiring the dew, steals the crops or the milk of the neighbouring community or the neighbouring household. In her case, too, it is the dates of the magical securing of milk and corn that signal her belonging in the original "cosmic triangle": "And since witches are commonly reputed to be abroad and to practise witchcraft, on the night of St. George's day, with the aim of obtaining cow's milk."[45] Incidentally, the change had taken place: "milk-harming" had been transferred from the herd of the alien community to the neighbouring stables - and, concomitantly, it had been transferred from men to women, as can be illustrated by the example of a witchcraft trial held in Tállya (Zemplén county) in 1715: "That they can take for themselves the milk of other people's cows by collecting - on Good Friday, St. George's day, and St. Lucy's day - the manure of the cows belonging to other people and carrying it into their own yards or byres."[46]

Coming back to the Serbian-Bulgarian-Romanian areas, here, accordingly, the transformation of these magicians into witches was not completed. This may presumably have something to do with the absence of witch-persecution: Gábor Klaniczay has identified, in the Croatian-Slovenian-Hungarian region of witch-persecution, a far more rapid, more complete version of similar processes.[47]

Although, for the sake of better illustrating our point, we do talk

about "phases", these stages of development - which may also be registered parallel with each other - should not be construed as a line of development, as the gradual "transformation into a witch" of one and the same type of magician. Accordingly we do not posit a necessarily straight development between the shamanistic magicians and certain witch types; the reality must have been much more complicated than that. The entangled concatenations of manifold changes and contaminations may also contain, as one of their ingredients, the possibility of a female, "infernal", "black" magician - one possessing "nocturnal" knowledge -, as a predecessor of the witch. This possibility is raised in connection with the helping spirits:

The Bulgarian and Romanian "pre-witch" has a version of a "helping spirit possessing magician" par excellence. This spirit is incarnated in the shape of a bird (chicken) or in that of a snake or lizard. As Milena Benovska has put it, "the chicken is the soul-animal, the alter-ego of the Bulgarian witch".[48] It is by obtaining, by hatching this animal that the witch acquires her ability to fall into a trance: thereafter, her soul is capable of leaving her body and of assuming the form of an animal. According to Bulgarian data, for instance, the witch smears herself with the blood of a chicken obtained from the egg of a black hen; from this time on, her soul, flying out of her body, regularly goes about in the shape of a butterfly to cast evil spells. Though not quite as distinctly, the Serbian witch also possesses similar features; she - having obtained her "soul-animal" - is capable of assuming the form of a goose, dog, or wolf.[49] These ringed snake lizard, or chicken "soul-animals" - hatching from eggs or extracted from puddles or caves - are "watery" counterpoles, as it were, of the soul-animals of the zmej/zmaj/zmajevit človek magicians, who, in the other world, battle in the shape of fiery serpents, lizards, dragons, or roosters, or who possess "fiery", celestial helping spirits of this kind; or they are identical with, or akin to, the underworld, "watery" adversaries figuring in the other-world soul-battles of the magicians.[50] In this way, these witches are infernal counterpoles, as it were, of the above shamanistic magicians. It would require a special study to reveal how this polarization came about: Are we, in fact, dealing with an inherently different kind of initiation or shamanistic practice, associated with infernal, "watery" beings, - so that the above-mentioned infernal magician predecessor did exist - or are we simply dealing with a fiction: the narrative fiction of diabolical initiation, which emerged, under the impulse of (Orthodox) demonology, as the underworld, watery opposite of the

celestial, fiery, divine beings? Here I only wish to point out that our legendary data present the owners of these soul-animals not - or not only - as "devilish", malevolent variants of the zmej-type magicians but also as repositories of a peculiar positive activity: they are possessors of nocturnal, chthonian, "feminine" secrets (as, indeed, they are - in contrast with the exclusively male zmej - themselves mostly women). Possession of these helping spirits is ascribed to women who "see" lost property, who are seers of the dead and practise love magic, the discovery of theft, the "watching" of treasures, and, above all, healing. This suggests the idea that this type of magician's practice - the active "black magician", with infernal, "watery" initiating spirits, as a predecessor of the fiction of the "helping-spirit-possessing" witches - did really exist.[51] If that was so, the transformation of these into witches - by virtue of their underworld, nocturnal, feminine context - must have taken place in a much more direct way than in the case of any other type of magician. And as far as the helping spirits are concerned, the "diabolization" of these performs an important role in the "popular" concepts of the Devil's pact, as we shall see when we come back to this later. Also to acquire importance in the "diabolical" context is the fact that both the "fiery" and the "watery" types of the helping spirits have their incubus demon variants as well. The relevant examples include the Bulgarian and Serbian fiery zmej/zmaj dragon or the Romanian zburator, which, descending on earth at night, enter the house through the chimney and, assuming the form of a man, have sexual intercourse with earthly women. The small-size helping chicken or snake (according to Romanian, Slovenian, Croatian, and Hungarian beliefs) likewise turns, for the night, into a sleeping partner of the opposite sex.[52] We must, for the moment, the complicated question - which would lead us too far from our topic, anyway - as to where and when the erotic aspect of fiery dragons and incubus-chickens emerged. It would appear that, originally, these beings, as shamanistic helping spirits, were not incubus demons; in certain points of the Balkans, they accidentally coincided with the fiery dragon-lover.

Showing a considerable concordance, in a portion of the area under survey, with the figure of the putative "black magician" here mentioned is the fictitious belief-figure of the mora, which, as I mentioned before, is a demonic figure-variant of a human being, and to which a baneful power is ascribed. It appears at night in animal form - primarily in the shape of a butterfly or a hen, more rarely in the shape of other poultry (or any

other animal). At night, it creeps into people's homes and there performs the activities of a "pressing" being or incubus demon. Besides the above names, noční̆ca - i.e. "woman of the night" (cf. the "night-women", women "prowling at night" of the Hungarian trials) - is one of its frequent appellations. Her activity as a nightmare is, according to many data, performed by her soul, flying out of her body lying asleep or in a trance - her soul, which assumes the shape of a wasp, fly, or a butterfly. This "soul-figure", being tiny, is able to penetrate through the keyhole; then, reaching the place of action, it turns into a hen or a turkey.[53] So it is, in fact, - no differently than the aforementioned Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian helping-spirit-possessing witch - a malevolent, nocturnal, feminine variant of the magicians who, known in the same area, have the ability to fall into a trance. It is this duality that is underscored by the belief of the "white caul - black caul": while the above magicians are born with a white caul (to which they owe their shamanistic faculties), the human mora is born with a black caul. The hen shape of the soul-animals is coextensive with the infernal soul-animal/helping spirit of the former witch. But the mora shares some other attributes, too, with the "watery" helping spirits. Thus, for instance, both beings are succubus demons, i.e. female sexual sleeping partners. The helping-spirit possessing witch and the mora, therefore, are in some kind of interrelationship, which has yet to be fully explored; but the Southern Slav (and Hungarian) witch inherited a great many features of the mora, anyway. Thus, for instance, the "mora beings" are the winged witch-souls ("my mother took wing and left..." - they say in a trial in Regécvár in 1683), the witches who - in the shape of a hen and a butterfly, as well as of a fly - enter through the keyhole, oppress people (especially women in child-bed), and braid the manes of horses, with the principal stereotype involving an idea of the witch as a woman attacking in animal form at night.[54] The data of the Hungarian witchcraft trials, too, on the bee, wasp, and butterfly shape of the soul leaving the body lying in a trance state or in sleep - or, more widely, on the soul detaching itself from the body[55] - may well be correspondents of the mora or, for that matter, of the southern Slav and Romanian witch. The same may be said about the diverse variants of the helping spirits of the Hungarian witch - variants which have affinities with both the shamanistic magicians of the Balkans and the mora and/or the witch.

The kinship of the two types of helping spirits - the "fiery" and

the "watery" - and, concurrently, their relationship with the mora are attested, amongst other things, by their Hungarian affinities. Besides the fact that the Hungarian witch bears many of the attributes of the mora, all three beings, in Hungarian folk belief, have yet another common correspondent - namely, the lidérc or ludvérc/lüdvérc. It is a pressing demon (lidércnyomás - 'nightmare'), as well as a fiery, celestial, dragon-type being and/or a watery, underworld chicken hatched from an egg.[56] Also to be detected in our witchcraft trials are some more archaic, "shamanistic helping spirit/soul-animal" features of the lidérc - features that are, incidentally, missing from Hungarian folk belief. These are the type of features possessed by the witch's bird, to which he/she owes his/her knowledge.[57] Our most revealing data comes from a witchcraft trial held in Nagykároly in 1745. Here the accused - according to the witnesses' testimonies heard - kept the lidérc like some "huge unshapely hen" under the bed, slept with it at night, and fed it unsalted porridge - all of which conforms to the rules, known to this day, of the keeping of the lidérc hen. At the same time, it is this lidérc (as well as oven-peels, baker's shovels) that they ride as they fly out through the keyhole, heading for the meeting held on Gellért Hill.[58] This is nothing other than an epic counterpart - transposed, in accordance with the rules of the epic, into a saddle animal - of the (Bulgarian, Romanian) soul-animal, which represents the ability to fall into a trance.

Even according to our data from the present age, the Hungarian witch often has a helping spirit, helping animal; the butterflies, snakes, and chickens - and the lidérc chicken as well - fit into the above "magician and his helping spirit" context. The witch who has a helping spirit at his/her command "has everything"; he/she is capable of producing things by magic; a prudent manager, he/she increases his/her possessions by magic means - if need be, at the expense of his/her neighbour or of the neighbouring village, the neighbouring pasture.[59] Earlier on, this stage of the transformation of the magician into a witch was mentioned: the "one-time" helping spirit, used in harming one's neighbour - which, changing into a witch-animal, helps the witch in his/her acts of maleficence - may be assigned to the stage of the acquisition of goods from one's neighbour. Just as the werewolf's animal-soul was rationalized into a "sent wolf", the witch, too, may have his/her animal "sent to inflict harm": "at the time of threshing or seed-cleaning, the strigois steal the grains of corn, they have big, coffee-coloured frogs, which they send into people's barns,

where the wheat is stacked into piles. The frogs stuff their chaps with wheat and take it home to the strigoi...".[60] The transformation of the helping spirit into a pest is clearly related to the transmutation of the magician into a maleficent witch, but - as with the transformation of the aforementioned magician types into witches - this, too, did not take place everywhere and in an unequivocal fashion. In the system of Hungarian folk belief, too, these kinds of helping spirits tend to be associated with the figure of the "learned shepherd" (coachman, miller, hunter) - possessing many of the features of the shamanistic werewolf magicians -, rather than with the witch;[61] as, indeed, already in our trials we encounter these "learned shepherds", who acquire helping spirits for themselves - like, for instance, János Somogyi, that "learned man, versed in many arts", who found lost horses, healed the sick, and told the future from the stars.[62]

We must briefly mention yet another important aspect - important, that is, in the context of the popular Devil's pact - of the witches' helping spirits, which are presumably of shamanistic origin. What is involved is a method - or, more exactly, the beliefs associated with that method - of the "initiation into witchcraft", a method generally known in the modern age as the "recognition of witches". According to the most frequent form of fictitious rites known in Slovenian, Croatian, and Hungarian (as well as Austrian, Slovak, and Moravian) areas - rites related in belief-legends -,[63] witches can be recognized, during one of the festivals of the winter solstice or on the Friday of the new moon or on St. George's day, at the crossroads or on "St. Lucy's stool" (stool slowly made from the 13th to the 24th of December for superstitious purposes on Christmas night) in church, within a magic circle; or using these same methods, initiation can be obtained into witchcraft. Clearly, the methods are rites by which to symbolically establish contact with the "other world".[64] These rites feature many elements of the necromantic, devil-conjuring, devil-servant-acquiring methods of ritual magic, with traces to be detected, too, of the "popular" communication with the other world, of the above "initiation", which may be linked with the shamanistic magicians. The exclusive derivation from learned magic is also contradicted by Orthodox parallels. In the Serbian, Romanian (and Eastern Hungarian) area, the most frequent procedures of recognition/initiation are associated with the snake (cf. the above helping spirit/soul-animal). With the help of the snake, the initiand "sees" the witches through some aperture or from an elevated position.[65] Common to both types of rites is this: that what the

initiand "sees" or "recognizes" is the witches changing into animals at the witches' Sabbath enacted in the symbolic other world - or the predecessors of these, the werewolf-demons, the unbaptized demons, and so on (according to Austrian data, the initiand "sees" the procession of the Perchtas). In the horned, feathered, and tailed figures of the animal-souls and animal-demons we may recognize the calling, initiating, and guardian spirits of magicians. The beliefs on the "initiation into witchcraft" are clearly a secondary accretion - this may be product of the devil-conjuring methods of ritual magic. What is originally involved is the initiation of the magician predecessors of the witch: even according to modern beliefs, the initiand often does not become a witch but acquires, instead, a certain infernal, "deathly" knowledge - the kind of knowledge proper to the aforementioned Bulgarian, Serbian, and Romanian "guardian-spirit-possessing" witch. He/she sees treasures hidden in the ground and sees the future; he/she becomes a seer of the dead or an expert in finding lost objects; one who is "learned, versed in healing, and able to see into the future and into the past"; "after passing the test, he/she has control and magical power".[66] The time of the "recognition of witches", too, coincides with the periods of the appearance of the demons linked with the magicians. The data relating to the trance state, to the knowledge-acquiring "ecstasy" of the soul detaching itself from the body, are also shamanistic motifs. The maker of St. Lucy's stool, for instance, "is beaten up" by the spirits; "... losing consciousness, he/she remained lying... If he/she has survived seven nights... he/she becomes a witch".[67] Frequent in this context is the triad of "dismemberment - extraction of bone - revival", the well-known motif of initiation in classical, Eurasian shamanism: the maker of St. Lucy's stool "is sent to sleep" by the initiating spirits, who "take his members to pieces and thus they dance with him until cock-crow, when they suddenly put him back together again".[68]

All these methods, with the exception of a single Hungarian data on "recognition by means of a snake",[69] are essentially absent from the Hungarian - and, as far as I have been able to survey, from the Croatian and Slovenian - witchcraft trials. This fact, too, would suggest that it was not diabolism, coming with the trials from the West, that brought with it the procedures of these quasi-shamanistic methods - or, indeed, those of the relevant procedures which were embedded in ritual magic. The latter are presumably attributable to the manuscript and subsequently printed books of magic and formularies of ritual magic. The methods of "recognition"

in question also spread via wandering legends, and we know them, too, from popular legend sujets of latter-day origin.[70] These motifs of the witch beliefs - motifs leading to the shamanistic magicians, to the mora, to the helping spirits - represent one of the foundations of the popular concepts of the Devil's pact, hence we shall have to come back to them in our discussion of devils. Before that, however, let us see the Sabbath concepts that may be linked with the demonic and magician predecessors presented.

The Witches' Sabbath

Of the mythical beings and magicians integrated into the system of witchcraft, all those that were imagined as forming troops or those who pursued some group activity contributed, each with a peculiar "pre-Sabbath" concept, to the Southeastern European belief-systems of witchcraft.

In this respect, we must first say a few words about fairies. The fairy cult and mythology contributed to the emergence of a certain Sabbath type which may be summed up under the term "fairy feast": this - to describe it in one sentence - is an erotic wish-world banquet with music and dance in "fairy heaven".[71] This - owing to fairy ancestors associated with death - also has some archaic features and associations with the dead, traits that can be linked with the "souls in storms"; yet, fairy mythology is dominated by light, by the heavenly, by the elements of spring and summer - with death itself not the real, "dark" death that we know but rather an ecstatic loss of self in a blissful other world. However, far-removed all this may be from the stereotype of the witches' Sabbath, in an East Central European region - and primarily in Hungarian folk belief - it became one of the most important bases of the popular Sabbath concepts. The witches' Sabbath of fairy origin is the "white Sabbath", - a term proposed by Gustav Henningsen, who, from the files of 16th-century "fairy trials", has revealed a rich Sicilian fairy world very similar to that of the Balkans. He regards this as one of the possible European roots of the real, "black" Sabbath: one of the keys to the origin of the European witches' Sabbath is the turning of the fairies' banquet - under the impulse of witch persecution - into a grotesque antithesis of itself.[72] We have no reason to doubt that such processes did take place in those areas of Central and Western Europe where a "pre-witchcraft" fairy mythology similar to the Sicilian-Balkan one did actually exist. Having said that, one of the most interesting lessons to be drawn from the Hungarian material

is this, that all does not always turn into "black" - in the beliefs regarding fairy Sabbaths, many traces of "heavenly" attributes survive.

Besides the distortion of the fairy Sabbath, at least as significant in the genesis of the diabolical, "black" witches' Sabbath were the predecessors who were "black" right from the outset; the same demonic beings as those that are the bases, too, of popular concepts of the devil. An important type of the Southern Slav and Romanian, as well as of the Hungarian, concepts of the societies of witches is the half-"witchicized" variant of the troops of the dead, of demons appearing among people: the troops of the souls passing in storms, of the "unbaptized", the "shadows", the "karakondzuli" and the "horses of St. Theodore" all race along in a quasi-other world half humanized and partly localized in an earthly setting; the man who has been carried off by them finds himself in a company of witches, instead of in an assembly of the souls, of the dead. The troops of nocturnal, deathly demons entering people's houses or carrying people (originally, people's souls) off into their "world beyond" - well, the troops of these demons, as I said before, represented a basis of the "popular" beliefs on the societies of witches where - as opposed to the assemblies of fairies - nothing needed to be made witch like or nocturnal, there was no positive value that had to be turned into negative - it was enough to call these demons witches and posit a human incarnate form of them; this allows their appearance, too, as human inflictors of harm within the community, as village acquaintances. These troops of the dead often became societies of witches while retaining virtually all their demonic features. The relevant examples include the storm-demon-witches; the most graphic data we have on them are to be found in Croatian trials: they hold their meeting in the mountains, where they make the storm and the hail.[73] The karakondzuli demons arriving from the lower regions and the infernal feasts of the demonic, "dead" werewolf in cellars, mills, caves, or (after it has entered through the chimney, the symbolic passage into the nether world) in people's kitchens; cooking, vomiting into foods, urinating into drinks, rudely carrying the innates of the house off into dance - all these have almost one-to-one parallels in Serbian, Romanian, Hungarian witch beliefs, and already in the records, too, of Croatian and Hungarian witchcraft trials. The "preambulation of the nether world" by the covens making a round of the wine-cellars recalls these demons as do the uproarious and obscene revelries of the strigois in the kitchen and in wine-cellars and mills, where - in accordance with their werewolf line-

age - they often appear in the shape of animals, such as a horse, wolf, dog, pig, or cat.[74] In the witches' feasts, the entrance to the world below and the crossroads are added to the demonic ancestors' meeting places, symbolizing the underworld. In Bulgarian and Greek - and, to a lesser degree, in Serbian - folk belief, these gatherings live not as witch but as demon beliefs;[75] their "spontaneous" transformation into the witches' Sabbath is proved by their appearance as Romanian and Serbian witch beliefs.

In the witnesses' testimonies of Hungarian witchcraft trials, we get highly varied accounts of societies of witches entering the house and holding a "feast" there or, in the shape of animals, carrying people off with them and "giving them a ride". These narratives are generally characterized by a blending of the different types of demonic predecessors, but occasionally one or the other of the demon types discussed above can also be clearly isolated. The witches sometimes come in the shape of kara-kondzuli-type demons to fetch the people who have been carried off; thus, for instance, the plaintiff in a trial which took place in Eger had been visited by a big "black man", who "gnashed his teeth and lured him to himself". The "big black host" featuring in a trial in Hódmezővásárhely, said to have raced across the village and entered houses, or the "bad souls" which, according to a testimony heard in a trial held in Sopron County, had appeared in the courtyard at Christmas recall the troops of the "unbaptized", which arrive in the midst of people at the turning of the year; while from a trial that took place in Bihar County we learn of what we might recognize as St. Theodore's horses: "... the previous night, they, in the shape of a black horse, had trampled on him, and on account of that trampling he fell ill...".[76]

The "carrying away of the soul", the idea of temporary death also appears in the beliefs concerning those who have been carried off and dragged around by societies of witches, which bear the inheritance of demons. Of the witch predecessors of the Balkans, this tends to be associated especially with the souls passing in the wind, the "shadows", and storm-demons; simultaneously with that, it is also known from the beliefs relating to the meeting of witches, from both the Serbian and the Croatian material. Thus, for example, according to a data from Kuče, it is the "shadows" of the witches that take part in the meeting on Christmas Eve, while their bodies lie half-dead at home.[77] A few Hungarian examples: according to a data from a trial heard in Kiskunlacháza in 1766, a child was

snatched up from the courtyard by a witch appearing in the likeness of a black man (cf. karakondzuli), and "around morning, he was carried about in a whirlwind far and wide beyond the Danube and on this side of the Danube". The abductee of a trial in Szalónak (Vas County, 1653), accompanied by his witch companions, rides a wonderful coach drawn by a crab as they go (at Christmas) to fetch some wine; yet, only his soul is there, his body is lying at home in the meanwhile. According to evidence given at the above-mentioned trial in Sopron County, the "bad spirits" want to carry away the victim, "robbed of his mind" - or, more precisely, the mind robbed of the body; and, according to several data, he/she is carried away in his/her sleep. Under this head fall too - even though they cannot always be assigned exactly to one particular kind of demon - the numerous data of our trials on those who are "taken for rides" at night, who are often carried away through the keyhole, while they are asleep. The victim in a trial that took place in Vásárhely, for instance, "was carried about for two and a half years by the wicked ones".[78] In the beliefs regarding those abducted by witches, it is, as I mentioned before, difficult to distinguish the strands leading to the magicians, who were originally in contact with the demons. Thus, for instance, when the victim is carried away to a "feast" by witches appearing in a whirlwind or when he/she is "snatched up" with the rainbow by the "wicked ones",[79] we may also conjecturally include among the one-time roots - though the link cannot be proven - the beliefs referring to the initiation of the "wind magicians" abducted by the cloud-driving souls. Differentiation from those carried away into the assemblies of animals of the werewolf-witches is also difficult: changing or being changed into an animal may be a common element of both types of the witches' Sabbath and the relevant narratives.

In this group of the Sabbath concepts, the affinities of the above demons with the dead also has an important role; the scenes of the demonic witches' feast are often none other than ghost legends. The survival of the demonic witch, too, must have received repeated impulses from that area - vital until modern times - of folk belief. A characteristic type, for instance, of the meeting of "ghost witches" is a data from Galgamácsa: at midnight mass, "the witches of the village gallop round the church riding on lime brush handles and smashing all those earthen pots against the church wall".[80] It is evident from numerous data of our witchcraft trials that there is a strong tendency to "explain" certain real phenomena, traditionally generally interpreted as ghosts, such as animals ap-

pearing in unusual places and at unusual times and noises heard at night - well, there is a strong tendency to explain these as apparitions of eerie, demonic witches; for example: "In the shape of a poodle, it came into our house and hid under the bed, from where it being reluctant to come out, my son, after some beating and poking in this fashion, climbed under the bed and pulled it out...".[81]

And now let us see what kind of antecedents of the witches' Sabbath the Southeastern European witch owes to the werewolf. The most relevant example in this context is the gathering of witches who, at the traditional periods of the werewolf (St. Andrew's day, St. Lucy's day - Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, St. George's day, and new moon) change into animals: "On the night of St. Lucy's day, beware of walking at the cross-roads at midnight, because the witches, in the shape of dogs and cats, hold their ball there".[82] To travel to the witch feasts, these witches change into animals corresponding to the varied SE European werewolf shapes (dog, cat, pig, etc.) or ride such animals, often changing the people they have carried off into their own saddle animals. This is universally present in Southern Slav, Hungarian, and Romanian witch beliefs. According to a Romanian data, for instance, the witches meet at road intersections on the night of St. George's day or at Whitsun: on that night, they all turn into snakes, dogs, and pigs.[83] Or in Hajdú County: "You can see a witch at the cross-roads on the night of St. George's day... he/she assumes the form of a dog, cat, or horse".[84] From narratives of the Romanian strigoi feast it is generally clear that the witch - in conformity with the archaic werewolf beliefs - takes part after falling into a trance ("a deep sleep"); moreover, he/she participates only with his/her animal-shaped soul. In the testimonies of the witchcraft trials, this legend often takes the form of reports of experiences about persons carried away by werewolf-witches. Thus, for instance, a person, from the 1724 trial in Szeghalom, who was carried about in the shape of a dog "beyond Tokaj" at Christmas recalls the werewolf who become active at Christmas time.[85]

The diversity of the Sabbath concepts of werewolf origin is enhanced, too, by the beliefs regarding the "lord of the animals". These contributed to one of the fundamental motifs of the popular witches' Sabbath: the "wolf shepherd", with his pipe or by some other means, is able to summon the wolves from all over the world, and, as their chief, he allots to them their tasks: whom each of them must tear apart, which flocks they must

attack. All this takes place on a customary werewolf day, when the next season's tasks of harm-infliction are assigned to the wolf pack, i.e. to the people who, at this time, have changed in droves into wolves or into other animals.[86] This motif, taken as it is, is a perfect witches' Sabbath. Indeed, a version featuring witches is also known from this area: for instance, according to a Hungarian data from Moldavia, the assembled witches, assuming the form of wolves or dogs, bears, etc., "hold a council, from which they disperse, each to the spot where he/she wants to work evil".[87] I suspect that, not only in the area under survey but in general as well, the motif of the "master of the animals", as a prolegomenon to the European witches' Sabbath, deserves serious attention.

Since Ginzburg's publication on the benandanti, the appearance, in the Sabbath concepts, of the other world soul journeys and battles of shamanistic fertility magicians - as well as the international connections of the beliefs and rites - has received detailed treatment in several papers;[88] therefore I here offer only a few brief comments on the topic.

The group battles of the "wind magicians", watching over the weather of their community (the above-mentioned zduhač, stuha, and their like), provided ample raw material for the concept of troops of storm-bringing witches. In the Southern Slav and Romanian, as well as in the Hungarian matrix, the belief in witches fighting in groups in the storm is widespread to this day: "The Sokaces of Darázs believe that whenever there is a whirlwind the witches come down from the hill of Harsány and there they fight and chase one another. Then, if someone gets caught up, they kill him... The vrácsáras often dance together with the witches on the hill of Harsány".[89] Both our witchcraft trials and our present-day beliefs testify to the fact that there is also a "positive" or magician's past underlying the witch's activity connected with storms and hail. We quote from a trial that took place in Zemplén: "flying up into the clouds, witches can provoke - or, indeed, prevent, as the case may be - rainshowers and hail destroying the vineyards on the hillsides".[90]

As regards the other-world battles of magicians who, with various agricultural implements, fight for the crop, the richest examples of the witches' Sabbaths that may be included in this type are furnished by Romanian beliefs; but the similar Serbian and Hungarian Sabbath concepts also preserve the figures, transformed into witches, of the "crop-stealing demons", werewolf-demons, and the "evil magician's souls" of the neighbouring tribe, as well as those of the community's own "good" magicians,

reclaiming the crops. Still, it is primarily the negative role - the concept of the neighbouring, alien, or demonic crop thieves - that has associated itself with the souls gathered for the witches' Sabbath: the souls of the strigois, for example, meet on St. George's day to the intent that they may "take away the manna of the meadow";[92] the Hungarian witchcraft trials' covens falling within this sphere also take away the fertility of the earth by stealing the dew (or the produce).[93] The fact that it is the souls of the magicians that take part in the other-world battles is - as has been mentioned already in connection with the werewolf beliefs - preserved most clearly by the battle images of the Romanian witches' Sabbaths. The battles, incidentally, lost this meaning of theirs and either became the battles of "bad spirits", of demon-witches, or were rationalized into a magical activity attributed to earthly, "dew-picking", "corn-stealing", "milk-stealing" witches.

Nevertheless, the fertility-related attributes of the magician predecessors are - even according to modern data - regular ingredients of this type of the Sabbath beliefs. Thus, the means of transport that witches use to travel to their meetings include - especially in the Romanian, Serbian, and the eastern (and more sporadically, in the southern) Hungarian areas - the shovel, the hemp-breaker, the loom, the broom, and the fork.[94] It can fairly be assumed that the beliefs in witch companies possessing new bread, new wine at Christmas and at Whitsun - indeed, the beliefs in witch companies practising fertility magic - were also inherited from the beliefs regarding shamanistic magicians; although this is called into question by the fact that the modern legendary motif of fresh fruits and produce acquired from far-off countries at festivals is known both from the legends of those entering into a Devil's pact and as a motif associated with ritual magic.[95] Their motifs of "initiation", however, - such as the "dismemberment - bone extraction", already mentioned in another context, or, for that matter, the Romanian beliefs of dew-picking performed "in spirit" and/or with a helping spirit - unequivocally bind these Sabbath types to the shamanistic magicians.[96]

Reviewing what has been said so far, we may state that in Southern Slav and Romanian, as well as in Hungarian, witch beliefs we see the spontaneous development of certain witch society concepts which are grounded in pre-witchcraft belief- and ritual systems. Their modulation into witch beliefs probably goes back to a plurality of factors: the loss of function of the various demonic inflictors of harm and the discontinu-

ance of magician's practice, the mediators' loss of role and the appearance, the newly acquired relevance of village witchcraft, as an institution, with the underlying change in the ideology of harm-infliction - all these must have been instrumental in that transformation.

In the Southeastern European region, we can see the witches' Sabbath in the making; in this environment, intact of diabolism, it is also clear that it was not a fiction created by witch-hunting demonologists. All the key components of the Sabbath stereotypes of demonology - the nocturnal flight, the metamorphosis into animals, the journey on the back of animals, the orgiastic feast, the music and the dance, and the witch companies setting off to cast their evil spells - well, all these elements are present in these popular beliefs and narratives of spontaneous genesis, even if not in the completeness required by Western demonologists and even if particular local variants do not contain all the motifs together. The appearance of these beliefs in the Croatian-Slovenian and Hungarian witchcraft trials proves that - even in their irregular and non-"complete Sabbath" form - they were suitable for performing their role in the interrogations, given that they were narratives about group meetings, feasts, marches, and battles.

As we shall see below, Satan or the figures of devils are not absent, either, from certain narrative types of popular witches' Sabbaths; yet, Satan is by no means as essential a requisite - even where the courts are concerned - as the fact that there are groups involved. Just before tackling the subject of devils, let us say a few words about the other important common characteristic of the village Sabbaths. It is with an unexpected third possibility that these popular witch company concepts provide a valid answer - valid, that is, at least in the region under survey - to the theological debates, dogging the Middle Ages and early modern times, on whether the "nocturnal flight" and the witches' gathering itself are reality or an illusion suggested by the devil;[97] for, according to these "pre-witchcraft" rites, they are neither, but rather a "soul journey" experienced in a dream or trance, in ecstasy. A common characteristic of the witches of the region under examination - one, moreover, that is attributable to both the magician and the demonic predecessors - is the notion of the soul temporarily leaving the body and, enmeshed with it, the otherworldly character of certain witches' Sabbath types, the idea of the soul violently transported to the world beyond.

In the present paper, we shall not be discussing the fact that the

earthly representatives, masked embodiers of certain mythical beings - whether the black demons or the fairies -, or, for that matter, the masked troops of their mediators (such as the Vălușari and the rusalia) also had an impact on these same witch society concepts.[98] As a matter of fact, the mythical and ritual "memories", or the textual motifs referring to these, tend - often within the narratives of even the self-same type of witch society - to merge into each other to a fairly considerable extent. Yet, the motifs of the "earthly" troops represent a substantially less significant element compared to the narratives of magicians and demons or for that matter, to those of the soul battles waged in groups. We may primarily talk about "soul-witches", demonic witches and, correspondingly, about the "witchicized" variants - with the degree of the "witchicization" varying from area to area (and occasionally from trial data to trial data) - of a Sabbath held in a quasi-other-world and placed, in the narratives, in a more or less earthly setting and about several intermixed types of a fairly complex, "colourful" nocturnal witch. All this fits into the archaic web of relations, discussed above, between this world and the world beyond; the magician predecessors of the witch and the human beings carried away by the demons are not the only examples of the old, presumably common Indo-European traditions of the "contacts". The ecstatic ravishment by fairies; the possession of the rusalias, maintaining ritual contact with the fairies; the visions and other-world trips of holy men, healers, and seers of the dead, their taking away by saints; the initiation of healers and their often genuine experiences of the other world - all these pertain to the relevant systems of archaic relationships.[99] The half-humanized figure of the village witch, which gained ground amidst these rich traditions, some of which are still alive even today, - the figure of the village witch, too, has preserved a great deal from the above motifs.

What has been said about the "ritual memories" do not support the ritualistic theory of Murray, Runeberg, Summers, and others,[100] since we are dealing not with real witches' gatherings but with memories - preserved in witch beliefs - of real societies. Having said that, we might, in the light of the foregoing, raise the question how far the "society of witches" was a fiction and how far it was reality. We do not believe that we should always necessarily draw a sharp division between the "genuine" other-world experiences of the witch predecessors and the fiction of participation in feasts, as by the persons who occasionally pleaded guilty to

the fictional charge of witchcraft or by the "innocent ones" carried off into witch companies (for instance, those who, at the trials testified to that effect). The latter can also sometimes be a genuine (e.g. dream or trance) experience: a genuine other-world experience about participation in a fictitious witch company, with the experience of the nocturnal flight, the soul detaching itself from the body, or, indeed, of the sight of demons "entering houses".[101]

On the other hand, we may often observe, in the data on the trials, a misunderstanding, as it were, a "rationalization" of the other-world experiences, the soul experiences. Sometimes the "understood" and the "non-understood" versions occur in one and the same trial, as is the case in a trial which took place in Megyaszó (Zemplén County) in 1731. The witness, by her account, attended a witch feast held on Ingvár Hill; but, she says, "only her mind had been lured there, her body was absent...". At the same time, she explains how they managed to get through the keyhole: "they went out even through the keyhole; there they drew themselves out as thin as a rope".[102] In other cases - according to the witnesses of a trial held in Miskolc -, the abducted person is held by his armpits while being pulled through the "hole of the lock".[103] We cannot know on which side the misunderstanding lay - that, indeed, could have been a stage that had lost its relevance for both the accused and the witnesses. These rationalizing explanations, however, must chiefly have been induced by the conduct of the court, since their witch feast fiction was supported not by the soul experiences of the accused or the witnesses; what they needed was not accounts of "soul journeys", of other-world, dream adventures, but real gatherings of witches whose living, breathing participants were capable of informing against one another. As Cohn writes, "witch-hunting reached massive proportions only when and where the authorities themselves accepted the reality of the nocturnal journeyings. For without such journeyings no witches' sabbats".[104]

Nor is there a hard-and-fast boundary line in the other direction: The "other-world journeys" of the shamanistic magicians, too, has a stage where - while the magicians' sense of their community role is still present - they, instead of actually performing their rites of establishing contact, merely relate the adventures of the company battling in the other world. That is what we may observe in the version of the zduhač magician to be found among Hungary's Croats: thought demonstrably no longer operating as a community functionary, he "still" recounts as a first-person ex-

perience the traditional beliefs attaching to his figure - how he flies in his sleep to the night-time gatherings of magicians and how, on St. George's day, he, with his allies his fellow-magicians, steals the crops for his own village from other regions.[105] That leaves the way clear for the society of magicians, now to become narrative fiction, to make a straight leap to the fiction of the society of witches, which, now stripped of all its subtext of individual other-world experiences, is "only" a legend to be furnished with a catalogue-number.[106]

Devils - initiation and Devil's pact

The diversity of the beliefs, in the Central-Southeastern European area under review, concerning witches' societies and witches' meetings is at least matched - and, if possible, even surpassed, where it comes to the number of variants they have - by the colourful array of folkloristic devil figures. At all those points in the belief-systems of witchcraft where the remnant of some kind of demon or spirit lives on, the figure of the Christian devil appears - more exactly, parallel with these spirits, souls and demons, their more or less diabolicized variants also appear. This applies to both the deathly-demonic and the werewolf ancestors of the witch, as well as to the helping spirit an incubus-type beings. From our standpoint, a crucial characteristic of these folkloristic demon figures is that they became popular devils of Christianity often before they had become witches (and even where they never became witches). Especially in Orthodox church demonology - and in close interaction with that, in folk belief as well - they were more or less identified, a very long time ago, with the Christian devil. There is nowhere a clear-cut demarcation between their figures and the varied "village" devils of the Central-Southeastern European peoples. From Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian, Greek, and Albanian folk belief we know the werewolf-like devils, the "unbaptized" devils, the todorci devils - and we could continue the list, right to the female devils coinciding with child-bed demons and illness demons.[107] The "popular demon → devil" development is not unique to Orthodox folk demonology; similar processes also occurred within the orbit of Western Christianity - it is enough if I refer here only to the dragon or werewolf features of the Western devil or the devils that have developed from the Mahrs and nightmares.[108] The beliefs under scrutiny, however, generally refer to the "Orthodox" devils, given that the popular demon ancestors of devils coin-

cide with the Southeastern European witch predecessors under survey, originating from Orthodox territories.

Just what the above phrase "a very long time ago" specifically means I do not know; it is a question requiring further research just when and how these Orthodox popular devils emerged; as, indeed, the development of the rich "official" demonology of the Orthodox Churches is also to be clarified yet. This much is certain, that two-directional processes took place: Church demonology - while taking on board many folkloristic features and absorbing a whole host of the demons of folk belief systems - itself had an impact on folk belief. These popular devil figures stand somewhere in the middle of the crossfire of reciprocal influences. Until the 20th century, the lower clergy of exorcists, healers, and users of incantations were part of the network of relationships of the magic functionaries and mediators of Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian village communities. As a result of the close connections, the demonology of the Church reached the peasantry via constant, direct channels. The devil legends of ecclesiastic origin - including the legends about people entering into a pact with the devil - are known as Romanian and Bulgarian folkloristic narratives. The frescoes of village churches, portraying devils, devilish actions, and - quite often - confederates of the devil, also represented an important channel.[109]

Church demonology had an impact on popular demons even at the points where it did not turn them into devils. That is presumably responsible for the occurrence, in the particular belief systems, of a polarization between the divine and the diabolical; although the influence of bogumilism - which has not been studied in this respect - can fairly be assumed, too. In this process, the above-mentioned popular demons became - on the opposite side of the divine pole - evil, dark, and infernal; pairs of "white - black", "heavenly - infernal" came into being; every demon that was ambivalent or, in some aspect of it, malignant became expressly "devilish". The varied other worlds of demons, werewolfs, and the dead turned into hell, with the days of demons becoming a counterpole to the Christian festival, i.e. an anti-festival. The "anti-mass" of devils and witches, held at the time of Christian festivals, fits as a natural step into this process. As a contemporary data from Alsó-Fehér County says, "It is they (the 'unclean ones'), and not God, who stay even in the church at night".[110] We emphasized that here these processes did <u>not</u> take place under the impulse of the Satanism propagated by witch persecution.

What is the situation in Hungary? Here too, the demonology of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation - the sermons, the theological pamphlets - reveal to us a substantially folkloristic doctrine of devils. The devils mentioned in Bornemisza's work, written in 1578, about the temptations of the devil, include ghosts, revenants, storm-demons appearing in whirlwinds, and incubuses - the well-known demonic beings (well-known, in fact, to this day) of folk belief, conveniently bracketed under the rubric of "devil".[111] In Hungary too, the 16th-17th centuries were the "devilish" period of the Christian Church; both Catholics and Protestants tended to adopt a view under which all evil demons were declared to be devils. This must have influenced folk belief as well: "bad" demons became, in the eyes of the peasantry too, more or less the equivalent of the devil. In Hungary, no less than among our southeastern neighbours, the increase of the power of Satan, characteristic of the age, manifested itself not so much in the diffusion of the standardized and definitively elaborated Satan figure of the Western Church but rather in the absorption of folkloristic elements into the devil concept of theology. In this way, there came into existence, too, some distinctly Hungarian folkloristic devil figures of autochthonous origin, for instance, in connection with the lidérc or the werewolf. On the other hand, some of the above-mentioned demons of our language neighbours - those versions of them, that is, which, through Church demonology, had become devils - became components of Hungarian folk belief.

The parallel and also interacting "demon → witch" and "demon → devil" developments resulted in a peculiar coincidence of the "demonic witch" and the "popular devil": it is characteristic how, in the Eastern Hungarian territories, the figure of the devil, the witch, and of the various demons merge, in a certain respect, into one another: "This too is an evil spirit, like the witch, it is a ghost; only one of them can express it as a witch, while the other can express it as an incubus, but they are all from the world below.[112] It is this kind of coalescent "devil-witch" figures that tend to crop up in the records of Hungarian trials in our eastern areas. Here this is also reflected by the terminology of witches. An example from Udvarhelyszék from a trial held in Keresztúr in 1745: A woman was fast asleep when her husband woke her up because he was being "pressed": "hey, get up, hurry, because there is a devil or a witch in the house" (the being in question is alleged to have entered naked through the flue and to have flashed its teeth at the man). But the term "devil" is

also applied - as a kind of substitute for "witch" - to "pressing" cats or to three pressing women dressed in black; or a wolf (werewolf) witch is mentioned as a "big devil".[113]

Naturally, the "popular demon → development did not leave intact, either, the Sabbath concepts of demonic origin. This is often simply "an assembly of devils": "... the devils congregate in deserted mills and confer on which further souls to carry away...".[114] Or from a 1694 trial that took place in Debrecen: "... when she was a young woman, her lodgings were visited by hosts of devils".[115] This is the origin of those variants of folk beliefs concerning societies of witches where the victim is carried off to devils' feasts, infernal banquets, or into the wild company of werewolf-demons turned devils - as, for instance, when the "evil ones" appearing at the crossroads invited the witness of the trial held in Egyházasfalu in 1744 "to join their company".[116]

A different kind of example of the diabolicized witches' Sabbath is furnished by the beliefs centring on the "master of the animals" and the "wolf-shepherd" beliefs. The Romanian "ram shepherd", the "head of witches", turned into a devil, just as the Serbian and Croatian vučji pastir or the Hungarian St. George's day devil, who asks his werewolf-witches, when they set off on their destructive mission, what animals they want to change into. This master of the animals turned into a devil often appears expressly as the male devil leader of the female witch company; moreover, as "arch-witch, he has power over the entire region".[117] This "master of the animals" grafted onto the werewolf beliefs of the Balkans appears as a devil in the trials also; for instance, in the testimony of a trial held in Hódmezővásárhley in 1758. This narrative also contains the frequent motif of the "soul journey" of werewolf companies, the crossing of the river, as a symbolic getting to the other world: "... When we set off to cast our evil spells, we always had a devil leader, János; we changed into devil dogs... We were taken, in a nutshell, across the river Tisza by Devil János...".[118]

At the other-world struggles or earthly, witch-like battles of werewolves and werewolf-magicians, the devil naturally appears in the role of the demonic crop-plundering adversary from the world below/the end of the world/the neighbouring country. It is in a trial that took place in Bihar County that we get the most graphic description of the werewolf-hero dressed in leopard skin (!) and his (devil) adversaries from a foreign land: "he praised István Lengyel for being a brave warrior; no matter how

many male devils came from Turkey, there was nothing they could do; István Lengyel has leopard skins that shine indeed". The "other-world" battle is waged with hemp-breaker swords (cf. the above-mentioned strigoi battles conducted with "agricultural implements").[119] Already according to the testimony of the accused in the famous trial held in Livonia in 1691, the other-world adversaries of the shamanistic magicians were the devils who had carried the crop off into hell. Such crop-stealing/harming devils are known from Slovenian, Croatian, and Hungarian witchcraft trials too, as well as from the beliefs of the "trial-free" areas under examination.[120] In the trials, the subject has an interesting context: often the devils are not the "personal" stealers of the crop but employ mediators, as it were: their agents are the witches, who sell the corn or other produce to the devil or to the alien witches, whom the beliefs identify with the devil. The witches of the trial held in Tállya in 1715, for example, "sell plums, corn, grapes, and wine to the envoys of the Turkish and Serbian witches".[121]

These "corn broker" witches have, in fact, something of a pact with the devil, but neither this belief nor the different kinds of presence of the devil at these popular witches' Sabbaths meant the appearance of the stereotyped devil-worshipping assembly of witch-persecuting demonology. Frequently, however, these popular, infernal devil figures, with a little adjustment, become "official' Christian devils - they are given a pitchfork into their hand and hoofs for their feet, and sometimes the smell of brimstone hovers around them; while the locale of the witches' gathering is often definitely the Christian or at least the Orthodox-apocryphal "folkloristic" hell. Thus, according to a (Romanian) legend from Kétegyháza, Békés County, the wolf- and devil-faced strigois dance with pitchforks at their feast in a dark cave; for his/her initiation, the Moldavian witch is led underground, into a cellar, where he/she meets an assembly of horny devils - this is where he/she denies God.[122] In narratives of these kinds of infernal witch companies we may be certain of the influence of the Orthodox apocryphal visionary literature, which, in its descriptions of visits to hell, itself contains such "folkloristic" images of hell, with animal-headed devils, witches' dance, and devils' feasts. The same images of hell appear in the initiatory journeys to hell of holy men and seers of the dead (or in the narrative of the initiation of a Hungarian seer of the dead in Moldavia).[123] From the 17th-18th-century Hungarian visionary literature, too, we know descriptions of hell (also echoed in

our narratives of witch meetings) certain motifs of which are also known from Orthodox visions of hell. A case in point is the battles between the "devil's army", the "guard of hell", and the hosts of hell. It would be important to know where these battle scenes originate from: revealing this would also furnish new data for the solution of the questions concerning the other-world "struggles" of the shamanistic magicians. A common image of the Hungarian visions and of the contemporary Sabbath descriptions, too, is the "stone bread and wooden knife" of the devils' feasts. The disgusting features of the infernal feasts of devils and witches (vomiting and urinating into vessels, etc.) are not foreign, either, even to the apocryphal visions. Let us quote here at least one witches' Sabbath narrative, which portrays this apocryphal hell of religious visions: "Some two weeks before the Christmas of the year 1711, this magistrate of Igmánd came into the cellar of the village of Mocsa; the mother of Vicar Miklós Szombath, Suzy Tengöl Falu, Mrs. Haj-Szücs, and several other witches were there. They danced, ate, and drank there. They spread a piece of cloth on the ground; the food consisted of a roast lamb and some pork, and instead of bread they put out twelve pieces of stone that the magistrate of Igmánd had brought with him for the banquet. There were twelve wooden knives on the table, too, and they ate the stones that last year's magistrate of Igmánd had torn apart. The latter ate with wooden knives; they took wine from every one of the casks in the cellar, but they could not take any drink from the birch-hooped cask... they had a fiddler, too... and they danced... and when... they wanted to leave the cellar, they filled with vomit the casks from which they had taken wine, thus replacing the wine..."[124]

This much seems certain, that, in connection with the origin of these nether-world Sabbath types, the close reciprocities between ecclesiastic, apocryphal, and popular demonology must be emphasized: this may represent a peculiar Eastern European way of the process whereby the witches' Sabbath acquired a devilish, infernal character. Unfortunately, however, the sources have yet to be researched; although their exploration would seem most fruitful from the standpoint of our topic.

As regards the shamanistic magicians discussed above and the witch types connected with them, we must consider in some detail the question of the helping spirits and of the animal form of the soul temporarily leaving the body/the animal soul/the animal-shaped alter ego; for, in this area as well, there occurred a process of "diabolicization", which unequivocally led to certain popular variants of the Devil's pact.

The transformation into a "sent devil" of the werewolf and of the "sent wolf" of the "learned" werewolf shepherds is, as it were, a prototype of the transformation into devil of the helping spirit/soul-animal. We have examples of this both from our witchcraft trials and from our modern beliefs; thus, for instance, the accused of a witchcraft trial held in Logod (Vas County) in 1687 inflicted injury on the "hostile" herd "by sending a wolf or the devil in likeness of a wolf" on the cattle. As far as I am informed, sent devils of this kind are unique to Hungarian folk belief, they are, as it were, of autochthonous origin.[125] But the fact that we are dealing with a general trend, a change that occurred in a similar fashion in several places, is proved by the parallel Southern Slav development; here it was the departing soul of the witch (mora) that modulated into a devil; the wasp, butterfly, fly, etc. "soul-animals" flying out of the body lying in a trance at night - well, these soul-animals, as "evil spirits", were - similarly to the autonomous demons - identified with the devil. As has been mentioned in connection with the mora, and as is attested by the Bulgarian-Serbian-Romanian magician beliefs, here we are clearly dealing with a witch-like, nocturnal, devilish variant of the shamanistic soul-animals. According to our data, the departing soul of the mora and the witch was often regarded not only as "evil", devilish, but as being the devil itself. On the one hand, the soul of the Southern Slav witch leaves her body "with the help of an evil spirit; on the other hand, "there flies out of it an evil spirit which, in the shape of a cat, hen, or wolf, goes about corrupting man and beasts".[126]

The "evil" soul/devil temporarily leaving the body is a logical impossibility: man is not born with such a soul, he can only acquire one. The contradiction is resolved by the Christian doctrine of possession by the devil: the evil spirit became man's property through entering or possessing him. Thus it was the diabolicized variant of the temporarily departing soul that was identified with the devil occupying the body. We can quote varied examples to illustrate this widespread notion. It is a well-known Romanian belief, for instance, that a sinful man has a devil entering his body, "there is a devil in him", "he has become devilish". In most cases, Satan possesses him in the shape of a fly - or sometimes some other insect or animal -, and it is this soul, too, that will become the bad spirit returning after death. For instance: "The devil enters the man of evil soul and makes him a moroi after his death." Accordingly, even at this "devilish" level, the soul temporarily departing in life is identical

with the soul that keeps returning as a demon after death. The Serbian witch has a "devilish soul" in him/her, which, in the shape of a hen, fly, or butterfly, leaves at night.[127] Within this complex fall, as well, the Hungarian beliefs regarding the wasps flying out through the mouth and nose of the witch at her death and the wasps flying up at the baptism of the Romanian moroi ("unbaptized" - malignant revenant) (it is, as it were, the evil soul leaving him/her). According to the beliefs concerning the initiation of the Hungarian witch, the "knowledge", the "witch's power" flies in the form of a fly or wasp into the mouth and nose of the candidate.[128]

The beliefs regarding the initiation of the Hungarian witch (or learned coachman, musician, etc.) also preserve the assumed positive, non-devilish origin, in that, using similar methods (which we have no space now to discuss in detail: we are talking about "tests" which, blending with the devil-procuring methods of ritual magic, take place at crossroads, on high-rising plants, "in a magic circle"), positive knowledge can be gained as well. A characteristic Hungarian example: "Vendel Szabó... longed for witchcraft, so that he might become a good piper. He went to the cross-roads, where a wasp flew into his mouth. When he got home, his bagpipe began to sound, without his blowing it...". Or, according to a Hungarian legend - which, however, contains motifs leading to the zduhač magician -, the witches riding on the backs of dogs on their way to the nether-world assembly carry someone off with them. The whole journey has the character of a test; it is, as it were, the infernal counterpart of the initiatory trip to heaven. The initiation into witchcraft is represented by the fact that a bee (identical with the bee form of the out-flying soul of the zduhač) flies into the candidate's nose.[129]

Through the Iranian-Jewish "fly = Satan/Beelzebub, the chief devil", which was familiar in early modern ecclesiastic views, in the demonology of both the Western and the Eastern Church, - well, through that identification, the fly has a special place among the diabolicized soul-animals. The devil leaving in the shape of a fly through the mouth is known, too, in the context of the official exorcising rites of the Church.[130] Thus the fly flying in and out of the mouth and nose of the witch (mora, moroi) - like the beliefs regarding those variants of the shamanistic soul-animals (bee, butterfly) which, under pressure of Church demonology, have turned into fly-devils - unequivocally coincides with possession by the devil. Corresponding to these facts is the Bulgarian definition of the

witch, as an "evil spirit occupying a living woman".[131] Thus the possession of the witch by the devil and the notion that the witch "is the devil himself" met and more or less merged into one another. As a Hungarian data from Transylvania expresses this duality: "What the devil... did in her body and in her likeness..." Characteristically, our Hungarian data primarily come from the area lying east of the Tisza river where I have indicated the "soul-witch - devil" coincidence. For instance: the witch has a devil in him/her, he/she gets possessed by the devil, he/she has a devil dwelling in him/her, the devils "marry him/her", etc.[132]

We have mainly Romanian data on how the owner contracts a de facto alliance, too, with the devil occupying the body in the shape of a bee, fly, or other soul-animals: "he/she gives him/herself to him", he/she sells his/her soul. In return for that, he/she will be damned or, in accordance with the above framework of beliefs, he/she will become and "unbaptized" one or a vampire after his/her death. In these cases, however, we often have to do with a more primitive, more concrete meaning of the pact: man identifies with the devil, and he performs his wicked actions not only with the help of the devil but, to all intents, as a devil incarnate.[133] Thus, in the case of the human witch, the outflying soul, and, in the case of the demon-witch, the witch herself, lock, stock, and barrel, become, as it were, devils. Of such import is a 17th-century Greek data on the "Devil's pact", quoted by Schmidt from Allatius, from an area where there is (there was) no real human witch. Here, entering into a pact with the devil - that is to say, in the form of devils -, the childbed demons called striggai, which prowl by night, (or the same as the souls of earthly women) fly into locked houses and perform their monstrous deeds. This Southeastern European version of the popular doctrines on the "Devil's pact" could also have assumed the form of the "official" possession recognized by the Church. But neither possession nor this kind of pact was the subject of witchcraft accusations, there being no official witch persecution in this area. Satan, rather than his presumed agents on earth, was the enemy; while the popular institution of witchcraft - where it did manage to put down some roots at all within the area under survey - did not even assume the existence of such agents. If someone was a witch in this sense (he/she was possessed by the devil, with whom he/she "had become one"), action had to be taken, under the community rules in force in those days, not against him/her but against the devil: he/she had to freed of the devil, that is to say, the devil had to be driven out of his/her

body. In accordance with all that, the corruptive influence of the witch, too, was often identified with possession by the devil. "If an animal is bewitched, incense and stinking stone are used to drive the devil out of it", says a data from Kalotaszeg; but the multiplicity of smoking procedures used in the case of bewitching is well known; these, in my opinion, were originally designed to expel evil spirits, rather than to cure the effects of any malign spells. Where that sort of attitude is adopted towards the witch's spells, maleficium will not become a real witch charge, either, even within the village institution: it is not followed by anti-witch action. To that extent, therefore, we cannot, in connection with the demonic witch "identifying" with the devil and the primitive Devil's pact related to the former, talk about the institution of "village witchcraft", either. Which does not exclude that all this may have been the basis - and perhaps it was, too, in certain places - of the idea of the "real" Devil's pact.[134]

Let us see, after these, the "diabolic" relationships of the helping spirits. In broad-brush terms, it may be stated that, in the area under examination, all types of these spirits became devils. Already at the time of witch persecution - as can be documented from the Slovenian-Croatian-Hungarian trials -, they appear as synonyms of the devil; indeed, the belief regarding the forming of a pact is known in connection with them, both in the context of the witchcraft trials and outside it. In our entire topic under scrutiny, this is the point where there were, indeed, contiguities between the "pact" beliefs which, though influenced by ecclesiastic views, were nevertheless popular in origin and the official diabolism of witch persecution.

The situation is clearer in the "trial-free" Orthodox areas. The general manifestation form - or rather, the appellation - of the helping spirit of the Romanian, Bulgarian, and Serbian witch (as well as of its Hungarian counterparts) is "the devil": the "initiation" of the witch is performed by means of a chicken- or lizard-"devil" hatched under his/her armpit or obtained from a puddle, pit, or cave. With the help of his/her devil, he/she tells the future, "he/she knows who is doing what and what they are thinking of".[135] It was not only the name of the helping spirit that became "devil" (or "unclean one". Rum. necuratu); the notion appears, too, that the witch, through his/her lidérc chicken, acquired in the above manner, "comes to belong to the devil". This is similar to the above-mentioned primitive Devil's pact, the soul-animal and its owner being more or

less identical. The same can be said about the Romanian witch or magician, who has to give the soul of a man or a beast to his/her "devil", lured forth from a marsh; in return for this, he/she may give him orders in the matter of the recovery of lost objects and the securing of favourable verdicts. The pact consists in his/her "attaching him/herself to the devil", "becoming one with him", in their perpetrating together their wicked actions. But also known in this context is the "real" Devil's pact - or at least this motif of it, that, in exchange for knowledge, the owner of the zmej/zmeu chickens or spiritus gives his/her soul to the devil, which the latter comes to claim when he/she dies.[136] That the starting-point is, in any case, the magician's devil (which has developed from a helping spirit), rather than the witch-persecuting diabolism of Western origin - which, in fact, scarcely reached these parts - is also proved by the fact that these popular helping devil variants and the pact formed with them are by no means confined to witch beliefs, but - as has been mentioned already also in connection with the "not yet fully fledged" devil helping spirits - they are primarily associated with the real and fictitious, legendary figures of all sorts of wise men, seers, and seers of the dead. But the idea of the "Devil's pact" itself "came from above": its mediators here must have been the official and apocryphal legends of the Orthodox Church about the Devil's pact and mythical variants of it which found their way into folklore, as well as portrayals of it in the frescoes of village churches and monasteries - portrayals which could be seen centuries ago, as, indeed, they are to be seen to this day.

As regards the Hungarian, Croatian, and Slovenian popular helping devil concepts, these tend to be associated with the figures of various "learned men" (shepherd, miller, coachman, hunter), rather than with that of the witch.[137] Already in the centuries of witch persecution - as is attested by our trials -, all these helping spirits, including the Hungarian lidérc, came to be almost synonymous with the devil.[138] The "diabolization" of the spirits also brought with it a change in the contents of the concepts: the magician's helping spirit - amongst other things - helped to "see" treasures (it made its owner a "seer"); while the helping devils - in accordance with the ideas of the devilish origin of treasure, money, and riches, of the Devil's pact entered into for the sake of earthly happiness, for riches - simply carry treasures to their owner, enriching him.[139]

The legendary figures of learned men having the devil at their

command seem to indicate that here too the propagation of these Devil's pact concepts was not due to witch persecution. The legendary motifs, widespread in large areas of Europe, of magicians and learned men entering into a pact with the devil and promising their soul to the devil in exchange for their knowledge are known - independently of witch persecuting diabolism - in Hungarian and Croatian, Slovenian (Czech, Ukrainian) folklore. It is not clear from which century in modern times we can date a familiarity with these motifs in the Carpatian Basin. In any case, we are probably dealing with the entrance into folklore of a semi-folkloristic literature which - independent of witch persecution, of any Satanism or Devil's pact doctrines that might have been propagated here - popularized the topic of demonology, of the Devil's pact. These influences coming from above found fertile soil in the beliefs regarding the helping spirits of magicians and wise men - and possibly witches - and their other archaic features preserving Southeastern European shamanistic vestiges. These were the feature that the beliefs in question blended with or were contaminated by; it isthe result of these contaminations that here the magicians of the international legend sujets sell their soul to the devil that has developed from the "popular" lidérc.[140]

Here we must come back to the diabolicized variants of the witch recognition and initiation beliefs connected with St. Lucy's stool, already mentioned above, - to the Slovenian, Croatian, and Hungarian (Austrian, Slovak, Moravian) beliefs regarding the devils conjured up or procured at the crossroads, by St. Lucy's stool, in a "magic circle". Particularly rich is the contemporary Hungarian material, from which - similarly to the "initiation" rites discussed above - the various elements of ritual magic are not absent, either. The fictitious (or sometimes real) rite is often expressly conjuration of spirits or of the devil: for instance, according to a belief found in Pusztamérges, "he can invoke the spirit of whomever he wants". We get the toposes of the Christian hell: the stench of brimstone, warty frogs; "coffins fly about", fiery chariots hurtle by; and the frightening monsters already known from Lucian raise their ugly heads. The object of the rites is often nothing more than to force the appearing devil into their service. In both the Hungarian and the Slovenian, Croatian context, the selling of the soul to the devil, the Devil's pact, also appears. Meanwhile, these fictitious rites also preserve their aforementioned archaic roots: the motifs of the soul breaking away from the body, the trance state, the "bone extraction".[141] To quote a graphic example, com-

prising both layers (in which it is the initiating spirits of the werewolf-magicians that appear as devils): "The devil appears at the crossroads on St. George's day, and he gives one the power... to change, at any time, into the kind of animal one mentions there to the devil... that is how numerous herdsmen received their power to turn into wolves".[142] Some relevant data of our witchcraft trials show the same duality: For instance, in 1653, in Szalónak, Vas County, the learned herdsman Gergely Oberman gives his soul to his devil, whom he acquired at the crossroads (it is in the confession of his wife, obtained under torture, that this becomes a "real" devil; she testifies that they both worship the devil, and that they kneel before him).[143]

While our data from Western Hungary - referring to ritual magic as well - tie those concepts of Hungarian folk belief to the aforementioned Austrian-Slovenian-Croatian region, the Hungarian data on lidérc lovers and devil lovers also have some Southeastern European connections. Throughout the entire region, every one of the above-mentioned helping spirits (which also appear as incubus and succubus demons) - both their "fiery" and "watery" versions - also appear as "devil lovers"; indeed, they often came to be called "devil" or "devil lover". The Romanian witch - according to widespread beliefs - also has sexual intercourse with the originally, too, "infernal", "watery" devil; the Hungarian witch has intercourse with both variants, with both the small-sized chicken helping devil and the fiery dragon-like devil. The corresponding Croatian-Slovenian beings - the treasure-bringing devils, fiery devils, lidérc chicken devils - also appear as the sexual partners of their owners.[144]

The "transformation into devil" - at least partially - must have taken place relatively early: the human figure of the lidérc lovers, clearly connected with the above fiery dragons, is - already according to two data of our witchcraft trials - the horse-legged devil.[145] According to Ute Dukova, the presumed early "diabolicization" (which took place in the same way in the trial-free Orthodox areas as well) was probably influenced by the "dragon - devil" identification, known from as far back as the early Middle Ages.[146] To that we may add that this was probably true not only with regard to the "devil lovers". One of two witchcraft trial data we have is worthy of note also because, in this connection, an otherwise very rare "full coincidence" or identification took place between this type of popular devils and the devil of church diabolism: the horse-legged fiery lover from Tolna County evolves into the "cold-bodied"

devil of official demonology, while in other respects - including its wish-fulfilling role connected with erotic dissatisfactions (the witch's husband was old and blind, while the devil was young and he gently caressed her) - it corresponds to the "popular" lidérc devil.[147]

What do the witches accused in our trials - witches who keep helping devils - use their devils for? Apart from a few data on erotic contacts, they do not use them for anything that the interrogation - in principle or in practical terms - requires. This devil will, at best, help tear at the cattle, as in a trial held in Vas County in 1653; and maybe, this devil is the one who pulls the trigger of the gun (claimed to have gone off by chance) of the defendant of the 1748 trial of Sopron County.[148] Although we do have some data according to which the witch goes with her own devil to the feast,[149] this devil does not cross from the private sphere into the group sex scenes of the official witches' Sabbath required by the persecutors, nor does it become the object of the cult of the devil-worshipping assembly. The data of some Transylvanian Saxon trials seem to suggest that these Devil's pact concepts of shamanistic origin may have served as the basis, too, of a more sophisticated interrogation requiring more diabolism: here claims are made to the effect that prolonged sleep or a bee flying out of the defendant's nose during a trance is evidence of a pact with the devil; while the motif of bone extraction is interpreted - or accepted - as a "seal of the devil";[150] but it is not this that characterizes witch persecution in Hungary - probably because the interrogation generally fell short of the exacting standards of the Saxon authorities.

It is clear from our examples that certain "popular" concepts of the Devil's pact are present in the area under survey. These concepts were, in the final analysis, built on the contact-making rituals of shamanistic magicians, although the idea of the pact itself is clearly a product of Orthodox demonology and legend-literature. The fact that here this happened to become associated with witch beliefs as well, may be attributable to the accident that the animal demons of shamanistic magicians are, concomitantly, popular devil figures long since known in the Orthodox areas; again, the idea of possession by the devil (a highly popular notion in these parts) itself easily became associated with the magician's soul, leaving in a trance and then returning into his body.

Accordingly, the Southeastern European figure of the witch offered ready-made, as it were, for diabolism, coming with witch persecution to a

section of the area, the idea of the Devil's pact, in conjunction with the more or less witchicized, humanized variants of the societies of witches; indeed, it provided a shaping precedent, too, for an other important ingredient of the Sabbath, i.e. the witch having intercourse with the devil. Gábor Klaniczay has reviewed the scanty diabolicized witches' Sabbath descriptions of Hungarian trials and the - likewise rare - regular Devil's pact confessions.[151] I did not consider it to be my task to study these; I only charted the possible convergences, as seen "from below", between official and popular diabolism. Such convergence, as has been seen, were few and far between; only in a few instances did these folkloristic devils come, through one strand or another, close to the official devil, mostly only to the extent of the odd pact formed at the crossroads. Indeed, as has also been shown by Klaniczay, the regular devil of Western demonology is generally, too, very rare in our trials.[152] Apart from these few instances, the most these - whether the helping devils or fiery incubuses - do to add to the defendant's list of crimes is to draw the comment "he's got a devil"; but the Hungarian lidérc cases do not, in general, become real charges of a demonological Devil's pact. This state of affairs - to be observed in Hungary in the 18th century - corresponds to the early stage in the centre of witch persecution, when the accused were in a tacit alliance with the servant-devils and private incubus devils acquired through the methods of ritual magic.[153] There, this state of affairs was swept away, or rather, it was incorporated by the advance of the higher-level official demonology; while in Hungary - and similarly in Croatia - it had too little influence for that sort of integration to take place. The emergence of popular devils was clearly influenced - in ways that have yet to be revealed - by ritual magic, as well as by (mainly Orthodox) demonology independent of witch persecution and by the folkloristic variants of Devil's pact legends; yet, all these relationships and interactions generally arose in the medium of folklore, rather than in that of witchcraft trials. In the regions of witch hunts, the diabolism of persecution and folklore are fairly independent of each other; while in the Orthodox areas, naturally only the latter is alive.

Can we call, after these, the popular witches' Sabbath and Devil's pact concepts outlined in the paper "popular foundations"? - after all, they scarcely, if at all, served as the basis of the Sabbath and Devil's pact concepts of demonology. They can only be regarded as such if it turns out that archaic rites and beliefs of identical historical roots also

played a part in the emergence of diabolistic doctrines in Central and Western Europe. With regard to the Sabbath, we already know about such common roots. In this respect, all the features of the popular concepts outlined in the present paper: the transformation of the magicians into witches,[154] the humanization of the demons,[155] the Sabbath concepts of shamanistic origin and anchored in fairy cult (concepts, moreover, which could be tied to the black demons) - all these features, then, have parallels in several areas of Central and Southern Europe; it is enough to refer here to the quoted researches of Ginzburg and Henningsen. In this respect, nothing less than the traces - surviving in several relictum areas of Europe - of a Proto-European shamanism must be pursued further. In any case, even until now several research results - mentioned only in passing in the present paper - suggest that, in the central areas of witch persecution, concepts similar to those preserved more clearly in Southern and Southeastern Europe may have served as the basis for the formation of just about all the features of the official Sabbath version; the ideologues were perhaps left only the job of composing the Sabbath and, at best, colouring it, rendering it more effective.

If that is the case, attention is due to the devils that have been little studied from such a perspective and, indeed, to the Devil's pact itself. It may well be the case that the helping devils of even the Western trials - particularly in the early trials, had an important role, too, in the concepts regarding the Devil's pact - may be supposed to have been rooted not only in the servant-devils of ritual magic, and, conversely, that - in both Central and Western Europe - the servant-devils of ritual magic, too, may have something to do with the shamanistic helping spirits. In this respect, too, the southeastern and Central European similarities are sufficiently striking to deserve at least some research. Schormann, as a historian, criticizes the researchers of cultural anthropology and history of religion, who, in his opinion, while exploring the ideology of witch persecution, - generalizing on the basis of too little evidence - exaggerate the role of "popular origin".[156] Observing witch persecution "from below", from the angle of folk belief systems, we are struck by just the opposite - namely, how little historians exploring witchcraft trials, have taken of this circumstance.

Notes

[1]Cohn (1975: 97-98, 252); Trevor-Roper (1969: 41-42). This concept is connected with the increase, in the late Middle Ages, of the role of the devil, the belief in him, and the fear of Satan.

[2]On the motifs of the Sabbath and the doctrines of the Devil's pact, as the fundamental elements of the new demonology: Trevor-Roper (1969: 118); Cohn (1975: 100-102); Kieckhefer (1976: 22-23, 31, 78-80); Thomas (1971: 438).

[3]Cohn (1975: 164-205).

[4]Cohn (1975: 38-39, 225-229). On the same topic: Kieckhefer (1976: 20-21). For the relevant medieval sources see: Lea (1957: I. 170-198).

[5]Ginzburg (1966); Eliade (1974); Klaniczay (1983).

[6]Henningsen (1985); Pócs (1986).

[7]Cohn (1975: 34-36); Kieckhefer (1976: 24-25).

[8]Many examples of the popular diabolism of witchcraft trials are cited by Byloff (1929); Runeberg (1947: 99-102), but it is also referred to by Kieckhefer (1976: Chapter III); Unverhau (1980: 6-12). Heide Dienst (1986: 76) emphasizes the importance of popular demonology noting that it is difficult to chart, as its contents - primarily under the impulse of sermons - changed a great deal in the course of time.

[9]On this, Zguta (1977). Larner (1981: 10-11) calls attention to the fact that in Russia - it falling outside the zone of influence of Roman law -, the tenet of canonical law which held that any kind of activity outside the Church (including healing) could only be performed through the power of the devil did not gain ground.

[10]Klaniczay (1986: 282-283).

[11]Zguta (1977: 12-14).

[12]Thomas (1971: 436).

[13]As - from the centuries of witch persecution - Anglo-Saxon researchers have described it in the most multi-faceted manner: Macfarlane (1970); Thomas (1971: 435-583). On the "magic folk culture" free of official demonology and existing independently of it: Kieckhefer (1975: Chapter III. Distinction of Popular and Learned Traditions); Larner (1981: 8-17); Klaniczay (1986); Dienst (1986, 1987); Behringer (1987: 72-96).

[14]I have no space to discuss in detail the role that the various mythical beings and magicians performed in the one-time mythologies and ritual systems of the particular peoples.

[15]Concerning the area under examination: Grgjić-Bjelkošić (1899: 629); Ivanišević (1905: 262-263); Bogdan-Bijelić (1908: 306-308); Krauss (1908: 146-152); Lang (1914: 146); Szendrey, Á. (1955); Schneeweiss (1961: 11, 22-23); Barna (1981); Zečević (1981: 146-147); Georgieva (1983: 168-169); Candrea (1944: 152-156). With regard to Germanic peoples and in general: Höfler, M. (1891); Ranke (1933); Runeberg (1947: 137-138). It is particularly Runeberg who stresses the witch connections: he presents the Mahr/mora beings as the demonic predecessors of the witch. On the presumed Indo-European affinity: Toporov (1977); Dukova (1983: 30-36). (Indo-European *móros = 'death'.)

[16]For details see: Pócs (1986: 188-190). Data referring to it: Marinov (1914: 212-213, 218); Kelemina (1930: 40-41); Candrea (1944: 163-164); Zečević (1981: 123-125, 163-165); Moszyński (1967: 651-652). The most important works on the Western and Central Europen beings: Waschnitius (1913); Liungmann (1937/1938); Höfler, O. (1930).

[17]In detail: Pócs (1986: 196-198). The most important literature: Zečević (1981: 166-170); Georgieva (1983: 150-152); Lawson (1910: 190-255).

[18] In detail: Pócs (1986: 200-202). The most important literature: Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 355-357); Eliade (1974: 164-165); Zečević (1981: 159-162).

[19] Examples, from the Hungarian trials, of the appellations "evil ones" and "bad ones", as applied to witches: Kolozsvár 1733/1734 (Komáromy 1910: 469); Hódmezővásárhely 1740 (Schram 1970: I. 267); Sopron County 1743 (Schram 1970: II. 193, 199), Felsőbánya, Szatmár County 1731 (Abafi 1888: 359). Similar beings (under different appellations), for instance, in the Udvarhelyszék trial (Vass 1913: 161, 165). Some contemporary data from Transylvania and Southern Hungary: Kálmány (1891: 197-198); Jankó (1891: 277); Kiss (1937: 133, 144-145); Horváth (1971: 44-48); Salamon (1975: 76); Kovács (1981: 271).

[20] Schram (1982: 150). Similar ghost-witches making noises in the attic: Átány, Heves County 1754 (Sugár 1987: 367); Sopron County 1729 (Schram 1970: II, 54).

[21] Zentai (1983: 117) in Vajszló, Baranya County.

[22] Iharosberény, Somogy County: Schram (1970: I, 543). Data of the Hungarian witch, as a storm-demon, e.g.: Szabó (1975: 156), in Taktaszada, Szabolcs County, Salamon (1975: 111-112), in Gyimes. According to both data, the witch's soul, upon his/her death, is carried off into a storm or cloud (that is why his/her coffin is light). Southern Slav storm-witch: Tkalčić (1892: 18) (trial in Ljubljana in 1704); Krauss (1908: 81-83). In the Hungarian witchcraft trials, there are many data on the witch of a stormy character, appearing in the wind; in these cases, however, we also have to do with the storm-demon attributes of fairies - the two types of demonic predecessors cannot be divorced from each other. E.g.: Vaszar, Győr County, 1758, Komáromy (1910: 680); Nagyszerind, Arad County, 1765, ibid., p. 587; Bihar County 1724, ibid., p. 329; Iharosberény, Somogy County, Schram (1970: I, 542).

[23] Klaniczay (1986: 282).

[24] In greater detail about these magicians Pócs (1989). The most important literature: Bošković-Stulli (1960: 285-286); Đorđević (1953: 237-250); Moszyński (1967: 652-653). Central European parallels (the wilde Jagd, the ones carried off by the Perchtas) Waschnitius (1913: passim), Höfler, O. (1930: passim).

[25] Djorđević (1953: 26). A similar motif (witches fighting in the wind and "raising a storm" carry people off to unknown places): Kelemina (1930: 247); Đorđjević (1953: 25-26). On the Southern Slav and Eastern Slav storm-magicians and storm-witches: Tolstoj and Tolstaja (1981). Cases of the Central European storm-witches and rain-making magicians: Cohn (1975: 81, 152-153).

[26] In greater detail Pócs (1989). The most important literature touching on our area: Hertz (1862), B. Schmidt, (1871: 157-165); Marinov (1914: 221); Kelemina (1930: 39-40); Kretzenbacher (1968: 128, 198); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 228-229, 236-244); Zečević (1981: 126-137; 168-169); Senn (1982: 27). Téglás (1912: 264); Pamfile (1916: 144-149); Candrea (1944: 148-152); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 245-249, 257-269); Bellosics (1904: 317); Đorđević (1953: 19-23); Bošković-Stulli (1953: 336). Eastern and Western Slav: Zelenin (1927: 394-295); Drozdowska (1962: 127); Perkowski (1972). On the werewolf having two souls, two hearts, and two rows of teeth, and on the departing soul of the werewolf Pócs (1989); Drozdowska (1962: 126); Pamfile (1916: 169); Horváthová and Urbancová (1972: 238).

[28] Magyardécse, Szolnok-Doboka County, collected by Sándor Bosnyák. Further data of the Hungarian witch with a tail Bosnyák (1970: 63), in Moldavia; 1771 witchcraft trial in Dés: Vajna (1906/1907: II, 316).

[29] Pamfile (1916: 34).

[30] Gazda (1980: 240). A similar werewolf-witch from Szatmár: jumping through a ring, she changes into a white dog and drains the milk into a gourd: Luby (1936: 47-48).

[31] The Southern Slav and Romanian crop- and milk-plundering witch: Pajek (1884: 20); Krauss (1908: 41, 71-76); Pamfile (1916: 187-188); Kelemina (1930: 15, 93-94); Candrea (1944: 148); Đorđević (1953: 24); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 248, 258). On crop-stealing and "dog-

headed" demons: Kretzenbacher (1968); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 195-196); Dordević (1953: 251-257).

[32]Corresponding to the Austrian and German, as well as to the Romanian and Serbian connections, the data on the werewolf-witch of our witchcraft trials - who changes into a wolf, snake, or dog - come partly from Western Transdanubia and partly from the eastern and southeastern counties. Zala County: Schram (1970: II, 648); Vas County ibid., pp. 615-616; Horváth, T. A. (1937: 27); Sopron County: Schram (1970: II, 98, 205); Győr County: Komáromy (1910: 672-679); Békés County: Schram (1982: 145-146); Bihar County: Komáromy (1910: 475-476). Our werewolf-witch attacking in the shape of a snake is from Borsod County: Schram (1970: I. 151). - Data of the "sent wolf" from Sopron, Vas, and Győr Counties, in 17th-18th-century trials: Komáromy (1910: 688); Házi (1929); Schram (1970: II. 196-206, 501, 721); Horváth, T. A. (1937: 32). An interesting parallel is the 20th-century belief regarding "sent snakes": Balassa (1963: 262-265). This also proves that the "sent animals" may, indeed, have something to do with the animal form or the sent soul of the werewolf (cf. the werewolf's snake form and snake soul animal).

[33]The data quoted: Simontornya, Tolna County, 1741 (Schram 1970: II. 481); Gyöngyös, 1705: Sugár (1987: 42). We could quote a great many similar examples of the milk-stealing and milk-harming witch. It is known in virtually the entire Hungarian language area, from the centuries of witch persecution up to our own days. A few trial data that represent both stages (the bewitching the whole herd or the neighbours' herd and robbing the cow of one's next-door neighbour in the village): Paks, Tolna County 1717 (Schram 1970: II, 463); Földvár, Tolna County, 1741, ibid., p. 505; Röjtök, Sopron, 1746, ibid., pp. 252-256; Arad County 1756 (Komáromy 1910: 592). Contemporary data: Balassa (1963: 63-64), in Zemplén; Barna (1979: 28), in Hortobágy; Zentai (1983: 119), in Ormánság; Salamon (1975: 100-101), in Gyimes.

[34]Schmidt, L. (1952); Bárkányi (Voigt) (1961); Paulson (1964). Röhrich calls attention (1959: 150-153) to the fact that, in ancient and subsequently in medieval Europe, the Greek-Roman-Celtic concepts - which, according to Schmidt, are of Caucasian origin - merged into the cult of Artemis and later into that of Diana. In view of the important role played by Diana in medieval witchcraft, one of the Central European ways in which the concepts of the lord of the animals entered witchcraft is also clear.

[35]"Lord of the wolves", "king of the wolves": Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 407); field-work findings of Vilmos Diószegi in Méhkerék. On wolf-shepherd beliefs and the cult of St. Sava: Schneeweiss (1961: 14); Čajkanović (1973). Hungarian "ram-shepherd", who is "chief of the witches": Mezőkövesd, Vilmos Diószegi's field-work findings.

[36]Komáromy (1910: 507). Similar Romanian data: Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 245, 258). Further Hungarian data from trials: Schram (1970: II, 435, 439). Other Hungarian trial data on witches able to handle wolves: Nagykároly, 1745; Szirmay (1809: 80-81).

[37]Jakobson and Ruzičić (1950); Jakobson and Szeftel (1966: 345); Klaniczay (1983: 119-122); Dukova (1984: 13).

[38]Bošković-Stulli (1960); Klaniczay (1983).

[39]On the zduhač (Pócs 1989) and the zmej/zmaj magician (Pócs 1988), as well as their Hungarian connections, - which, naturally, exist primarily with the táltos - I have written in greater detail; but now it is not our task to discuss this connection. The most important literature on magicians, besides the works mentioned: Marinov (1914: 208-209); Kelemina (1930: 35-40, 88-93); Moszyński (1967: 654-655); Dukova (1970: 235-238); Zečević (1981: 149-151); Georgieva (1983: 79-85).

[40]On this see Pócs (1986: 238-240).

[41]Marian (1899: III, 95-96); Pamfile (1916: 130); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 244-258). On the Southern Slav and Eastern Slav magicians and witches possessing two souls who send their living and dead souls to the world beyond: Tolstoj and Tolstaja (1981).

[42]On the other-world battles of the strigoi: Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 251-255); Eliade (1974: 158-159); Pócs (1986: 239-241).

[43] On the Romanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian witch who harms the milk and the corn of the neighbouring village, the neighbouring pasture and the neighbours' plot, and who practises love magic: Czirbusz (1882: 64); Matuska (1899: 298); Moldován (1913: 440); Arnaudov (1924: I 384-407); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 248); Obrebski (1977). Similar Serbian and Croatian: Đorđević (1953: 24); Russian: Zelenin (1927: 394); Polish: Drozedowska (1962: 127).

[44] Marinov (1914: 215); Dukova (1984: 8).

[45] Komáromy (1910: 677), Győr County. Data, from our trials, on "dew picking" (magic securing milk and corn by inflicting damage on the other village or pasture, on other people's field; the activity is generally associated with St. George's day, St. Lucy's day, and Whitsun): Komárom County, Rómer (1861: 229); Schram (1970: I, 434-435); Zala County, Schram (1970: II, 566); Tolna County, ibid., p. 505; Pozsony County, Schram (1970: I, 518-519); Bihar County, ibid., p. 106; Szolnok-Doboka County, Komáromy (1910: 507); Kolozsvár, ibid., p. 66; Szeben County, ibid., p. 199. According to our contemporary data, it is partly the practice of everyday magic and partly a fictitious activity attributed to the witch. E.g.: Szabó (1975: 159-160); Horvát I. (1971: 49); Balassa (1963: 177); Barna (1979: 16).

[46] Hodossy (1902: 221).

[47] In connection with the zduhač, kresnik, and similar Slovenian and Croatian magicians; Klaniczay (1986).

[48] Personal communication from Milena Benovska.

[49] Marinov (1914: 213-214); Wlislocki (1896: 191-193); Kolumbán (1901); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 176-181); Zečević (1981: 114-119); Moldován (1897: 191-194).

[50] Compare with this the semantic identity of the bird and the snake: Civjan (1984). Similar helping spirits - akin partly to these beings and partly to the domestic spirits and helping devils generally known in Central Europe - are also known in Slovenian and Croatian areas: Ivanišević (1905: 265-267); Kelemina (1930: 172-187); Schneeweiss (1961: 12). On the other hand, a similar helping also exists independently of the "soul-animal/helping spirit of the magician/witch" context in both the Orthodox Bulgarian-Romanian-Serbian area and in the other, witch persecution zone. In addition to the above literature: Grgjić-Bjelkošić (1899: 632); Carić (1899: 589-590); Lang (1914: 150).

[51] Research has posited an actually functioning "black magician" (as one of the predecessors of the European witch) - most convincingly, Caro Baroja (1967: 47-64) in connection with Thessalian and Roman women magicians maintaining cultic contact with Hecate and Diana and, similarly to the Southern Slav and Romanian sorceresses here discussed, likewise primarily engaged in love magic. Such a "witch-magician" connection is supported, too, by many other arguments which cannot be discussed here; but it is open to question whether this kind of predecessor can be brought into any historical relationship with the modern owners of the initiating/helping spirits here mentioned. The other variant of the "magician initiated in the lower world" is the garabonciás/şolomonar-type weather-magician, whose figure is related to the lidérc-chicken-type helping spirits, but who - apart from his "wind-magician" affinites - has, presumably, always been just a fictitious, legendary figure (on this see Pócs 1988). A summary of the Romanian şolomonar apprenticed to the devil: Gaster (1883); the similar features of the garabonciás: Erdész (1984: 114-138).

[52] A detailed treatment of this: Pócs (1988). The most important data relating to this: Kelemina (1930: 109); Marinov (1914: 208-210); Muşles and Bîrlea (1970: 189-194); Schneeweiss (1961: 12). - This phenomenon, too, is not restricted to the area under survey. Similar incubus-demon variants of both the fiery dragon and the money-bringing spiritus familiaris are known among all the Slavic peoples, e.g.: Zelenin (1927: 390-391). Here, however, the connection with the shamanistic helping spirits is clearly seen.

[53] For data on the mora see Note 15. "Night women", "women walking about at night" in the Hungarian trials, e.g.: Rómer (1861: 227); Komáromy (1910: 6, 22, 27, 31); Schram (1982: 234, 245).

[54]The data quoted: Mayláth (1889: 5). Data on these mora characteristics of the witch e.g.: Szendrey, Á. (1955); Pamfile (1916: 137); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 262-265); Krauss (1908: 57-59); Mikac (1934: 197); Boškovič-Stulli (1953: 337-338); Đorđević (1953: 6-28).

[55]For trial data on the soul flying out of the body see: Pócs (1986: 243). Further: Kazinczy (1885: 373, 375), Megyaszó, Zemplén County, 1731; Lehoczky (1887: 303-304), Kisdobrony, Bereg County, 1731/1736.

[56]For a summary of the Hungarian lidérc beliefs see: Pócs (1980). A great deal of material is presented by Róheim (1925: 93-98), who also refers to some of the connections here discussed and by Muraközy (1968).

[57]Debrecen, 1693 (Komáromy 1910: 29).

[58]Szirmay (1809: 81). Further trial data: Kolozsvár, Komáromy (1910: 170); Szabolcs County, Schram (1970: II, 352); Vas County, Schram (1970: II, 524); Sopron County, ibid., p. 193; Győr County, Schram (1970: I, 378-379); Komárom County, ibid., p. 488; Veszprém County, Schram (1982: 291); Zemplén County, ibid., p. 299; Abauj County, Mayláth (1889: 8). According to all these data, the witch has a money-bringing, all-knowing lidérc chicken, or a "fiery lidérc" visits him/her, flying into his/her house. A data from Hódmezővásárhely from 1750 expresses the identity of the lidérc with the witch's soul-animal: "you, in the shape of your tom-cat and your rooster, tortured him..."; Schram (1970: I, 283).

[59]For example: "The witches have their snake in an iron box, and they bathe (feed) it at every new moon" (Kiskundorozsma, MNT 9). The witch's snake, frog, lidérc chicken: Berze Nagy (1940: III, 253-254), Baranya County; P. Madar (1967: 180), Sárrétudvari, Bihar County (collection of Bálint Csergő, EA P 142/85-Fn), Küküllő-Keményfalva; Sándor (1976: 220-222), Berettyóujfalu, Bihar County.

[60]Pamfile (1916: 157).

[61]Besides his wolf and dog, already mentioned, the learned shepherd also has a snake, for instance in Karcsa, Zemplén County, Balassa (1963: 223-224, 262-264); Szeremle, Bácsbodrog County (collected by Tamás Grynaeus); Uszka, Szatmár County (collected by Vilmos Diószegi). He has a butterfly: Karcsa, Zemplén County, Balassa (1963: 262-264), a "spiritus", Süksösd, Bácsbodrog County (collected by Vilmos Diószegi), a frog, Gyimes, Bosnyák (1982: 80); he has a "ludvérc", Szenna, Somogy County (collected by Vilmos Diószegi).

[62]Keresztur, Sopron County, 1743, Schram (1970: II, 190-191). The further "helping spirit possessing" shepherds we will mention later, in connection with the helping devils, given that, already in our trials, these helpers appear as devils.

[63]A rich material of data is presented from the whole of Central Europe by Géza Róheim (1920), who essentially links the rites with the dead, visiting in mid-winter. See also: Weber-Kellerman (1958); Kovács (1977).

[64]On this aspect of it see Pócs (1983: 194-201).

[65]Đorđević (1963: 13-14, 19); Candrea (1944: 109); Marian (1899: III, 96-97). Pamfile (1916: 16). Hungarian data: Szendrey, Zs. (1914: 319); Györffy (1916: 81); Erdész (1984: 44); Kovács (1977).

[66]Szakoly, Szabolcs County (MNT 13). Similar data: Róheim (1920: passim).

[67]Szeged, Klein (1933: 68-69).

[68]Karancskeszi, Nógrád County (MNT 9). Similar: Miskolc (DM Lidérc questionnaire); Luby (1936: 98), Matolcs, Szatmár County. About this motiv see: Ginzburg (1989).

[69]Paks, Tolna County, 1777, Schram (1970: II, 464): "He was instructed that, if he saw a snake before St. George's day, he should cut off its head by the money of St. Helen, put garlic in its mouth, and take it into the church; then those who were bedevilled would leave the church, and when they went home, people would make a wry mouth..."

[70]Some elements of the methods, as part of a devil-conjuring procedure, are known in a literally identical form from a German-language book of magic, which used to be in circulation in the territory of Slovenia (it is now the property of HElena Lozar-Podlagar, in the Folklore Institute of Ljubljana). I do not know of similar Croatian or Hungarian data. - In a modern Hungarian belief legend: Bihari (1980: 76-78).

[71]In my 1986 study, I presented the witches' Sabbath of fairy origin with an ample material of examples.

[72]Henningsen (1985: 785).

[73]Tkalčić (1892: 18-91, 25); trials from 1704, 1749, and 1743. In the data of Hungarian trials, the reports of people being carried off to meetings held on hills can be linked less clearly with a specific demonic ancestor. E.g. in the trial held in Hódmezővásárhely in 1750, Schram (1970: II, 334-335).

[74]Romanian and Southern Slav data of infernal witches' Sabbath narratives: Téglás (1912: 162); Muşlea and Birlea (1970: 254, 267-268); Pajek (1884: 20), Slovenian trial in Styria in 1666; Tkalčić (1892: 23), trial from 1743; Ardalić (1917: 308-309); Đorđević (1953: 26). From Hungarian trials: Szentes, 1732, Schram ('970: I, 240); 1734, ibid., pp. 246-248; Hódmezővásárhely, 1731, ibid., p. 256; 1758, ibid., pp. 338-339; Bicske, Pest County, 1728, Komáromy (1910: 415-416); Kiskunhalas, 1735, Schram (1970: II, 438-439); Örvénd, Bihar County, 1716, Schram (1970: I, 79); Sümeg, Somogy County, 1737, Schram (1970: II, 668); Székesfehérvár, 1732, Schneider (1934: 18-19).

[75]In Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian demon beliefs: Lawson (1910: 193-200); Blum, R. and Blum, E. (1970: 121-122); Marinov (1914: 211-212); Zečević (1981: 169-170).

[76]The data quoted: Sugár (1987: 214), 1781 Schram (1970: I, 285; II, 30-31); Molnár (1958: 369). Or in a company of cats entering the house at midnight we may recognize the moroi beliefs: Kolozsvár 1584, Komáromy (1910: 57, 68).

[77]Đorđević (1953: 71).

[78]The data quoted: Schram (1970: I, 486; II, 716-717, 30,31); Hódmezővásárhely, 1741, ibid., I, p. 297. Examples of victims carried off in their sleep: Kiskunhalas 1752, Schram (1970: II, 445-446). Or: after going to sleep, somebody "wakes up" to find that he is being pulled out; trial in Miskolc in 1709, Szendrei, J. (1904: 639), and then they get out through the keyhole. Under this head falls, too, the case where someone is carried off by creatures appearing in a "vision" of the night, as, for instance, in a trial held in Sajóvámos(Borsod County, 1709), or where someone is surrounded, at night, by a "large company of women", who pull him/her out of bed and take him/her by force to the church; Schram (1970: I, 144,145). Further data on people who have been "carried about": e.g. from Szeged, Reizner (1900: 376), Szatmár Szirmay (1809: 80); Schram ('970: II, 313, 334), and from Bihar County, Schram (1970: I, 58-59, 122-123), as well as from Székesfehérvár, Schneider (1934: 18-19).

[79]Schram (1970: II, 257; I, 103, 104).

[80]Collected by Vánkóné Juli Dudás, EA 1574.

[81]Hódmezővásárhely, Schram (1970: I, 304); Abafi (1888: 358). Similar motifs (horse, cat, hen, rooster, dog, etc.): Felsőbánya, Szatmár County 1731; Vésztő, Bihar County 1748; Schram (1982: 128); Babarc and Felsőbük, Sopron County, 1742 and 1730, Schram (1970: II, 165, 53); Eger 1711, Sugár (1987: 73).

[82]Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, DM Lidérc questionnaire. Or in Tiszaigar (Szolnok County): the witches summoned by the sound of horn change into bulls, geese, foals, etc. (field-work finding of Vilmos Diószegi). Some characteristic items of the many contemporary data on the werewolf-witches who hold meetings on St. George's day, St. Lucy's day, at Christmas, and on other occasions: Kiss (1937: 139-140), Ormánság; Jankó (1895: 241), Torda, Aranyosszék, Torockó; Szendrey, Zs. (1914: 319), Nagyszalonta, Bihar County.

[83]Cristescu-Golopentia (1944: 127). Similar Romanian data: Muşlea and Birlea (1970:

251-268). According to the Croatian trial in 1751 published by Tkalčić (1892: 27), the participants of the witches' meeting steal the milk at new moon (also a werewolf time).

[84]Polgár, Hajdú-Bihar County, MNT 9.

[85]Szeghalom, Békés County 1724, Oláh (1886/1887: 115). A victim from Balkány (Szabolcs County 1717) is similarly a werewolf-witch; a wolf's skin is put around his neck when, sitting him on a horse, they carry him off to their meeting; Schram (1970: II, 306). The people carried off on the backs of cats and dogs or after being changed into animals are probably mostly of werewolf origin: Simontornya, Tolna; Schram (1970: II, 519); Balkány, Szabolcs, 1735, ibid., pp. 343-344. We can be certain of this when, on characteristic werewolf days, witches who have assumed animal form assemble for the purpose of corrupting cows or ruining crops. Thus, for instance, in Borosjenő, Arad County, 1756; Komáromy (1910: 591-596), it is in the form of dogs and cats that they corrupt cows on St. George's night. Or those crossing water are werewolf-witches, too - they "must go"; Kisvárda, Szabolcs, 1735, Schram (1970: II, 347).

[86]Schneeweiss (1961: 14); Margalits (1899a: 125; 1899b: 302); Kuret (1975). According to the latter data, a Wilder Jäger-type being called Sent collects his servants at Christmas; these, upon crossing the river, change into wolves.

[87]Bosnyák (1980: 126-127). Or: in Hajdúböszörmény, the shepherds believe that, in the old days, there used to be "a chief" among the witches; he "assigned each what was to be done"; Barna (1979: 23). According to a testimony of a trial that took place in Szeged, the "wolf-shepherd" appears as a "guardian angel" at the witches' meeting called to distribute the tasks of casting evil spells; Reizner (1900: 395). Slovenian data: Pajek (1884: 17); Romanian: Moldován (1897: 177). According to the latter data, the meeting is presided over by the "chief of the priculticis, who, on the top of the Retyezát, rules over meadows, forests, and waters".

[88]Ginzburg (1966); Klaniczay (1983, 1986); Pócs (1986).

[89]Bellosics (1904: 217).

[90]Tállya, 1715, Hodossy (1902: 222 - the author's summary of the Latin original). Similarly "positive" traces may lie at the bottom of the company of storm-raising witches "allied with the garabonciás"; Iharosberény, Somogy, 1737, Schram (1970: I, 542). Several Southern slav and Eastern Slav data on the companies of magicians and withces fighting in the storm are reported by Tolstoj and Tolstaja (1981).

[91]For data on the other-world battles of the Romanian strigoi see Note 42. On the Southern Slav dew-picking, crop-plundering witches' Sabbaths: Krauss (1908: 38-41, 71-77); Tkalčić (1892: 26, 35), trials in 1743 and 1752; Pajek (1884), trials between 1531-1546; Đorđević (1953: 24, 28-29).

[92]Cristescu-Golopenţia 150, Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 248).

[93]Szeged, 1728 and 1737, Reizner (1900: 406, 519); Diószeg, Bihar County, Schram (1970: I, 104-105); Mád, Zemplén County, 1715; Schram (1982: 298), Sempte, Pozsony County, Schram (1970: I, 516).

[94]For instance, they travel on: Jankó (1895: 241), Torda, Aranyosszék, Torockó; on spade, hemp-braker, broom-handle: Istensegíts, Bukovina, Bosnyák (1977: 82); on hemp-breaker: Gyimes, Salamon (1975: 102-103); on broom and on whitewash brush: Galgamácsa and Kalocsa, Pest County, field-work findings of Vilmos Diószegi); on oven-peel and baker's shovel: Baskó, Abaúj County, field-work findings of Vilmos Diószegi; in basket: Gyimes, Salamon (1975: 99-100); on broom, spinning-wheel, barrel, wheelbarrow: Göcsej, Gönczi (1914: 109).

[95]Data, in the Hungarian trials, on witches who drink new wine on Christmas Eve, press wine from buds at the time of vine dressing, have new bread at Whitsun, pick pears on St. George's day, etc.: Körmend, Vas County 1648, Schram (1970: II, 712); Nagymacsord and Sempte, Pozsony County, 1727 and 1732, Schram (1970: I, 516, 518-519); Szeged, Reizner (1900: 397, 406-408); Tállya, Zemplén County, Hodossy (1902: 222). In modern legends, in the eastern

territories, the popular motifs of the witches' Sabbath include flowers, grapes, and fruits at Christmas: Klézse, Moldva, Bosnyák (1980: 63); Hortobágy, Barna (1979: 23-24); Luby (1936: 54-58); indeed, according to a data from Hencida, Bihar County, the grapes are brought from overseas, from Canada (collected by Mrs. Mihály Sándor). The motif of fruits acquired from other parts of the world is already part of the prefigurations, too, of the Faust legend - e.g. certain variants of the Theophilus legend; Palmer and More (1966: 204, 218-219). That, however, does not exclude the possibility that underlying the motif is the crop-securing activity of the shamanistic magicians, onto which the motif of "devilish knowledge", known from ritual magic and from Devil's pact legends, has superimposed itself as an additional layer.

[96]The shamanistic initiating motif of "dismemberment - bone extraction - revival" also figures, moreover, in the 20th-century dew-picking legends, e.g. in Taktaszada, Szabolcs County, Szabó (1975: 159-163); in Tiszafüred and Tiszaszöllős, Szolnok County, field-work findings of Éva Pócs). Romanian data: Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 248).

[97]Summaries of these debates: Cohn (1975: 38-39). While analyzing the Sicilian fairy cult, Henningsen throws attention onto the popular witches' Sabbaths built up in the realm of "dreams and visions" - or, more exactly, to the fairy-like "white" prefigurations of these -, counterposing this dreamworld to the actual meetings and societies of witches posited by Murray (1985: 785).

[98]On the rusalia and căluşari rites and their role in the Sabbath Concepts see Pócs (1986: 228-232).

[99]We cannot, in this place, give even the most important bibliography of the rich material of the relevant issues. Some of the works that contain important data material on the "archaic relationships": Blum, R. and Blum, E. (1965; 1970); Scharankov (1980).

[100]Murray (1921); Summers (1926); Runeberg (1947: 175-242). Though in different approaches, all three of them argue, in some sort of way, in favour of the reality of witches' Sabbaths and devil-worshipping rites. A detailed critique of the views of all three and of those of other members of the ritualist school: Cohn (1975: 110-115); the most cogent refutation of Murray's theses: Henningsen (1988).

[101]In communities which preserve their traditions, the experiences of encounters with the dead, with ghosts, are often "real" even in this day and age. The experience of the soul flying out of the body also occurs: we get a report of one such experience where the subject claims to have grown wings and to have flown over the village on the night of Holy Innocents' Day. (Collected by Tamás Grynaeus in Dávod, Bács-Kiskun County.) Stereotypical dreams are very frequent, too, precisely in regard to the dead, to ghosts and demons - the contents of these are real to the dreamer. Stereotypical dreams had considerable importance precisely in the course of witch persecution: Henningsen refers (1988: 119, 280) to the phenomenon of "dream epidemic", observed in the course of the Basque trials, to children's dream experiences - spreading like an epidemic - of the witches' Sabbath (the phenomenon has French, German, and Swedish parallels as well).

[102]Kazinczy (1885: 373-374).

[103]Szendrei, J. (1904: 639), 1709.

[104]Cohn (1975: 225).

[105]Field-work findings of Tmáas Grynaeus in Szeremle, Bács-Kiskun County; Tekla Dömötör's field-work findings in Drávasztára, Baranya County.

[106]The majority of the sujets of the witches' feast legends in the Hungarian belief legend catalogue - including the 1/A-B, 2/A-B, and E groups - are based on some kind of other-world experience; Bihari (1980: 80-81).

[107]For example the Bulgarian devils walking about in the period between Christmas and Twelfth Day (cf. Karakondzhuli): Dukova (1985: 20); Romanian "devil who assumes the likeness of a dead man": Pamfile (1916: 168); werewolf-devil, water-spirit devil: Muşlea and Bîrlea

(1970: 174). Further data: Téglás (1912: 161); Candrea (1944: 113-114); Cristescu-Golopenţia (1944: 60, 84, 183); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 163-175); Zečević (1981: 125); Dukova (1985: 12-13).

[108] See, for instance, the devils that developed from giants, the ghost-devils, mahr-devils, werewolf-devils, or the kobold-devils: Weiser-Aall (1932/1933: 46); Woods (1959: 15-21, 84-85, 90-93, 100-116). On the "Satan - dragon" identification: Franz (1909: II, 19-37). (It is just a curious accident in the history of religion that the one-time predecessors of the "official" Christian Satan were also akin to - or, indeed, were downright identical with - certain Babylonian, Iranian, and Jewish predecessors of the demons.)

[109] Minor orders of exorcists and healers in the Orthodox territories even in modern times: Pradel (1907: 258); Vajkai (1943: 26, 33, 46-46); Pamfile (1916: 239-241). Kretzenbacher (1968: 17-53) writes about the early Eastern legends centred on devil conjuration and the Devil's pact and about the portrayals of these legends in churches and monasteries (in connection with this, see, for instance, the fresco portrayals, from Bulgarian monasteries, of Georgiva (1983, published without page numbers), and the devil frescoes of the Rila monasteries.

[110] Magyarózd, Alsó-Fehér County, Horváth, I. (1971: 44). A widespread witch and ghost legend primarily with reference to Christmas: e.g. during the midnight mass, the witches go to the crossroads to dance, "they cannot enter the church" (Őrhalom, Nógrád County, field-work findings of Vilmos Diószegi).

[111] Bornemisza (1955: 44, 68, 129, 131, 204).

[112] Salamon (1975: 87).

[113] The quoted data from Udvarhelyszék: Vass (1913: 165). A child-bed demon-like devil: Körösladány 1756; Schram (1982: 157); devil as pressing cat: Zala County, Schram (1970: II, 572); karakondzol-devil with big teeth and big ears: Szeged, Reizner (1910: 516); Satan "climbing onto" someone with two other persons: Szeged 1728, Reizner (1900: 417); Szentes 1734, Schram (1970: I, 425); pressing, sucking ("mora") devil: Körmend 1738, Komáromy (1910: 495). Similar devil figures and calling witches "devils": from Alsó-Fehér, Bihar, Arad, Csongrád, Ugocsa, Tolna, and Pest Counties, from Debrecen and Szeged (with one data, too, from Borsod and Pozsony County, respectively): Schram (1970: I, 220, 239, 245, 516; II, 494); Komáromy (1910: 134, 152-155, 172, 199, 216, 228, 230, 309, 321, 327, 371-372, 405, 592); Szilágyi (1881: 593).

[114] A Romanian data, Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 171).

[115] Komáromy (1910: 172). Or: "Devils are wont to play at the crossroads"; csángós living in Moldavia, Wichmann (1907: 214).

[116] Trial at Egyházasfalu, Sopron County, in 1744 Schram (1970: II, 203). It should be noted that the beliefs regarding the witches' feast held at the cross-roads - beliefs widely held in the area under review as well - are, in all probability, due to the influence, to be observed in other repsects too, of ritual magic. We also have Croatian data on crossroads feasts held with the participation of devils: Tkalčić (1892: 17, 28), trials of 1743 and 1749. Puhvell (1976) connects the apparently general European phenomenon of the witches' assembly at the crossroads with the cult of Hecate; the relationship, however, is still closer with the devil conjuring of ritual magic.

[117] Krauss (1908: 54-55); Téglás (1912: 162).

[118] Schram (1970: I, 343).

[119] Konyár 1716; Schram (1970: I, 80).

[120] Reporting of the trial held in Livonia: Höfler, O. (1934: 345-351). Further devil adversaries in the battles: Nagykároly 1745, Szirmay (1809: 81-82); Diószeg, Bihar County 1723, Schram (1970: I, 104-105).

[121] Hodossy (1902: 222). It is mentioned in the Szeged trials (1720) too, that bread baked prematurely from green wheat is sold; Reizner (1900: 400). In Slovenian trials between 1531-46: Pajek (1884: II).

[122]Field-work finding of Vilmos Diószegi (Békés County); Field-work finding of Éva Pócs in Egyházaskozár (Hungarian settlers from Moldavia).

[123]In Russian apocryphal visions and in Ukrainian folk belief: Lettenbauer (1951: 398-403). The hell of Hungarian dead-seers living in Moldavia is described most richly in D. Moldován's report (1980: 1387). Romanska (1969: 115-116) emphasizes the impact on Bulgarian folklore - an impact primarily due to bogumilism - of apocryphal legends, including those dealing with descents to hell, e.g. "Our Lady's Descent to Hell" (no specific examples are analyzed). The guard of hell, battles in hell: Moldován (1980: 1387), Moldavian seer of the dead; János Mikházy Szécsy's descent to hell from 1645, V. Kovács (1985: 298). "Stone bread - iron pie": ibid., pp. 293, 297; in the 1715 witchcraft trial in Tállya, Hodossy (1902: 222): on the night of St. George's day, they bake bread from softened stone.

[124]Alapi (1914: 468-469).

[125]Horváth, T. A. (1938: 32). On the topic see Csefkó (1928).

[126]Lilek (1900: 208). Zečević (1981: 140): the soul leaves the body of the witch in the shape of a butterfly.

[127]The data quoted: Krauss (1908: 57); further similar data ibid., pp. 57-70. Romanian data: Candrea (1944: 114); Muşlea and Birlea (1970: 171); Pamfile (1916: 136). (Here we also have another important aspect, not discussed here: one type of the Southern Slav, Romanian vampire is identical with this evil spirit that keeps returning after death; while its other type, the "living corpse vampire", is actually a corpse possessed by an evil spirit or by the devil. If blood-sucking is a criterion of vampirehood, there is also a "living vampire": the witch's soul, leaving at night, as it sucks blood. The Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Slovenian witches all have such characteristics, presumably secondarily, under the impulse of vampire beliefs.

[128]For example according to a legend from Hajdúszoboszló: (someone wants to learn "midwifery", that is to say, witchcraft) "At this, then, a big bumble-bee was let through her nostril..."; Feltóthy (1896: 90). Similar data: Szabó (1975: 145, 153), Taktaszada, Szabolcs County; Gulyás (1976: 61), Jászdózsa, Szolnok County; Farkas (1916: 39), Nagyszalonta - János Németh semi-táltos could not swallow the wasp: "he cannot pass the test of diabolic art". The moroi beliefs: Moldován (1897: 173-175); Candrea (1944: 152-156). The moroi also appears in the shape of a fly: Pamfile (1916: 129). - According to the data of a Kolozsvár trial in 1733/1734, the evil ones "come onto" one in the shape of wasps: Komáromy (1910: 469); according to a Hungarian vision from Moldavia, the"Satans" come in the form of a swarm of bees Moldován (1980: 1384). On the occasion of the witch recognition by means of St. Lucy's stool, the sign by which the sinful person can be identified is this, that during the midnight mass black beetles come out of his/her mouth (Taktaszada, Szabolcs County; Szabó (1975: 170)).

[129]The data quoted: Manga (1968: 168); field-work findings of Ildikó Varga (Zákányszék, Csongrád County). The acquisition of positive knowledge by means of beetles flying into the nose and into the mouth: learned shepherd, Jászdózsa, Szolnok County; Gulyás (1976: 61). See also: Bihari (1980: 83, 112).

[130]Seligmann (1987: 26-28); Petzoldt (1964/1965: 93).

[131]Marinov (1914: 213-215).

[132]Szeged, Bihar County, Kolozsvár; Reizner (1900: 420); Komáromy (1910: 73, 93, 222).

[133]Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 172-173).

[134]Schmidt (1871: 136-137). - This relationship of "possession by the devil - bewitching" is known not only in this Orthodox context. Thomas (1971: 478) presents 17th-century English examples to illustrate the view according to which the person possessed or bewitched has, as it were, an evil spirit sent by the witch enter his/her body (but it is not a case of the devil himself - the devil with whom they have a pact - lodging in the body; the Devil's pact and possession by the devil are two fundamentally different relationships with the devil - ibid., p 477).

[135]Marinov (1914: 214); Kolumbán (1901); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 173); Zečević (1981: 115).

[136]Wlislocki (1896: 192); Muşlea and Bîrlea (1970: 173-174, 180); Zečević (1981: 115).

[137]Hungarian helping devils; e.g. in Göcsej in the possession of a coachman and a hunter, Gönczi (1914: 164), in Bolhás, Somogy County, in the possession of a coachman; in Somogyviszló in that of a shepherd; in Tiszajenő (Szolnok County), in that of a hunter; in Lébény (Győr County) in that of a táltos (the latter data: MNT Questionnaire No. 13). Slovenian, Croatian: Mailly (1922: 16); Grgjić-Bjelkošić (1899: 632); Zečević (1981: 115).

[138]A "fiery lidérc", acquired at the crossroads, as devil: Keresztur, Sopron County, 1743, Schram (1970: II, 193); Money-bringing lidérc, as devil: Szombathely 1659 (ibid., 524); Debrecen, 1735, Komáromy (1910: 483); Szombathely 1640, Horváth, T. A. (1937: 24) - "devilish", one who has a lidérc. Helping devils are similarly acquired at the crossroads according to a 1653 trial in Szalónak (Vas County) or according to a 1746 trial held in Keresztur; indeed, they go to the crossroads to say the devil's prayer, Schram (1970: II, 205, 718-720). We also have a similar example from Komárom County: Mrs. Mihály Oláh, according to her testimony given under torture in her 1728 trial in Kamocsa, also sells her soul to Devil János acquired at the crossroads; Alapi (1914: 33-34).

[139]The idea of wealth and of acquiring treaures is present already in the early Devil's pact legends, Röhrich (1966: 210); and in the early (15th-centruy Swiss) trials, right from the first appearance of devil worship; Kieckhefer (1976: 20-21).

[140]Of these, the most important in the area is the fictitious, legendary figure of the garabonciás/şolomonar-like magicians - mentioned already in Note 59 - who are apprenticed to the devil. This, to simplify the question, arose from the conjunction of the beliefs regarding shamanistic magicians and the Devil's pact legends. Its legends are akin to certain variants of the Theophilus legend. Itinerant student studying in Salamanca: Palmer and More (1966: 100-101). At the same time, he - like the Bulgarian/Romanian/Serbian witch - has a "watery/infernal" helping spirit/soul-animal; on this Pócs (1988). Devil's pact legends in folklore: Russian, Zelenin (1927: 395-396); Galician Ukrainian, Hnatjuk (1904: I, 171-172, 317); Czech-Moravian, Grohmann (1864: 18-19); Sorbian, Veckenstedt (1880: 273-277). Comprehensively on the topic: Kretzenbacher 1968a. Woods (1979: 76-88) reports the legends centering on the pact independent of witchcraft (a pact formed with helping devils conjured up or invoked), legends that exhibit many affinities with the devil conjuring methods of ritual magic.

[141]The data quoted: MNT 13; Singer (Székely) (1898: 236); Szabó (1975: 172). Similar - in the Slovenian, Croatian, and Austrian situation, too - Róheim (1920: passim). In a story by Lucian, of the 2nd century, a hairy ghost is conjured up in a haunted house at night by people reading from a book of magic - and then one is frightened by dogs, a bull, and a lion; Kákosy (1974: 66-67).

[142]Szendrey, Zs. (1928: 39), Szatmár County.

[143]Schram (1970: II, 718-720). The duality of helping devil - "real devil" also characterizes the other trial data; the above-mentioned "learned man, skilled in the arts", János Somogyi, is also accused of having made deals with the devil (he, incidentally, by the aid of his helping devil, discovers the whereabouts of stolen horses) - Schram (1970: II, 188). - From a Kolozsvár trial we know a devil invocation applying purely the devil conjuring method of ritual magic: with the help of a "devilish book"; Komáromy (1910: 24).

[144]A detailed treatment of this: Pócs (1988). See the literature set out in Note 58.

[145]Simontornya, 1741, Schram (1970: II, 502-503); Kürt, 1711, Schram (1970: I, 495).

[146]Dukova (1970: 222).

[147]On this role of the lidérc: Dömötör (1980).

[148]Schram (1970: II, 721, 666).

[149] Alapi (1914: 45-46); or: the aforementioned wolf-shepherd-like devil from Hódmezővásárhely.

[150] The data on trance: Herbert (1896: 113). Bone extraction: Müller (1854: 56).

[151] Klaniczay (1986: 279-283).

[152] Ibid., 286.

[153] In 15th-century Swiss, Italian, and French trials: Cohn (1975: 232-233); Kieckhefer (1976: 70-71); Behringer (1987: 348). In England, where the "real" Sabbath did not take hold later, either, the central role of private devils persists much longer. The seal, for instance, - though not the pact - is ascribed to these; Thomas (1971: 445, 449, 516-517).

[154] It is particularly the evolution of weather magicians into witches that may be significant in this context; this process took place in many parts of Europe. Most recent discussions of this include, for instance, Dienst (1986: 86-87).

[155] Most recently, such processes have been identified, for instance, by Lecouteux (1985), in connection with the Central European and the German witch (and in connection with the terms 'Striga' and 'Hexe'). On the same topic: Unverhau (1980: 31-36).

[156] Schorman (1981: 105).

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THE DECLINE OF WITCH BELIEFS - THE VICTORY OF LEARNED (JUDICIAL, MEDICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL) PARADIGMS

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VARIATIONS SUR UNE ÉNIGME: LA FIN DES BÛCHERS DE SORCELLERIE

Robert Muchembled

Paris

Les phénomènes de sorcellerie existent dans toutes les civilisations, sous des formes spécifiques très variées, comme l'ont montré diverses contributions à ce colloque. Mais la chasse aux sorcières de l'époque dite "moderne" est à proprement parler un fait européen. Le centre et l'est du continent l'ont pourtant connue plus tard, en général, que les Etats de l'ouest. Réalisée pour la première fois, une comparaison explicite entre ces deux zones géographiques permet d'avancer un peu sur la voie de la résolution d'une vieille énigme historique: pourquoi la chasse aux sorcières a-t-elle assez soudainement cessé?

Le problème dépend évidemment de la théorie explicative utilisée par chaque chercheur. Je voudrais simplement ici présenter quelques suggestions, à la lumière des contributions très variées qui ont pris place dans cette section et qui trouvent un supplément de sens dans les descriptions d'autres intervenants ou dans les discussions qui en ont résulté.

Alfred Soman et Jens Chr. Johansen ouvrent la voie en se référant à un modèle que je me permettrai de nommer hispano-français: dans ces pays, les bûchers de sorcellerie sont précoces, se multiplient entre 1560 et 1630, parfois même jusqu'aux environs de 1680, puis disparaissent brutalement, alors que les croyances à la sorcellerie ne sont nullement extirpées. L'influence de la pensée de l'historiographe royal Anders Sorensen Vedel dès la fin du XVI^{e} siècle est invoquée par J.C. Johansen pour expliquer le déclin graduel des procès de sorcellerie au Danemark après 1625, puis leur disparition totale trois décennies plus tard. Se plaçant dans le cadre plus large de l'Europe de l'ouest, A. Soman analyse un processus de décriminalisation propre selon lui aux Etats absolutistes, centralisés, qui développent des institutions capables de restreindre l'arbitraire des justices rurales, alors que celles-ci avaient antérieurement multiplié les procès de sorcellerie, dans une période de relatif vide du pouvoir.

Les Pays-Bas catholiques, par exemple, suivent le modèle précédent,

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mais les Provinces-Unies, détachées des possessions espagnoles à la suite de la Révolte de 1579, s'engagent résolument dans une voie originale. Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra prétend que la fin très précoce des poursuites y est essentiellement due au scepticisme des magistrats face aux doctrines démonologiques diffusées par le Malleus Maleficarum ou par d'autres manuels de ce type.

Ces trois communications ont pour point commun de mettre l'accent sur le facteur intellectuel comme base essentielle de l'explication. Or il n'est pas évident que l'argument soit parfaitement pertinent pour l'Europe centrale et orientale. En décrivant le cas hongrois dans la première session de ce colloque, Gábor Klaniczay doute d'ailleurs que de tels phénomènes, qu'il nomme culturels, puissent être à l'origine du déclenchement des poursuites, tout en admettant que la Réforme a eu pour effet de déséquilibrer l'univers magique populaire. J'ai tendance à le suivre sur ce terrain, car il semble douteux que la seule évolution des élites cultivées ait suffi à produire les procès, comme plus tard à les faire cesser.

Mieux vaut peut-être partir de la description d'un second modèle de chasse aux sorcières, que j'appellerai est-européen. Probablement plus complexe et plus divers que je ne puis l'analyser dans les lignes suivantes, il se caractérise essentiellement par un important décalage chronologique avec le précédent. La ligne de partage entre les deux passe au coeur du Saint-Empire romain germanique: les statistiques présentées par Wolfgang Behringer montrent très clairement l'ampleur des variations: dans le Sud-Est de l'Allemagne, 55% des procès ont lieu de 1562 à 1600; la dominante passe à la première moitié du XVII^{e} siècle dans le Sud-Ouest (60% contre 33% pour la période précédente) et en Franconie (85% contre 9%); l'Autriche, enfin, est surtout concernée de 1651 à 1700 (63%).

La poussée tardive vers l'est est encore plus nette à propos de la Pologne, car les poursuites les plus nombreuses ont lieu dans la première moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle selon Bohdan Baranowski (Procesz czarownic w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku, Lodz, 1952). En Hongrie, les sentences augmentent un peu de 1620 à 1690 et de façon beaucoup plus spectaculaire entre 1710 et 1760, d'après le tableau fourni par Gábor Klaniczay.

Il ne faudrait évidemment pas tirer de ces données des conclusions trop tranchées, par exemple à propos d'un simple retard dû à des différences économiques, sociales ou culturelles. Chaque cas à sa spécificité et mérite d'être analysé dans le détail, pour parfaire nos connaissances des

mécanismes répressifs autant que des formes multiples que peut prendre la sorcellerie populaire. Mais une vision très générale permet d'émettre des hypothèse globales sur les types de phénomènes qui conditionnent majoritairement le déclenchement, et donc de ce fait aussi l'arrêt, des persécutions.

Dans cette optique, il me semble que les facteurs intellectuels au sens large, incluant la religion sous ses formes officielles, n'ont pas la primauté. Le modèle est-européen est à mon avis beaucoup plus lié à la sphère d'influence politique de l'Autriche des Habsbourgs après les traités de Westphalie (1648). On note en effet une certaine concordance d'ensemble de la chasse aux sorcières en Europe centrale et orientale avec l'affirmation d'une puissance dominante dans cet espace, suite à la victoire sur les Turcs en 1683 et au traité de Karlowitz en 1699 (abandon de la Hongrie et de la Transylvanie par les Ottomans). Ceci ne signifie nullement que l'Autriche imite le modèle des royaumes absolutistes, ni que la chasse aux sorcières se présente de manière parfaitement identique à celle de la zone hispano-française. J'y vois simplement le fonctionnement d'un mécanisme administratif, législatif et judiciaire nettement plus capable qu'auparavant de se poser en modèle, y compris pour les peuples voisins les moins enclins à accepter de telles influences, suite au désengagement concret et symbolique de l'Empire turc à partir de la fin du XVII^{e} siècle.

Ágnes R. Várkonyi relie d'ailleurs la fin des procès de sorcellerie à la transformation des structure sociales de l'hygiène en Hongrie. Elle insiste avec raison sur le développement d'un service public de santé destiné aux populations rurales: en ce domaine comme dans beaucoup d'autres, la mutation est volontairement mise en place par des décisions monarchiques. Mais les conséquences sont plus importantes encore, puisque la loi doit se mettre à protéger les guérisseurs locaux, simplement indispensables tant qu'un nombre suffisant de docteurs solidement formés n'est pas produit par les universités. Un nouvel équilibre est donc ainsi atteint entre les désirs d'ordre de la puissance publique et les besoins immédiats des populations. Un nouveau dialogue entre les deux niveaux rend un espace d'existence aux adeptes de la magie. En somme, les poursuites cessent alors parce que chacun, du haut en bas de la société, y trouve désormais plus son intérêt qu'auparavant.

Le fond de l'affaire est peut-être pourtant plus symbolique que concret. Il concerne, à mon avis, la conception implicite de l'autorité,

dont l'Etat n'est que la figure apparente. Comme dans le modèle hispano-français, l'essentiel réside dans l'établissement à long terme d'un nouvel accord tacite entre les populations et les représentants de la souveraineté. Sous des formes originales, qu'il ne m'appartient pas ici d'analyser ni même de comparer à celles des pays absolutistes, ce nouveau consensus traduit une adaptation de très grande importance: le passage d'une régulation essentiellement interne des relations sociales à une modalité plus externe, ou plutôt à une nouvelle synthèse externe-interne, issue d'une redistribution symbolique de grande ampleur, qui est pour l'Europe centrale et orientale l'équivalent de celle que connurent les populations de l'ouest lors de la construction des Etats modernes.

L'approche socio-psychologique tentée par Tamás Grynaeus s'insère très bien dans cette perspective. Il remarque en effet que la plupart des sorciers hongrois sont des guérisseurs, accusés un jour de sorcellerie proprement dite. D'après lui, ces personnages appartiennent à un système social parfaitement réglé et qui fonctionne bien. Il existe en effet un équilibre entre eux, leurs patients et la communauté de référence. La force des croyances magiques interdit à quiconque de briser ce consensus, sous peine d'être puni par ses concitoyens, tandis que chaque guérisseur est contenu dans des limites tacites par la pression du groupe, au point d'être accusé de sorcellerie s'il exprime des exigeances exorbitantes ou s'il se comporte de manière anormale.

L'auteur éclaire donc de bonne façon le fonctionnement d'un type de régulation interne des relations sociales. Les historiens devraient se pencher avec attention sur ce thème, en acceptant de considérer la sorcellerie des guérisseurs comme un phénomène ordinaire, intégré dans la vie des populations, en particulier au village. Il s'agit de toute évidence d'une pratique de l'autorégulation des rapports humains, également transmise par l'éducation, par la définition traditionnelle des rôles sociaux, voire par certaines formes de la violence. Ce système n'est pas clos, mais il fonctionne essentiellement au niveau local. Peut-être est-il d'autant plus fort en Europe centrale et orientale qu'il permet d'équilibrer la puissance d'un Etat ottoman culturellement très différent et présent concrètement ou sous forme de menace latente dans toute la région jusqu'à la fin du XVII^{e} siècle?

Tamás Grynaeus ne poursuit pas sa réflexion dans une perspective historique, ce qu'on ne saurait lui reprocher. Il faudrait cependant ajouter au modèle une dimension chronologique. Au XVIII^{e} siècle, le recul

turc et le développement de l'Etat autrichien aboutissent à mon avis à un rééquilibrage en deux temps. Le premier est celui de la décomposition partielle des équilibres locaux anciens sous l'effet des poussées volontaires (la politique de santé par exemple) ou induites (la dépréciation des guérisseurs aux yeux de certains de leurs concitoyens) issues de la pénétration de la Loi dans les communautés. A ce moment précis, la compétition instaurée entre l'esprit nouveau et celui de la résistance se cristallise autour de la figure du guérisseur: non seulement celui-ci devient sorcier pour les autorités, mais il est aussi craint comme tel par certains de ses concitoyens, qui se montrent sensibles à la propagande venue du dehors et qui sont peut-être aussi parfois désireux de se déclarer "modernes", en s'adaptant au message diffusé par les pouvoirs extérieurs. Dans un second temps, un nouveau consensus s'instaure plus ou moins aisément, ce qui se traduit par la fin de la persécution des sorciers: l'avancée institutionnelle ou légale est ici moins importante que la mutation symbolique proprement dite affectant les rapports entre les gouvernants et les gouvernés.

Le processus de passsage d'une régulation interne de la vie quotidienne et des conflits à un équilibre interne-externe de mieux en mieux réalisé sous l'égide des puissances extérieures me parait donc être le principal facteur d'explication de la fin de la chasse aux sorcières, aussi bien à l'est qu'à l'ouest de l'Europe. Sur des voies différentes vers la modernité, tous les pays du continent expérimentent à des moments variables et avec des modalités propres une expérience collective d'affaiblissement de l'autorégulation locale au profit de pouvoirs englobants qui se renforcent.

En somme, la fin des procès de sorcellerie serait plutôt le signe de la naissance d'un consensus différent de celui du passé au sujet de l'autorité: le renforcement de l'Etat, quel qu'il soit, se fait au détriment des instances locales. Celles-ci n'ont cependant pas tout perdu, on s'en doute. Et les guérisseurs retrouvent une partie de leur rôle traditionnel après ces reclassements, parce que la vie locale ne peut jamais être totalement étouffée par l'intérêt général. Sans doute aussi parce que la magie peut continuer à produire des symbolismes puissants dans des cadres sociaux qui ne la récusent pas totalement, d'autant que le pouvoir politique, pourtant renforcé et mieux accepté qu'auparavant, n'apporte pas toutes les réponses aux angoisses des êtres humains.

L'historien ne détient pas non plus la monopole de la vérité. Au moins doit-il savoir qu'il est nécessaire de confronter ses travaux à ceux

des autres, pour pouvoir porter sur son propre canton un regard plus objectif et plus productif. En mettant en présence des guérisseurs, des chamanes, des médecins et beaucoup d'autres personnages, ce passionnant colloque a permis de le faire. Il reste à espérer que le grain semé à l'Est produise partout de riches moissons!

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DECRIMINALIZING WITCHCRAFT: DOES THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE FURNISH A EUROPEAN MODEL?

Alfred Soman

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There are two distinct ways of approaching the decriminalization of witchcraft (or of any other social offense for that matter). One is to treat the question as a problem in intellectual history and concentrate on the public debate; the other is to examine the record of court decisions. The two methods yield very different results. The first tends to focus attention on the latter half of the seventeenth century as the turning point for witchcraft trials in western Europe; the second, when applied to certain countries - England, France, the United Provinces - pushes the phenomenon backward in time to the early years of the seventeenth and even, in the case of Spain, to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The reason for this discrepancy is that official pronouncements of judicial institutions are seldom intended as forthright explanations of jurisprudence. More frequently they constitute a façade, a false front to reconcile popular opinion to measures and decisions which would otherwise be unacceptable. For a modern analogy, consider the futile legislation still largely unrepealed, although rarely enforced, concerning soft drugs. Rational discourse of the issue is effectively blocked; medical evidence is ignored; and journalists of all persuasions tirelessly rehearse the standard argument that a marijuana cigarette is the first step on the dismal road to a heroin habit - whereas common sense suggests that the chief link between the two is the legal prohibition itself. (My comparison is less farfetched than might at first appear; the odium reserved for the witch in early modern times is, today, directed against the drug dealer, held responsible for an inordinate proportion of all the ills of society, including acts of political terrorism which his profits are alleged to finance.)

The English witchcraft act of 1604 was clearly more stringent than the statute of 1563.[1] It was moreover promulgated in the first year of the reign of James I, who as James VI of Scotland had personally instigated a

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witch hunt in 1590-1591 and published a Daemonologie in 1597. Nevertheless, a glance at Alan Macfarlane's graph of probable executions for witchcraft in the county of Essex indicates that judges (and juries) of the Home Circuit assizes, instead of taking advantage of the new legislation to step up the tempo of prosecutions and convictions, were moving in the opposite direction. The sharp drop in the curve representing death penalties may be slightly exaggerated owing to a gap of a few years in the archives, but the surviving records indicate only six more executions, never more than one in any given year, the last occurring in 1626 - not counting the isolated Matthew Hopkins episode in 1645 (19 deaths).[2] The downturn was both sudden and permanent, tantamount to a de facto decriminalization of witchcraft in England (see Fig. 1).

Obviously, it is not always possible to chart with such precision the course of judicial activity with respect to a given crime. In order to do so, two basic conditions must be met. First, the archives of the court in question must be continuous or nearly so, the cases inscribed in bound volumes or on rolls of parchment (as opposed to bundles of loose dossiers) so that exhaustiveness is not in doubt. Second, this tribunal should have exclusive jurisdiction over the crime being examined; the larger its territorial competence, the more representative will be the results of the research.

The Essex assizes meet both conditions reasonably well. Lesser courts could not try a suspected witch on a capital charge, and as Essex was the only county where witches were prosecuted in significant numbers, it may be taken, not as typical but as indicative of English judicial attitudes. The Parlement of Paris satisfies the first criterion - far better, in fact, then the Essex assizes - but not, apparently, the second, since it was a court of appeal and primary jurisdiction was widely dispersed. Inasmuch as the core of my argument is based on the decisions of this judicial giant - half the kingdom of France, with a population of eight to ten millions (nearly one hundred times the size of Essex) - some explanation is in order.

Notwithstanding widely credited reports to the contrary, the archives of the Paris Parlement, from the middle of the sixteenth century onward, are practically intact. Any person tried on a serious charge (subject to corporal punishment or public infamy) was physically present and left substantial traces of his passage in three parallel series of documents: (1) the prison ledgers of the Conciergerie du Palais; (2) the note-

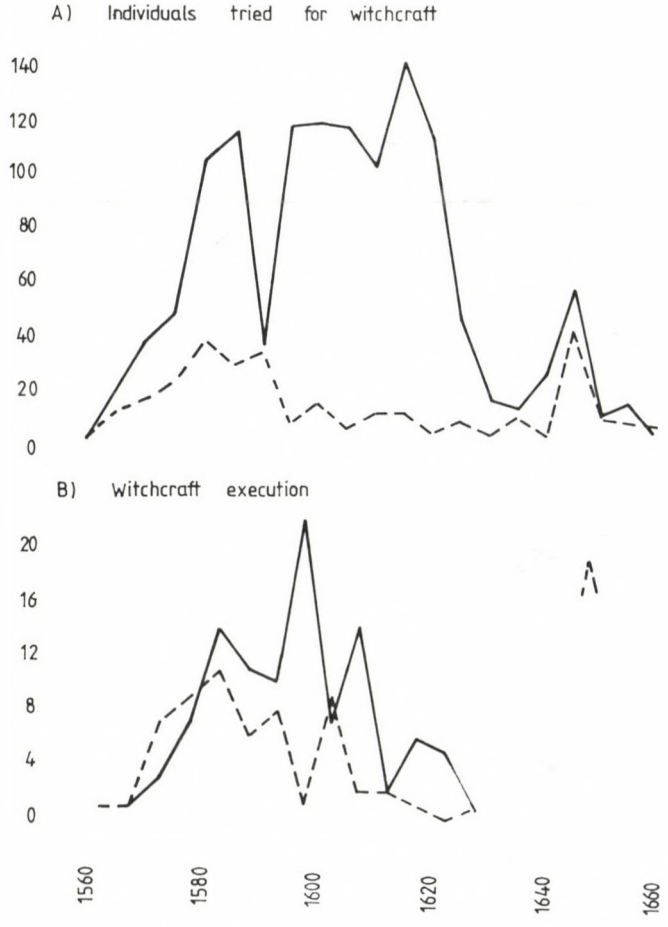
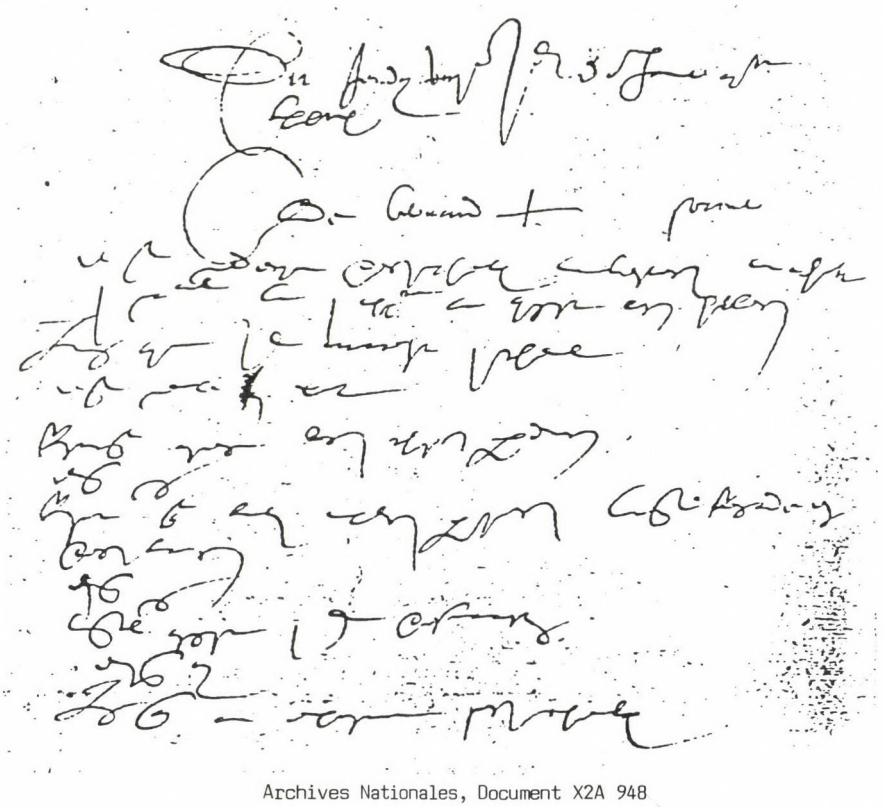


Fig. 1. The Parlement of Paris and the home Circuit Assizes (Essex): 5-years totals
Paris —— Essex -----



Archives Nationales, Document X2A 948

Parlement of Paris: interrogation of a witchcraft appellant in 1579 (extract)

Du jeudy viii^{e} jour de janvier M v^{c} lxxix
Claude Bernard, appelant de la mort sorcier

Dict qu'il /est/ medecyn des chevaulx et bestes. A esté un mareschal et un appothicaire, et cognoist les herbes.
Interrogé comment il occist (?) un cheval,
Dict qu'il ne l'a faict point.
Remonstré qu'il enseigne les choses perdues,
Dict que non.
Remonstré qu'il a dict plusieurs paroles et qu'il regarde en des livres,
Dict que non.
S'il cognoist une femme Desmasson,
Dict que oy.
Interrogé qui a empoisonné ses chevaulx.

Thursday, 8 January 1579
Claude Bernard /sentence of lower court:/ death witch

Said he is a horse- and sheep-doctor. Has been a farrier and an apothecary, and is knowledgeable about herbs.

Q. How did he kill a horse?
A. He did not do it.
Q. He practices divination for lost objects.
A. No.

Q. He pronounced various words, and he consults magic mannaes.
A. No.
Q. Does he know a woman named Desmasson?
A. Yes.
Q. Who poisoned her horses?

books of the clerks who jotted down as much as they could during interrogations in plenary session; and (3) the registers of final decisions (arrêts), which are preserved in duplicate, since the original loose-leaf drafts (minutes) are also extant. Lacunae and errors in one series can be filled in or corrected by referring to the others.[3] There may be additional documents - interlocutory decrees, summaries of lawyers' briefs, proces-verbaux of torture, formal interrogations in judges' chambers - but the three main series suffice to compile a virtually definitive list of all witchcraft defendants who came before the Parlement. We know the name and address of each appellant, his professional or marital status, the name of the lower court, the sentence passed in first instance, the length of his incarceration in the Paris prison, whether or not he was tourted, and the ultimate disposition of his case by the high court.

Objections have been raised that my list cannot be exhaustive, given the common practice of burning the trial papers with the convicted witch in order to obliterate every last trace of so execrable a crime. To assert this is to confuse a theatrical gesture with reality. In the first place, the Parlement only very infrequently gave such an order.[4] In the second place, what was burned, if anything, was the copy of the original written procedure sent with the appellant to Paris. Certainly the Parlement did not bother to rip pages out of its bound registers or efface individual entries. In any event, the copies of the trial papers were never an integral part of the Paris archives (as they were at Toulouse); they were routinely sent back to the lower courts, and if none of them has survived locally their loss is ascribable, not to some "nasty habit" on the part of French judges, but to the extremely poor conservation (in this part of France) of all primary criminal archives dating back as far as the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[5]

The archives of the Parlement of Paris do not contain a single complete witchcraft procedure - formal complaint, depositions of witnesses, interrogations, confrontations of witnesses and the accused; and while this may be extremely disappointing to historians interested in the anthropology of rural witchcraft accusations, it hardly justifies their peremptory dismissal of a truly magnificent corpus of documents. Although shorn of most of the descriptive detail one might have hoped to find, it

compensates for its skeletal nature by its comprehensiveness. Moving back and forth among the three parallel series it is possible to reconstruct the total record (within an estimated five per cent) of the Parlement's jurisprudence with respect to witchcraft - 1272 defendants (1565-1670), 103 of them condemned to death (57 women, 46 men), 185 individuals subjected to torture or the threat of torture (one confession only), etc.

But what is the relationship between these 1272 cases and the mass of witchcraft trials that were never appealed to the Parliament? Were we to ask this question concerning any other crime - arson, for example - it would be unanswerable. We are in luck, however, for it was the witch panic of 1587 that caused the high court to redefine its appeal procedure and embark upon a course toward statutory judicial review, first (in 1604) for witchcraft, then (in 1670) for all crimes tried in the common-law courts of the realm. (Since I have already told this story, my recapitulation here is limited to its most salient features.[6])

The crisis of 1587-1588 convinced the Parlement of the fundamental incompatibility of witchcraft accusations and the standards of legal proof basic to the dignity of French justice. Village judges in the region of Champagne-Ardennes were relying far too heavily on the dubious practice of "swimming" suspects on the slightest evidence, and these unseemly public spectacles often terminated in lynchings. Chain-reaction denunciations and summary executions created a situation in which villagers could pervert the functions of the courts and utilize them to settle private scores. The problem confronting the Paris magistrates was not an easy one in an era when there were neither police forces worthy of the name, nor effective administrative links between the central authorities and the far-flung provinces. To put a stop to the abuses the only means at hand were judicial. Furthermore, unless the Parlement went about its task with great circumspection, it ran the risk of alienating the local courts and driving them into open revolt. The institutions of French justice had not yet matured to the point where an immediate and definitive response to the crisis was practicable. The high court could ban with a stroke of the pen all further trials by water (January 1588), but it would take years of reiteration and steady application before the prohibition could be fully integrated into the jurisprudential tradition.

The same is true of a second measure (March 1588) - a proposal to make all witchcraft convictions subject to automatic appeal. Although, strictly speaking, there was no precedent for such a ruling, it was the

logical extension of a policy successfully pursued in the 1550s and 1560s as the Parlement increasingly arrogated to itself alone the right to use torture (simultaneously reducing the confession rate to under three per cent). Appeals more than doubled between 1540 and 1572, despite the enormous expense incurred by the lower courts. Typically it cost the equivalent of fifty to one hundred cows to send an appellant in person to the capital (as opposed to the much cheaper practice current in the Spanish Low Countries, for example, where only the written procedures were forwarded to the higher jurisdiction).[7]

Enactment of the proposal was delayed, however, by a political upheaval. The upstart junior magistrates of the Catholic Ligue purged the Parlement and drove the conservative "hold guard" into temporary exile; Paris was under military siege for five years. But as soon as the situation returned to normal after 1594, the high court lost no time in manifesting its determination. Certain tribunals of the maréchaussée (summary courts with jurisdiction over vagabonds, soldiers, recidivists, and specified crimes exempted from common law) tried to claim that witchcraft was a crimen exceptum and therefore not subject to appeal. The Parliament blocked this insurgency in a series of decisions (1596-1602).[8] Simultaneously (1600-1604), three crucial cases of abusive witchcraft prosecutions generated a string of texts establishing unequivocally the principle of obligatory appeal. We must not be misled by the fact that none of these rulings was publicized. A serial reading of the Parlement's jurisprudence leaves no doubt that the campaign for automatic appeal coincided with an initial decriminalization of witchcraft, especially for women (see Fig. 2).

Over the next twenty years the sorcery case load remained near its maximum level as the high court dredged up trials that were formerly escaping its surveillance (over two-thirds of the appeals came from primary courts that had not been heard from before) - until, in 1624, the moment was ripe to take the final step. The 1604 ruling was re-enacted almost verbatim and this time sent to the printer. The effect, in combination with an acquittal rate of over seventy per cent, was spectacular. Within a few years, prosecutions dried up at the source. The average annual number of appellants declined from more than twenty to less than four, and there is no evidence that the localities, obstructed by the Parlement, resorted to illegal methods and popular violence. The panic of 1644-1645 is the exception that proves the rule; a handful of villages

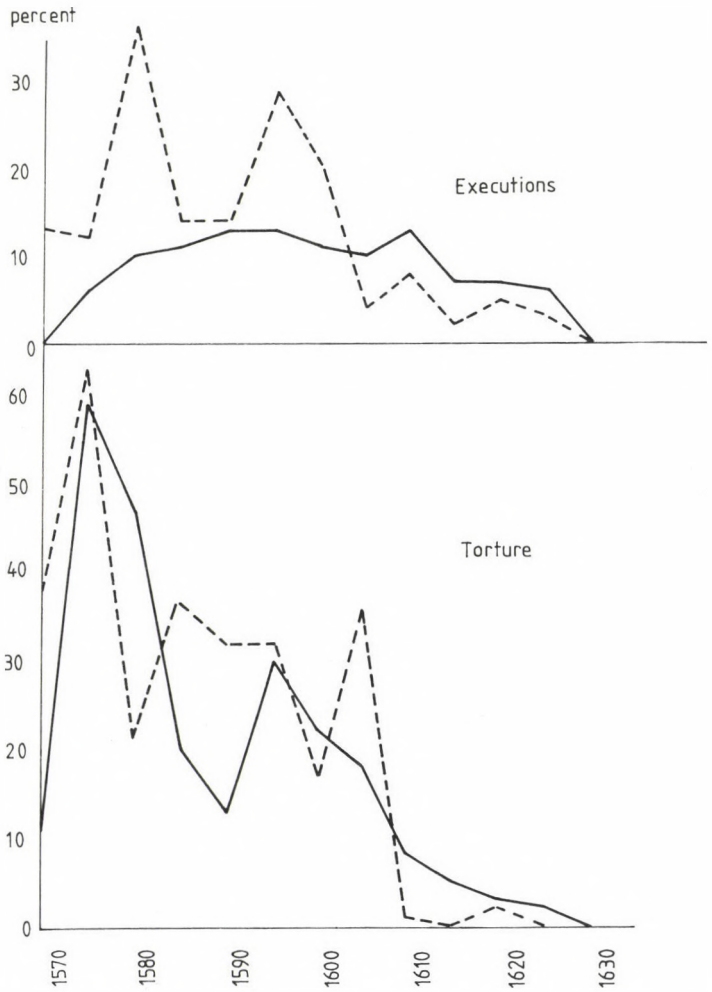


Fig. 2. Witchcraft Trials in the Parlement of Paris: percentage of appellants tortured/executed (5-year periods) women -----, men ——

in the Ardennes violated the interdiction on trial by water, but there were no lynchings reported. The success of the 1624 decriminalization and the manner in which it was achieved can only be explained if we give due weight to the unpublicized legislation of twenty years earlier.[9]

When the witchcraft statistics for the Paris Parliament and the Chelmsford assizes are plotted on a single graph (Fig. 1), and allowance is made for gaps in the English record, the similarities are little short of astonishing for two regions so radically different in religion, in political organization and in legal tradition. The starting point circa 1560 and the panics of 1644-1645 were fairly general phenomena in western Europe and are easier to explain than the simultaneous decriminalizations of 1604 and the cessation of death penalties in 1625-1626 - far in advance of any shift in the "climate of opinion" that could rationalize such changes in jurisprudence. The coincidence is fascinating, but it should be set in the context of other decriminalizations which took place at roughly the same time - the archbishopric of Bremen (1603), the United Provinces (around 1600), Geneva (1626), to mention only a few.

Our perception of the chronology is often obscured by a tendency to overemphasize certain belated episodes which interrupted the course of jurisprudential tradition long after the essential decriminalizations. The six witches executed by the Spanish Inquisition at Logroño in 1610 were the first to suffer the death penalty since the 1520s. I have already mentioned the Matthew Hopkins hunt in 1645, after an interval of nineteen years; like the spate of executions at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, it occurred during a partial political vacuum. In the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris, sixty-six years elapsed between the burning of Catherine Bouillon in 1625 and the execution of two shepherd-sorcerers in 1691. (The trial of Urbain Grandier at Loudun in 1634 was not the work of the Parlement, which would never have convicted him on such flimsy evidence, but of an ad hoc tribunal.) In the Genevan Republic, no witches were condemned to death from 1626 until the isolated case of Michée Chauderon in 1652. These aftermaths were all brief and self-contained, and may be contrasted to the protracted series of outbreaks in Franche-Comté (in the Holy Roman Empire); the Parlement of Dôle executed thirteen witches in 1629-1633, one in 1643, four in 1653, and twenty-two in 1658-1661.[10]

Another factor contributing to a relative neglect of the earlier decriminalizations is the sheer weight of research quite naturally concentrated on areas where witchcraft trials were most numerous and went on

longest; record survival is better and the documents - this is certainly true of France - much easier to read. In consequence, a majority of explanatory models take the latter part of the seventeenth century as the norm and dismiss for one reason or another the previous decriminalizations as exceptions. My purpose here is to suggest an alternative perspective.

Allmost all historians today conceive of witch hunting as an activity imposed upon the peasantry by the "elite". The trouble with this formulation is that it ignores both the multiplicity of elites and the diversity of their interests. In France the zealous faction within the magistracy turns out to have been a rabble of parvenu village judges, many of them barely literate, particularly in eastern France where they did not own their offices and control of their professional qualifications was inadequate. During the 1580s, this social "class" tended to adhere to the Catholic Ligue in opposition to the politiques of the Gallican Parlement and the higher ranks of royal administration; and yet, on the witchcraft issue, the top leadership of the Ligue was on the other side of the ideological divide. The cardinal of Guise, in 1587-1588, was working quietly hand in glove with his ostensible enemies in the Parlement in an effort to stamp out indiscriminate witch trials. He could not afford to do so openly, or he would have risked alienating one of his bases of support. His interventions therefore took the form of forestalling his own local magistrates and transferring the suspects to Reims or Paris, where they were all acquitted.[11]

With the possible exception of the duke of Nevers, none of the great landowning nobility gave encouragement to witch hunters. As for the church, the zealous were concentrated in the itinerant preaching orders rather than among the resident curates, who had a permanent stake in the peaceful continuity of village life. The episcopacy like the nobility eschewed the social turbulence attendant upon massive witchcraft prosecutions. Nicolas de Thou, bishop of Chartres and younger brother of the First President of the Parlement of Paris, showed admirable restraint in handling a potentially explosive situation: Thiphaine Cornu had not only bewitched her employer, she had also attended the devil's sabbath. In 1574 the bishop averted a trial in return for her promise to quit the diocese.[12]

What is left, then, of the so-called witch-hunting "elite"? The answer is two provincial parlements - Rouen and (to a lesser extent) Pau - where the issue became bound up with a rearguard struggle for local autonomy, and two demonologists: Jean Bodin and Pierre de Lancre. The

latter was a councilor in the Parlement of Bordeaux and wrote a self-laudatory account of his exploits in the Labourd in 1609-1611 - a book that has too often been taken at face value. Spanish evidence analyzed by Gustav Henningsen suggests a different interpretation, namely that President Jean d'Espaignet was appointed to accompany de Lancre for the precise purpose of acting as a brake upon his over-enthusiastic junior colleague.[13] And Bodin, although his intellectual stature was universally recognized, saw his career grind to a halt. He never rose higher than a middling office as prosecutor in the royal subalternate court at Laon, where he was evidently a minority voice. During his tenure there (1575-1596), he apparently did not have the pleasure of convicting a single witch. The grounds for this surmise are double: on the one hand, no cases were appealed to the Parlement;[14] on the other, not one of the trials cited by Bodin himself in his Démonomanie (first edition 1580, second edition 1587) came from the bailliage or the présidial of Laon. Clever rhetoric makes them seem like many more, but a careful count of his examples drawn from the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris reduces them to twenty-five - six from the environs of Laon, including two from the neighbouring royal court at Ribemont. The chief magistrate of Reibemont, Antoine de Louen, had been sharply reprimanded in 1576 for his abusive conduct of a witchcraft trial - a fact which did not deter Bodin from adducing him several times as one of the subalternate judges whose "experience in such matters" was deserving of better consideration.[15]

It is hardly surprising that Bodin rose no higher in the ranks of the judiciary. An interesting parallel is afforded by the career of Henri Boguet, witch hunter and demonologist in Franche-Comté long before this province became part of France. As soon as Boguet began to aspire to a seat in the Parlement of Dôle, he found it prudent to withdraw his best-selling Discours des sorciers (1602) from the press; the last edition was in 1611.[16] Unlike Boguet, Jean Bodin remained intransigent. His obsession with witches, in combination with reports of his disbelief in Christ, contributed to an unsavory posthumous reputation.[17] I have seen a 1654 interrogation in which the examining magistrate, a councilor in the Parlement of Paris, seems to have mistaken the Démonomanie for an illicit treatise on magic.[18]

To rid the world of witches, Bodin would have demolished many of the safeguards so carefully built into French judicial procedure. He would have encouraged anonymous denunciations and plea bargaining, admitted the

testimony of convicted of self-confessed criminals (in other words, fellow participants at the sabbath), and dispensed with the mandatory presence of a court clerk when a judge questioned the accused. This was the program of the book he had the impertinence to dedicate to Christophe de Thou, First President of the Parlement of Paris.

Montaigne, a retired president in the Parlement of Bordeaux, clearly had Bodin in mind when he wrote in his essay "On the Lame" (III, xi), "The witches in my neighbourhood go in danger of their lives if we follow the advice of each new author who comes along and gives substance to their fantasies." Witchcraft confessions carry us beyond the ken of human understanding. Either treat them as symptoms of madness or leaves them strictly alone. "After all, it is putting a very high price on our conjectures when they serve to burn a man at the stake." Within a few decades after those words were penned (1585), a majority of the high Paris magistracy had come to agree with Montaigne.

Across the Channel, Shakespeare regaled his audiences with a benevolent magician in The Tempest, and a trio of caricature witches in Macbeth. He also gave them, in passing, a witchcraft trial - or rather a magic trial more in keeping with the exalted social status of his characters. Black-skinned Othello has wooed the daughter of a Venetian patrician, who complains to the doge: "She is abus'd, stol'n from me, and corrupted / By spells and medicines bought of mountebanks; / For nature so preposterously to err, / Being not deficient, blind, or lame of sense, / Sans witchcraft could not. ... I therefore vouch again / That with some mixtures powerful o'er the blood, / Or with some dram conjur'd to this effect, / He wrought upon her" (I, iii). To which the doge replies:

> To vouch this, is no proof,
> Without more certain and more overt test
> Than these thin habits and poor likelihoods
> Of modern seeming do prefer against him.

"Modern" in this usage (according to the Oxford English Dictionary), means trite or commonplace - so Shakespeare was not expressing quite the same idea as Montaigne (of whom he was an avid reader). They were nevertheless in complete agreement about the poor quality of legal evidence being presented in trials for preternatural wrongdoing. One is struck by the timeliness of this passage in Othello. The play was first performed around 1604, the year of the second English witchcraft law. Serial

research now shows that statute to have camouflaged, intentionally or otherwise, a major shift in jurisprudence.

Similar research in the French archives indicates that the worst excesses of witchcraft prosecutions are attributable to rural magistracies of the easternmost provinces, the coqs du village (cocks of the village walk) whose ascendancy over their neighbours was often of very recent date. They were among the beneficiaries of the redistribution of wealth and indebtedness attendant upon the rapid inflation of the sixteenth century, and their zeal is quite understandable. Witchcraft was, and still is, a causal explanation of a classic situation in autonomous agrarian communities - an uncanny increase in worldly prosperity enjoyed by peasant X while peasant Y suffers a corresponding decline in his fortunes. X and his family seem to be draining vitality from Y and his kin. Suspicions of deviltry arise and engender counter-suspicions. The tension smoulders without ever being expressed directly, for witchcraft is a subject one simply does not talk about.[19]

X continues to prosper, becomes an échevin (alderman) and in due course accedes to local judicial office. He and his peers are surrounded by mistrust. They walk in continual dread that someone among their less fortunate adversaries is trying to bewitch them. Every practitioner of occult healing is suspect. In these circumstances a trial serves three overlapping functions: (1) a meritorious act to purge God's world of the servants of Satan; (2) a blow struck against their enemies both actual and potential; (3) a legitimation of their social advancement.

Before this situation could erupt in a wave of witch trials, there were several obstacles to be surmounted. The prosecutions had to be financed, and the notorious difficulties of obtaining a legal conviction had to be bypassed. Cooperation from the local seigneur was useful but not indispensable. The lord normally paid the costs of criminal trials when there was no private prosecutor. He did so through the agency of his tax farmer for judicial revenues; the higher the expenses, the less the lord received for this "farm". In most cases, however, the receiver of fines was an inner member of the local elite, closely related to the judge and/or the public prosecutor, and he could, if sufficiently motivated, foot the bill himself. Whether it was he or the seigneur who paid, their overriding interest was to conduct the trials as expeditiously as possible.

But the crime of witchcraft was always irreconcilable with tradi-

tional standards of legal proof. How could there be any witnesses to an intangible act like the casting of a supernatural spell? Acts of magical healing were subject to eyewitness testimony - and these in fact formed the substance of most incriminating depositions - but maleficium, no. In order to prosecute witches cheaply and efficiently the crime needed to be redefined and the rules of evidence relaxed. In other words, witchcraft had to be made a crimen exceptum. Learned demonological theory came to the rescue and found ready acceptance within the ranks of subalternate magistrates. If witches were an organized cult of devil-worshipers who congregated regularly, eyewitness testimony was once again relevant: Y saw Z at the sabbath. The intrusion of the sabbath into witchcraft trials does not attest its penetration and absorption into local folklore, as many historians contend. What is attests is the suitability, convenience and admissibility of the concept for the purpose of litigation. (The two formulations are not mutually exclusive but the distinction is capital for a sound interpretation of all judicial documents.)

Where the sabbath was allowed to make its entrance into the courtroom it drew in its wake a number of ancillary shortcuts to conviction - trials by water, prickings for the devil's mark, routine recourse to torture to obtain confessions, and the suborning of adolescents to testify against their elders. Charlatan witch finders made quick profits from bribery and corruption.[20] These practices degraded the judicial system, not only in the eyes of posterity but also in the eyes of contemporary elites. The larger and/or better organized states (e.g., England, France, Spain, Denmark) were reluctant to accept sabbath denunciations as legal evidence. In these countries, the capacity of the central authorities to withstand the pressure exerted from below depended on two factors: (1) the strength of political/administrative institutions, and (2) the social distance separating local magistracies from high justiciaries whose vision was wider and whose principal concern was to safeguard the dignity of the entire judicial apparatus.

The archives of the Parlement of Paris tell an eloquent story of a struggle to combat the centrifugal tendencies of the lower courts, and of institutional innovation to achieve this goal. Recalcitrant magistrates from the primary jurisdictions were consistently summoned and interrogated in the same tone of contempt employed in dealing with common criminals. "Who taught you to throw witchcraft suspects into the water?" - this question addressed in February 1588 to an Ardennes judge alarmed by sabbath

denunciations totaling 7760 witches in his district.[21] "There is a madness in the province of Champagne", exclaimed the king's solicitor-general the following June; "they think nearly everyone is a witch".[22] Although they were alive to the dangers of erudite magic, the Paris magistrates were too urban, too urbane, too far removed from village squabbles to be thrown off course by fears of peasant witchcraft. When, in 1597, one of their own number began to behave violently and claim his household was bewitched, the Parlement stripped him of his office and declared him insane.[23] A few years later a petty royal officer from Gien begged the court not to let "formalities" stand in the way of retribution for "so impious a crime against God's Honor". He was suspended and saddled with the costs of the trial he had instigated.[24] For the Parlement, the best bulwark of God's Honor was the sanctity of legal procedure.

One of the most scandalous cases to come before the Paris court was a rash of illegal executions in the borderlands of northeastern France and the Spanish Netherlands. The hangman of Rocroi, Jean Minard, was earning handsome fees as a witch pricker. In the summer of 1601 he claimed to have found the mark of the devil on 274 people "whom he examined and /afterwards/ executed by sentence of justice".[25] On November 28th of that same year, the Parlement issued a warrant for his arrest, charged him with "conspiracy and collusion in the death of more than two hundred persons", and sent him to the galleys for life. Although only eight of his victims had been subjects of the king of France, it was a French court, not the Archdukes nor the magistrates of Liège who put a stop to his nefarious practices.[26]

France, Spain and England, the "great powers" of sixteenth-century Europe, occupy one end of the broad spectrum of early-modern witch hunting. The other end of the spectrum may be typified by the tiny ecclesiastical territory of Ellwangen, where chain-reaction denunciations led to over three hundred executions betwen 1611 and 1618, and where we find an explosive mixture of all the baleful ingredients for a holocaust. The principality was completely autonomous in justice and did not allow appeals to higher authorities in criminal cases. Instead, it conformed to imperial legislation by consulting and receiving encouragement from the legal faculties of Ingolstadt and Freiburg im Breisgau. Erik Midelfort has stressed, and rightly so, the dangers of seeking advice from law professors without practical experience as magistrates or as administrators.[27] They may have constituted part of the "elite" in southwestern Germany,

but in social prestige they cannot be compared with the councilors of the Parlement of Paris, who would have ridiculed the idea that they should seek opinions from the universities. The very notion betrays the absence of the kind of elites which, in the more developed countries of western Europe, were responsible for an early end to massive witchcraft prosecutions. Indeed, it was the political underdevelopment of most regions of the Holy Roman Empire that made it the "heartland of the witch craze".

An Ellwangen very nearly occurred in the province of Labourd at the Atlantic end of the French Pyrenees. The panic was fomented in 1608 by a subalternate judge and the commander of the local royal soldiery. But within two years the Parlement of Bordeaux had managed to gain control of the situation and restore order. It followed the same general strategy employed by the cardinal of Guise in the Ardennes in 1587, namely to undermine the initial leaders of the witch hunt by outdoing them in zeal; to make a credible display of force by burning a few hapless victims at the stake - they would have been burned anyway - and then transport the rest to Bordeaux (where in fact we do not know what became of them).[28] Short of an armed invasion of the province, which was unthinkable, this was the only plan that had any chance of success. And if the surviving sources make the episode look like an anti-witch crusade launched by the king himself, that was exactly the effect intended, otherwise the scheme would have failed.

Another Ellwangen did take place at Bouchain, the smallest jurisdiction in the Spanish Netherlands and a personal possession of the Archdukes. In the town of Bouchain (with a population less than one thousand) and six nearby villages, there were 22 trials in 1610, 59 in 1611, 22 in 1612, 21 in 1613, 12 in 1614, 15 in 1615, and 12 more from 1616 to 1619. Over a period of ten years, ninety men, women and children were condemned to death. At first glance it might appear that Archdukes Albert and Isabella deliberately created this debacle. They had promulgated an ill-considered edict against witches in 1592, tried to moderate its effect in 1595, and returned aggressively to the charge in 1606. Early in 1611, when the panic had barely gotten under way at Bouchain, they granted permission to the local notables to raise a loan to meet the mounting expenses of the prosecutions.[29] But appearances are deceptive and it is inconceivable that any sane ruler, whatever his ideological commitments, would have allowed mayhem and ruination to continue year after year on his own family lands - unless he was powerless to stop the slaughter.

The destiny of an ineffectual monarch is to be the plaything of his subjects. Prolonged witch hunting is as good a barometer as any for measuring weakness in a state.

Summary and Conclusions

One of the great advantages of serial research is that it provides a solid frame of reference for decoding the rhetoric that inevitably obfuscates such ticklish issues as the punishment of criminals. Legislative acts and specific demonstrations of force often mean the opposite of what they seem to imply; factitious collections of documents usually turn out to be tendentious. Serial research replaces these cryptic utterances in their proper context.

As witchcraft studies have progressed, three major archival deposits have now been exploited serially - the Spanish Inquisition, the Parlement of Paris, and the indictment rolls of English assizes. All three recount the same graphic tale of judical restraint imposed from above - the first two directly, the third by inference and analogy. Instead of regarding these three cases as peripheral or exceptional, I am suggesting that they be made central to a new perspective that may, in time, result in the formulation of a general explanatory model for the decriminalization of witchcraft (the first stage of which was a declassification of the crime as a capital offense punishable by death).

Testing and refining the proposed model, country by country, or region by region, must be the work of specialists competent for each circumscription. It would be rash on my part to attempt to reinterpret the results of other scholars' research. My hypothesis, however, finds at least provisional confirmation in a number of areas. It strikes me as significant that witchcraft trials were fiercer and more protracted in underdeveloped Scotland than in politically sophisticated England; and that King James VI should have lost his interest in demonology when he added the English crown to his diadem. On several occasions the dukes of Württemberg were instrumental in preventing or terminating local witch panics. Midelfort's book on southwestern Germany is liberally sprinkled with examples of minor public officials, and/or their wives, denounced as devil-worshipers; they were members of the social group which, according to my theory, sought to quell suspicions that its accession to prominence had been accomplished by

unnatural means. In Sweden and in the duchy of Bavaria, the worst disorders took place during periods of disturbance in the power nexus linking particular localities to the administrative centers. The bulk of Hungarian witchcraft trials occurred between the end of the Turkish occupation (circa 1690) and the mid-eighteenth century, when the enlightened Empress Maria-Theresa forbade further prosecutions.

The two apparent exceptions to the suggested model are Denmark and the northern Netherlands. In the former, in 1617, it was King Christian IV himself who loosened the legal restrictions established in the previous century and plunged his country into a maelstrom of witch hunting; it took eight years before control could be reasserted. In the United Provinces, the virtual cessation of witch burnings after the 1590s was achieved by a decentralized judiciary. I am nevertheless impressed by the antithetical tendencies of the two conjunctures: the Dutch, on the eve of independence and an era of stunning national brilliance, were giving unambiguous proof of the vigor of their institutions; whereas, in 1617, Denmark stood on the threshold of political and economic collapse.

Prolonged witch hunting is as good a barometer as any for measuring weakness in a state.

Notes

[1] Macfarlane (1970: 15); cf. Delumeau (1978: 355-357).

[2] Macfarlane (1970: 26 and 58). Note that the figures for the late 1590s are also depressed because of lacunae in the archives.

[3] The prison records begin on 12 July 1564 (Paris, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, A^{B} 1 et seq.) and run continuously to the end of the Ancien Régime with only the following exceptions: lacunae of six weeks (January-February 1569), thirteen months (November 1573 to December 1574), and three years (November 1644 to November 1647); documents in very poor condition between March and October 1566, late January and early February 1578, and from October 1650 to May 1651.

The earliest fragments of the plumitifs of interrogations (Archives Nationales, X^{2A} 907-1154) go back to the 1540s. From November 1552 to November 1584, the run is 85% extent and in excellent condition. Missing: the calendar year 1555, January to August 1558, November 1562 to October 1563, November 1581 to October 1582; also the "vacation" months of September and October (often a separate notebook) for 1559, 1565, 1576, 1578, 1580, and 1584. From November 1584 through October 1790, the series is intact with the exception of several dozen cases (1615-1619) heard in the Seconde Tournelle, which was a temporary creation (a few days or a few weeks) when the press of business was too great for the First Chamber to dispatch. Secondes Tournelles for 1599-1604 and 1609-1615 have been preserved (X^{2A} 961 and 972); other fragments for 1578-1579 and 1584 have been located, misclassified, in cartons X^{2B} 1096 and

1098. The missing notebook for 1615-1619 accounts for 17 of the 23 witchcraft plumitifs I have failed to find. The volume for the judicial year 1609-1610 is at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. fr. 10951).

Finally, the arrêts: the series of bound registers has only small gaps between November 1539 and September 1571 (Arch. Nat., X^{2A} 89-140), then a major lacuna (only 6 registers for the next 28 years) fortunately covered by the minutes. When the series of registers picks up again in November 1599, it is continuous except for November 1601 to April 1602, March to June 1610, January to April 1623, and November 1645 to April 1646. As for the cartons of minutes, they are lacunary until March 1561 (X^{2B} 28), become increasingly more consistent, and after May 1566 the gaps are very few indeed: January to May 1578, August 1584, and April 1586.

The impracticability of these archives is an enduring myth of French historiography. Their size, their confusing classification and the absence of tables or indexes (until the eighteenth century) have always discouraged extensive research. The prison records, which constitute an invaluable guide to the court documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are not housed in the Archives Nationales. The most legible sub-series are often laconic and formalistic, whereas the more descriptive texts are notoriously difficult to read. See my first article on the subject, Soman (1977: 790-792), and Mandrou, (1968: 20-21).

[4]Of a total of 103 death penalties for witchcraft (1568-1625), only two arrêts specified that the trial papers be burned. The ratio was slightly higher for erudite magic (2 out of 12 executions, 1572-1635), and much higher for cases of sodomy: 39 out of 76 capital punishments for bestiality (1540-1668) and 20 out of 43 for homosexual sodomy (1559-1668). Also burned symbolically were a number of trials for blasphemy, libel and lese majesty.

[5]See Mandrou (1979: 8, 13-14); Muchembled (1979: 238); idem. (1987: 250). One primary court for which the minutes of the original trials are fairly well preserved for 1609-1674 is the bailliage of St. Germain-des-Prés (Arch. nat., Z^2 3418 et seq.). As it was an urban jurisdiction, its witchcraft cases were limited to divination (not a capital crime). Bundle Z^2 3459, however, does include at least one full criminal trial (minute) notwithstanding the Parlement's order "que le procès sera bruslé" (X^{2A} 254, 17 January 1636, Cosme Mairenté).

[6]Soman (1985: 179-203 the initial note presents a selected bibliography of my previous articles on the subject). See also Soman (1986b: 6-15) and the expanded French version with maps and documents: Soman (1988). For a regional study in sharp contrast to the Ardennes, see Soman (1986a).

[7]On appeals and torture, see Soman (1984). Compart the system of judicial control in Luxembourg: Dupont-Bouchat (1978: 95).

[8]In addition to the six arrêts listed in my article, "La décriminalisation" (pp. 184-185), there was a seventh, still more emphatic, affecting the maréchaussée of Laon (X^{2A} 155, fol. 73, 17 August 1602).

A 1557 edict made infanticide a crimen exceptum in the sense that two indices of presumptive guilt were redefined as proof of guilt. It is surely significant that similar legislation was never enacted with respect to witchcraft.

[9]Arson was another crime notoriously difficult to prove and which therefore lent itself to the perversion of justice for settling private scores. As witchcraft began to be decriminalized in France there was a veritable boom in arson appeals, starting around 1609 and ending in the mid-1630s, as persistently low conviction rates eventually discouraged arson litigation in the primary courts. See the graph on p. 26 of my article, "La Justice criminelle". The geographical distribution of arson and witchcraft appeals shows considerable overlap.

[10]Henningsen (1980: 22). The Inquisition in Spain faced the persistent problem of preventing illegal witch trials by lay jurisdictions (ibid., 388). On Geneva and Dôle, see Monter (1976: 208-220).

[11]See Soman (1985: 186), and my two articles on the Ardennes (cited above, n. 6). Here is a translation of one of the key texts: "The cardinal-archbishop of Reims, having

received reports of the great number of witches in his domains, ordered his chief prosecutor to conduct an inquiry. And because there were several places to visit, and his judge was sick, the cardinal commissioned M^e^ Rodolphe Carré to go out to the villages, which he did. He went to Givry and found eighteen persons accused of witchcraft, interrogated them and conducted them to Reims for judgment" (X^{2B} 1099, 19 March 1588, "Joly pour Jehan Grignet"). Note that this was the cardinal's defense when he was sued by three of the eighteen, who regarded him as an enemy instead of a friend. It is also noteworthy that Rodolphe Carré seems to have masqueraded as a witch hunter; or perhaps he was one, and for this very reason he suited the cardinal's purpose. (See Soman 1988, Annexe No. 2).

[12] Bibl. Nat., Ms. Dupuy 488, fol. 21-24.

[13] Henningsen (1980: 23-24, 130-131, 317, 497, n. 52). The bickering style of de Lancre's second book, L'incrédulité et mescréance du sortilège plainement convaincue (1622), shows him to have been hopelessly out of tune with dominant judicial attitudes.

[14] The illegal, summary trial of Mariette Molin took place in 1601, five years after Bodin's death. See the arrêt of 17 August 1602 (cited above, n. 8), which raises the possibility that the constabulary of Laon may have denied other witchcraft defendants their right to appeal, perhaps even during Bodin's lifetime.

[15] De la Démonomanie des sorciers (ed. 1587), Bk. III, ch. 5, p. 165v: "la verité ne peut mieux estre congnue que par les juges bien experimentez en telles choses par le moyen des procez qu'ils font". De Louen is cited ibid., p. 163v-164r, and Bk. IV, ch. 4, p. 211 (twice). On the trial of Nicolas (or Claude) Watier, for which de Louen was suspended, admonished and then reinstated, see X^{2A} 945, 20 January and 23 February 1576: X^{2B} 88, Nos 79 and 269.

[16] Monter (1976: 69-74).

[17] Pierre de l'Estoile, Mémoires-journaux, 12 July 1608.

[18] X^{2B} 1224, 22 August 1645, interrogation of François Prehu by Nicolas de Quelain (unfoliated):

> ...
> - Interrogé s'yl n'est pas vray que luy respondant a eu des libvres de magie,
> - A dict qu'yl n'en eust jamais aulcun.
> - Interrogé s'yl n'a pas donné le libre d'Agrippa, la Demonomanie de Bodin et la Clavicule de Salomon audict /Mathurin/ Truillier /pendu à Rennes en 1643/.
> - A dict que non.
> - S'yl n'a jamais eu cognoissance desdicts libvres?
> - A dict qu'yl n'a jamais veu lesdicts libvres sinon qu'yl a veu le traicté du libvre d'Agrippa de la Vanité des sciences, et avoit leu la Republique de Bodin.
> - Interrogé s'yl n'a pas cogneu, par les sciences desdicts libvres, l'art de magie par laquelle il pouvoit esperer toutes les choses qu'il se pouvoit imaginer dans les conditions de la faculté de l'evocation des espritz,
> - A dict que non et qu'yl ne sait que s'est de cela.
> ...
> - S'yl n'est pas vray que luy respondant ... a eu plusieurs libvres de magie de Bodin? ...
> - A dict qu'yl n'eust jamais aulcun libvre de magie, ny aultre mauvais, ne cognoistre ledict Bodin, ne sçavoir quel il est ny d'ou il est.
> ...
> - Interrogé s'yl n'a pas eu cognoissance dudict deffunt Bodin et un nommé Bouessé,
> - A dict que non et ne savoit d'où ilz sont, ny l'un ny l'aultre.
> ...

[19] Favret-Saada (1977), Favret-Saada and J. Contreras (1981). I am grateful to Mme Favret-Saada for the many hours of discussion in which we compared the results of our respective research.

[20]For example, at Pau in 1670-1671. See Mandrou (1968: 443, 459-463); additional documents in Arch. Nat., H 1691 (I am obliged to Albert N. Hamscher for this reference).

[21]X^{2A} 956, 29 February 1588, Antoine Martinet.

[22]"Y a ung mal en la Champaigne, s'est qu'on estime la pluspart des habitans sorciers" (X^{2A} 1395, 18 June 1588, case of Jean Malicet).

[23]For the case of Jean Duval, councilor in the Parlement, see X^{2A} 959, 2 October 1597: X^{2B} 181, same date: X^{2A} 959, 13 October 1598: X^{2B} 186, 15 October 1598: X^{2B} 188, 24 April 1599. On the distinction between witchcraft and magic, see "La Décriminalisation", 187-188.

[24]X^{2A} 965, 16 Decembre 1602, M^{e} Pierre Danjou ("Supplie la Court ne regarder tant aux formalitez qu'au fonds... parce que le crime est si impie et contre l'honneur de Dieu"); X^{2A} 156, fol. 103r-104r.

[25]Muchembled (1979: 91).

[26]Arrêt of 28 November 1601 (X^{2B} 204); interrogations of 13 May (X^{2B} 1179), 16 May (X^{2A} 965) and 28 May 1603 (X^{2A} 961); arrêt of 9 June 1603 (X^{2B} 213).

[27]Midelfort (1972: 98-112); also his excellent short article (1981).

[28]See above at notes 11 and 13. The Bordeaux archives were destroyed by fire in 1710.

[29]Muchembled (1987: 207-226 and 227-248). A conflation of these two essays was published in Annales E.S.C., 41 (March-April 1985), 288-305: "L'autre côté du miroir."

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WITCHCRAFT AND TOLERANCE: THE DUTCH CASE

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Dutch tolerance of witchcraft?

The positive image of Dutch tolerance would seem to be confirmed by the low intensity of witch-trials in the Northern Netherlands and the Republic, and by the early cessation of the executions for witchcraft (around 1600). Nevertheless, one may well ask whether these moderate reactions to witchcraft should be included under the heading of 'tolerance'. The answer to this question depends partly on the definition of the term tolerance. I propose to use the term tolerance, and its opposite, intolerance in a very general way. Accordingly, I take these terms to refer to the extent and the manner in which people allow each other scope for living, thinking and acting. Given this broad conception, there should be no obstacle to analysing reactions to witchcraft in terms of tolerance and intolerance.

Nevertheless, one may still ask to what extent the above-mentioned moderate reactions to witchcraft may be viewed as an indication of tolerance towards witchcraft. Surely, the low intensity of witch-trials is an indicator of the absence or near-absence of intolerance in the sense of large-scale prosecutions. But does this mean that witchcraft was tolerated? Certainly not, since there were witch-trials and executions. On the other hand, the early cessation of the executions for witchcraft can be viewed as tolerance by the magistrates towards persons suspected of maleficent witchcraft.

But of course there is more to it than this. There are various types of witchcraft to be taken into account - black and white, demonological and non-demonological, etc. There is also more than one way to measure tolerance or intolerance towards the various types of witchcraft. The judicial witchcraft policy, especially the part of it concerned with maleficent witchcraft, proved to be by far the most popular, at least among historians. Other, so far less popular, but nonetheless useful

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measures, are the conduct of church authorities and of persons directly involved in matters of witchcraft. Another, fairly popular dimension is represented by the witchcraft opinions of theologians, jurists, physicians, and other educated persons, mostly taking a professional interest in witchcraft.

Yet more complications present themselves when one tries to make up the balance of the toleration of witchcraft in the Northern Netherlands and the Republic, from approximately the sixteenth until the end of the eighteenth centuries. Regional and local differences, especially with respect to the attitudes and the policy of magistrates, have proven to be considerable. The lack of sources and/or research present another problem, though I am glad to say that much research has been done or is on its way.[1]

I will now discuss some of the results of Dutch witchcraft research, giving some answers to such questions as: how tolerant the Dutch - or rather various categories of them - have been towards various types of witchcraft, how this compares with other countries, and how the Dutch moderation, as far as it can be established, is to be explained. First I will pay some attention to ideas and opinions regarding witchcraft; then I will consider the actual conduct of magistrates, church authorities, and the persons directly involved in witchcraft; finally I will speculate on the intriguing question of the Dutch moderation.

Witchcraft as deviance

The earlier all-encompassing Dutch term for witchcraft was toverij. This concept covered various types of magical beliefs and activities, e.g. maleficent witchcraft, considered alone or in combination with demonological elements such as the Devil's pact and the sabbath. Toverij also referred to counter-magic or white magic as practised by cunning men and women, fortune-tellers and exorcists; or by private persons engaging in magical arts. Thus, the term toverij covered a whole complex of meanings, which partly shifted as time went on.

Opinions especially differred as to the role of the Devil and the effects of magical actions. Broadly speaking, two traditional views of witchcraft can be distinguished: that involving those directly concerned with bewitchments and magical countermeasures, and that of the theologicians. Or, to put it differently, one can distinguish between a magical and a demonological universe or worldview.[2] It is important to

note, however, that the Malleus Maleficarum (1487) and later manuals for witch-hunters represented a variant of demonological thinking. Because this differed in some essential respects from traditional theological views, it should be treated as a special variant; the more so because of its (potentially) far-reaching effects on persecution for witchcraft.

For those directly concerned witchcraft has proven to be quite stable. The so-called bad people (kwade mensen) were thought to employ magical powers to harm other people, either directly of indirectly, e.g. by causing illness and death of people and animals, failure of dairy or beer production and of the harvest, setbacks in affairs of love, bad luck when fishing, and even shipwrecks. Bewitchments were thought to be effected by means of an evil eye, a curse, a touch, or by the administration of poison. The Devil seems to have played no part in this context, unless judicial interrogations were obviously aimed at making someone confess to the Devil's pact. Fortunately, one did not feel quite powerless about bewitchments, as one had various magical means at one's disposal to prevent, or to counter them. If necessary, magical specialists could be called in to diagnose and to cure. Thus, witchcraft provided one way to interpret misfortune and to influence one's own destiny as well as that of the presumed witch. Condemnation of maleficent witchcraft and acceptance of countermagic went hand in hand, as far as the (potential) victims of maleficent witchcraft and the magical specialists were concerned.

Theological ideas on witchcraft also evidence a fair amount of continuity. The traditional theological view of witchcraft as expressed by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas was accepted by most theologians in the Netherlands of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3] They described witchcraft - both maleficent and countermagic - in terms of a pact with the Devil or with demons. According to this view witchcraft practices are vain and ineffectual. Magic is a system of signs based on an explicit or implicit agreement or pact between men and demons. The effects of witchcraft can be attributed solely to the activities of demons which, in turn, can only occur with the consent of God. Copulation between men and demons has no part in this concept, nor are women especially associated with witchcraft. Since witchcraft implied a pact with the Devil, it belonged to the realm of the forbidden. It should, however, be added that the attitudes of the Catholic Church were not without ambivalence. Indeed, countermagical rituals performed by Catholic priests were only considered as deviant after a more inclusive definition of witchcraft was employed.

The largely deviant vision which the Dominicans Institoris and Sprenger developed in their Malleus Maleficarum had hardly any following in the theological literature of the Netherlands. According to them, a pact with the Devil is sealed by copulation; and primarily women are tempted to practise witchcraft, the worst form of heresy. The authors of the Malleus stress the real effects of maleficia, which is also contrary to the traditional view. Witches can fly through the air with the assistance of demons; however, they are unclear on the subject of nocturnal gatherings of witches - 'the sabbath'.

A second deviation from the traditional theological pattern is found in the writings of such humanists as Erasmus and Barlandus. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they were the precursors of later protestant voices, labelling various 'magical' Christian rituals as superstition. They were also the precursors of the later breach with tradition by no longer describing witchcraft in terms of a pact with the Devil, but in terms of deceit.

The Dutch calvinist theologians first continued along the classical line of Augustine.[4] They were mainly concerned with countermagic and 'popish superstitions'. In the course of the seventeenth, but especially the eighteenth century, much of what was formerly supposed to be witchcraft tended to be interpreted as deceit or conjuration. Accordingly, the calvinist theologians tended to become more lenient, and even indifferent towards witchcraft.

In accordance with traditional theological ideas, Dutch jurists interpreted witchcraft as a pact with the Devil, although some of them judged it in terms of deceit as early as the late sixteenth century.[5] Beginning at the end of the fifteenth century witchcraft, and especially maleficent witchcraft, was classed as a capital crime. Nevertheless, the magistrates of the Northern Netherlands and the Republic were seldom inclined to consider witchcraft in terms of the Malleus.

Thus far I have presented a short overview of opinions and ideas regarding witchcraft, attempting to clarify by whom and in which respects witchcraft was considered a social deviance. Now I will address the actual reactions to witchcraft.

Witchcraft before the magistrates

It has already been pointed out that the intensity of the prosecution of witchcraft in the Northern Netherlands and the Republic was relatively low. The number of executions thus far uncovered is circa 150. Taking into account the size of the population, this number is low compared to most other European countries, with the exception of England and Finland, which also had relatively low numbers of executions. A more refined comparison can be achieved if the ratio between the number of trials for maleficent witchcraft and the number of executions is considered (for the Northern Netherlands some 60%) and if similar timeframes or historical periods are analysed. If one selects the period to 1600 - around which time the Dutch executions stopped - then the differences in intensity are smaller, presuming that the prosecutions had already begun before then.

The Republic was quite unique because of the early cessation of the burnings. Italy and Spain followed some twenty years later, and England another two decennia after that. Although the overall low intensity of the Dutch witch-trials was a function of this early ending of the executions, it was only partly so, since this score also results from the presumably low scores of several provinces (Friesland, Zeeland, Overijssel, Drenthe), and the low frequency of large-scale prosecutions.

The earliest known witch-trials date from the fourteenth century. The first burnings occurred around 1470 in Gelre, in the East of the Northern Netherlands. In the wake of burnings in adjoining German territories, more burnings followed in Gelre during the first decades of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Duke Karel van Egmond. The executions then spread towards the north and the west. Most burnings in the North-Eastern province of Groningen followed after trials in neighbouring East-Friesland. These severe actions against maleficent witchcraft were an expression of the changing attitudes of the church and secular authorities towards witchcraft; who began to view it as a crime. They were also connected with the gradual introduction of Roman law and inquisitorial proceedings.

A few peaks and several waves of trials for maleficent witchcraft occurred; in Utrecht in the 1520s and 1530s, in Groningen in the 1540s, smaller ones in the 1550s in Gelre, and in the 1560s in Groningen and Holland. During the mid 1580s a new wave of trials began in such provinces as Groningen, Gelre, Utrecht, Holland, and (North-)Brabant. The end of this wave also meant the end of the burnings. According to the

present state of knowledge these last burnings took place between 1591 (Holland) and 1603 or 1610 (Gelre).

The highest peak in executions, comprising 20 burnings, occurred in 1547 in the Groninger Ommelanden. This same area, together with a neighbouring area also had a few smaller peaks of five to twelve burnings in 1562 and in the 1580s. The next highest peak of nineteen executions took place in 1595 in North-Brabant. Smaller concentrations of 4-8 burnings are recorded for the cities of Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Schiedam. Other trials for maleficent witchcraft involved single cases or groups of two or three. As mentioned before, the provinces of Friesland, Zeeland, Drenthe, and Overijssel evidence a very low or a zero score as regards numbers of executions.

Without going into the differences in judicial organization and procedural law between the provinces, legal proceedings in cases of maleficent witchcraft may be summarized as follows. Though a charge could be brought by anyone who suspected maleficent witchcraft, inquisitorial proceedings were the usual procedure. In the first case, the accuser had to prove his charge, whereby he ran the risk of being punished for witchcraft himself or of being obliged to give restitution to the accused. If the magistrates learned of any reputations for, or suspicions of witchcraft, they could make inquiries and question the suspect. Much, therefore depended on the attitude of the magistrates concerned. It was beyond dispute that maleficent witchcraft involving a pact with the Devil was classed as a capital offence. However, the inclination to institute proceedings varied even within the same jurisdiction.

Once a prosecution had begun, the attitude of the magistrates was of the utmost importance. Their questions and use of or threats with torture, could result in a confession of maleficium and having made a pact with the Devil. Such a confession was required in order to pronounce the death sentence, and for the naming of accomplices, who could then be summoned. The latter occurred during the larger trials.

Nocturnal dancing and witches' organizations were reported only on few occasions. Demons were seldom mentioned as participants. The relationship between demons and witches was a personal one, and copulation certainly did not belong to the continually recurring aspects of the Devil's pact. More often this pact was sealed by a solemn pledge on the part of the witch, and by a gift from the Devil.

The magistrates not only took action against maleficent witchcraft,

they also prosecuted fortune-tellers, exorcists and other magical specialists. Although 90 to 95% of the Dutch trials for maleficent witchcraft concerned women, more men then women were usually prosecuted for harmless witchcraft. Some four to ten of these trials per province for the sixteenth century have been found, and about the same number for the seventeenth century. Data from the later period are even more scarce, since research on witchcraft in later centuries has only recently begun. Trials for harmless witchcraft often resulted in corporal punishment and/or banishment; and sometimes in acquittal.

Two additional forms of jurisprudence concerning witchcraft should be mentioned: slander suits connected with maleficent witchcraft and trials for maltreatment. Slander suits have been traced mainly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The eighteenth century had probably seen the end of them. Although very few trials for maltreatment of presumed witches have been found, they do continue into the twentieth century.

In both cases the initiative could lay with the judicial authorities or with the person accused of, or maltreated because of, witchcraft. Both types of trials resulted mostly in favour of the presumed witches.

In terms of tolerance or intolerance, the judicial witchcraft policy of the Northern Netherlands and the Republic can be characterized as follows. Intolerance in the sense of intensive, large-scale prosecutions was an exception. Nevertheless, in most provinces smaller series of trials and especially isolated trials for maleficent witchcraft occurred fairly regularly and a number of them resulted in burnings. Irrespective of their outcome, these trials represent intolerance, or at the very least the absence of tolerance towards maleficent witchcraft. The same is true of the trials against fortune-tellers and exorcists. Such trials continued much longer than the trials for maleficent witchcraft. Moreover, the absence or infrequency of trials for maleficent witchcraft does not imply a tolerant attitude towards this type of witchcraft. Even though maleficent witchcraft was viewed as a crime, prosecution was impeded by the problem of obtaining sufficient proof. It was a different case for fortune-telling and exorcizing. Such activities were much easier to identify and to prove.

Nor can slander suits or trials for maltreatment simply be brought under the denominator of tolerance towards presumed witches. On the other hand, the judicial protection attended to accused or maltreated witches means that intolerant behaviour towards them was not tolerated. Such

judicial procedures can be said to have functioned as checks on the prosecutions of maleficent witchcraft.

Witchcraft before the Reformed Church

Repression and intervention in cases of witchcraft were by no means exclusively wordly affairs. Unfortunately, very little is known about the role of the Dutch Roman Catholic Church before the Reformation. We know much more about the Dutch Reformed Church. The minutes of church council meetings, for example, contain useful information.[6] Their main concern was not maleficent witchcraft, but countermagic and other forms of witchcraft. If church councils intervened in matters of maleficent witchcraft, it was to reconcile the accuser and the accused. Their rather infrequent interventions - they formed a negligible quantity of all measures of church discipline and they became rare after 1700 - mostly concerned church members who practised countermagic or who made use of the services of professional magical healers and fortune-tellers. These offenders were punished by censure in front of the church council or during divine service, or by preventing them from attending the Lord's Supper. 'Popish superstitions' were to be banished and quarreling church members were to be reconciled, since peaceful relations were considered to belong to a Christian way of life. There was a strict division of labour between the church and the magistrates. Church organizations did not personally punish magical healers and fortune-tellers, but only urged the magistrates to do so, should the case arise.

We can conclude that the actual policy of the Reformed Church, which was theoretically opposed to all forms of witchcraft, was rather tolerant. Indeed, it was more a position of indifference, particularly after witchcraft had ceased to be defined in terms of a pact with the Devil or popish superstitions, and had been replaced by a description involving deceit and credulity. It should be noted, however, that less tolerance was shown to the author of The World Bewitched (1691-1693), Balthasar Bekker, who was dismissed from his function of clergyman at Amsterdam because of his deviant ideas about the influence of the Devil.[7]

Accusing and 'dewitching': expressions of intolerance

Magistrates and church authorities were certainly not the only, nor the first to react to witchcraft. If they interfered, it was only after suspicions had arisen, rumours had begun circulating, accusations had been launched, 'dewitching' had been tried and/or the presumed witch had been forced to remove the spell and had possibly been maltreated. Most of these witchcraft matters probably did not come to the notice of magistrates or church authorities, nor did those known to them always result in their interference.

It is clear that the attribution of misfortune to a bewitchment could lead to a search for the responsible person, in case their identity was still unknown. Beside the family and the neighbours of the victim of witchcraft, magical specialists could play an important part in making this diagnosis. They could confirm a suspicion of witchcraft and they could steer suspicions in a certain direction. Once a person was suspected of being a witch, covert or open accusations could result. Moreover, the accused could be forced to remove the spell. Such matters were reported in Dutch newpapers up to a quarter of a century ago.

Calling someone a witch did not necessarily imply suspicion of bewitchment. It could simply mean that a person was thought capable of bewitching. The effect was nevertheless that the person was set apart and alienated. It could even happen that the term witch or sorcerer, especially when used in combination with other terms of abuse such as whore or thief, did not primarily refer to witchcraft, rather was a general term of abuse. Although it is not possible to form an even approximate image of the frequency, the fierceness, or the effects of these accusations and enforced 'dewitchments' it would be incorrect to exclude them from consideration when weighing the reactions to witchcraft in terms of (in)tolerance. Without accusations and 'dewitchments' interferences by magistrates or by church authorities would not have occurred. This mere fact is reason enough to mention the intolerant utterances of accusers and magical specialists.

Towards an explanation of the Dutch moderation regarding witchcraft

As I have shown, Dutch moderation regarding witchcraft consists mainly of the near absence of large-scale witch-trials and of the early cessation of burnings. Thereafter the magistrates continued to prosecute - though not diligently - fortune-tellers and exorcists, and to render protection to presumed witches. Reformed church councils probably interfered even less in matters of witchcraft. The main centre of intolerance lay, or came to lie, with those directly concerned: the victims of bewitchments, their families and friends, and the magical specialists.

When looking at the near absence of large-scale witch-trials, it is important to note that only one of two necessary conditions for the occurrence of this type of trial was fulfilled. Witchcraft, especially maleficent witchcraft, came to be handled as a capital crime from the second half of the fifteenth century. Inquisitorial legal proceedings and the use of torture provided for the other judicial instruments needed for large-scale prosecutions. The second necessary condition, a belief in demonological doctrines such as that presented in the Malleus Maleficarum, was largely absent. This cannot be explained as being part of a general sceptical attitude on the side of the magistrates, since most of them did not deny the possibility of maleficent witchcraft. Whatever explanation may be put forward in future, it is clear that the idea of an heretical sect of mainly female witches, threatening human society and therefore having to be exterminated, found no fertile ground in the Northern Netherlands.

Still, as I have pointed out, a few larger witch-trials occurred, such as those in the provinces of Groningen and of (North-)Brabant. The Groningen trials followed in the wake of witch-trials in nearby East-Friesland: they might well have been inspired by them, especially since, in both cases, notions about witches' organizations and nocturnal gatherings were mentioned. The rather decentralized judicial organization in those particular areas left much scope for individual judicial functionaries to proceed one way or the other in cases of witchcraft.[8] Peelland, in (North-)Brabant, also had a decentralized judicial organization. Demonological elements like the pact, copulation and the sabbath were expressed in abundance during the questioning at the 1595 trials. It is not clear, however, how the magistrates became impressed by this demonological doctrine.[9]

The early cessation of the executions for maleficent witchcraft around 1600 was not due to changes in the necessary conditions for these trials and executions. Maleficent witchcraft remained punishable by law, and continued to play a part in the lives of many people. The early cessation of the executions is partly due to the absence of a rigid reformational or counter-reformational climate. The political developments during the first decades of the Dutch revolt and the resulting perpetuation of local and regional autonomy, as well as the religious pluriformity of the day paved the way for the early ending of Dutch burnings. The fact that they ceased was mainly due to the limited receptiveness of learned circles and magistrates to accept confessions and other data as proofs of witchcraft. It is not yet clear to what extent this critical attitude can be considered as an aspect or a result of the early development of the medical and natural sciences in the Republic. Humanistic ideas, including those on witchcraft, have certainly found a fertile ground among many Dutch magistrates.

Would it be too daring to conclude that scepticism is contrary to intolerance? However this may be, scepticism concerning the demonological doctrine of witchcraft was an obstacle to large-scale witch-trials. An extension of this scepticism to the matter of proof and perhaps to the possibility of maleficent witchcraft meant the end of all prosecution of 'bad people'.

Notes

[1] In 1982 the Dutch interdisciplinary study group 'Witchcraft and sorcery in the Netherlands' was set up. More than half of its thirty participants have contributed articles to the most recent survey on Dutch witchcraft and witch-trials in Gijswijt-Hofstra/Frijhoff, eds (1987). An earlier publication by the study group is: Blécourt/Gijswijt-Hofstra, eds (1986). See also the annotated bibliography of witchcraft and sorcery in the Netherlands by Matter et al. (1990). Several doctoral dissertations on Dutch witchcraft are being prepared as well, published has been Blécourt (1990). See also Gijswijt-Hofstra (1990).

[2] Frijhoff (1991).

[3] Gielis (1991).

[4] Stronks (1987).

[5] Beliën (1991).

[6] Roodenburg (1987), Gijswijt-Hofstra (1991), Blécourt/Pereboom (1991).

[7] Stronks (1991).

[8] Gerbenzon (1987).

[9] Caspers (1991).

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WITCHCRAFT, SIN AND REPENTANCE: THE DECLINE OF DANISH WITCHCRAFT TRIALS

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During the period 1609-1687 the number of witchcraft trials in the Danish peninsular of Jutland comes to 494.[1] The distribution of these trials reveals a specific chronology, however, as we find a peak period between 1617 and 1625 with 297 trials or 60% of all the trials. From 1626 until 1655 the annual number of trials was relatively stable, and only 21 took place during the last 31 years.[2]

Existing explanations and hypotheses on the decline of witchcraft trials do not provide any useful clues to the disappearence of this crime in Denmark. The hypothesis of the Norwegian Hans Eyvind Naess comes close. He argues, that the judges of the higher courts after the middle of the seventeenth century rejected traditional evidence like denounciations and confessions after the use of torture, without questioning the notion of witchcraft.[3] This does not really fit into the Danish pattern. The judges of the Danish County Court of Jutland had right from the beginning of the seventeenth century and probably even earlier refused to use this kind of evidence, as it was prohibited by a law of 1547 to do so.

As early as the mid-1620s, however, we do see traces of some doubt at the highest level of the judicial system, the King's Court. When one of his sentences had been appealed to this court in 1626, the County Court judge Jacob Ulfeldt indicated in his procedure that witchcraft accusations could be caused by "malice and hatred in the heart" followed by a false pretext to strengthen the accusation.[4] This bit of procedure is somewhat surprising, as Jacob Ulfeldt during the years 1625-1626 had sentenced at least eight women of the town of Elsinore to the stake.[5] The King's Court heeded his warning as they decided that the case should start all over again.

In 1630, a new witchcraft case came to the King's Court in which Jacob Ulfeldt had confirmed the not-guilty decision by the jury of the first instance. The king himself, Christian IV, was not present, and the

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council had to reach a decision without the help of this firm believer in witchcraft. Two of the eight members present found no reason to overrule the verdict of Jacob Ulfeldt; if he desired, the accuser could consult the konsistorium (the governing body of the university). Three members suggested that they asked the king how to handle this kind of case (and that is an extremely surprising suggestion as the Danish ordinance on witchcraft had been passed in 1617, only 13 years earlier); they also suggested that the accuser consult the Konsistorium, if he so desired. The remaining three members present found that they should interrogate another witch in a pending case. Finally the eight members decided that the case should wait until the king could be asked, but the accuser could go to the Konsistorium, as this kind of cases were "extremely dubious".[6]

In 1631, in the presence of the king, the King's Court actually confirmed the verdict of Jacob Ulfeldt.[7]

The accuser of the 1630 trial did not bring his case to the Konsistorium, which in any case had an advisory function only. Cases from the Konsistorium in the 1630s reveal, however, that even if the said accuser had done so, he would probably have met little success. In 1632, this body of the university found, strictly in accordance with the witchcraft ordinance of 1617, that in order to sentence a witch to the stake, she had to have made a pact with the Devil, and arguing that "as long as the pact had not been proven, a person can not be considered a witch".[8] Further on, they stressed that a person could not be executed if they had only threatened with evil. Two years later the Konsistorium once again found that only a pact with the Devil merited execution at the stake.[9]

This position taken by the Konsistorium, which mainly consisted of the professors of theology at the university, is interesting. Had it been applied, it would have meant that around 95% of all Danish trials had been rejected in the courts, as only very few mention a pact with the Devil. But it was not applied, as the County Court judges followed the popular perception of witches as persons, who threatened with evil, stressing the importance of maleficium in the trials.

The evidence from the King's Court shows that no action was taken to prevent witchcraft trials in spite of the doubts voiced by some members of the council. In 1643 the witchcraft ordinance of 1617 was incorporated word by word in a large collection of laws, indicating that the attitude towards witchcraft had not changed.

Nevertheless, we find a sharp decline in witchcraft trials after

1625. A clue to this situation is found in the testimony of some clergymen in the courts of first instance. In 1623, Oluf Madsen said that a woman in his parish had been a notorious witch since 1602.[10] This testimony indicates that as a clergyman he had had a witch on the loose in the parish for more than twenty years without reacting, although witchcraft had been defined as a religious crime by the ordinance of 1617. The testimony of Oluf Madsen is not the only one. Scattered all over Jutland, we find testimonies of the same kind; in a few cases the vicar even contradicted his congregation. One said that the accused had not had a reputation for being a with until after a denounciation, and that she had not been accused by one of her alleged victims.[11] In 1626, the reason for this passivity is expressed for the first time. That year, the vicar of Åsted told the court that the accused was suspected of causing his predecessor's death, but that the wife of the deceased had told him that her husband had gone in the footsteps of Hiob.[12]

What is revealed, is a belief that does not deny the existence of witchcraft, but looks upon the question of sin and punishment in a different way than the one we normally find at the trials. This 'providential'-view was based on the belief that judgement belonged to God, and human beings should not interfere. The American Erik Midelfort, who identified this tradition in Southwestern Germany, has recently expressed the idea succintly: "that Christians should not do all of God's work for Him, that vengeance was after all His, not ours".[13] Although we learn of this tradition in the Danish trials as late as in the 1620s. It had been known for a longer period of time.

In 1593, the Danish royal historiographer Anders Sørensen Vedel published a collection of sermons called The XC. Psalm, The Prayer of God's Man Moses; here he wrote: "Do not credit the Devil or his associates... evil people with the power to control our lives, to harm us with illness or death according to their lust and whims. The Lord is the one, who decides on life and death, both originate from Him, and they are never wrought or transfered without His divine providence and permission".[14] The cause of illness and accidents was to be found in the sin, which aroused the anger of God and which brought about his punishment, and nobody was to blame witches. Vedel continued: "it comes from this, from idle superstition and naivity that as soon as somebody is befallen by a strange illness or by a curious and hasty misfortune, everyone cries out: This is wrought by evil persons".[15] Vedel did not deny the existence of witches,

but the question of fault, sin and destiny was spiritualized to a degree that raises another question: who could actually be tried as a witch?

The Norwegian bishop Jørgen Ericksson this in 1592 in one of his sermons over the book of Jonah: only confessed witches should be sentenced to the stake. Ericksson followed the line of Vedel; Man should be extremely careful and consider, whether harm was caused by his own sinful life, before he accuse other people of causing this harm. Witches were used by God in order to try his disobedient people so they, to a small extent, could experience, what would happen if they continued to disobey God. The final punishment could be avoided, if Man improved and repented.[16]

In two sermons from the late sixteenth century, the authors exhibit a sterner attitude toward witchcraft, based on a different perception of the crime.[17] So an alternative to the 'providential view' did exist among the Danish clery.

The 'providential'-tradition was not peculiarly Danish, but originates in part from Southwestern Germany, where the Lutheran reformer of Schwäbisch Hall, Johan Brenz, in 1526 had reached the conclusion, after studying the Book of Hiob, that God caused storm, hunger and other accidents, and that it was God's way of chastening, admonishing and trying His people.[18]

Erik Midelfort did not or rather could not connect the decline of witchcraft trials in Southwestern Germany to this tradition; just before the Thirty-Years-War he notices a hardening and tightening of both Catholic and Lutheran views which meant that they drew closer, and the 'providential'-view disappeared, more or less. This did not happen in Denmark.

Some of Brenz' books had been translated into Danish. In one of these translations from 1563, it says: "God torments His people, not in order to break them, but to save and keep them, to call them to repentance and try their faith".[19] The impact of Brenz is perhaps reflected in the fact that when a Danish student of theology in 1572 was arrested and banished from the University of Copenhagen, one of Brenz' books was found among his possessions.[20]

Brenz' importance notwithstanding (the Danish king Chistian III tried in the early 1550s to bring Brenz as a bishop to Denmark),[21] the first Lutheran bishop of Sealand, Peder Palladius, may have influenced the development of witchcraft-beliefs in Denmark even more. A Danish theology dissertation, published recently,[22] which analyzes the Lutheran influence on Peder Palladius, has made me change my original claim that one could

trace the tradition directly to Luther himself. Nevertheless, we see the influence of Luther in the two collections of sermons by Vedel and by Ericksson. Luther believed firmly in the witches' pact with the Devil and in maleficium, but he also devoted himself to the subject of sin and punishment. It is God, who through different means: the Devil or the Law works the evil that happens to mankind. In a sermon over the 90th Psalm Luther stresses that, although the Devil has power of Death, it is God, who lets people die. Under no circumstance must Man attribute accidents and death to other demonic powers. In a sermon on the Book of Jonah, Luther says that unless God tries His people, they will be blind and believe in salvation. Only the Law can open the eyes of His people and lead them to an understanding of His anger.[23] Thus it is hardly a coincidence that Anders Sørensen Vedel used the 90th Psalm as a vehicle for his sermons, and that Jørgen Ericksson based his thoughts on the Book of Jonah.

The other aspect of the 'providential'-tradition is, of course, the call for repentance, and here we notice the influence of Peder Palladius. Palladius, who had studied in Wittenberg under Luther and Melanchton, and who in 1537 was made a doctor of theology by Luther, created, in contrast to Luther, a tri-partition of the Law consisting in a) recognition of the sin, b) God's wrath, judgement and eternal death and c) contrition and repentance. Most important in the wrath of God is His punishment, which is considered the motive to repent. The recognition of sin, the wrath of God and the punishment become part of a psychological process that should move Man to repent.[24]

Nobody treated the subject of witchcraft as throughly in the seventeenth century as Vedel and Ericksson had done in the late sixteenth century, but the spiritualization of the relationship between sin and adversities were treated in one book or pamphlet after another, especially from the 1620s onwards, as a penitential movement was launched.

It is almost impossible to gauge the immediate effect of the books by Vedel and Ericksson, but I take two points for granted. One is, that this 'providential'-view was common among Danish vicars (with some notable exceptions), and the other, that the problem of transmitting this view to the population had been immense. This line of thought I base on the effects of the 1617-ordinance on witchcraft; as soon as the population realized that the royal authorities accepted and encouraged witchcraft prosecutions, they struck out against the witches. The vicars were unable to resist this attack and sunk into the passivity as the vicar mentioned above, who for

more than twenty years had tolerated a notorious witch in his parish. This makes plausible the development after 1625; with this immense purge of witches during the eight-year span from 1617 to 1625, the supply of witches had simply been drained, as we are talking about trials based on maleficium. For a new trials to begin, another large group of people had to acquire a reputation for being a witch. During this time, the vicars had the opportunity of steering the population towards a new recognition of sin through a process of discipline and teaching.

We notice the impact of the 'penitential'-movement in some diaries written by vicars, too. In the mid-1620s a vicar from Lolland wrote, that "God has decided to show Man signs on heaven and earth to make him repent now, as the door of grace is open".[25]

The major problem is really to find the 'providential'-tradition expressed elsewhere than in sermons, expressed by somebody else than vicars. Indeed, we have a few example, primarily through letters and court records. As early as 1599, a man wrote that, by giving testimony against his wife concerning witchcraft, a vicar had contributed to the Devil what rightly belonged to God, the right to condemn other people.[26] In 1626, in the wife of the mayor in the town of Elsinore had ordered the bailiff to imprison a woman. The bailiff's answer was that he could do so, if she was willing to pay the costs of this imprisonment. The woman agreed, saying that she would do it, until her husband returned. Obviously, the mayor had been away on a business trip, and his wife hoped that she might obtain a conviction during his absence because she knew that he would not support her, and quite right, she was. When the mayor returned and was asked by the bailiff if he would renew the obligations of imprisonment, the former answered that he contributed the illness of his wife to God, and would have nothing to do with the matter.[27]

In 1638, professor Ole Worm in Copenhagen received a letter concerning a friend who was still plagued by an illness, although he seemed to recover. The writer added, "Whether the illness has natural causes or has been wrought by evil persons, I do not know, but God's Judgement will show in the last resort."[28] In 1650, another man wrote to the bishop of Ribe about the adversities, he had suffered: "as previously, I do assure you, this has been a fine tribulation".[29] In 1667, we find the following passage in a letter: "The Lord is angry, and He suffers in His heart that we cause Him to punish us. Like a father who with good as well as evil beckons us to repent, for our sins He has let us see big and gruesome

comets, which are His burning anger. All to the end that we can make amends and do a true and serious repentance".[30]

People were taught that the providence of God lasted until their last moment on earth. In 1657, the vicar of a small Sealandian town began to write down in the parish register the Scriptural passage, he used for the funeral ceremony. Until his own death in 1688, he buried 430 persons, and for 173 of those, the text is noted. Almost half of these were passages from the Book of Hiob, the remainder primarily from the Psalms.[31]

Although the Danish clergy was extremely reluctant to inflict punishment on witches, because these only served the purpose of God, there was one aspect of witchcraft, they did not tolerate, however. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, they attacked cunning men and women in the tradition of Protestant demonology as established by Stuart Clar.[32] Often these attacks on cunning people were connected with warnings against catholicism.

In the 1540s, Hans Tavsen, bishop of Ribe, wrote that people were ready to travel far if they heard about a cunning man or woman who could tell the future, even though this was strictly forbidden in the Gospels.[33] Jørgen Ericksson tied cunning people to catholicism, when he wrote that they were using incense like the catholics to bring about their mischief.[34]

Anders Sørensen Vedel launched the strongest attack on cunning people as well as on their customers. He wrote of the disbelievers, who say that if they can not be helped by God, then let the Devil dispel their illness and misfortune. "If the Devil will help me, then why not, I am satisfied even if I have to bring Him from the deepest Hell. In their madness people consult sorcerers, they bring them from far away and they venerate them. They even defend them and tell everybody that they do no harm, that it is only fair that poor people, too, can be healed... Such is a disgraceful thing to hear when the time of the True Gospel has dawned. Would it not be far better, as we receive it from the words of God, to look to our heavenly Father, in ardent repentance, in prayer and in fast, to feed the people of Jesus, instead of feeding the Devil and his associates".[35] In this paragraph we find not only a fierce attack on cunning people, but the call for repentance as well.

Throughout the seventeenth century, a steady warning against the use of cunning people was heard from the Danish clergy; a warning that was not heeded by the population, as they needed these people. Accordingly, we

only find a handful of cases against cunning people in the Danish court records. Caspar Bartholin, professor of theology, Caspar Bartholin, wrote in the late 1620s that one of the causes of war (Denmark had just made a disastrous entry into the Thirty-Years-War) was that people sought the advice of witches and cunning people instead of listening to God.[36] Bishop Jens Dinesen Jersin[37] wrote in 1636 that the use of charms, the name of Christ written on paper, was disgraceful and should be considered a remnant of Catholicism.[38]

Let me conclude: both Peder Palladius and Jørgen Ericksson found that the acts of cunning people were an attempt to take the rod out of God's hand, because the worry for God's punishment lessened, when the afflicted considered illness and accidents to be caused by witchcraft. Vedel's 'providential'-view may be seen as an extension of their line of thought, as the fear of maleficium and the persecution of witches diminished the recognition of sin.[39] The population was placed in an unsolvable dilemma: on the one hand, the demand for punishment of the cunning people, on the other hand, the constant admonition that it was against God's providence to prosecute witches. The common people neither could nor would fulfill the demand, as the cunning people were the only healers they knew, and the admonition was contrary to their beliefs. The out-break of massive persecutions after 1617, when the authorities sanctioned them thus becomes understandable. The majority of the Danish clergy chose the above-mentioned passivity to express their dissent, while they continued to preach God's providence. Because it took the potential witches a long time to build up a reputation of being a witch, the Danish clergy succeeded, through a hard and intensive work of convincing the population of the 'providential'-view, in preventing a new wave of persecutions and thus brought about the cessation of Danish witchcraft trials.

Notes

[1] See my forthcoming book Da Djaevelen var ude... Trolddom i det 17. århundredes Denmark to be published by Odense University Press. - The decline of the witchtrials has not received the same attention as other aspects of witchcraft. However, see Easlea (1980) and Klaniczay (1987).

[2] Johansen (1990).

[3] Naess (1982: 273).

[4] Rigsarkivet (Copenhagen). Rigsdomstolen, Herredagsdombog 1626, fol 13v.

[5]Johansen (1985).

[6]Rigsarkivet (Copenhagen). Rigsdomstolen, Justits- og Voteringsprotokol til Kongens og Rigens Raads Retterting 1630b: 26.6.1630.

[7]Rigsarkivet (Copenhagen). Rigsdomstolen, Herredagsdombog 1631, fol 257r ff.

[8]Rørdam (1887-1889: 155-157).

[9]Rørdam (1867-1868: 193).

[10]Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland (Viborg). Landstingsprotokol B 24-518, fol 453v ff.

[11]Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland (Viborg). Landstingsprotokol B 24-559, fol. 148r ff.

[12]Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland (Viborg). Landstingsprotokol B 24-520, fol. 143r ff.

[13]Midelfort (1988: 242).

[14]Vedel (1593: D3).

[15]Ibid.

[16]Erickssøn (1592).

[17]Mariager (1580) and Jespersen (1591).

[18]Midelfort (1972).

[19]Brenz (1563: 112b).

[20]Ilsøe (1975-1976: 243-244).

[21]Andersen (1980: 30).

[22]Ertner (1988).

[23]Althaus (1962: 148-155).

[24]Ertner (1988: 477-479).

[25]Perlestikkerbogen (1954: 383).

[26]Landsarkivet for Sjaelland m.v. (Copenhagen). Lolland-Falster stifts arkiv: Dokumenter og breve for herrederne 1464-1762, Falster Sdr. herred.

[27]Johansen (1985: 7).

[28]Hovesen (1987: 251).

[29]Landsarkivet for Nørrejylland (Viborg). Ribe stifts bispearkiv: Indkomne breve 31.1.1650.

[30]Landarkivet for Fyn (Odense). Fyns stifts biskops arkiv: Salling herreds breve 29.1.1667.

[31]Levenesløb (1963: 68).

[32]Clark (1990).

[33]Tavsen (1870: 242-243).

[34]Erickssøn (1592: 47b).

[35]Vedel (1593: D3b-D4a).

[36]Bartholin (1628: CVIIb).

[37]Jersin (1636: CC).

[38]I should like to draw the attention to the fact the American Puritans had a view of witchcraft and providence that resemble the Danish Lutheran Protestant view to an astonishing degree. Of course, this 'providential'-view did not bring about the decline of the

American witchcraft trials, but maybe it need to be taken into account when the decline of the trials in countries other than Denmark is analyzed. Let me quote three Americans, who have looked into the subject. Richard Weisman wrote that civil and ecclesiastical leaders attributed suffering to the agency of providence. According to this interpretation, those suffering misfortune or illness virtually invited upon themselves the responsibility for their personal adversity (Weisman, 1984: 58). To seek public reprisal against a few malefactors was to divert the community from its collective responsibility (Weisman, 1984: 67). And Kibbey notes that, however adverse events seemed to be, when Puritans believed them to be special acts of their divinity, they reinterpreted the motive as the correcting hand of divine love, the deity's edifying intervention meant to instruct erring souls and provoke repentance (Kibbey, 1982: 130). See also the brief comments by Karlsen (Karlsen, 1987: 31).

[39] The 'providential'-view might be considered a way to present a coherent, rationalistic concept of the world. By focusing on the collective fate of Man in the face of adversities, the Danish clergy differed form the opinion of Luther, who only took into account the adversities of the individual. I owe this information to professor, dr. theol. Leif Grane, University of Copenhagen.

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CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE CESSATION OF WITCH TRIALS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE RELATED TO HYGIENE

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In the Eastern regions of Central Europe the Saxon high sheriff Andreas Teutsch was the first to suppress witch trials in the 1720s, in the Saxon townships of Transylvania, while the practice of prosecuting and convicting witches in court was continued for a long time in the immediate neighbourhood and in more remote territories. In Hungary the last instance of burning a witch at the stake dates from 1756, and the Constitutio Criminales Theresiana, a highly important decree in the matter of witchcraft initiated by Van Swieten was issued by Queen Maria Theresa in 1768.[1]

There is evidence that doubts and protests had been raised in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania as early as the 17th century. However, no attempt has been made as yet to take stock of the opinions which correspond with what a noblewoman of Kassa, accused of witchcraft and imprisoned in 1686, said: "only people with a diseased imagination can bring forward the charge of witchcraft".[2]

What happened in Hungary during the long period covering more than a century and a half from the emergence of the first doubts to the actual cessation of the persecution of witches?

This question cannot be answered on the grounds generally given to explain the cessation of the trials, such as the spirit of the enlightenment, an early manifestation of rationalism, the breaking up of the feudal system, and the rise of capitalism. And as long as we cannot tell what the criteria of the new rationality prevailing in the 17th and 18th centuries were, and how they operated, the particular causes of the cessation or, conversely, the long continuance of the witch trials will remain a problem to be investigated.[3]

In this paper I am dealing with one particular, and so far largely neglected aspect of the cessation of witch trials in Hungary.

Several years ago, when I was doing research on the social history of the civilization of the period, I came to realize how necessary it was

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to investigate thoroughly the hygienic culture of the population and the medical strategies, as well as the interpersonal relations and tensions of healers of every description. This alone can make us really and truly familiar with the social attitudes towards diseases in the period, the patients' responses to doctoring and the choices they took, as well as the ideas of authorities and communities concerning the structural organization of medical service for the masses.

1. The vast majority of witches in Hungary were involved in curing the sick.[4]

In the background of the witch trials the healers' rivalry can be noticed, and it is the doctors who worked out the decisions restraining and, later, stopping the persecutions.[5] It is, therefore, reasonable to examine the cases of witchcraft not in isolation, but in the larger context of public hygiene.

The structure of the groups involved in healing in the 16th to 18th centuries in Hungary resembles that of a pyramid. The top of the pyramid was formed by doctors with a university degree, and "physicists", i.e. apothecaries, the middle section was made up of barbers working in the guild system, as well as surgeons and chirurgeons. In the lower and largest part of the pyramid we can see a varied crowd of lay healers that is almost impossible to define. They were responsible for the everyday medical care of the population, shouldering the immense burden of looking after the health of the masses.

This was not peculiar to Hungary. In every agrarian society, or where the inhabitants lived in far-away villages or secluded places in mountain regions, they themselves had to solve their daily health problems.[6] It is, however, unquestionable that the situation in Hungary shows characteristic features of the historical conditions of the country as well.

The medieval unity of the Hungarian state was broken by the Ottoman conquest at the beginning of the 16th century. The narrow strip that was left of the Kingdom of Hungary stretched from Croatia to Upper Hungary, to the North Eastern Borderlands, and the rulers of the Hapsburg dynasty organized their central government from Vienna.

The defendant of the first witch trial known in detail, Klára Botzi, was a typical healer who "the flowers and herbs of the meadows talk to". She was brought into court in Kolozsvár in 1565, when the new state, the Transylvanian principality had been firmly established in what used to be

the Eastern region of medieval Hungary.[7] Two thirds, the central part of the former country, were occupied by the Ottomans. Under the three centralized powers, the feudal institution of the medieval Hungarian state lived on, more or less.

Owing to the fast spread of the Reformation, most of the ethnic groups of Transylvania, the townsfolk of the Highlands (the Northern part of Hungary) as well as large crowds of the lesser nobility and the peasantry came under the care of the Protestant churches. A large part of the higher nobility were won back by the Counter-Reformation at and after the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, and in the Western parts a small number of peasants and burghers became Catholic.

Almost one third of the population was made up of non-Hungarian ethnic groups, Germans, Slovaks and Croats and Rumanians, the latter living under the spiritual guidance of the Greek Orthodox Church.

90 per cent of the population lived in the country, in villages, on farms, in castles, fortresses, on small estates, in manors, in mountain regions difficult of access, in herdsmen's huts. The climate being continental, during the long and hard winters and the periods of spring floods the roads were impassable for weeks or months. People, whether in need of immediate aid, or in cases requiring a long treatment would have been helpless without the lay healers.

As can be learned from letters, diaries, records of testimonies, documents of witch trials, papers in county archives, all dating from the 16th to 18th centuries, the Hungarian equivalents of "witch doctor", "Volksdoktor", "medicine man"[8] were "healing woman" (orvosló asszony), "woman doctor (orvos asszony), "herb-woman" (füves asszony), "learned woman" (tudományos asszony), "midwife" (bába), "seer" (néző), "bed-maker" (ágyvető), "smearer" (kenő), "wise woman" (tudós asszony).[9] In social status they differed widely. Among those involved in healing a noblewoman was as likely to be found as a serf, a landlord's lady as well as a yeoman's wife, a cowherd, a peeress, a barber's widow, an innkeeper's wife, a Protestant minister, a Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox priest, a shepherd's wife, a schoolmaster, a rich peasant's wife, a countess, a municipal officer, and even the hangman. The circle of lay healers cannot be classified according to marital or social status, financial standing, or education. There were "Vlach women", Turks, Croats, Germans, Greeks and Serbs among them, but the majority were Hungarians. Only 10 per cent of them were men. A large part of the lay healers was made up of countrywomen.[10]

Their activity can be defined by means of the characteristics of folkloric medicine; their knowledge of good health and ill-health was empirical, based on the experience gathered in the course of several centuries, and, appealing to natural and supernatural powers, they used both rational and "irrational" (ceremonial) therapy, ranging from the use of herbs to incantation.[11]

The fact that the activity of the body of people that can be labelled collectively as lay healers was recognized and, as it were, "legitimated" through three centuries, can be explained by the hygienic culture of the period and the real needs of society.

In the 17th century there were university trained doctors in every larger town, but, considering the approximately 4 million inhabitants, this number is insignificantly small; however, the ratio was more favourable in Transylvania.[12] These 100 to 200 doctors were members of an as yet unclassified layer of intellectuals; very often they had to do the work of teachers, diplomats, military enigneers, economists, or administrative officials as well.[13] Their professional training generally reached the international standard. As there was no medical school at the only Hungarian university founded in 1635, the doctors got their diplomas abroad. They attended the universities of Padova, Basel, Sweden, the German principalities, the Netherlands, England and France, respectively, depending on their religion and financial means, and acquired knowledge of all description offered by Europe at the time. Owing to the traditional division of labour in matters of public health, the Hungarian doctors of the 16th and 17th centuries were unable to look after the physical well-being of the masses.[14]

Treating wounds, curing "external ailments", ulcers, sprains, broken bones, pulling teeth was the task of barbers, chirurgeons, surgeons and "bath attendants". Their functions and the plan of their training were prescribed by the guild.[15] Hungarian society in the 16th and 17th centuries was a belligerent society. As is shown by the hygienic conditions of the border castles and armies, there were not enough trained barbers and surgeons.[16] In the course of time attending prisoners and giving expert opinion on cases of medical jurisprudence were added to their routine tasks of shaving and cutting hair. Their number, according to a register made at the beginning of the 18th century was appeallingly small.[17]

According to time-honoured custom, midwives assisted at childbirth. Childbirth belonged under the category of life, not of illness, and it was

a woman's task to attend to it. In the 16th and 17th centuries, traditional healers were particularly concerned in the matters of conception, pregnancy, childbed, and the medical care of babies, and in many of the witch trials the charges were in connection with these activities.[18]

A typical case was that of Orsolya Kanizsay, wife of Palatine Tamás Nádasdy (1498-1562), who conceiving a child after a long period of barrennes, was treated and attended throughout the nine months of her pregnancy by Gáspár Szegedi Körös (before 1530-1562?), in all probability the most gifted doctor of the age; nevertheless, a "German midwife" was called in to assist her at the delivery.[19]

Count Ádám Batthyány (d. 1659) commandant of the Transdanubian area wanted to take his wife, who had had several miscarriages, to Viennese doctors; his mother, Éva Poppel, widow of Ferenc Batthyány (d. 1625) was very much against it, because - as she wrote - women knew more about women's diseases than the doctors. She herself had efficiently helped many infertile women using the knowledge handed down to her by her mother.[20]

The view lay healers took of health and illness was based on traditional experience. The interaction between lay healers and professional doctors remained essentially unchanged through the 16th to 18th centuries and was evident even when medical science was undergoing tremendous changes.[21]

The lay healers never formulated their theory of healing in current scientific terms. It is, however, easy to find out what scale of values they had in mind. Without as much as indicating the principles underlying the question, I mention two lay healers active at the beginning and the end of the period under discussion respectively, whose theoretical arguments for their healing practice have come down to us. The best educated Transylvanian noble lady of the 18th century, Kata Bethlen (1700-1759) worked on much the same assumptions in her healing practice as Gergely Frankovith, the horseherd turned healer at the beginning of the period discussed. Expounding his knowledge in a book he declared that he intended to "preserve life" with the help of the means of healing to be found in nature, since "God has left and granted us medicines by means of which people can be restored to physical health".[22] Similar ideas were expressed from the pulpit by Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran clergymen alike. Péter Pázmány (1570-1637) Archbishop of Esztergom (1616-1637), himself a believer in the efficiency of lay healers who utilized the medicinal power of herbs, gave his congregations veritable lessons in anatomy in his sermons.[23]

The statement made in court by one of the chief defendants of the famous witch trial of 1677 to 1688, Ilona Lénárt Porpeni, also called "Learned Ilona", shows how old and new therapeutic principles blended. She claimed that she had acquired her medical knowledge in the court of Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, wife of Prince György Rákóczi I. The Princess herself "had been a very great shamaness", and there had been a man in her court, "also a very great shaman", and it was from them that she had learned the "art" which, by this time, had come to mean a rational kind of knowledge, the familiarity with medicinal herbs.[24]

One of the reasons why lay healers flourished in 16th- and 17th-century Hungary so conspicuously was that the fees of professional doctors were extraordinarily high. A serious illness and a long treatment meant bankruptcy.

Credit letters and last wills testify that an illness could cost anything up to a hundred thalers in doctor's fees and apothecary's bills.[25] But while medical science was undergoing a change, the therapeutic practice of professional doctors often was hardly different from that of lay healers.

Many people did not trust learned doctors.[26] Self-treatment was practised on a large scale by the whole population. A medicine-chest, a medical book and a herbal were indispensable household articles in the homes of aristocrats, members of the lesser nobility and burghers. Letters from the period are full of advice on treatment and descriptions of different diseases. The pieces of medical advice in almanacs and various herbals, the versified rules of the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum were in everybody's mouth. Self-treatment practised by the educated and less educated classes received support and encouragement from many quarters.[27]

The practice of self-treatment is still to be investigated in more detail; a few typical examples must suffice here, together with a sketchy survey of the "social context" of lay healers.

"I am not going to look for another doctor... I always try to take medical advice from this" - Potencia Dersffy wrote in 1555 to Tamás Nádasdy, asking him to return her book of medicines, since it was from this book that she cured her two little sons and her household, whenever something was wrong with them.[28] People often diagnosed their own diseases and asked for medicine by letter, sometimes even specifying what they wanted. István Pálffy, commandant of Érsekújvár "ordered" his bailiff to go to the apothecary with Mátyás Borbély and get the required medicine made up.[29]

Count Kristóf Erdődy sent a medicine prescribed for him to Count György Erdődy, enclosing the doctor's "letter to me". Erzsébet Rákóczi received medicine, somewhat late, when her bailiff had written to the doctor describing "the Countess's ailment" for him.[30] Lay healers practised medicine either for a living, or out of a sense of vocation, or for pleasure. They can be easily divided into distinct groups.

Midwives formed a large group. Their work was, after all, invaluable. It was they who assisted at childbirth in towns and villages, in the halls and rooms of castles and manor-houses. "Trained midwife", "municipal midwife", "sworn midwife", "German midwife", "downtown midwife", "uptown midwife" and other similar compound names were used in the 16th to 18th centuries in Hungary to distinguish their many different kinds. "Midwife Elizabeth" and "Midwife Cathy" are instances not only of how names were given, but also of how, in this particular case, in 1591 in Kolozsvár, a daughter inherited her mother's profession. According to a decree issued by Emperor Ferdinand I, King of Hungary, in 1552, which regulated their duties and supervision, midwives working in the towns and villages of the Austrian hereditary provinces received a salary.[31] Similarly in Hungary, from the 16th century onwards, the free royal boroughs employed salaried midwives, which was a natural concomitant of the internal order of town life, and of the municipal self-government administering all affairs within its competence. In Kassa, in 1580, midwives received a salary, and in accordance with the municipal regulations they were allowed to charge 25 dinars for assisting at a childbirth. In Pozsony, in 1626, two municipal midwives were employed, one "Hungarian midwife" and one "German midwife". In Szeged, in 1734, two "sworn midwives", "trained midwives" were employed by the town. According to a register of midwives prepared in 1747, there was a midwife in every village, in Selmecbánya there were 26, in Debrecen 11, and in Szeged 17.[32]

The "learned women", the "women doctors" who made up the main body of lay healers, rose above the crowd of herb-women and smearers, owing to their superior knowledge, and consequently acquired a good reputation and a large practice. Gergely Frankovith "although not a man of learning", became the doctor in Sopron.[33] Baron Mihály Károlyi (1585-1626), high sheriff of the county of Szatmár, called the "medical woman of Éradony" to attend his son "little Pete".[34]

When István Pálffy, commandant of Érsekújvár was not feeling well in 1641, he ordered his bailiff to ask for the advice of a famous medical

woman. The bailiff wrote back and informed him of the diagnosis made by the learned woman who suspected that there were premonitory symptoms of a stroke and advised him "to give up too much contemplation", and sent the recipe of a bath made of the bark of 5 different trees.[35] Count István Csáky (1603-1662), high sheriff of the county of Kolozs was scolded by his mother, because he did not consult a professional doctor but a "woman doctor" when he had pains in his leg.[36]

The family of Count Miklós Esterházy, who was very proud of his skill in self-treatment, and also kept a doctor, was attended by a healer called Mrs. Pál Jó. When Princess Zsuzsánna Lorántffy was suffering from a woman's disease, she had herself treated by the "medical woman of Pocsaj".[37]

László Rákóczi (1635-1664) and members of his household usually called in a doctor to treat them, and doctors from Eperjes, Késmárk, and Lőcse often visited his castles; he even went to see a doctor in Vienna. He called the doctor from Eperjes when his servants or his wife's maid were ill. However, it also happened that he called the "medical woman of Eperjes" to attend his wife, who had been seen by doctors, too, and he paid one gold coin to the "medical woman of Eperjes, Mrs. Kőműves" for her services.[38]

Who were these "medical women"? It was chiefly in witch trials that they were heard to speak. We get to know only from testimonies, e.g. that Mrs. István Vida gathered and took home bagfuls of herbs, or that András Csepi displayed a keen sense of vocation in treating his patients.[39]

Educated ladies coming of aristocratic stock or of the lesser nobility formed an interesting group of lay healers. The landowner's lady was responsible for looking after the health of those in her household and those working on the estate. Everybody was expected to know how to deal with common complaints. When Katalin Varga, a midwife, was called to account in 1758, and the examiners asked her what she used the "means of witchcraft in the box" for, and among them the "balm" (Melissa officinalis), she answered: "I use them just the way other people use them".[40] Every nobleman's house had to have a stock of herbs, infusions and medicines as a matter of course. But there were some women among the aristocrats who felt a calling and had a gift for, or were simply interested in the work, and the knowledge they acquired raised them far above the average. The list of names is interesting: Éva Poppel, wife of Count Ádám Batthyány, commandant of the Transdanubian region; Zsuzsánna Vitéz, wife of the Transylvanian peer Pál Béldi; Judit Vér, wife of the famous Tran-

sylvanian statesman Mihály Teleki (1634-1694); Anna Listius who came of an aristocratic family of well-known alchemists, and others. They hired women to collect herbs, and searched the neighbourhood for persons versed in curing diseases. Countess Mária Széchy, widow of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi (1605-1667), who was confined to Kőszeg by the emperor, was so famous for her skill in healing that people flocked to her for a cure from far-away regions, and she even kept a "medical servant".[41]

The "rank and file" of the lay healers did the medical routine work in the villages. They made up the layer of folkloric healers par excellence, and in the 16th and 17th centuries they became familiar, almost invariably, from the witch trials.

Lastly, mention must be made of the many charlatans, adventurers, ignoramuses, quacks swarming about the lay healers, as indeed about all layers engaged in medical activities. The barbers' guilds protected their members against "all those untaught barbers".[42] For the lay healers there was no protection.

Many of the lay healers earned their living by their activity, i.e. by using their knowledge. Their incomes differed largely. They were given money, food or presents depending on the social status and financial resources of the patient, the kind of the particular illness, and the length of the treatment. It often happened that they left it to the patient's discretion. Midwives employed by towns at the end of 17th century and the beginning of the 18th were well paid. The midwives of Szeged received a yearly salary of 100 forints per head. The earnings of "medical women" cannot have been small either. On the other hand, we do not know what those women received who collected herbs for particular healers or noble ladies. The market-town of Kőrös kept a "medical woman" with a regular yearly salary.[43]

In several cases it was the healer who dictated the terms. According to the testimony of a witness at the witch trial in Várad, in 1766, the defendant, Erzsébet Békési had told Mihály Sós, who asked her to treat his sore leg: "I am not going to heal your leg until you pay." The above-mentioned András Csepi, a zealous healer who charged moderate fees and consequently had many patients, earned a lot.[44]

2. "Who taught you to heal and where?" - this question, put by the head of the manorial court to Mrs. István Szabó Sára Szöllősy accused of witchcraft in 1756, was often asked, and in many different forms throughout more than a century and a half.[45]

A healer, originally a horseherd in Sopron, stated that he had acquired the rudiments of his knowledge from a master barber. András Csepi had learnt the craft from his father, Demeter Csepi, and so had his younger brother and sister, who were also healers. Illiterate peasant women had inherited their knowledge from their mothers and grandmothers according to declarations made at witch trials. Éva Poppel, widow of Ádám Batthyány, said the same: she had learnt curing women's disorders from her mother.

There was, however, an amazingly great number of lay healers who had learnt the craft of their own accord. Those who had taught them were similar persons, mostly old lay healers, herb-women or barbers. A statement of peculiar interest was made by a certain Ilona Borsi summoned before the manorial court of the domain of Munkács in 1735. She said that she was "half shamaness" by birth; in her childhood two shamans carried her off; she knew that shamans would meet three times a year, and they were flying with her to one of those meetings; she saw the shamans fight, and heard one of the magic steeds speak; she was put to the test whether she could "ride a magic steed". Shamanistic belief was, however, compatible in Ilona Borsi's mind with knowledge acquired in a thoroughly empirical manner. She was three years and a half in service with a doctor, István Borbély, and she would go out gathering herbs with some other women, and that was how she got to know the healing power of herbs and rootcrops.[46] In the witch trial of old Mrs. István Sobrák one witness spoke about a "poor man" who could prepare baths, and "living with a doctor" had acquired his knowledge of herbs from him.[47]

Many people, coming mainly of the upper and middle classes, but peasants, too, got their knowledge from herbals and various medical books and formularies.[48] In all probability it was Countess Kata Bethlen who reached the highest degree of learning a lay healer could reach. She did not inherit her knowledge of healing, nor did she acquire it through self-education, but learnt it from Transylvanian doctors of medicine. One of her tutors, Sámuel Kölesséry (1663-1732) had taken his doctor's degree in Leyden.[49]

However great the quantitative differences in the knowledge of individual lay healers might be, they all had something essential in common, namely that what they knew was based on experience. They inherited the accumulated empirical knowledge of several generations, and developed their diagnostic skills at the bedside of their patients, observing them

closely. Their medicines and therapeutic methods have been handed down by folkloric healers. Summing up the results of modern ethnographical and ethnomedical research concerning 20th-century folk medicine, Andor Oláh concluded that "it is not only in respect of the principle of humoral pathology but in other respects as well that Hungarian folk medicine has preserved the characteristic features and conceptual elements of 17th-century medical science".[50] When examining the correlation between belief in witchcraft and public health we should pay special attention to the so-called irrational elements of the lay healers' methods.[51]

While they based their diagnostics on the well-tested experience, traditional knowledge of nature and skills acquired in practice by several generations, their therapeutics included incantations, prayers and magic words also.

The lay healers functioned in a health- and life-conscious society in which highly developed forms of self-treatment were practised as part of its culture. Healing had to be done with the full cooperation of the patients. Incantations, prayers and magic words gave comfort to the relatives and the patients too: they often helped, and in some cases even saved the patient's life. Incantation had a therapeutic effect, as it aroused the patient's willingness to cure himself and to cooperate with his doctor which was so indispensable for his recovery.[52]

The texts used in lay healing had practical value and did not altogether lack rational elements. Lay healers did not know anything about sterility, nevertheless they were generally successful in healing wounds, having learnt by experience, e.g. that wounds bandaged with material that had been boiled in bubbling water would not suppurate. They also realized that the length of time used in infusing herbs mattered much. Clocks were to be found, as a matter of course, in the homes of aristocrats, members of the lesser nobility and burghers. There were none in villages or herdsmen's lodgings; indeed, people who lived and worked by the time-table of agriculture could do without them. They were, however, far less dispensable for those who went in for healing. According to an inventory of Countess Anna Erdődy's medicine-chest taken in 1631, there was a "golden watch" ticking among the ointments, oils and pills.[53] Masses of lay healers used other methods of measuring time. Reciting a prayer or an incantation always took the same definite length of time. Surely, it never occurred to them that these served to substitute the clock, this was simply a part of their learning, and they knew that what they were doing was effective.

Examining the role of incantations in healing historically, and considering the psychosomatic aspects of the question as well, we have to bear in mind two further points which are not irrelevant to the witch trials either. First, reciting the text gave the healer time to observe the patient, to try to diagnose his disease, and to suggest a cure for it, if he found it curable at all. Secondly, the patient himself insisted on this ritual. It strengthened his will to be cured and his belief in his recovery. It is hard to draw the line between experience, ritual, custom and reason. The hour appointed for a herbal bath was to be a sacral point of time; specific dates, e.g. St. George's Day, or full moon, were chosen for gathering herbs. This was in keeping with their knowledge of nature and with common sense, since herbs were known to be most effective at particular times of the day and in particular seasons. At the same time, the cosmic effect of the celestial bodies was a very important factor in the medieval world view. The moon was a symbol of change and of the capability for renewal, and was supposed to possess healing power. Its presence in the rites of the art of healing is manifold in the 17th and 18th centuries. The text that Count Ferenc Esterházy, high sheriff of the county of Fejér and captain of Csesznek, copied into his medicine book with his own hand was only one of those to be recited when the moon was new: "God give a good day, new moon, new Friday! Let me have a toothache when I have eaten three kinds of meet: that of a lizard, a snake, or a frog".[54]

Varieties of "healing with excrement" can be found in the medical books of noble families and in the records of witch trials.

In 1751 in Dada, in the county of Szabolcs, the parson asked for medicine for a "charmed" cow, which would not let its calf suck, and what Mrs. Csordás the Lame suggested as a treatment was turned into a charge of witchcraft against her: "she said that the calf should be washed with the cow's midday urine, and all would be well". SCHRAM remarks that "this is regarded as a superstition, but it may have been an ancient process of accustoming a cow to its calf".[55]

The value and effects of metabolic waste products used therapeutically in the 16th and 17th centuries have been clarified by the history of medicine and pharmacology. They contain hormones and bactericidal agents, but their application involves the risk of infection.[56]

Notions of overcoming fear and pain were also associated with them, and were supposed to be capable of reducing the evils of illness, and

bringing about regeneration. Going into analytical details, and using a large number of examples, Mihail BAHTYIN pointed out that in the folkloric world view corporeality had a deeply rooted symbolic meaning. The lower parts of the body, those in connection with digestion and evacuation were partly the symbols of degradation, and partly those of rebirth and biological regeneration. Rabelais, a physician, was still fully aware of and familiar with the symbolic correspondence of excrement with the procreative power and fertility. "Excrement was regarded also as a kind of material that caused mirth and admonished one to be sober, which was degrading and endearing at the same time, and which combined the grave and birth in a most easily tolerable, unformidable and comic form." More remote connections were indicated as well: "The doctor... had a peculiar relationship with the end-products of metabolism, especially urine, which played an important role in the medical science of earlier times. The doctor told the fate of the patient from his urine; it was taken to be the decisive factor with regard to the patient's survival or death."[57]

The practitioners of traditional medicine were peculiar personalities. They were hard-working, enterprising and skilful people. It turns out from the trial documents that they were experts in many things. They were efficient and painstaking managers who kept their utensils and houses clean and tidy.[58] One of the witnesses gave a fine character sketch of Mrs. István Vida née Borbála Szabó, who was accused of witchcraft: she was a hard-working and resourceful woman, and she cured many diseases, syphilis among them.[59]

Grand ladies who practised healing with zest belonged to the most educated layer of their times. They promoted the publication of books, they lived in elegant surroundings, managing large households and estates the size of counties, and directing a host of domestic servants. Practitioners of traditional healing were gifted people, above the common run. They had to possess suggestive, psychotherapeutic powers. Without skill in establishing contacts and the ability to make decisions they could not have succeeded; also, they had to know the tricks of diagnosing diseases and those of soothing the patients, and had to meet the manifold demands for pity and sympathy. Medical books in manuscript form prove that the duties of doctors and nurses often overlapped. To soothe a child needed love, an urgent case required a quick decision, and to secure the patient's cooperation demanded special abilities, such as sympathy, determination, the power of persuasion and suggestion. Both the patient and the healer must have faith in themselves.

Lay healers were more or less charismatic personalities. They could be so in different ways. The accusers of Klara Botzi, who was charged with witchcraft, knew from her own statements that she understood the language of herbs and wild flowers. Kata Gyarmati stated in 1709 that "on St. George's eve 72 herbs spoke to her". "The herbs had spoken" to Mrs. Lukács Csonka, who was sentenced to being burnt in 1681.[60] The ability to converse with herbs was a special gift in the 16th and 17th centuries; it meant that the person who knew the efficient power of flowers and herbs was one of the chosen. Gergely Frankovith, a doctor regarded himself as God's elect. He had had miraculous dreams, the first one at the age of seven and a half, and he "saw" the second very important dream at the age of fifteen, and finally when he was thirty-one, it was revealed to him in a dream sent by God that he was to follow the calling of a doctor.[61]

A healer may have obtained his charisma from the person who had instructed him and who may have passed on the secrets of healing on his death-bed. Extraordinary success could also produce charisma. This could be the healer's success in curing a patient whom all people had given up, or in bringing back to life someone who was half-dead, or in curing a sick child whom the barbers could not help; he simply "took it on his lap" and "laid his hands on it" and the child was healed. Some had their charisma from shamans. The confession of Mrs. András Bartha Erzsébet Batári made under torture is typical: "Nobody taught me the art of shamans, because it is all God's doing in the mother's womb".[62] Charisma could also be obtained by a person who claimed to be supported by supernatural powers, or who passed for a witch.

3. In Vásárhely 1730 a sick child's father got hold of an axe and wanted to strike Margit Biró, who was accused of witchcraft, saying: "If you do not heal my son, you will not leave this place, and I will break your head!" Many similar examples could be cited.[63] The lay healer was defenceless. He was exposed to the tantrums of people tortured by pain, and to those of other healers and communities. If he refused to treat a patient, he would be accused, or assaulted. The same could happen, if he did not succeed in curing a patient. Margit Biró turned out to be an efficient healer in the case mentioned: the child recovered and this "miracle", her peculiar medical skill served to prove that she was a "witch".

Conflict was inherent in the position lay healers worked in. And since warding off and eliminating conflicts was a requisite for the utter cessation of the trials, it is reasonable to ask how under the given cir-

cumstances it was possible that while one lay healer was held in high esteem all his life, the other should perish at the stake. Why and when was a healer taken for a witch?

It was necessary for all groups practising medicine to have healing strategies of their own. This alone enabled them to safeguard themselves against illnesses, the desperate relatives of patients, the unexpected consequences of the therapeutic process and against fellow competitors.

Qualified doctors of medicine were also exposed to people's fits of violent temper. However, their university degree, their professional status, municipal and royal decrees protected them as a corporate body, and they were not accountable to anybody for the therapeutic treatment they chose.[64] The way barbers tried to prevent internal and external discord helps to understand also the conflicts lay healers were exposed to. Barbers built their therapeutic strategies into the rules of their guild. According to the regulations issued by the Saxon "Universitas" for the "guilds of barbers and surgeons" in the Királyföld region (1562), if a seriously wounded person came to see the barber, the latter was to call in two other master barbers and judge together "if the patient could be healed or would remain crippled". In a case of mortal illness, if the master barber had doubts about the issue, he should call in four or five other master barbers. In cases of serious illness or injury, the regulations issued in 1628 for the barber guild-masters in the county of Máramaros prescribed that a consultation should be held. Penalties and prohibitions imposed by the corporation served to check competition within and without. If a doctor settled in a town neither barbers nor surgeons were allowed to administer a potion without his knowledge. A barber did not have to fight single-handed against untrained wound healers or such as were strangers in his town; his guild protected the medicines he prescribed and the therapeutic processes he applied, as he had proved his expertise at the master's examination. The guild's independence, its place in feudal society were indicated by its seal and arms and the approbation of the state.[65]

In 1678 Mrs. Mihály Szánthay made a complaint before the town council of Kassa against János Demjén, a barber, because instead of curing her little son's teeth, he damaged the child's mouth completely. In the course of the investigation led by the council, the lawyer defended the barber who had been condemned by the guild also, saying that doctors and barbers could not be called to account and brought into court for their

medical activites. This would be very strange, for, "great as their learning was", they could not guarantee certain success. Curing children was a particularly hard and delicate task. If doctors were called to account, it was to be feared that people could no longer find doctors and barbers to heal them and their children.[66]

Lay healers had no institutions to protect them or regulations specifying their activites, such as doctors or chirurgeons had. It was only the midwives employed by towns or aristocratic families, and famous medical women who were protected to some extent. However strong the cohesive forces and retentive power of a village community might be, its mental balance was precarious. In a feudal society the activity of traditional healers was totally unprotected, and they lived in constant danger. If the patient did not get better, or got worse, or died, but also if he recovered, contrary to expectations, it could easily happen that charges were brought against them. Then it was for them to see that they were properly protected against the charges, each engaging the best lawyer he could find or afford.

Secretiveness was the main therapeutic strategy of lay healers. Many people observed that "witches" liked to wrap themselves in mystery. Frankovith noted: "Whoever wants to perform the duties of a doctor", must be, among others, "secretive".[67] Lay healers did not take the final responsibility: it was not them who healed the patient, but the prayer, the incantation; on it was not them who were to blame, but the rite which usually worked well, on other occasions. Failure was not their fault; it might be the patient's or someone else's; surely, the same rite had worked at other times. If the patient or his relatives blamed the healers, or came forward with a certain demand, the latter would defend themselves in a peculiar way. They made an ostentatious display of their knowledge, tried to intimidate their critics, threatening them with specially horrible menaces. Another well-known strategy they chose for defence was aggression.

The statements familiar from witch trials, such as: "you will certainly regret it", "you'll see, I'll do something you'll never forget" are stereotypes. Healers deliberately tried to scare others, to keep them at a distance, as it were, in order to protect themselves. "They did not dare to hurt her, what's more they all tried to win favour with her, because they were scared" - that is what almost every witness said by way of conclusion when testifying against Örzse Német.[68]

The rational self-protecting methods of lay healers were similar

to those of the barbers and learned doctors. If the patient's state was hopeless, they would not even touch him, or they said that they were unable to help; they would perhaps try to do their best, but they declared that they ought to have seen the patient a few days earlier. According to the statements of witnesses coming from the county of Zala, recorded in 1750, Mrs. János Sipos Orsolya Gombos would not touch and see anyone who was seriously ill. Moreover, she refused to go to a patient like that, unless two or three women joined her.[69]

They tried to convince the patients of the excellence of their medical knowledge in different ways. Giving evidence in the trial of a woman called Katalin, mother of a certain Mrs. Varga brought to court in 1584 in Kolozsvár, Demeter, a barber quoted what her son-in-law had said: "What are you barbers, you are all nothing compared to my mother; for she makes such strong potions that the lumps of iron you put in them will simply vanish in an hour; and when she goes to the field, and picking a herb asks it 'What are you good for?' the herb will speak to her at once."[70]

The husband of Mrs. János Incze arraigned in 1742 in Dés had warned her against "doctoring", telling her to give up healing, considering that on one occasion it was with great difficulty that she could be saved from the flames of the stake: nevertheless she continued "bragging" of her medical knowledge.[71] Healers often compared their knowledge with that of other healers. The reasoning of Mrs. Ádám Batthyány, Éva Poppel is worth noting. She advised her son not to take his wife to the doctors in Vienna, because they would only foul her womb and ruin her health with medicines. "Both the wife of János Draskovics and Thököly's lady had been infertile" like her own daughter-in-law, but she healed them and they both gave birth to a large number of children.[72]

Éva Poppel did not practise healing for a living, and did not have to defend herself against charges, or to make strenuous efforts to secure a clientele for herself. She was convinced that doctors knew very little of women's diseases. She even had an inkling of the essence of hygiene from practical experience. Lay healers accused one another, compared their own knowledge with that of the rest, belittling the latter, and spoke of their successes very much in the manner of the widowed countess. Erzsébet Német who had to appear before the manorial court of the Esterházy family, had followed essentially the same line of argument in order to dissaude a witness, now testifying against her at the trial, from taking his daughter

somewhere else "to be doctored": "do not take her anywhere, for I'll cure her, and she won't have any problems".[73] When Mrs. István Vida found out that the patient was about to go and see a doctor, she asked him not to do so, for "no barber can heal him, only myself".[74]

The lay healers lived in constant rivalry. Competition was typical of all groups engaged in medical activities. The barbers' guild of Sárospatak fined the barber who talked slightingly of another barber's knowledge.[75] Professional prestige and financial interests are natural motive powers for all groups of people who earn their living by the services they perform, their expertise, or creative work. E.g. in 1708 the "balneators" (i.e. practitioners treating diseases by baths) of Pozsony and Vienna made joint efforts to prevent the balneator of Moson from taking his examination.[76] What serious differences the lay healers had, chiefly with the barbers, has been amply documented. It is interesting that many outstanding doctors appreciated and had a clear conception of the work of lay healers, nevertheless it is evident from the witch trials that there were doctors as well among the accusers.

Anna Bencsik, wife of István Borbély Váradi was fined by the barbers' guild of Kolozsvár in 1615 for curing sick people.[77] More than a century later, in 1751, a barber treating the sore leg of a girl said that her leg had been "charmed" by Mrs. Péter Kis, who was accused of witchcraft.[78]

In 1732 Mrs. János Pápai went to see the doctor in Gyula, and when she asked what was wrong with her, the following diagnosis was established: Mrs. Samu, the witch had bound her, and "the doctor said, 'You won't be cured, unless Mrs. János Samu's excrement is gathered, and you bathe in it.' Mrs. Pápai duly gathered the excrement which the doctor used in preparing a bath, and she was cured". We know from the documents of witch trials carefully collected, that the doctor of Gyula was not the only doctor to "accuse" others of witchcraft in the 18th century.[79]

There was keen competition between the lay healers themselves. Instances of simple emulation and "imputations of witchcraft" with fatal consequences were equally frequent.[80] In Komárom Mrs. Máté Kossa and a certain seamstress rivalized with each other desperately. Mrs. Máté Kossa did not dare to take Mrs. Mátyás Karkóczi's child as a patient, because the seamstress had threatened her. Kata Pirka of the county of Sopron blamed now one, now another of her fellow-midwives for the illness of a woman in childbed saying that they had bewitched her, as can be read in

the statements of witnesses made at her trial in 1730.[82] Witnesses said that Éva Székely was a "good housekeeper" and successful healer who cured the sick by herbal baths and strange rituals, but she was constantly at war with the woman doctor of Poroszló, who accused her of witchcraft.[83]

If it were possible to prove that the lay healers accused those people of witchcraft who were "professionally" incompetent and by their bungling brought their trade into disrepute, we could grasp an important element in the self-defence of the really "learned", "trained" lay healers. A midwife or a healer was likely to be suspected of witchcraft when he or she had lost the confidence of the community, and a rival noticing this, took advantage of the opportunity. It is strange that the accused should have been charged with witchcraft for doing exactly what the accuser, too, was practising; and it could happen that both ended up at the same stake.[84]

Professional rivalry was, of course, not the only possible cause of the charges of witchcraft. Witch trials served to "settle" conflicts of a different nature as well. As Gustav HENNINGSEN pointed out, the persecutions were often initiated by people who had financial or social advantages to gain from the trials, and they used the belief in witches as a means of accomplishing their objects.[85]

Prince Gábor Bethlen (1613-1629) initiated the trial of three women of high rank, Kata Török, Kata Ifjju and Anna Báthory, in Transylvania in 1614. Anna Báthory was the sister of Prince Gábor Báthory (1608-1613), who had been murdered in 1613, and the other two women were related to him by marital or other family ties. All the three of them owned castles and lands in key positions from the point of view of the defence of the principality, and it is very likely that the new prince chose this way to get hold of these castles to consolidate his power and to calm down the people.[86]

Feudal order, in which bearing children was important also with regard to the property and name of a family to be handed down, protected women in many ways. However, the charge of witchcraft was so serious that only pregnant women were excused from punishment. An heir could acquire an estate, a fortune, or valuables by laying a charge of witchcraft against an ancestor. Also, a husband could get rid of his wife, and if someone had an embarrassing secret which another person smelt out, this was a convenient way to have the latter put to death. Lay healers handled matters of vital importance, such as conception, birth, fertility and un-

desired pregnancy. It also happened that a medicine made by the healer was the real object in the charge of witchcraft. This can be illustrated by an almost farcical story. In 1696 a fatal conflict took place in the county of Nógrád caused by a particular ointment. As it was made from butter and flowers, "such as women needed", it must have been some kind of cosmetic. Relations between Mariana the healer and the village people had become strained; she owed money to many women. One witness reported the quarrel between Mariana and Mrs. Rojkó from her village verbatim: "hitting each other's hands they cried: you are a witch; and the other retorted: you are a witch". When Mariana was put in the county prison, and it became known that she had hidden the ointment in the stable behind the kitchen garden, the women made an assault on the stable, and the ointment was gone.[87]

If lay healing was so dangerous, why did people undertake it?

The social role and position of lay healers deserve close attention. The system they lived in did not legitimate their existence in terms of social status or professional capacity either.

In France in the second half of the 17th century even respectable middle-class girls found the job of a midwife attractive.[88] In Hungary the midwife was a product of the village. A 17th-century Hungarian midwife could prosper in proportion to her personal abilities; if she was lucky, she managed to get a job in a town, or a confidential post in the "lady's suite" of rooms in a manor-house. However, all midwives were liable to be accused of witchcraft by anyone, and at any time.

No matter what a person, a family, or a community had suffered from, whether it was military expeditions, requisitions, political persecution, maybe an epidemic, a famine, a natural disaster, once the individual or collective mental balance was upset, a rational solution of the problems was no longer feasible. A scapegoat had to be found. The notion in everyday use at the time that served to provide a vent for such feelings and passions was "witch".

There were a number of deviant personalities among the lay healers. Inevitably they were more lonely than other members of their social stratum; many people were jealous of them, and they had several conflicts to face. Their sense of being different and their efforts to find their place produced tensions, and in trying to relieve these they often violated the accepted moral code and the rules of conduct. Particularly those people who were urged by an insatiable craving for knowledge.

If the charge of witchcraft was potentially implicit in the lay

healers' therapeutic strategies and the conflicts resulting from their profession, how was it, nevertheless, possible for the majority to avoid the stake? Why do the statistics of witch trials not show a numerically uniform trend; why is the figure almost three times as high after the 1690s as before?

It is the second question that is more relevant to the law abolishing witch trials, but it is hardly understandable without answering the first question.

4. Some of the witnesses unanimously said of Mrs. András Szabó, a widow, brought into court in Kolozsvár in 1629, that she cured diseases by herbs, "for that was the essence of her life". "She treated little children; she was sent for, or the children were taken to her place." The charge of witchcraft was laid against her by the master of a probably neurotic servant girl, and the witnesses of the prosecution gave a long list of the criteria of "witchcraft" as it was understood in those times. The court submitted her to the ordeal by water, and the council made her take the oath purgatory, and finally she was acquitted, although she did not deny the possibility that she might be an "instrument of the devil". However, she said, she did not know and could not help.[89]

About two thirds of the known witch trials were concluded by the acquittal of the defendants or a relatively light sentence. It is, however, clear from the documents of the trials that people were condemned to the stake or acquitted not necessarily according as their "crimes" were more or less grave, and the statements of the witnesses more or less damning.

Looking for the reasons of acquittal, we can notice that the activity of lay healers was tolerated. The bye-laws of villages, towns and market towns show that local authorities intended to secure a stable equilibrium necessary for the functioning of the different, larger or smaller units of society. The health of the population was a question of vital importance, and the task of attending to it indispensable. The changes taking place in the 16th and 17th centuries were accompanied by a crisis in the protection of the health of the masses. The sickly poor, the crowds of disabled and wounded soldiers, beggars on the highways were a scandalous burden, and a source of unpredictable dangers.[90] It took a very long time and required strenuous efforts all over Europe to find a way out of these difficulties.

There are some sporadic data on the very moderate endeavours made

in 17th-century Hungary to organize the preservation of public health. The institutions of the "town barber" and "town midwife" meant that midwives were obliged to attend to the poor. In Eperjes the barber treated the poor and the beggars in the local hospital at the expense of the town. Landlords, ecclesiastical and secular high dignitaries founded several smaller hospitals and almshouses providing for sick, aged serfs, on a very humble scale. Measures were taken to organize the medical care of soldiers in the border fortresses and in the army.[91]

In the last analysis acquitting the lay healers accused of witchcraft means that the community was aware of the fact that they could not do without the healers. The communities knew their midwives and healers. They tried to settle differences between healers and patients. The statements made by witnesses deserve closer examination. Besides damning testimonies there were statements made in favour of the defendants, praising them and denying the charges. The public opinion of a turbulent village or town, an embittered patient, sorrow-stricken relatives had to be pacified. They had to be compensated for injuries whether imaginary or firmly believed to oe real. These matters could be handled in many different ways. It often happened that defendants were acquitted, after having bound themselves in writing to discontinue their healing practice, and so redeemed themselves. Were the ill-considered rituals of the ordeal by water followed by the stake? We do not know for sure, even in those cases when the charge was "proved beyond doubt". Sometimes a healer was obliged to leave the village, for the sake of public peace. At a time when it was quite common to perish at the stake, and blood was shed abundantly to legitimate the rule of those in power, the manner of "handling" the conflicts of lay healers, the witch trials that were concluded by acquittal or a relatively light sentence, indicated a degree of tolerance.

This kind of tolerance was a public necessity. Its theoretical grounds had been laid in the second half of the 16th century.

The first theory of repudiating all kinds of witch belief was formulated by Bishop Péter Melius. In his book which ran into two editions (1562, 1570), he pointed out that witchcraft was the work of the devil and Satan was not powerful enough to bewitch God's favourites, appearing in human shape; what many people called "bewitchment", was simply an illness which had its remedies. Casting an evil eye on babies was nothing but "malicious claptrap". By formulating his views on health, and by publishing his principal work, Herbarium (Herbal), Melius outlined a policy for

the partial acquittance of lay healers. His Herbarium, published in 1578 "about the names of trees, and herbs their nature and their use... compiled from the books of doctors" was essentially a popular book on medicine. It contained the description of various plants, indicating their curative effects, and gave directions for their application. This was, typically, a work that could be used as a handbook by non-professionals as well.[92] Its significance, among others, was that by describing the curative effects of herbs, roots and flowers with scientific accuracy it lifted a great deal of the stock in the lay healers' arsenal into the sphere of science, removing it from the category of superstition. At the same time it supplied the laity with the means of healing free from the stain of superstition. Notes following the formulas, such as "probatum est", or, "has been tempted (=tried)" are proofs of empirical knowledge, and, indirectly, can be regarded as implicit negations of the belief in witches. Writing about the fleabane (Conyza minor), Melius added: "Midwives tell a lie when they say that with the help of this herb and the St. John's Wort (Hypericum) they can chase away witches and the horrors of the night. But that is a monstrous falsehood. It is God's spirit that chases away Satan and horrors like these, by means of true belief." Describing the honesty (Lunaria), Melius remarked that it was effective in healing wounds and checking the flow of blood in menstruation, adding: "a herb held in superstitious esteem by midwives".[93] In this way the honesty lost its magic sense, and "superstition" was de- or revaluated. It came to be included in the category of the understandable. "A herb tried out several times" gave rational meaning to something that had been, according to public opinion, an irrational phenomenon. The efficiency of baths, infusions and ointments was due not to the devil's power, or somebody's being a witch, but the natural curative effect of herbs and roots. The principle serving to explain the natural curative effect of plants was that God had created the herbs for the benefit of mankind. Seen from the point of view of lay healers, two essential elements of the belief in witches were modified by Melius: 1. treating diseases by herbs was not a superstition, but God's work, consequently no witchcraft; 2. the ritual, the irrational element in curing diseases was a manifestation of Satan, consequently it was not to be tolerated. This view determined the technique of the struggle against the belief in witchcraft for a long period.

Péter Bornemisza's "Diabolic Temptations" explained the healing effect of herbs similarly: "As God enjoined us to eat bread, drink wine

and take medicine supplied by herbs..."[94] Gergely Frankovith, a lay healer affirmed his experiences of healing by herbs as follows: it is God who "granted medicinal power to a great variety of created things... That is why you should fear God when you pick your herbs".[95] A similar vindication of the practice of those who used herbs in treating diseases can be read in a book on the therapeutic use of various plants and flowers, compiled, similarly for non-professionals, by Lukács Pécsi, a Catholic priest and doctor "particularly excellent in botany", published in 1591, at Nagyszombat.[96] Pázmány, too, accepted the lore of healing by herbs - that is to say, lay healing - freeing it, as it were, from superstition, saying: "It was not for his own benefit, or for the sake of the angels or brute beasts that God created the green herbs on the mountain tops, but - Herbam servituti hominis - for the good of humans."[97]

Distinguishing traditional healing from superstitions identified with witchcraft, and counteracting accusations evidently contributed in the long run to the acquittal or defence of the traditional healers brought into court. At the same time, these served to confirm the view that the ritual of lay healers was the work of the devil. Those who separated treating diseases by natural, herbal remedies as a God-ordained activity from superstitions, pursued their point also by describing in detail what they regarded as superstitions. For example Péter Bornemisza recorded that in 1577 one of his preachers exorcized the devil from a witchy rustic woman who had been possessed, and sent him the magic prayers which the woman "had learnt from her grandmother and a papist priest". This is how these eight beautiful archaic prayers got into The Temptations of the Devil, actually, they were magic formulas for curing the gout, headache, colic, croup, sprains, tapeworms and stab-wounds.[98]

Sermons directed against the belief in witches were, at the same time, a means of spreading witch fantasies. The story told by Péter Alvinczi in a sermon, of an Argentine woman who called in another midwife to attend her delivery instead of the one thought to be a witch appeared in a number of local variants in Hungarian witch trials.[99] The sermons of János Kecskeméti Alexis against superstitions must have taken many examples from general custom, but they also transmitted stories to the public. Indeed, they kindled the imagination of the audiences. Kecskeméti asserted that "by tying and untying, weighing and reading, writing slips, with the purpose of conferring the degreè of medical doctor on themselves (!) these sorcering midwives ... commit a grave sin against God".[100] The person who

"picks herbs to heal by reciting the Lord's prayer commits a sin, ... it is also a sin ... to recite the Credo while we are preparing a plaster to be used in curing a colic, the gout, or a fever". He described in graphic detail how a witch could change into a cat or a wolf, adding, however, that this was merely an instance of credulous belief. He also narrated that witches held their meetings during the first days of the month of Whitsuntide, on a high hill where they went flying on broomsticks; but this was nothing but a dream, a prank of the devil. In reality it could not happen.[101] How did the listeners react to this, and what did it mean to them? Maybe they retained only the story itself. Sermons would deserve a thorough analysis also, because some healing processes of classical antiquity, branded as "pagan lore" were transmitted to the masses through them. For example Kecskeméti quoted the beautiful magic formula from Ovid's Metamorphoses: "Nubila pello - I am bringing clouds". Holding an episcopal visitation in 1651, Bishop Christian Barth took down a somewhat similar incantation for conjuring up clouds. In the documents of witch trials still extant the first instance of the cloud formula recorded among the charges dates from 1654.[102]

It is obvious that though Melius and his followers took a long step forward, they could not and did not manage to stop witch trials, or even to reduce their number. They did, however, free the treatment of diseases by natural remedies from the label of superstition, and by doing so they encouraged lay healers. They also changed the notion of superstition. It is enough to compare Erasmus's opinion with Bacon's about superstition to see that the great task of the 17th century was to separate science from magic. "Enlightening people" could not be effective alone. Especially if the ritual, magic elements of lay healing were judged to be "witchcraft" and the work of the devil from the pulpits. The negative examples "popularized" this way became a matter of common knowledge. The lay healer was supplied with new means which he could use for his own ends in his conflicts with patients who took offence, their desperate relatives, or his furious rivals.

Stopping witch trials was a complicated task; there were so many circumstances to be taken into account, and it demanded co-ordinated, well-timed measures on the part of the sovereign power. This is proved by the attempt of Prince Gábor Bethlen.

In 1615 the Prince extended the protection of the state to a lay healer in Transylvania, Anna Bencsik, mentioned earlier. She was attacked

by the barbers' guild in Kolozsvár. Gábor Bethlen issued a diploma dated 1615 in which he declared that Anna Bencsik was authorized to heal people suffering from different illnesses, wounds and ailments, and "the knowledge she has in healing she shall be free to use in the future". Healing should not be a privilege.[103] This view, however, was untenable. After all, healing is a privilege, the privilege of knowledge and vocation. The majority of traditional healers were illiterate. The school system did not make it possible to train women even at an elementary level, and in an agrarian society the demands of agricultural labour always took priority of the schooling of young peasant boys. The significance of the diploma issued to Anna Bencsik consisted in the fact that the social acceptance and recognition of a lay healer indicated a genuine demand.

Gábor Bethlen ruled with the methods of early absolutism; he introduced reforms in many fields of government from foreign affairs to economy. Some of his measures prove that he was interested in public health, too. For example he issued a decree regulating the activity of barbers: "if a person has no knowledge of internal diseases, he must not set up as a doctor, for if he should cause anybody's death, he, too must die".[104] The Prince was fully aware of the problems of maintaining the health of the population. This is well illustrated by some details of the famous, or infamous witch trial.

In traditional historiography three lawsuits carried on against three aristocratic women in 1614, 1618 and 1621, respectively, were bracketed under the heading of "witch trials". However, each of them was of an essentially different order. The first one, as we have pointed out, was a political trial, to consolidate the power of Bethlen who succeeded Gábor Báthory (1608-1613) on the throne. The second trial was a retribution initiated by a jealous husband rather than anything else. The third one was a typical witch trial commenced on a charge of healing and bewitchment. The reason why these three trials were bracketed was twofold. On the one hand, the principal defendant in all three trials was Anna Báthory. The deviant features of her personality have not been clarified as yet. We do not know whether she practised the art of healing similarly to other women of her social class, but it is a fact that several other herb women, "seers" and "smearing women" were arrested with her in 1621. On the other hand, the three trials were all judged uniformly to be witch trials due to a misinterpretation of Gábor Bethlen's law of 1614.[105]

Bethlen convoked the diet of Medgyes at the beginning of 1614 to

consolidate his power and the internal order of the country. Nothing was said about witches in the Prince's proposals. Among a number of rigorous measures intended to restore public safety and the security of property, he suggested that the Estates should see that "all people holding harmful and strange notions" were rooted out. Keeping this in mind the Estates included in the second article of the laws of 1614 that "seers, soothsayers, charmers, practitioners of devilish lore, as well as persons who, defying the strict commandments of God, follow such people, ask them to tell their fortune or use charms" should be punished. Similar laws decreeing the punishment of sorcerers and charmers had been imposed by Hungarian kings as early as before 1526. Bethlen ordered "peasants to be punished according to ancient custom", while cases of the nobility came under the jurisdiction of their own institutions.[106] In other words, this was not the introduction of a new law, but the revival, in modified form, of one dating from the old Hungarian kingdom. Although the sins listed - sorcery, fortune telling, the use of charms - could easily pass for witchcraft as it was understood in those times, they had other aspects as well in the given political situation. At the beginning of 1614 Bethlen emphasized repeatedly that internal peace was to be restored. With this in view he wanted to suppress all gossiping, guessing, whispering meant to prophesy changes and to interpret signs, in relation to his own deeds as well which ruffled public feeling. Those who were punishable under the terms of this law included the "seer", the clairvoyant capable of identifying the person, the witch who caused an illness. That is to say, people who "unmasked" witches were responsible for sparking off conflicts. Not even Bethlen's contemporaries regarded his law of 1614 as one conceived for the purposes of persecuting witches. It was never mentioned in the verdicts. Using "charms" occurred as a punishable offence in other similar laws as well which were concerned with trespassers, murderers, receivers of stolen goods and "thieves", i.e. smugglers.

What gave occasion for the trial of 1621 was the illness of the princess-consort Zsuzsanna Károlyi, who had been suffering from severe depression for years past. It may have been the death of their children, her own frail health, and, finally, the disease attacking her that brought about in her that state of mind in which rationality gave way to blind hope and wild fantasies. Apart from a fragment of a testimony, some letters written by Bethlen at a time when he was leading a campaign in Upper Hungary are the only known sources that supply valuable information

on the case.[107] The letters have a peculiar tone. Bethlen wrote in a way to reassure his wife, avoided contradicting her. That was, perhaps, the reason why he called Anna Báthory whom his wife hated, "evidently a charmer". The question is not whether or not Gábor Bethlen believed in witches. In a sense, and within certain limits he obviously did. Even Maria Theresa's celebrated law had its Article 4, which assumed the extraordinary possibility of diabolic magic. However, Bethlen's lines written to his wife when she was seriously ill, show that the opinion he held of the mutually overlapping concepts of lay healers, witches and witch trials had been formed in keeping with the logic of his times. He knew the traditional healers well, but he suggested that his wife should call a "head doctor", and should take medicine prescribed by doctors. It is not possible to state with certainty, whether he himself believed what he wrote to his wife; namely, that the witches should be forced by torture to heal her.[108] If we knew more about the princess-consort's illness, it would be easier to answer this question.[109] It is certain that traditional healers frequented the house of the lady when her condition was deteriorating. She herself cherished credulous notions of "charms" and "bewitching". In a society where the hygiene of the masses was in the hands of lay healers and it was never sure how successful the learned doctors' treatment would be; when people had hardly any rational knowledge of the causes of illnesses, and knew only the symptoms, it was inevitable that the characteristic state should have been one of transition, between belief in witches and unbelief. People relied on the "medical women" and "learned women" because there was no one else, and they knew from experience that these women could help, but at the same time they were aware that the reward for the services of these healers could be death by the stake, if they turned out to be "witches". To improve this state of affairs the reform and radical reorganization of the whole system of public hygiene was needed.

In the second half of the 17th century in Transylvania it was the puritans and mainly the Cartesians who began to link theory, medical practice and the decisions taken by the sovereing power, with a view to judging the charges of witchcraft rationally, and serving the cause of public health.

Mátyás Nógrádi, a preacher, later bishop of Debrecen, who had studied in Leyden and Utrecht and had been to England, too, published his work entitled The Spiritual Touchstone in 1651, with the object of sepa-

rating the well-founded charges of witchcraft from the unfounded ones. He classified the charges of witchcraft according as they were evidently unprovable, vague and worthy of attention, respectively.[110] This could supply a number of new arguments for acquitting lay healers. It is to be noted that Maria Theresa's law of a later date (1766) applied the same method, listing, point by point, what did not fall under the head of witchcraft, and defining what "real" diabolic magic was.

János Apáczai Csere (1625-1659), who wrote his "Hungarian Encyclopedia" in the spirit of Descartes (1653), described in detail the anatomy of the human body, the functions of life, digestion, procreation, pregnancy, and delivery on a level with contemporary science, providing lay healers virtually with a new handbook.[111] Intellectually Apáczai was in close contact with Sámuel Enyedi (1627-1671), a doctor, who was the first to perform an autopsy in the Principality, and with János Nadányi (1643-1707). Besides fostering Apáczai's plan to found an Academy of Sciences, Nadányi also contributed to securing one of its prerequisites when he assisted in establishing a botanic garden, in the court of Prince Mihály Apafi (1661-1690). Here were the roots of the large-scale undertaking to free lay healers, in the long run, from the potential charges of witchcraft.

In the 1680s Ferenc Pápai Páriz, (1649-1716) court-physician to Prince Mihály Apafi, began writing a book in Hungarian which was to unite the results of traditional and scientific healing. He received encouragement and financial support from the Prince's wife, Anna Bornemisza (?-1688). This was not the first instance of her conferring her patronage upon an undertaking. János Nadányi, the Cartesian professor of Nagyenyed College had translated a Latin work of a French doctor Antoine Mizauld (1520-1578) published in Paris in 1574, with moral and financial support from Anna Bornemisza, who was interested in healing, too. The translation entitled a "Description of Garden Things" was intended for those people "who, owing to their poverty, cannot always call a doctor, or turn to a money-grubbing apothecary, medical doctors and apothecaries' shops being scarce in our country". The consideration of public welfare with reference to a "medical garden" was no longer new at the time; it had been expressed in the Prince's plan to establish an Academy. Works like that generally had the support of ladies, from the very beginning. The first "Ars Medica" giving a scientifically systematized, comprehensive survey of the entire human body was the work of György Lencsés (1530-1593), steward of the

household of Erzsébet Bocskai, wife of Kristóf Báthory, Prince of Transylvania (1530-1581). The book was not written for learned doctors, but was intended by its author "for the poor ignorant people, ... so that they too can benefit from it".[112]

Also Ferenc Pápai Páriz's book, written on a level with the best medical works of the age, was intended "for the householders and housewives and the helpless poor who cannot always find a sensible doctor within reach".[113] Pápai included in his work the new medicinal herbs he had got to know in the course of his studies in Basel, and it was from his book that they came into general use in folkloric medicine. Writing the book from 1683 for several years, he made use of the local experiences gained in his own practice. He borrowed things that he found reasonable and useful, and rejected mere beliefs, making a clear distinction between science and superstition based on the knowledge and mentality of the 17th century, taking into consideration the patients' way of thinking and the importance of rituals. His greatest merit was that instead of underestimating traditional therapeutic processes, folkloric medicines and the curative methods used by lay healers, he incorporated them, after a thorough critical sifting, in scientific medicine, and handed them back in this form to the lay healers.[114] In this sense Pápai's book offered a means to make an end to witch trials. There had always been an interaction between scientific medicine and lay healing. The hygienic culture of the élite had never been separated by insurmountable walls from the hygienic culture called folkloric; signs of mutual effects and interpenetration could be observed. This was the cultural sphere in which the customs, gestures, courses of action characteristic of all people of the era were easily discernible.[115] In Pápai's work the utilizable empirical knowledge of several centuries was integrated with the science of medicine, while lay healers were offered the results of learned doctoring. This kind of a legitimate solution of the problems of mass hygiene could have led to the establishment of a health service in the provinces and for the poor, the elimination of really superstitious beliefs, the prevention of outbreaks of mass hysteria, and the cessation of charges of witchcraft. Considering that charges of witchcraft were most often brought against lay healers on account of women's or children's diseases, it is particularly laudable that the two supplementary chapters added to the second edition of Pax Corporis (1695) dealt with "women's ailments" and "the external and internal ailments of small children", respectively. What Pápai Páriz said

concerning the need for prophylactic medicine, the beneficial effects of fresh air, ventilation, walking, adequate nutrition, public sanitation and checking epidemics, was up to date by international standards. What could be the reason why Pápai Páriz never became the Hungarian Van Swieten, and why more than half a century had to pass before witch trials were abolished in Hungary?[116] The question is all the more legitimate as doubts were raised almost simultaneously with the first witch trials in Hungary. These opinions have not been thoroughly examined as yet, and the relevant documents have not been systematically collected either. However, the not too many 17th-century instances investigated can serve virtually as models in an overall survey.[117] Who were the people who doubted the existence of witchcraft? Defendants, witnesses, counsels for the defence, judges could be found among them. Furthermore, people who had interests involved in the acquittal of the defendant: members of the family, officers of the estate and patients cured by the defendant. Mandrou, a Frenchman, and Spielman, a Transylvanian expert on the history of medicine expressed the opinion almost at the same time, according to which the concept of rationality changed from time to time. That is why the rational content of the doubts should be judged very carefully. It is interesting, however, that the quality and the numerical ratio of the doubts, and the social background and the education of the doubters did not essentially differ from those in the 18th century.[118] It is therefore impossible to evade the crucial question: why was it that the flames of the stakes were put out in Hungary only as late as the second half of the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780)?

5. It was not in the age of Maria Theresa that the belief in witches and the problems of lay healing were first considered to be problems that the sovereign power was competent to decide and control. It happened, perhaps, during the reign of King Matthias (1443-1490) for the first time that the King asked for the testimonies in cases of witchcraft as the term was understood at the time.[119] After the few decrees issued in the 16th century, which dealt with the health care of the army, the protection of doctors, and the duties of midwives, Prince Gábor Bethlen used his sovereign power to initiate and supervise witch trials and to acquit defendants.

Somewhat similar methods can be observed in the last large-scale witch trial in the independent Principality of Transylvania. Relatively few witch trials are known to have taken place during the reign of Prince Mihály Apafi (1661-1690), a Cartesian. It is the more surprising to see

the legal proceedings taken against Zsuzsanna Vitéz, wife of Pál Béldi, one of Apafi's political opponents, and the more than two dozen lay healing and herb women, "learned women" associated with her. The charge of witchcraft was attributable to the incurable disease of the princess-consort, Anna Bornemisza, who suffered a mental breakdown, caused by grave domestic misfortunes, including the death of probably more than ten children. The trial is important from our point of view because the right to examine and decide the case was reserved for the sovereign power in this instance as well. The Prince set up a special committee to judge the case. The committee consisted of representatives of the Transylvanian Estates, the Hungarian counties, the Szekler districts and the Saxon "Universitas" delegated by an act of the diet, in 1685, with some more members added the following year. More than two hundred witnesses were interrogated, counsel was heard on both sides, and even after repeated examinations, Chief Justice Péter Alvinczy, an eminent jurist, considered the accusations to be unfounded. In this trial, most probably the longest in the era, dragging on for years and years, only one death-sentence was passed, but whether it was carried out is not known; and the trial was ended, without a conclusion, probably by the death of the princess-consort (1680).[120]

Also Count Lipót Kollonits, president of the Court Chamber, later Archbishop of Esztergom, believed that modernizing public hygiene and stopping witch trials were tasks for the sovereign power, and, relying on several preliminary plans, he worked out a scheme for the establishment of Hapsburg administration in Hungary recaptured from the Turks (1686-1689). Although a few decrees partially affecting public hygiene were issued in the 1690s, his comprehensive scheme was never realized. The state continued to persecute witches, putting the law into operation in all its rigour, resorting also to the intimidation of the masses.

In 1696 the Praxis Criminalis, the penal code in force in the Austrian provinces since 1656, was introduced in Hungary as well. Its paragraph 60, "De magia", clearly included lay healers with "venefici, incantatores, stryges" in the category of witches in the general sense of the word. Besides, they were bracketed with common criminals, such as murderers, robbers, highwaymen, and those who were dubbed "evil-doers" for opposing the given political system. At the same time, the Praxis Criminalis (arts. 25, 62) extended the barbers' sphere of activity. It became their task to hold post-mortem examinations, though very often they were not properly qualified for this work.

Barbers were also employed to give expert opinion on procured abortions and the death of infants which gave rise to the charges of witchcraft in a number of cases (II. 66, 67). Extracting confessions by torture became a routine. As stipulated in a special article, doctors were exempted from this. From that time on it was the examiners themselves who recounted the stories of witchcraft in the questions put to the defendants and their witnesses. The decrees issued by the central government between 1683 and 1703 may have been intended to make things better, but ultimately they only served to intensify the charges of witchcraft instead of depriving them of their force.[121]

In the state of Rákóczi (1703-1711) the handling of witch trials by the sovereign power fitted in with the measures taken in the fields of public health, social welfare and medicine. According to the statute-book of the standing army, witches, i.e. lay healers were banned from the camps; at the same time steps were taken to organize the health care of the army on French and Dutch models. All soldiers, from private to high-ranking officer, were entitled to medical service, and, if necessary, the aftercare of invalids. The barber or surgeon who caused the death of a patient, forfeited his life. Those practising the "diabolic art" "should be burnt alive", but only if the charge was "proved". Proving it was the task of the state. Relatively few witch trials have been recorded from these eight years. Since there were two armies - the Emperor's and Rákóczi's - fighting in the country, and the borderlines kept changing all the time, it is impossible to establish the precise number of trials conducted on the territories controlled by the Hapsburgs and Rákóczi, respectively. It is certain that the Hungarian state did have a say in the verdicts, and it forbade people to take the law into their own hands.[122] The state power had been concerned in "handling" witch trials for a long time. Connections were found between lay healing and witch trials; the attempts made to reform public hygiene affected the witch trials, too. However, all the attempts failed because of the lack of time and the lack of political stability. At the beginning of the 18th century it became evident that the old system did not work any more. It was not possible to get rid of witches, exterminating them by force of the penal law. The stricter the measures became, the more witches appeared on the scene.

In comparison with earlier figures, the number of witch trials in Hungary trebled between 1690 and 1768.[123] According to András Iklódy the reason for this strange phenomenon was the introduction of the Praxis

Criminalis.[124] Other factors suggested by way of explanation include Western influences, the presence of masses of soldiers quartered in the country, and the infiltration of the belief in vampires.[125]

The increasing number of the trials indicated something else as well. It was a symptom of acute crisis. It showed that the methods used, on the whole successfully, to maintain the activity of lay healers and healing the public in general in a state of balance, had become ineffective and outdated. What belonged to the past, did not work any longer, and there was as yet nothing new to replace it. As is well known, the observations of Lucy Mair on the connections between the techniques of handling diseases and crises on the one hand and witch trials on the other attracted notice in the international discussion of the problems of witchcraft, largely because conclusions of a general character could be drawn from them.[126]

Examining the remarkably increasing number of trials, we have to consider that this was the time when the whole of Hungary came under Habsburg rule, whereas in the 16th and 17th centureis only about one fifth of its territory had been controlled by the Kingdom of Hungary. It was now that the vast, uninhabited or scarcely populated tracts recaptured from the Turks were settled with people who came from the mountain regions of Transylvania and Upper Hungary, and mainly from the densely populated neighbouring and more remote countries.

In the course of eight decades the number of inhabitants doubled, the figure rising from 4 million to 8 or 9 million by 1790.

According to Iklódy, no permanent correlation can be pointed out between the number of inhabitants and the witch trials. However, it is a fact that the majority of witch trials took place in the recaptured areas.

The greater part of the new settlers came from the west. Still, it is not likely that the "fashion of witches" should have been imported by them from the west to the east. The results of the research on Austrian witch trials should put us on our guard. Firstly, the increase in the number of witch trials in Styria about the middle of the 17th century is explained to some extent by the fact that refugees driven out of Hungarian territories by Turkish attacks, as well as some vagabond characters repaired to those parts. Secondly, the ratio of men and women among the defendants was strikingly different in the Habsburg provinces and Hungary (50:50%) (10:90%).[127] At the same time, farther to the west of Hungary as anywhere else, the persecution of witches continued in the regions difficult of access, while in the central, more open parts it had ceased.[128]

An examination of the circumstances of public hygiene can reveal some deep-lying inner causes of the increase in the number of witch trials which have not been considered so far.

After the Turkish wars and Rákóczi's war of independence (1699, 1711, 1718), the Habsburg government set up its administration as a result of compromises with the Hungarian Estates, both preserving the old order of things, and promoting the cause of the Empire with a view to achieving unity in religion, administration and economy. In the recaptured areas large estates of several thousand acres came into being. A large number of these were owned by Austrian, Czech and German aristocratic absentee landlords. The competence of the local municipal authorities was restricted, and the towns and counties were compelled to carry out orders issued by the central government. Protestants were not allowed to hold a public office, and were deprived of their colleges, schools and very many of their foundations. The populations were obliged to bear unendurable burdens in the form of taxes, restrictions inseparable from trade monopolies, and the costs of maintaining the soldiers billeted on them. The constant state of war had upset the biological balance of society as early as the previous century, and now (1715), with a large number of young men drafted into the imperial army from areas inhabited by Hungarians, the ratio of men and women became even more unfavourable, showing a majority of women over the men, and the number of unmarried women and widows was high.

New, excessive burdens were loaded on the old system of public health care: conflicts of the new settlers, a multitude of wounded and crippled people, and an unprecendented series of epidemics. At a time when the old system did not function any more, and no new one had been set up as yet, quacks and charlatans flourished under paradisiacal conditions. The neighbourhood of military camps and the recaptured areas were a particularly happy hunting-ground for cheats, impostors and "wonder-working doctors".[129]

The gravely critical state of the country's public hygiene was indicated by the epidemics of the period and the consequences of the inability to cope with them. The plague and the smallpox had often attacked the country before, but no epidemic ever had such terrible consequences as could be compared to those of the plague of 1738-1744, including an outbreak of mass hysteria.

The disease was imported by soldiers fighting in the imperial army against the Turks in alliance with the Russians. It grew to more formi-

dable dimensions than any of the earlier epidemics, not only because the towns kept the first cases secret, making things worse by doing so, but also because it lasted for 6 years, and reached areas which had not been affected before. Whole families died out; and the local daily bills of death reported 20, 40, even 160 cases each. The epidemic spread to the villages, and out of 48.245 patients from 501 Transylvanian parishes 42.622 died. The Council of Governors took severe measures in good time, appointing a commissioner of public health for each particular district. However, it appeared very soon that there were no doctors available, not enough healers, medical servants were often drunk, doctors, apprentices had to be sworn not to rob corpses, and that there was not enough money for medicines, disinfection, isolation hospitals and lime. Poor people did not allow the clothes of the sick to be burnt. There were scandalous scenes and outbreaks of panic; often the army had to intervene. Anyone breaking through the sanitary cordon was to be sentenced to death. The vine dresser who spoke with a plague-stricken person, should pay for it with his life. There were riots which were sometimes put down by force of arms; sometimes a town was blockaded by the military. Mass hysteria was spreading, and it was not too difficult to find scapegoats: the blame could be put upon the Germans, the Serbs, the Armenians, the Hungarians, the Jews, the military, the county officers, the commissioners of public hygiene, the doctors, the surgeons and the lay healers...[130]

The witch trials examined between 1711-1751 show that the charges of witchcraft contained some new elements, and the concept of witchcraft had become practically boundless. A new feature to be found in the belief in witchcraft was that now it was absorbing some political views, and political opinions came to influence the verdicts of judges as well. Under the given circumstances of healing, conflicts occurred more frequently, and competition between the lay healers and other groups engaged in medical activities was becoming increasingly desperate.

Still, in these very decades, when an unprecendentedly large number of people were burnt at the stake in Hungary, there were areas where witch trials ceased. In the county of Szepes the last trial was held in 1717, and in the county of Pozsony in 1730. In the county of Nyitra there was only one trial after 1732, in 1745; in the county of Nógrád the stake was used for the last time in 1692, and the last accusation was made in 1754. In the area of the Saxon Universitas the high sheriff, Andreas Teutsch abolished witch trials at the beginning of 1720.[131]

Andreas Teutsch (1669-1730) studied medicine in Holland. In the countries where witch trials had ceased before the queen's decree was issued, there were county head doctors functioning. The counties started employing officially appointed head doctors under the decree issued in 1700 by Duke Pál Esterházy, Palatine of Hungary. All these head doctors without exception had graduated from German or Dutch universities, some of the older ones holding posts in Rákóczi's state, and their activity combined theory and practice. It is very important from our point of view that similarly to Pápai Páriz, they knew and made use of the experiences of the lay healers, and at the same time, they were fighting for far-reaching reforms to reorganize the health service in the whole of Hungary. Their way of thinking was characterized by the early enlightenment and the principles of Pietism. This type of Hungarian doctor was probably best represented by János Dániel Perliczy (1705-1778).

Perliczy who had graduated from a Dutch university was head doctor of the county of Nógrád in which the lesser nobility was known to have pietist leanings. He knew well that the problem of caring for the health of village people was totally unsolved, and he published two books, following in the steps of his predecessors, intended for lay healers: "Medicina pauperum, or household remedies for the poor", and "A Guide to the peace of the body". As early as 1733, he set down rules and regulations for the use of doctors, surgeons, midwives and apothecaries, and had them sanctioned by the general assembly of the county. He also prepared a large-scale work about the hygienic conditions in the country (1742). He maintained that the number of doctors and surgeons in the country was appallingly low; part of them were aliens who did not even understand Hungarian. The inhabitants were defenceless, and the medical activities of swindlers and untrained chirurgeons caused irreparable damage. Only those doctors could be expected to be familiar with domestic conditions who were trained in Hungary. He drew up the academic programme and calculated the costs of a medical university to be founded in Pest. After some abortive efforts made in the 17th century the Hungarian diet proposed, as early as 1723, the extension of the University of Nagyzombat by the addition of a medical faculty. Perliczy's memorandum, handed in to the queen in 1751 was discussed and shelved the same year by a committee of the Council of Government.[132] However, it was not in vain that Perliczy made his proposal for a reform embracing practically all problems of public hygiene in Hungary. True, it was only after a delay of two decades, and even then not

exactly as he and the other doctors practising in Hungary had expected, that their attempts ultimately met with success.

6. The early 1740s saw a rare historic instance of the happy coincidence of a cause urgently calling for action, an official power open to reforms and prepared to take decisions, and the appearance of an able, competent personage. Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772) took up his office of "protomedicus" in Vienna in 1743.[133] The imperial capital was overcome with panic on account of the plague in Hungary and its consequences, the Treasury had run out of funds, and the government was impotent. The young empress, Maria Theresa was scared of the epidemic. She herself and her family had been badly affected by the smallpox. Her counsellors were aware that the problems of public health had a bearing on taxation and also on the strength of the army, and it was the monarch's sacred duty to come to the rescue of poor wretched people.

The decrees moderating the persecution of witches and the law restricting the trials to the utmost, were links of a chain of comprehensive reforms in matters of public health. The more important stages of the process were the following: in 1743 the hygienic conditions of cemeteries were regulated; in 1745-1747 the standardization of medicines was introduced, and a decree regulated the tasks of midwives throughout the country. In 1752 a decree issued by the Queen ordered all counties to employ well-trained doctors who should live in the county town, and should attend to the poor free of charge. In 1753 the hygienic problems of prisons were regulated, and a decree issued in 1754 ordered that those practising medicine anywhere in the country without a doctor's degree should be imprisoned. In 1755 the "Planum regulationis in re sanitatis" came out and the counties and towns received the Queen's decree condemning various superstitions including the belief in witchcraft. The decree clearly defined the activity of doctors, surgeons (chirurgeons) and midwives. It also ordered that the activity of certain lay groups - lithotomists, herniotomists, tooth pullers (dentifrangibuli) - who had segregated from the barbers should be permitted only if every precaution was taken and they were kept under supervision by the authorities. From the next year on all the sentences of torture and death were to be forwarded to the central authorities for approval, together with the complete minutes of the witch trials. In 1756 a compulsory examination in surgery was prescribed for surgeons. In 1758 a decree was issued with regard to those who were persecuted as magicians and poisoners, and from that date it was no

longer the minutes, but the defendants of the witch trials that were to be sent to Vienna, and local authorities were prohibited from dealing with witch trials. In 1765 the aliens among the unqualified healers were expelled from the country, while the natives were imprisoned. In November 1766 the celebrated law, the "Lex caesaroregie ad extirpandam superstitionem ac rationalem judicationem criminalem Magiae, Sortilegii" was enacted. At the beginning of 1768 the "Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana" which codified the law, appeared. In 1769 a decision was made regarding the establishment of the medical faculty. In 1770 the "Generale Normativum Sanitatis" came out which strictly forbade, among others, the activity of healers and midwives who had no diplomas, or had passed no examination. In 1771, at long last, the medical faculty began to function in Nagyszombat.[134]

The law concerning witchcraft, then, was a part of the reform which affected all the problems of public hygiene. It was worthy of the learning and mentality of the man who prepared it. Van Swieten followed in his master's footsteps. Hermann Boerhave (1638-1738) was the revolutionary founder of clinical medicine who hated superstition, but "advocated the superiority of empirical therapeutics following nature as against a set of pedantic dogmas".[135]

As has been suggested earlier, the law which put an end to witch trials was one of the measures taken with a view to a general reform of public hygiene in the country. Wiping out the persecution of witches depended less on the, by no means negligible, force of the law, than a comprehensive organization of public hygiene set up on a scientific basis for the benefit of the masses which could guarantee that there would be no more conflicts producing charges of witchcraft.

What happened, following such measures, to those harassed anonymous outcasts of public hygiene, the lay healers?

Van Swieten, as we have seen, could rely on considerable antecedents in Hungary. In preparing the plan to reform public hygiene in the country he worked together with Hungarian doctors. One of his closest collaborators was István Weszprémi, a doctor (1723-1799) who had studied at Dutch and English universities, but, similarly to his Hungarian colleagues, was thoroughly familiar with the circumstances of public health in Hungary, and he, too, had written a handbook which lay healers could use.

In comparison with the antecedents the law which put an end to the persecution of witches in Hungary, had the essential novelty of forming an

integral part of a comprehensive reform of public hygiene. In its theoretical assumptions the law observed principles laid down as early as the 16th and 17th centuries, refusing to accept for evidence fanciful, malicious, or misleading stories, the fantasies of people mentally deranged, and the misleading statements of the defendants. It forbade the application of inhuman and ill-advised methods of investigation, such as ordeal by water, pricking, extracting confession by torture, branding people, and the use of antidotes against sorcery. It regulated punishments and suggested reasonable measures; e.g. impostors should pay damages, and the mentally deranged should be taken to hospital. Unless proved by "infallible evidence", charges of diabolic practices should be dismissed. In cases of witchcraft "really and truly proved" the right to decide was reserved for the monarch. Blasphemous fantasts, particularly those whose hands were stained with blood, deserved to be burnt at the stake.

As was clear from the law, lay healers were freed from the threat of the stake. But where was their place now in the new order established for handling the problems of public hygiene, in rural areas, and improving the critical living conditions of village people?

In practice the reform of public hygiene, though prudent and sound in principle, and based in part on Hungarian antecedents, did not work at all, or worked only within very narrow limits. The counties, pleading their alleged or real tax burdens, failed to pay their doctors, or paid them very badly; in the 1770s and 1780s there were counties keeping only one doctor each, or none at all. Provided that these figures are correct, Kassa had three midwives in its employ at the end of the 18th century, exactly the same number as at the end of the 17th century. An increase in population was not followed by a corresponding increase in the number of doctors. When in 1768, the county of Békés was called upon by the Council of Government to employ a county medical officer, they answered that it was impossible, since there was no doctor available, and anyway, they could not see the point of doing what was demanded of them, considering that they had had a county surgeon in their employ for fifteen years whom no one ever went to see. No sudden change set in even when the central government took it upon itself, with effect from 1770, to pay the county medical officers and surgeons. The Council of Government wished to appoint superannuated military medical officers to the posts in the counties, but since they did not know the native tongue of the regions concerned, people did not go to see them, even if they cured the patients free of charge. At

the same time the posts of county medical officers were not open to Hungarian doctors who belonged to the Protestant or the Jewish faith. Out of the large group of lay healers only the midwives were acknowledged by the law, on condition that they were trained, examined and supervised by the authorities of the central government. The multitude of midwives active in the villages, even those who were not illiterate had not attained a thorough knowledge even of the subjects taught at elementary schools. Lay healers en masse were simply dubbed quacks and ignoramuses, and by the terms of the law, were liable to imprisonment.[136]

However, there were none but the lay healers to look after the health of the masses living in villages and rural areas; they were simply indispensable. The 18th century was the golden age of lay healing in Hungary. It was in this period that Countess Kata Bethlen was active in Transylvania, who, employing a multitude of herb women, attained to such excellence, particularly in curing diseases of the eye, including cataract, that patients flocked to her for a cure, even from far-away places.[137] In the manors of the nobility herbals and pharmaceutical formularies dating from the 16th and 17th centuries continued to be copied diligently, and it was in this century that the enlightened doctors of the era produced perhaps the largest number of medical books for the benefit of lay healers. The work of Pápai Páriz ran into four editions during the 1750s, the great decade of the reform of public hygiene. Pax Corporis survived two centuries, and a "folkloric healer" of Oklád, a Szekler settlement in Transylvania is known to have used it in the early 1950s, while for the ethnic groups scattered in Moldavia it has remained a handbook quite until recently.

The 18th-century reform of public hygiene in Hungary put an end to witch trials, but failed to provide an adequate health service for the masses of poor people. In the villages healing was carried on along traditional lines, and people continued to believe in witches. For example as late as 1905 a newspaper reported that the "witch" of a village died, and in order to prevent any harm she could do by bewitching, the local people dug up the corpse and burnt it.[138]

Notes

[1]Linzbauer (1852-1856: I. 575, II. 425, 461, 467, 776-785), Komáromi (1910: 638-659, 715-717), Spielmann (1977: 92), Klaniczay (1985: 35-38).

[2]Mrs. Márton Szepesi to the Chamber, s.d., arrived on 17th Sept. 1686. Representationes No. 122 (1686).

[3]Trevor-Roper (1967: 175), Henningsen (1980: 21, 25, 313), Dömötör (1981: 124), Szendrey (1986: 345, 323, 313, 174-175), Valentinitsch (1987). Witch trials banned in Europe: Holland: 1610, Geneva: 1632, France: 1670-1682, Prussia: 1728, Sweden: 1763, Poland: 1776. Kosáry (1980: 167-168), Seligmann (1948-1987: 185), Klaniczay (1985: 35).

[4]Ipolyi (1854: 408), Rómer (1861), Tagányi (1887), Komáromy (1910: XXXII), Schram (1982: 67-76), Grynaeus (1988).

[5]Linzbauer (1852-1856: I. 575, II. 425, 461, 467, 726-785), Várkonyi (1979 and 1984), Klaniczay (1985), Kristóf (1988).

[6]Valentinitsch (1987), Stoll (1908/1909).

[7]Komáromy (1910: 2-3), Schram (1982: 49-50).

[8]Stone (1979: 65), Oláh (1986: 39, 191) "Medicine man": Wolfgang Jilek (1976), quoted by: Oláh (1986: 208).

[9]Demkó (1894: 407-410), Fekete (1910), Orvosok és gyógyításmód (Doctors and Therapeutics): Chapter III. "Orvosasszonyok" (Medicine women), Kapros (1979), Tárkány Szűcs (1981: 224-225), Szlatky (1983), Várkonyi (1984: 324-325), Kristóf (1988).

[10]A medicine from a Greek priest: György Erdődy jr. to György Erdődy, 25. September 1705 25. Erdődy Archives (K: 14). - The widow of a barber: National Public Record Office P. - 1890. Forgách Archives, Miscellaneous papers, l. cs, l. t. (1615) - A Piarist Friar: Schram (1970: I. 201). "Turkish woman": Schram (1970: I. 229). Noblewoman: Manorial court (1958: 369-375). - "Taken to the hangman to be healed" 1757, the county of Békés, Schram (1982:162).

[11]Oláh (1986: 39) - Cf.: (1965-1982).

[12]Mihalik (1894: 181-293, 329-331), Szlatky (1983: 387), Spielmann (1977).

[13]Takáts (1980: 183-184).

[14]Demkó (1894: 200-202, 223-240, 244-245, 356-358), Kosáry (1980: 159), Spielmann 81977).

[15]Rules for the barbers' guild of Marosvásárhely, Marosvásárhely 16. April 1628. In: Kovách-Binder (1981: 202).

[16]Héjja (1936), Takáts (1980).

[17]Gortvay (1953).

[18]Hints (1937: II. 142-143, 258-259), Benedek (1978: 51-52).

[19]Grynaeus (1988: 293-300) - Antal Sárkány to Tamás Nádasdy Sárvár, 7. October 1555. Vida (1988: 127).

[20]Éva Poppel to her son, Ádám Batthyány, Pápa, 14. May 1634. Batthyány Archives (Missiles 38017).

[21]Hints (1939: vol. II), Lindeboom (1968), Vekerdy (1984: 199), Kempler (1984), Oláh (1986).

[22]Szlatky (1983: 122).

[23]Szabó (1979: 34-35), Melius (1578: 93), Bitskey (1986: 164-186), Pázmány (1636-1983).

[24]Herner (1988: 56).

[25]NRA Fasc. 101 No. 12, NRA Fasc. 82. No. 3 - Palatine Wesselényi paid 100 Fts annually to his doctor. Acsády (1985: 163).

[26]Grabner (1987: 75), Stone (1979: 65).

[27]Szlatky (1983: 383-440), Benedek (1978: 51), Kosáry (1980: 168). The Salerno Scuola was published in German in Hungary in 1634 in the translation of Lucas Seular, a Transylvanian doctor, Brassó; in Hungarian in the translation of György Felvinczi: in Kolozsvár, 1693. The second edition: Lőcse, 1693, the last edition: Kolozsvár, 1776. Cf. Hints (1939) and Várkonyi (19849.

[28]Quoted by Szlatky (1983: 402).

[29]Pál Keljó to István Pálffy, Tyrnavia, 26. January 1641. Pálffy Archives (Arm VIII. Lad 11. F.2. fol. 990).

[30]Kristóf Erdődy to György Erdődy Pozsony, 29. Dec. 1691. István Bakos to György Erdődy, Vienna, 3. November. Both: Pozsony State Archives (Karton 14 and 10).

[31]Komáromy (1910: 72-73), Linzbauer (1852-1856: I. 174), Demkó (1894: 318, 401-402), Magyari-Kossa (1938).

[32]Doctors and Therapeutics, the chapter on training and supervising midwives - Magyary-Kossa (1928 and III. 1734).

[33]Szlatky (1983: 397-398).

[34]Károlyi Okmánytár (Papers of the Károlyi family), (IV: 171-172, 189).

[35]András Kis Tholnai Szabó to István Pálffy, Újvár, 23. April 1641. Pálffy Archives (Korrespondencia I.).

[36]Anna Wesselényi the orphan, to István Csáky, Almás, 15. November 1631. Deák (1875: 101).

[37]"without my doctoring you cannot really exist, it seems... my beloved". Miklós Esterházy to his wife, 1634. Történelmi Tár, (1900: 273). - Magyary-Kossa I. (1929), Szilágyi (1875).

[38]Rákóczi L. Napló (Diary) 2.3.4.8. September 1656, Magyary-Kossa (III. 120).

[39]Schram (1970: II. 353, 386-396), Herner (1988: 54), Rómer (1861).

[40]Komáromy (1910: 685).

[41]Acsády (1885), Várkonyi (1987: 111).

[42]Kovách-Binder (1981: 117, 201-207), Héjja (1936).

[43]Komáromy (1910: 697), Tagányi (1887: 42, 166), Rómer (I. 276, 280, 327).

[44]Komáromy (1910: 696), Rómer (I. 228-230).

[45]Schram (1970: I. 322); 1756.

[46]Schram (1970: I. 322), Lehoczky (1881: II. 250-251).

[47]Schram (1982: 227). Cf. Oláh (1986: 210-211).

[48]Várkonyi (1987: 111, 126).

[49]Demkó (1894: 355, 435), Spielmann (1977: 153-158).

[50]Oláh (1986: 49), Vajkai (1948), Grynaeus (1962 and 1974).

[51]Stone (1979: 65), Grabner (1987: 76-80).

[52]Pócs (1984: 109-126).

[53]The medicine-chest of Anna Erdődy (1631): National Public Record Office (Uec 96, 13). Cf. Doctors and Therapeutics, VIII.

[54]Thaly (1885: 94-95), Oláh (1896: 182-183).

[55]Schram (1970: II. 407, 1982: 77).

[56]Kempler (1984: 57-58), Oláh (1986: 171), Grabner (1987: 76-79).

[57]Bahtyin (1982: 218-227).

[58]Ipolyi (1854: 408), Schram (1982: 76-79).

[59]Schram (1970: II. 287), (1741).

[60]Komáromy (1910: 2, 135, 226).

[61]Szltky (1983: 99-101), (RMK I. 223).

[62]Komáromy (1910: 360).

[63]Schram (1970: II. 233-236). Similar cases: 1640: R. Kiss (1905: 211); 1709: Komáromy (1910: 241). Schram (1970: II. 385, 1982: 130).

[64]Weszprémi (III. 70-72), Magyary-Kossa (III. 377), Allendy (1937), Benedek (1978).

[65]Kovách and Binder (1981: 117, 201-207). - "irons to cut the heart and veins" on the coat of arms of the seal of the barbers's guild: the county of Árva to György Erdődy, Pozsony, 30, June 1700. Erdődy Archives, Missiles 26, karton 441.

[66]Mihalik (1894: 387-391).

[67]Szlatky (1983: 122).

[68]Komáromy (1910: 56), Schram (1970: II. 35).

[69]Schram (1970: II. 653).

[70]Komáromy (1910: 507).

[71]Komáromy (1910: 507).

[72]Éva Poppel to her son, Ádám Batthyány, Pápa, 14 May 1634. Cf. Note 26.

[73]Schram (1970: II. 159, II. 31).

[74]Schram (1970: II. 386, 388).

[75]Zoványi (1891: 151), Magyary-Kossa (III. 65/a), Takáts (1961: 83).

[76]Magyary-Kossa (IV).

[77]National Public Record Office, (P. - 1830 Miscellaneous papers, 1. cs. 1. tétel, 1615).

[78]Schram (1970: II. 384), (1751).

[79]Schram (1970: I. 237, 263, 1982: 311-319), (1734-1737).

[80]Várkonyi (1984), Klaniczay (1986), Herner (1988), Kristóf (1989).

[81]Rómer (1961: 76).

[82]Schram (1970: II. 56-124, III. 329).

[83]Schram (1970: I. 158-160).

[84]Klaniczay (1986), Hódi (1985: 68-70). (For this I owe thanks to the psychiatrist Dr. Péter Rigó.)

[85]Henningsen (1980: 286).

[86]Nagy (1988).

[87]Schram (1982: 208-212).

[88]Hints (1939: II. 259), Gélis (1977).

[89]Komáromy (1910: 93).

[90]For the inadequate medical service for the soldiers in the Fifteen Years' War, see Gy. Cramer (1739), Imreh (1983), Héjja (1939: 40-47).

[91]For the organization of a health service, see Kyr P: Sanitatis Studium (1951), Huszti (1694).

[92]Melius (1578), Szabó (1979: 28-29, 51).

[93]Melius (1578: 109, 282, 312). - Szlatky 1983: 331. Cf.: Makkai (1988).

[94]Bornemisza (1578: 57).

[95]Szlatky (1982: 115, 121-122).

[96]Weszprémi (1781: 623-647).

[97]Pázmány (1636-1983: 286-287).

[98]Bornemisza (1578-1978: 31-37).

[99]Alvinczi (1633: I. 474).

[100]Kecskeméti (1621: 89).

[101]Kecskeméti (1621: 90).

[102]Kecskeméti (1621: 89), Fabó (1905), Schram (1970: I. 450) 1654, op. cit. (p. 490) 1711, op. cit. (p. 193) 1716, op. cit. (p. 257) 1739, op. cit. (p. 343) 1758.

[103]National Public Record Office, P-1890 Forgách Archives, Miscellaneous papers 1. 1 (1.15).

[104]Memoranda of Transylvanian Diets (VIII. p. 351).

[105]Memoranda of Transylvanian Diets (VI. pp. 412-413).

[106]Memoranda of Transylvanian Diets (VI. p. 413).

[107]Nagy (1988: 170-181, 191).

[108]With an emphasis on Bethlen's superstitious beliefs, quoted by Nagy (1988: 174-175).

[109]Századok (1872: 285).

[110]Makkai (1983; 1988).

[111]Spielmann (1977: 127-135), Apáczai (1653-1977: 226-280).

[112]Spielmann (1977: 61). In summary: op. cit. (pp. 48-97).

[113]Pápai Páriz (1690-1977: 199).

[114]Pápai-Páriz (1690-1977: 22), Spielmann (1977: 136-153).

[115]Spielmann (1979: 36-43).

[116]Szállási (1975), Spielmann (1979: 46).

[117]The following examples are not meant to be exhaustive: In 1628 two women, charged with witchcraft, refused to come before a court in Transdanubia, and the bailiff stood up for them. According to an unknown defendant in 1641: the person, who was suspected would pass for a witch. The steward of István Pálffy in Nagyszombat, talking of captured witches quoted the words of one of them: "if her Moravian skirt should burn, a lot of taffetta and cambric will be burnt afterwards". The words of an equally anonymous woman put in the manorial prison of Németújvár in 1651 were indicative of social tensions: "the little witches are caught, while the great ones go unpunished". A girl accused of witchcraft in 1666 claimed: "Bathing a

person in water cannot be taken by a tribunal as an evident proof of witchcraft". Another girl charged with witchcraft in Debrecen, in 1677, protested: "I deny any kind of devilish practices; I am not a witch, and if I bathed anyone in a herbal bath, I did no evil by that". In 1653, in the county of Győr, the counsel for the defendant argued the same way as the lawyer István Igriczi in the county of Ugocsa in 1689 in the case of Ilona Varga: the charges were unfounded "a pack of silly rumours", nursery tales, and he referred to Article 56 of the law of 1550. In Zagreb the same argument was used in defence of Marijana Fabriczka in 1657, as could be heard in a sermon preached by János Kecskeméti in Debrecen in 1621: the witches' Sabbath was nothing but a dream. In 1671 a lawyer giving reasons for banning witch trials used the old formula but with a new meaning: "since there are no witches, they should not even be mentioned, let alone brought before a court". The wording of a decision made by a manorial court in 1693 was very similar to that of the Queen's decree to be issued half a century later: "in such criminal cases the evidence produced should be as clear as daylight, and no one should be sentenced to be burnt at the stake on a mere suspicion". In 1699 three defendants were acquitted in the county of Pest, and the reason given was that the charges were founded on "mere suspicions and superstitions" and childish lies, which proved nothing. Sources in the order of the cases quoted: Pálffy Archives (Arm. VIII. Lad. 12. Fl. fol. 1191), Schram (1982: 281), Eckhart (1954: 132), Komáromy (1910: 127, 148), Klaniczay (1985: 56-57), Eckhart (1954: 138), Borosy (IV. 3446-3447).

[118] As counsel for the defence, the lawyer Ferenc Budaházi argued in 1725 that transformations were but dreams, the accusations were based on hearsay and could not be proved. "Gernyszegh anno 1740 Decembris 30", this was the exact date recorded by somebody whose anonymous comment was added to the minutes of the case of Mrs. Borbála Rozsnyai: "the testimonies were given by half-witted and simple-minded people, and such as were bemused and stupefied with drink, had visionary dreams, or thirsted for revenge". How uncertain the judges had become was well shown by the verdict of the deputy-sheriff of the county of Kolos: on the strength of the witnesses' testimonies "the defendant ought to die, but as the state of witchhood is very obscure, and the human mind can hardly penetrate it, in view of this the defendant shall not be sentenced to death". A characteristic instance is provided by the debate that took place in 1730 when the case of Zsuzsa Szenczy and her two companions was brought before the manorial court of the Archbishop of Esztergom. On the authority of the "Tripartitum" (a Hungarian statute-book published in 1517), I/15, and the Praxis Criminalis, the prosecutor proposed torture to be followed by burning at the stake. The defendants denied the charges; their lawyer defended them, supporting his arguments with the authority of John Kithonich's Directio Methodica (1619). The prosecutor demanded repeated torture. However, the defendants continued to deny the charges, even after they had been put to the torture. Ultimately, they were not sentenced to death by the tribunal which consisted of the Archbishop's steward, the bailiff and the deputy-sheriff of the county of Komárom. Kristóf (1989: 36), Schram (1982: 99), Komáromy (1910: 454), Kállay (1985: 200).

[119] In 1478 - according to Tagányi - Benedek Kistapolcsányi and Osváth Korlátkövi accused Mrs. Mihály Zerdahelyi and all the women of the Zerdahelyi family of making poison. King Matthias ordered an inquiry into the case of these women - among whom there were married women, widows, and unmarried women alike; dozens of witnesses were interrogated, and a report was to be made to the King. Tagányi did not call the case a witch trial, nor did Schram include it in the list of trials registered since the middle of the 13th century. Still, it is worth mentioning that the date of this trial coincided with the year of publication of the Malleus maleficarum, and the effect of the work of J. Sprenger and H. Kraemer on the witch trials in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania could be felt long afterwards. Tagányi (1887. No. 2), Schram (1982: 49), Spielmann (1979: 42).

[120] Herner (1988), Memoranda of Transylvanian Diets (XVIII, p. 343, 499).

[121] Mayer (1980), Várkonyi (1979-1989), Iklódy (1982).

[122] Takáts (1980) - Hadi Edictum (A War Edict) 1706/45. - Regulamentum Universale (I/1-13 1707 Ráday papers, pp. 393-396). An inquiry ordered, by word of mouth, by the Honourable General Pál Orosz, and carried out by the head of the military court. National

Public Record Office (G 16 V 2 h), (Archives of Rákóczi's war of independence). s.d. Komáromy (1910: 243-244).

[123] Iklódy (1982), Kállay (1985: 199), - On the basis of the summary by Klaniczay 1985):

	1526-1690	1690-1770
trials:	426	1208
death sentences:	149 (29%)	340 (3.3%)
lighter punishments:	43	181
acquittals:	32	206
not known:	205	501

[124] Iklódy (1982), Demkó (1894: 409).

[125] Klaniczay (1986: 266).

[126] Mair (1969: 7-9).

[127] Valentinitsch (1987: 300), Dienst (1987: 20)

	women (%)	men (%)	not known (%)
Hungary	90	10	-
Lower Austria	59.4	34.2	6.4
Upper Austria	20.8	68.8	10.4
Carinthia	40.2	52.8	7
Vienna	41.5	58.5	-
Styria	48	34.3	17.7

[128] Klaniczay (1986).

[129] Héjja (1939), Gortvay (1953), Takáts (1980), R. Várkonyi (1979-1989).

[130] For the reports to the Council of Government from towns and counties, see: Magyary-Kossa (IV. 271, 286, 288-294, 299-303, 310-303, 310-310/a, 319-323), Dávid (1973).

[131] Magyary-Kossa (IV. 125, 239, 304). Witch trials in the county of Szepes: 1636, 1638, 1639, Forster (1910: 242-249); 1618.

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Pálffy lt. - A Pálffy család levéltára. Szlovák Központi Állami Levéltár Pozsony (The Archives of the Pálffy family. Slovak Central Archives. Bratislava).

Abbreviations

OL - Országos Levéltár (National Public Record Office) Budapest

Ethn. - Ethnographia (Budapest)

Orv. tört. Közl. - Orvostörténeti Közlemények (Communicationes de historia Artis Medicinae) (Budapest)

Communicationes - Communicationes ex Bibliotheca Medicae Hungarica (Országos Orvostörténeti Könyvtár közleményei) (Budapest)

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SOZIALPSYCHOLOGISCHE ASPEKTE DER UNGARISCHEN HEXENPROZESSE UND DES HEXENGLAUBENS

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Die bisherigen Annäherungen an die Hexen-Frage (individuall-psychologisch, psychoanalytisch, pharmakologisch, rechtshistorisch, ethnologisch) haben viele Lösungen ergeben, zahlreiche Fragen sind aber auch offen geblieben. Ich versuche jetzt einige von diesen mit den Mitteln und mit der Terminologie der Sozialpsychologie zu betrachten.

1. Wie war es möglich, dass sich die Hexenprozesse und der Hexenglaube jahrhundertelang behaupten konnten?

Im voraus möchte ich zwei Tatsachen erwähnen:

- Wenn man den Kodex Malleus Maleficarum (1486) willkürlich für einen Meilenstein hält, stellt sich heraus, dass die Hexenprozesse nicht für das "dunkle Mittelalter" charakteristisch waren, sie nahmen ihren Anfang in der oft verherrlichten Renaissance.

- Die Annahme, dass der Hexenglaube für die zurückgebliebenen, nicht geschulten, "abergläubischen" unteren Schichten der Gesellschaft charakteristisch sei, kann auch nicht nachgewiesen werden.[1] Heute gibt es schon genügend Beweise dafür, dass man Hexen in allen Schichten der Gesellschaft findet, und dass Richter, Anwälte und Pfarrer ebenso an die Existenz und an die Tätigkeit von Hexen glaubten, wie die Angehörigen anderer Volksschichten.

Die Zeit der Monstre-Prozesse und der Massen-Exekutionen war nach den Verordnungen von Maria Theresia (1756) vorüber, der Hexenglaube lebte aber weiter und es kam auch zu Prozessen. Was für Faktoren haben dies ermöglicht?

Die Sozialpsychologie lehrt uns, dass Ansichten, Normen von Gruppen (Gemeinschaften) selbst dann auf das Individuum wirken, wenn es noch kein Mitglied der Gruppe ist. Ein Beispiel: Kinder, die spielend die Normen der Erwachsenen lernen und sich aneignen. Dies wird von Herskovits Enkulturation genannt.

Die magische Denkweise (kognitive Struktur) ist schon bei der Ge-

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burt eines Kindes in der Denkweise der erwachsenen Mitglieder der gegebenen Population vorhanden. Das Kind wächst in diesem kognitiven Feld auf. Die "Allmächtigkeits-Vorstellungen", die magische Denk- und Handlungsweise des Kindes (Piaget), werden durch diese ihm als Erbschaft anhaftende Weltanschauung gestärkt. Ich zitiere aus dem Material des Hexenprozesses in Sándorfalva (Kom. Csongrád) aus dem Jahre 1954:

> "... Mehrere Kinder sind auf der Strasse zusammengekommen und haben Hexe gespielt..."[2]

Die Akten erzählen weiterhin über die Tätigkeit der Hexe: sie kocht in einem Kessel Sand, Ziegelsteine, sie nimmt die Gestalt von verschiedenen Tieren an und verfolgt in dieser Gestalt ein Kalb. Alldies haben die Kinder "gesehen" und ihren Eltern erzählt, die dann die Anzeige gegen die Hexe erstatteten.

Wenn ein Erwachsener Mitglied der Gruppe wird, nimmt er ihre Normen, Definitionen an, um die guten Beziehungen zur Gruppe zu sichern (Identifikation, Interiorisation). Die Normen werden meistens mittelbar weitergegeben: durch Erwartung, Bewertung, Sanktionierung bzw. mittels Beispielen.[3] Die von Kindheit an gehörten Geschichten sind Träger von Meinung, Einstellung der Gruppe gegenüber dem Heilkundigen und der Hexe. (Die letztere ist bösartig, tut Schlechtes wo sie nur kann, kann eine andere Gestalt annehmen, usw.). Wenn man also nur das kleinste Zeichen davon zu erkennen glaubt, sieht man den ganzen Kreis der Vorstellungen bestätigt: dies nennt man die Verstärker-Wirkung der Gruppe.

Man kann mit Recht die Frage stellen: Warum die Menschen von der physischen Realität nicht überzeugt werden? Laut sozialpsychologischer Untersuchungen stützen wir uns bei der Entstehung unserer Meinung nicht nur auf Informationen aus der physischen Umgebung, sondern auch aus der sozialen Umgebung (Meinung, Lehre, Mahnung durch die Eltern oder andere Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft). Wenn die Stützpunkte eindeutig sind, werden wir durch die Meinung anderer Leute weniger beeinflusst; in dubiösen Situationen aber, wenn die Reize problematisch sind, wenn die richtige Antwort bestritten wird, ist der Einzelne eher geneigt, sich auf die Meinung anderer Leute zu stützen.[4]

Ein Beispiel:

> Eine gebildete, belesene Lehrerin, ausgezeichnete Pädagogin. Sie unterrichtete von Anfang bis zu ihrem Ruhestand in dem Dorf, wo sie

geboren ist, hat dadurch mehrere Generationen beinahe aller Bewohner des Dorfes gekannt. Hochbetagt erzählte sie mir mit vollständiger Einfühlung, wie man die Kuh von ihrem Grossvater verhext hat, und wie die Hexe bestraft wurde. Anscheinend hat sie überhaupt nicht daran gedacht, dass sie an der Wahrheit der Geschichte auch zweifeln könnte.

Die Gruppe hat auch eine "Filter-Funktion": sie hält alle Mitteilungen fern, die nicht zu der Meinung der Gruppe passen. Aufklärung, die Propaganda und die Verbreitung von Kenntnissen sind darum oft erfolglos,[5] da die Gruppe - vor allem die sogenannten primären oder Referenz-Gruppen in den wichtigen Fragen (zentrale Werte, heftig sanktionierte gemeinsame Attitüde) aber auch in den weniger relevanten Fragen bedeutenden Druck auf ihre Mitglieder ausüben, um die Konformität, die Einstimmigkeit zu sichern.[6] Von der anderen Seite gesehen: Die Gruppe unterstützt den Einzelnen im Widerstand gegen fremde Einflüsse.

Als Beispiel kann ein Arbeiter aus Nord-Ungarn erwähnt werden, der durch Heirat in ein Dorf gekommen ist. Im Laufe von Jahrzehnten hat er den lebendigen Hexenglauben des Dorfes übernommen und erzählte die verschiedenen Hexengeschichten begeistert weiter.

Die Intelligenten im Dorf haben meistens die Möglichkeit in der Schule, von der Kanzel usw. etwas mitzuteilen oder ihre Meinung zu äussern, darüber hinaus verfügen sie meistens über kein ausgebautes Kommunikationsnetz. Demgegenüber findet man in den traditionellen Gemeinschaften ausgebaute, gegenseitige Kommunikationssysteme.[7] Herausgehobene sog. Referenzgruppen und Personen in Schlüsselposition (opinion leader).[8]

Ein kalvinistische Pfarrer nicht einmal vierzig Jahre alt, beobachtete mich mit höflichem Zweifel, als ich ihm die Hexengeschichte erzählte, die ich im Dorf mit seiner Unterstützung sammeln konnte. Er konnte mir nicht glauben, dass seine Glaubensbrüder solche "Heiden" sind. Diese Informationen hat er bis dahin nicht bekommen, obzwar er unter den Dorfbewohnern beliebt war und gute Beziehungen zu ihnen hatte.

Ich möchte die Aufmerksamkeit auf noch einen Faktor richten: Laut der Theorie "Ausgabe - Einkommen" (cost-benefit) ist es einfacher und leichter, die gelernten Methoden und Gesichtspunkte anzuwenden; es ist ökonomischer, sich gemäss den Normen der Gemeinschaft zu benehmen. Wenn man alte, eingeübte, anerkannte Verhaltensschemen gebraucht, ist die Entscheidung für den Einzelnen einfacher, besonders in kritischen Situa-

tionen (z.B. bei Krankheit), wo er auf diese Weise seine Verantwortung mindern kann:

"Meine Schwiegermutter hat gesagt, dass man es so machen muss..."[9]

Wir leben jetzt in einer Zeit, wo immer wieder Wandlungen untersucht werden: die Verbreitung, die "gesellschaftliche Grundlage" für den Hexenglauben wurde geringer, wo er aber geblieben ist, hat er sich kaum geändert. Die Sozialpsychologie lehrt uns, dass die obenerwähnten aufrechterhaltenden Kräfte darin eine Rolle gespielt haben.

2. Warum und wie wird man trotzdem eine Hexe, warum nimmt man diese Rolle an?

In den Hexenprozessen kann man öfter beobachten, dass die Rolle der Hexe in einer Familie sozusagen "weitervererbt" wurde. In derselben Gemeinschaft erscheinen zur gleichen Zeit oder nacheinander Hexen, die sozusagen gegen ihr eigenes Schicksal handeln, sie achten nicht auf die Gefahr, sie fordern das Schicksal gegen sich selbst heraus. Es kann nicht bezweifelt werden, dass die in der Literatur erwähnten persönlichen Eigenschaften, Charakterzüge dabei eine Rolle spielen konnten (z.B. Machtsucht, Wunsch nach einem besseren Leben, "man soll mich nicht lieben, sondern fürchten", gegebenenfalls können wir sogar an sado-masochistische Tendenzen denken) - dies scheint noch immer kein ausreichend triftiger Grund zu sein, um ihr sogar provokatives Verhalten erklären zu können.[10]

János Árva stellte schon fest, dass die meisten ungarischen sog. Hexen Heilkundige gewesen sind. Über die heilende Persönlichkeit, über die Beziehung zwischen dem Einzelnen und der Gemeinschaft habe ich schon an anderer Stelle gesprochen.[11] Das wesentliche ist, dass die Heilkundigen die selben Gewohnheiten, den Glauben besser und vollständiger kennen und fühlen als andere Mitglieder derselben Gemeinschaft, und so sehen sie sich genötigt, die Rolle der Heilkundigen und die damit verbundenen Unannehmlichkeiten auf sich zu nehmen. Die Gemeinschaft projiziert dafür das "Idealbild" auf sie, und sie erhalten eine hervorgehobene Position innerhalb der Gemeinschaft. Man hat sie nötig, das hält ihre "Macht" am Leben - ab und zu bestärkt der Heilkundige die Gemeinschaft in diesem Glauben.

Wie in den menschlichen Beziehungen überall, sind dazu wenigstens zwei Personen nötig. Es gibt also keine Hexe und keinen Hexenglauben an sich, dies kann nur in der Beziehung zwischen dem Individuum ⇄ und der Hexe, zwischen der Gemeinschaft ⇄ und der Hexe realisiert werden. Das

Individuum bzw. die Gruppe "weiss" oder glaubt von der Hexe dies und das, die Gruppe schreibt ihr eine bestimmte (geglaubte) Macht zu, die Hexe nimmt dieses an, erträgt es, nutzt es manchmal aus, und setzt ab und an noch etwas dazu. Sie setzen einander also gegenseitig voraus. Mit einer kleinen Übertreibung könnte man sagen, sie wählen einander, sie existieren ohne die andere Hälfte nicht. (Meines Wissens wurde in Ungarn bisher keine soziometrische Untersuchung durchgeführt, um die Beziehung zwischen dem Heilkundigen bzw. der Hexe und der Gemeinschaft zu klären.)[12]

Worin liegt die Macht der Hexe, wie ist diese Macht beschaffen? Die Sozialpsychologie spricht über drei verschiedene Formen der Macht: belohnende, referente und zwingende Form. Im Falle der Hexe ist eindeutig von der letzteren die Rede, und dies beruht auf der Beobachtung des Individuums und der Gemeinschaft, dass die Hexe fähig ist zu bestrafen[13] - und zwar auf wichtigen Ebenen des Lebens, durch Verweigerung der Hilfe, durch Behexung, usw.

Wichtig ist noch der Grundsatz, dass die Macht keine (!) persönliche Eigenschaft ist, sie gestaltet sich demgemäss, wie sich die Beziehungen bzw. die Abhängigkeiten zwischen den Mitgliedern der Gruppe gestalten.

Die Hexe kann auch ein Mittel sein, mit der sich die Gemeinschaft das Einhalten der Normen sichert. Denken wir nur daran, dass die Vergeltungen der Hexe sehr oft die Wohlhabenden, also die mit ihrem Vermögen, ihrer Lage, ihrer Ernte, ihren Tieren Prahlenden treffen. Von ihnen verlangen sie Bezahlung oder Geschenke (Geld, Fleisch, Wein; Axt, Grund usw.), was auch als Lösegeld oder als Opfergeschenk betrachtet werden kann. Zweifellos hat dies eine nivellierende, die Extreme verhindernde Funktion. Ebenso besitzt die Furcht vor der Hexe eine Kraft, die die Gemeinschaft von verschiedenen Sachen fernhält.

Wenn und solange die Hexe ihre Heilkunde im Interesse der Gemeinschaft verwendet, Dinge ausgleicht, Gleichgewicht herstellt, eine sexuelle Misere lindert (es gibt zahlreiche junge Witwen unter den Hexen!), wird sie von der Gemeinschaft ertragen, in Anspruch genommen und beschützt. Wenn aber jemand diese Grenze überschreitet, die gegebenen Möglichkeiten missbraucht, verschwindet das Gleichgewicht:

das Individuum oder die Gruppe	Hexe
übermässige Forderung (z.B. im Falle einer unheilbaren Krankheit	unbegründete Forderung (Bezahlung, Geschenk)
unbegründete Beschuldigung	heilt und hilft nicht (z.B. bei Geburten)
	Vergehen gegen harmonisches Familienleben (freizügiges Leben)
erschrickt, ärgert sich, wird neidisch; mit der externalisierenden Methode des schlechten Gewissens spricht er von Verhexung, usw.	droht, "hext"
fühlt sich berechtigt, ihre Macht zu vernichten, sie auszuliefern, sie anzuklagen, sie zu vernichten: "ich werde mich beklagen, wo man gegen sie was tut"[14]	versucht ihrer Macht Gültigkeit zu verschaffen

es hängt von dem augenblicklichen Kräfteverhältnis ab,
wer in diesem Kampf verliert.

(Ich erwähne nur beiläufig, dass die Verfolgung der Hexen - mit offizieller Genehmigung - nur ein Mittel ist, Aggressionen abzulassen, ebenso wie Pogrome, Negerverfolgung, Boxkämpfe oder Krieg. Es ist sehr richtig, wenn gegen die Ernennung des jeweiligen Zielpunktes der Aggression als "Mittel der Regierung" agiert wird. Die gefühlsmässige Empörung fordert einen Sündiger, einen Sündenbock. Eine Gesetzmässigkeit der Sündenbockbildung ist, dass sie "ungehindert von einem Sündenbock auf den anderen übertragen werden kann".[15] Wurde überhaupt schon einmal untersucht, wie z.B. der Zusammenhang zwischen Hexenverfolgung und Pogromen in dieser Hinsicht beschaffen ist?)

Die Frustration mündet in Aggression. Diese Formel - mit der Terminologie von S. Rosenzweig ausgedrückt - stimmt nur bei den extrapunitiven Persönlichkeiten (bei den intro-, und non-punitiven nicht!). Nur die ersteren neigen also zur Sündenbockbildung. Wenn aber die gegebene Kultur mit Verschiebung der Verantwortung operiert (andere beschuldigt) ist dies allgemeiner, häufiger.[16] Mit Hilfe des Sündenbocks wird die Aggression "auf offiziellen Wegen" abgelassen, und dient so der Herstellung des Gleichgewichts. Dieses Gleichgewicht kann auch durch äussere Faktoren, z.B. Naturkatastrophe, Epidemien, Krieg usw. gestört werden.

Ein mittelbarer, aber sehr wichtiger Beweis für das eben Gesagte ist die Tatsache, dass in den Hexenprozessen zahlreiche Heilkundige aus dem

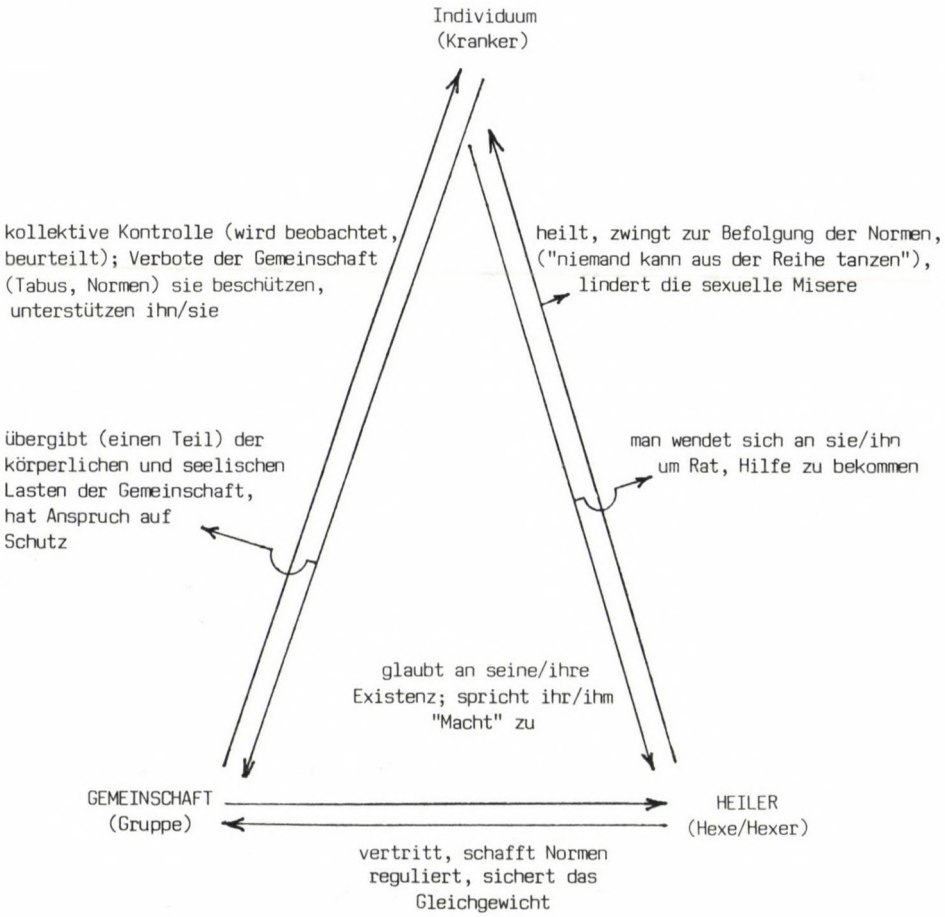


Abb. 1. Gegenseitiges, ausgleichendes, selbstregulierendes System

selben Dorf und in der Nähe liegenden Dörfen genannt werden, die die selben Krankheiten mit den selben Methoden heilen, wie der Angeklagte, diese werden aber nicht verhaftet, nicht angeklagt, nicht verurteilt. (Obwohl unter den üblichen Fragen des Gerichts auch die Frage zu finden ist: "Wen kennen Sie, über wen haben Sie gehört, dass er ihr Gefährte ist?", "Wen kennt der Zeuge und über wen kann er sagen, dass er verdächtig sei oder wegen Hexerei angeklagt werden könnte?"; "Wen können Sie von den Bewohnern des Dorfes nennen, Frauen oder Männer, die irgendeine Hexerei oder Abergläubisches verrichtet haben?"

3. Ist die Hexe eindeutig eine nur negative Erscheinung?

Laut Meinung der Individualpsychologie: Nein. Denken wir nur an die Möglichkeit, dass jemand in der Gemeinschaft dadurch die Möglichkeit bekommt, seine unter Zensur stehenden, verdrängten Gefühle, seine Verhaltensweise, die den Normen nicht entsprechen, auf eine andere Person zu projizieren, sie zu beurteilen und zu verfolgen (Externalisierung, Projektion).

Die Sozialpsychologie (Wittkower, Weidman) kehrt diesen Gedankengang geistreich um und sagt, wenn wir davon ausgehen, dass Magie und Hexerei (witchcraft and sorcery) in zahlreichen Gemeinschaften trotz der negativen Bewertung ausgeübt wird, (und damit kehre ich zu der vorherigen Frage zurück), können wir darauf schliessen, dass diese Handlungen eine wichtige Rolle in der Aufrechterhaltung der Gesellschaftsstruktur und Persönlichkeitsstruktur ausüben. Dieser Glaube bildet ihrer Meinung nach das autoregulative (ongoing) System der Gesellschaft. Die wichtigsten integrativen Funktionen können folgenderweise zusammenfasst werden:

a) Das Individuum glaubt daran, dass eine ungünstige Lage (z.B. Krankheit, Unglück) mit irrationalen, magischen Mitteln geändert werden kann.

b) Er verlegt die Angst, die Bedrohung von "innen" nach aussen (Externalisierung, Projektion). Gegen äussere Gefahren kann man viel leichter mit den in der Tradition vorhandenen Mitteln kämpfen.

c) Die sozialen Verhältnisse sind zweideutig: Auf den anderen kann man nicht eindeutig rechnen, er kann auch ein Feind sein; doch auch die Zusammenarbeit und die Freundlichkeit sind in den gleichen Fällen kulturell vorgeschrieben. Dadurch, dass man verschiedene unsichere, beängstigende Dinge beim Namen nennt (Bezichtigung mit Hexerei), wird die Furcht davor geringer, da die Tradition dafür Vorschriften hat, wie gegen diese Dinge gekämpft werden kann. Wenn dies die Grenzen der Toleranz der Umgebung

überschreitet, unterstützt die Gruppe solche Massnahmen (sozial response), da sie eine Gefahr darin erblickt, die auch ihre Existenz gefährdet. So wirkt dies auf die ganze Gruppe integrativ und verstärkt die Gruppenkohäsion.

d) Die Gleichgewicht sichernde, gleichschaltende Tätigkeit der Hexe habe ich schon erwähnt.

Auf einige Fragen habe ich mit Hilfe der Sozialpsychologie eine Antwort gesucht. Diese sind auch keine allein seligmachende Lösungen, beim Verstehen der Erscheinung, bei unserer weiteren Arbeit können sie uns aber vielleicht behilflich sein.

Anmerkungen

[1] Schram (1970: I. 10).

[2] Grynaeus (1974).

[3] Secord and Backman (1964: 300).

[4] Secord and Backman (1964: 295-297).

[5] Bernauer (1977).

[6] Secord and Backman (1964: 188, 197-198).

[7] Hoppál (1970).

[8] Secord and Backman (1964: 214).

[9] Secord and Backman (1964: 226 ff.).

[10] Schram (1982: 91).

[11] Grynaeus (1986: 67-69).

[12] Vgl. Schram (1982: 24).

[13] Secord and Backman (1964: 248-249).

[14] Gecsei (1984: 50-51).

[15] Allport (1954: 376).

[16] Ibid., pp. 341, 482-484.

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