

SERVANTS OF SATAN  
AND MASTERS OF DEMONS

## LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN STUDIES

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SERVANTS OF SATAN  
AND MASTERS OF DEMONS

The Spanish Inquisition's Trials for Superstition,  
Valencia and Barcelona, 1478–1700

by

Gunnar W. Knutsen



BREPOLS

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*To the memory of Antonio Caballero*



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## PREFACE

Nearly thirty years ago Gustav Henningsen drew our attention to what he termed ‘the geography of witchcraft as reflected in the trials of the Spanish Inquisition.’ This referred to a marked division between the northern and southern halves of Spain. The northern half of Spain saw a large number of trials for witchcraft where the defendants were accused of collectively worshipping the devil and causing injury to humans and animals and damage to crops and property. In the southern half these trials were absent, even though there were hundreds of trials against suspected sorcerers and magicians.

That difference, and how to explain it, is the subject of this book. There are several ways to exploit this difference within Spain to gain a better understanding of the dynamics behind the acceptance of the demonological interpretation of witchcraft by judicial systems and popular culture. Instead of following the usual course of research and asking why these trials took place in the north, I have chosen to study the reasons for their absence in the south.

To follow this promising avenue of research it is necessary to make some choices to narrow down the field of enquiry. I have chosen to study the trials in two of Spain’s inquisitorial tribunals. From the southern half I chose Valencia, a port city with many trials preserved and known to have prosecuted only a single witch, and she came from the part of Catalonia which was subject to the Valencian Inquisition. From the north I have chosen Barcelona, a tribunal that executed several witches in the sixteenth century, and where the local inquisitors ran afoul of la Suprema for that very reason. One of my main reasons for choosing these two tribunals is the many similarities between their respective districts. Seen together, they form a single geographical area covering most of Spain’s eastern seaboard. The two tribunals were seated in Spain’s two main port cities on the Mediterranean. The Kingdom of Valencia and the Principality of Catalonia had strong cultural and linguistic ties, with large migration and Valencian and Catalan

being virtually the same language. There were also differences, most notably in that both had retained their original laws and state structures when they became part of Spain. Thus, the inquisitors were faced with different, albeit similar, laws and royal and local officials in these two areas. Chronologically I have decided to start at the time of the Inquisition's founding in 1478, and put the cut-off date at 1700. The decision to stop at 1700 is based on several criteria. After this time the *relaciones de causas* were no longer sent in on a yearly basis, but every month. This inflates the volume of the sources to be used after that date without contributing much more information since the summaries of each case under investigation were reported month after month, repeating most of the information each time. Also, Henningsen and Contreras, who originally registered the *relaciones de causas* and thus made this and other research projects possible, did not register these monthly *relaciones*, which further increases the workload necessary to work with them.<sup>1</sup> A second consideration was that there is a large number of voluminous trials for superstitions after 1700 preserved from the Holy Office in Valencia, again increasing the work necessary to deal with this period. Finally, the decision to put the cut-off date at 1700 was based on the assumption that if there were to be any traces of demonological influence in Valencia, it would probably be before this date since the period of witchcraft trials drew to an end in most of Europe at this time. Nevertheless, I have studied a number of the later trials to ensure that there were indeed no trials for witchcraft among them. Thus, continuing the study up to the final disbanding of the Inquisition in 1834 would dramatically increase the amount of work necessary to deal with greatly expanded sources, while not promising to bring much insight into the central problems under study here.

I have chosen to look at the inquisitorial trials alone, and not utilize the records of secular and episcopal courts. The main reason behind this choice is that the inquisitorial records form the basis for our knowledge of the difference between the two halves of the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore they will have to be the core of any investigation of this subject. Another reason is the lack of good indices in most local archives in Spain, which means that one would have to go through innumerable records in several archives in the hope that there would in fact be relevant sources there. I have chosen to spend that time working on the abundant number of pertinent sources which the Inquisition has left us.

<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, after this date the *relaciones de causas* are not collected in separate books as they were earlier, but rather they are to be found among the other letters, which makes them much less accessible.

In a brief outline, the structure of this book is as follows. The first part gives an overview of the Spanish Inquisition's tribunals in Valencia and Barcelona, and a brief study of the Morisco population and its interaction with the Old Christians in these two areas. Following this is an overview of the trials themselves by way of a statistical approximation and the presentation of what I believe to be some of their salient features. The second part is a study of dynamics of the witchcraft trials in the Inquisition in Barcelona, with special emphasis on the French influence, the witch-hunters and the various jurisdictions involved in the trials. The third part deals with the trials for superstitions in Valencia and shows how a limited number of witchcraft trials were initiated but never completed. In the 'Conclusion', I sum up how the different dynamics in and behind the trials for supernatural crimes caused such different developments in the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Valencia.

More than a decade has gone by since I first decided to start working on witchcraft in the Spanish Inquisition. Since then I have accumulated more debts of gratitude than I believe I can account for. A number of people and institutions have aided me in my work, and made possible the current book.

The main reason I have been able to continue working as a historian is my supervisor Sølvi Sogner. I hope I can take care of my students as well as she has taken care of me. Other colleagues have read parts of my manuscript, or commented on my research over the years. I have benefited greatly from the comments and suggestions of (in no particular order) Per Sörlin, Johannes-Michael Scholz, Jean-Pierre Dedieu, Friso Ross, Achim Landwehr, María Tausiet Carles, Rune Hagen, the late Bjørn Quiller, Pablo Pérez García, Christian Windler, Satoko Nakajima, Hilde Sandvik, Pamela G. Price, Brian P. Levack, José Pedro Paiva, and especially, Bill Monter. The most important foreign inspiration came from Gustav Henningsen, who took me under his wing, as he has done with neophyte Hispanists the last three decades. Charles Zika suggested my manuscript for publication by Brepols and has functioned as my liaison with the editorial board. I am grateful to each and every one of them. I am also greatly indebted to the Spanish archivists and librarians who have helped me during my stays in Madrid and Barcelona. Their friendliness always makes me feel welcome at the archives.

For most of my professional life I have had my place of work at the University of Oslo, while much of my work has been funded by grants from Nansenfondet, Thorleif Dahls legat for historisk forskning, and the Research Council of Norway. My stay at the Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte in Frankfurt in 1998 was a great encouragement and provided an extremely fruitful working environment which allowed me to read and write a great deal in a short

time. A decade later, I was fortunate enough to spend the entire academic year of 2007–08 at the Departamento de historia moderna at the University of Valencia, where I was able to transform my earlier dissertation into a book. In each case I have been surrounded by friendly and competent colleagues who have aided my work and made my life a happy one.

I also owe a personal debt to the Caballero family, who have been my *amigos de toda la vida*. When I moved to Madrid in the summer of 2000, Maribel helped me find a place to live and even gave surety for my rent. I could not have done this without her help and friendship. And just as my Spanish *familia* has helped, I have received the generous assistance of my own family. My parents' help was essential when times were lean. I could not have come this far without their support.

## NOTE TO THE READER

**T**he word *villa* has been translated as ‘town’ in all direct quotations, but such communities are referred to as ‘villages’ otherwise. The term *villa* refers to political status, not size. *Hechicero/a* is translated as ‘sorcerer/ess’, while *hechizo* is translated as ‘spell’ or ‘casting a spell’. The latter is not a satisfactory translation, but it will have to do. *Bruja/o* is translated as ‘witch’.

The original spelling of personal names as they appear in the sources has been used with no normalization. Place names have been normalized to their modern English names, or Castilian if they have no English name. All other terms or phrases which have not been translated into English have also been rendered in Castilian rather than in Valencian or Catalan. The reason for following Castilian conventions is one of convenience, but there are other advantages. For one, this corresponds with the usage of the inquisitorial sources which form the basis of this book. Secondly, it means that some local officials who were known by different names in Catalonia and Valencia are here referred to by one Castilian term. All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.





## ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
BN	Biblioteca Nacional
BUB	Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona
CA	Cancillería
Exp	Expediente
Inq	Sección de Inquisición
Leg	Legajo
Lib	Libro
MS	Manuscript



## INTRODUCTION

In 1575 Joana Montaña was brought before the Inquisition's tribunal in Barcelona. She had already confessed in secular court that she was a witch and had killed people. When she was initiated as a witch by three other witches, she 'took the devil as her lord, and then appeared a black vision which she was unable to say what was'.<sup>1</sup> In addition to her own confession of diabolism and murder, there were eighteen witnesses. Before the Inquisition she revoked her original confession, and the testimony of the witnesses left much to be desired. The Holy Office acquitted her.

This is a good example of Catalan witchcraft trials, which were usually initiated in secular courts, and where the accused were frequently sentenced to hanging on evidence so flimsy that the Inquisition acquitted those fortunate enough to see their trial transferred to that jurisdiction. It is also an example of a type of trial which was never seen in the Kingdom of Valencia, where accusation of *brujería* — witchcraft in the sense of collective diabolism and murder by maleficium — was unknown.

Where Catalan courts heard stories of defendants who by giving themselves to the devil had acquired powers that they used to kill animals and people, and to destroy crops, Valencian courts were told of defendants who sought love and money by controlling demons. An illustration of the latter can be found in the case of Geronima Rubia, who in 1587 was accused of having several times 'in [the] company of other women' tried to make 'a beloved love her and come to her house'. Her methods included among others St Helena's prayer, 'throwing iron nails, soap, chalk and oil on the fire while saying words such as I conjure you by Eve and the demon of pain', and divining by a Rosary. She confessed numerous

<sup>1</sup> 'Tomo al diablo por señor y vino una vizion negra que no podria dezir que era': Case no. 8.

forms of love magic ‘in order that the said man marry her’, and was sentenced to a hundred lashes of the whip and three years of banishment from Valencia.<sup>2</sup> When faced with magical use of sacral objects and religious names mixed with conjuration of demons, the inquisitors in Valencia handed out a severe sentence, but in this case as in every other preserved trial, there is no trace of stories of collective devil-worshipping. How can we explain this difference between the neighbouring tribunals of Barcelona and Valencia within the centralized system of the Spanish Inquisition where inquisitors moved between the different tribunals?

Witchcraft trials are among the most difficult and contentious issues a historian can work on. The difference between the northern and southern halves of Spain is just one example of the many variations within the European witch-hunt. The sheer scale, complexity and baffling variation of factors make any kind of serious theory-making about these trials extremely difficult. How do we account for all the differences within one general explanation? How do we give a theoretical unity to something that straddles the confessionary divides between Protestant and Catholic; that seems oblivious to the political and judicial differences of Western Europe; that ignores economic differences; that even varies from being a predominantly female crime in most areas, to become exclusively male in others? The most common types of historical explanations seem to be invalidated right there, even before we have time to formulate them precisely.

So there is the temptation to dissolve the phenomenon: Instead of European witchcraft trials there are English, Scottish, south-western German, Basque, southern Spanish, and so on. The temptation is obvious; without the variation a clear theory can be formulated. The argument is succinct; with such variation the European (and Spanish) witchcraft trials may not be one single phenomenon after all.

We should not accept that view. The fact that there is variation does not invalidate the unity of the phenomenon. In reality, this is only a problem when seen from within; if we take a step outside, and contrast these trials with other historical phenomena instead of comparing them to each other, this becomes quite clear. Not only are these trials *one* phenomenon, and also one of the most extraordinary events in European history, but they are also one of the very few important common denominators for European countries in the sixteenth and

<sup>2</sup> ‘Qen compania de otras mugeres [...] la quisiese y acudiese a su casa cierto enamorado [...] echando clauos de hierro jabor cal y aceite en el fuego diziendo semejante palabras por Eba y por el diablo de la pena te conjuro [...] para q el dho hombre se casase con ella’: Case no. 305.

seventeenth centuries. Indeed, when compared with other phenomena such as political and economic (not to mention religious) developments, the similarities in witchcraft trials are quite striking. There is a unity in the content of the accusations, in the historical uniqueness of diabolical witchcraft. Virtually all European countries experienced trials for diabolical witchcraft in this period — and in this period only — but most of them had already had experience with trials for other, less threatening forms of magic.<sup>3</sup> There is a unity to the time frame: most areas experienced around 150 years of diabolical witchcraft in the early modern period, some lag a bit after others, but they all overlap significantly. There is a unity to the laws: Satan's servants are to be put to death. There is a unity to literature: all countries produce demonological treatises, many of which were translated into foreign languages. And there is a unity to purpose and self-understanding as Christians saw themselves fight off Satan's onslaught.

Spain is in many ways an ideal country to study these problems. Rich, multicultural, a trading nation with foreigners flowing across its borders in the north and through its ports on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, it was a meeting place for cultural impulses. And yet it had constructed what is often seen as the world's first truly efficient repressive apparatus to keep these impulses under control and avoid religious deviance. The Inquisition was also very bureaucratic, leaving the historian singularly rich sources. And while the Holy Office was extremely careful in witchcraft cases, it prosecuted a fair number of witches. The intriguing thing is that those prosecuted in the southern half of Spain made very different confessions from those prosecuted in the north. In the south there were no diabolic trials involving the witches' sabbat such as in the north, and in the rest of Europe.<sup>4</sup> This is a staggering discovery when we keep in mind that this was probably the most efficient and among the most ruthless judicial machineries of its day — and one that was institutionally sceptical about demonological witchcraft. One of its most interesting implications is that the Spanish Inquisition

<sup>3</sup> See Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), and the following works by Richard Kieckhefer: *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 'The Holy and the Unholy: Sainthood, Witchcraft, and Magic in Late Medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355–85, and 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *American Historical Review*, 99 (1994), 813–36.

<sup>4</sup> See the map in Gustav Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', in *Vorträge zur Justizforschung, Geschichte und Theorie, Band 2*, ed. by Heinz Mohnhaupt and Dieter Simon (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1993), pp. 43–85 (p. 72). See also below, p. 50.

in general did little to coerce witnesses and the accused into a specific type of interpretation of witchcraft — in short, that the demonological content of the witchcraft trials in northern Spain came from the outside, from the witnesses and accused themselves. And consequently that these ideas perhaps had no hold on the imagination of people in the southern half of Spain.

### *Terminology*

At this point it is necessary to make some reflections on language. The trials that are studied here were classified as dealing with *supersticiones*, superstitions, by the Holy Office. This is a wonderfully imprecise and condescending word, summing up the inquisitors attitudes towards magical crimes and those suspected of them in a succinct manner. It is also a phrase we shall use, and it will not be given a more precise definition than to say that we will follow the usage of the Holy Office. This is not a study of magic or superstitions in general in a specific area; it is a study of a determined number of trials classified as dealing with superstitions by those who conducted them. This is important when we study the Moriscos tried by the Inquisition, because Muslim and Christian criteria of what is superstitious did not necessarily coincide.<sup>5</sup> Hence the decision not to employ any definition that might widen or narrow the subject matter in relation to the original sources.

The two terms normally used by inquisitors to distinguish between different forms of superstitions were *hechicería* and *brujería*. The latter is what we would call ‘diabolical witchcraft’, while the former may be translated as ‘sorcery’.<sup>6</sup> This dichotomy reflects the traditional divide between the witch’s inborn powers and the sorcerer’s learned operations, which is familiar from anthropology and which was current also in the Spanish Inquisition’s thinking.<sup>7</sup> However, many early modern witchcraft trials from different parts of Europe do not explicitly mention the devil or the witches’ sabbat, leaving us a situation where it is common to call

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 77–80.

<sup>6</sup> However, *hechicería* does not carry quite the same inference of black magic that the English word *sorcery* often does. There were of course also a host of other, more precise terms as, such as *necromancy*, *astrology*, and so on.

<sup>7</sup> The classic definition which was later picked up by historians is in E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937). The Portuguese Inquisition in Brazil did not distinguish between the use of these terms, even though they were the same as in Spain: see Carole A. Myscowski, ‘The Magic of Brazil: Practice and Prohibition in the Early Colonial Period, 1590–1620’, *History of Religions*, 40 (2000), 153–76 (p. 159).

both *hechicería* and *brujería* by the English word ‘witchcraft’. That is not satisfactory for this study, since precisely the absence of *brujería* in Valencia is the main problem to be studied, and calling everything witchcraft would completely muddle the picture. Furthermore, referring to the one as witchcraft and the other as diabolical witchcraft is not a workable alternative, since so much of the *hechicería* involves invoking demons. We shall therefore use ‘witchcraft’ and ‘witches’ to refer to those cases and persons where the accusation is of witchcraft in the narrower sense which can be found in most cultures: Witches are those who use their inherent powers to cause maleficium and to fly through the air at night to the witches’ sabbat. This definition encompasses that used by the demonologists of witches as those who have sworn themselves to Satan’s service and given him their souls, but it is wide enough to encompass popular conceptions of witches which do not match the Christian theology. Everything else, which depends on human agency by rituals, prayers, and incantations, shall be referred to as ‘sorcery’, or ‘magic’. In some cases we deal with what is commonly referred to as ‘high magic’, but more often we will be confronted with cases that are in between: written magical rituals that the performers actually lack the education to do right. Of course, the inquisitors put everything under the general heading of ‘superstitions’, and so shall we, since it gives us a convenient catch-all phrase for what is normally called ‘witchcraft’.

### *Spanish Witchcraft Trials*

Our knowledge of Spanish witchcraft trials has been dominated by the work of Gustav Henningsen.<sup>8</sup> While his most famous work on witchcraft trials is the study of the events in the Basque country in 1609–14,<sup>9</sup> his major contribution to Inquisition research has been to catalogue the yearly reports sent to Madrid by the local tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition. This resulted in a much improved understanding of the Holy Office and revealed the existence of the difference between the northern and southern halves of Spain. These *relaciones de causas* brought to light summaries of 4743 trials for superstitions

<sup>8</sup> The classic (but still useful) work by Cirac Estopañan is less known among witchcraft scholars who do not work on Spain. Sebastián Cirac Estopañan, *Los procesos de hechicerías en la Inquisición de Castilla la Nueva* (Madrid: Dianas, 1942).

<sup>9</sup> Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches’ Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980).

from mainland Spain for the period of 1540 to 1700, and revealed that few death sentences were passed.<sup>10</sup> His classic study *The Witches Advocate* showed how a massive witch-hunt was mounted, but also how it was effectively stopped through the work on one sceptical inquisitor and the aid of la Suprema which issued strict guidelines making witch-hunting almost impossible after 1614. Together these works have given us a view of Spanish trials for superstitions as being dominated by the Inquisition, which was held to a cautious line by the council in Madrid, and which resulted in a limited number of executions.

A few regional studies have been published over the last thirty years, mostly using Inquisition records and fleshing out the picture we have of Spanish witchcraft, without changing it notably. Ana Conde's brief study of trials in Cuenca is important to us, since it deals with the neighbouring tribunal to the north-west of Valencia, which did see a small number of trials witch accusations for witchcraft but no convictions after 1527.<sup>11</sup> Conde followed Gustav Henningsen in stressing the conservative effect of la Suprema on local inquisitors. In her study she found that the centralization and scepticism of the Holy Office ensured that no witch-hunts took place, even though stories of witches murdering babies surfaced at least three times.<sup>12</sup> More important is an older study of witchcraft trials in secular courts in Catalonia by Antonio Pladevall i Font.<sup>13</sup> This is one of the very few studies of such trials anywhere in Spain, and it shows that numerous executions and trials took place outside of the Inquisition.

But perhaps the most important work on this subject in the last two decades is a unique study by María Tausiet using records from all jurisdictions trying

<sup>10</sup> Henningsen and his assistant Jaime Contreras have published these results several times during the last thirty years. The most recently printed English version is used here: Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 58 (numbers from the table).

<sup>11</sup> For some yet unknown reason, the *relaciones de causas* from Cuenca have never been found. Hence this tribunal is not included in studies based on the *relaciones*. Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 67.

<sup>12</sup> Ana Conde, 'Sorcellerie et Inquisition au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle en Espagne: L'exemple du diocèse de Cuenca; L'inquisiteur Ruesta face à la Suprema; Entre mythe et réalité', in *Inquisition d'Espagne*, ed. by Annie Molinié-Bertrand and Jean-Paul Duviols (Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 95–107. Unfortunately, Conde's article is short, and the only other work to touch on these trials is not concerned with the prosecution so much as with the practice of sorcery they reveal: Heliodoro Cordente Martínez, *Brujería y hechicería en el obispado de Cuenca* (Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> Antonio Pladevall i Font, *Persecució de bruixes a les comarques de Vic a principis del segle XVII* (Barcelona: Subirana, 1974).



witches in Aragon. She shows how trials in sixteenth-century Aragon were tried by secular and episcopal courts, as well as by the Holy Office in Zaragoza.<sup>14</sup> The number of trials and executions was thus higher than those indicated by Henningsen's study of the *relaciones de causas* from the Inquisition, and for the first time it is possible to compare directly the intervention of different judges in the same trials in a single area. It has become clear that both the number of trials and executions was higher than thought, mainly because so many trials were held in other courts.

However, none of these studies have dealt with the trials in Valencia. For this tribunal we are still restricted to the brief mentions the subject received in Ricardo García Carcel's two books covering the Holy Office in Valencia up to 1609, and Stephen Haliczzer's monograph on that tribunal. For Barcelona we are not much better served. Doris Moreno Martínez has published one fine article on sixteenth-century witchcraft trials in Catalonia, and she touches on the subject in her dissertation.<sup>15</sup> Otherwise, there is practically nothing, but both tribunals are included in William Monter's excellent book.<sup>16</sup> However, he studies all aspects of the Inquisition's activities in all of the Crown of Aragon. As a consequence, witchcraft in these two tribunals receive limited attention.

### *A Model*

No single simple explanation is sufficient to account for the phenomenon of the European witchcraft trials. Nor should we think that the absence of them in the southern half of Spain can be put in such simple terms. Following is a brief outline of the explanation which will be argued in the following chapters.

The Morisco presence is the first major factor. Their perceptions of demons and the demonic did over time influence their Old Christian neighbours, thus giving rise to a magical tradition that emphasized techniques for controlling

<sup>14</sup> María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos: Brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> Doris Moreno Martínez, 'Las estrategias inquisitoriales ante la brujería en la Cataluña de 1548', in *Profesor Nazario González: Una historia abierta* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1998), pp. 39–47, Doris Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad de la Inquisición en Cataluña: El conflicto de 1568' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

demons. This magical tradition, which may well have been influenced also by the Jewish communities in medieval Spain, has as a central tenet man's ability to control and dominate supernatural beings in a way which makes it irreconcilable with demonology. But the Moriscos are also important for another reason: They formed the majority of the rural agricultural population living in small settlements in the southern half of Spain. Since witchcraft trials all over Europe tended to start in small rural communities rather than in urban areas,<sup>17</sup> the relative lack of a Christian rural population meant that this part of Spain did not have the demographics of most areas with witchcraft trials. Catalonia in contrast, had few Moriscos, and they lived in the southern part of the principality, near the border to Valencia. In Catalonia the rural population was overwhelmingly Christian, as were the small mountain hamlets. The magical geography of Catalonia and Valencia was very different.

There was, as Gustav Henningsen claimed, a deep-seated cultural difference within Spain. Perhaps even more than one, for both southern and northern Spain were culturally and ethnically heterogeneous. But there was also a considerable French influence in northern Spain. There were large numbers of French immigrants in Valencia as well, but unlike in Catalonia, they stayed in the main cities and often entered by sea rather than by land. Thus, the French influence was far stronger among the rural peasantry in Catalonia than in Valencia. Furthermore, the secular judges in Catalonia were far more influenced by their neighbouring colleagues in France than were their Valencia counterparts. This is important, since most witches were tried in secular courts, and several of those tried by the Inquisition had originally been accused before a secular judge.

A final factor is undoubtedly the Inquisition itself. The Holy Office did not contribute to the spread of witchcraft trials. Most historians view the Inquisition's role as quite the opposite, stressing how it reduced the number of witchcraft trials through its relentless scepticism when faced with this kind of accusation. As we shall see later, that is also what happened in Valencia. But the Holy Office was not the only judicial system to deal with these kinds of trials. Secular courts were harsher and less sceptical in their treatment of witchcraft trials, and many witches tried by the Holy Office had first been arrested by secular courts. The inquisitors rarely executed these witches, and several were even absolved of the charges against them. It follows from this that those tribunals of the Inquisition which were weak in relation to the secular courts had a limited ability to influence the

<sup>17</sup> E. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 65.

prosecution of witches. On the other hand, those tribunals which were in a position of strength vis-à-vis the secular courts could force them to hand over suspected witches and thus greatly reduce the number of witchcraft trials.

During the course of the present investigation certain key documents have come to light that are crucial for our understanding of the difference between the two tribunals. One is from a meeting of Catalan theologians and jurists in 1548, who blamed the large number of witches (not trials) on the way the Inquisition had disassociated itself from witchcraft trials.<sup>18</sup> They claimed that when the Inquisition dealt with witchcraft, there were only a few witches in remote mountain villages. After the Inquisition 'had lifted its hand' from the witches, the 'plague' had spread down to the plain and into the cities. While their position is different from ours — they were clamouring for more decisive action against the witches — their ideas do go a long way towards explaining the high number of Catalan witchcraft trials since they make an explicit connection between the number of witches and the courts that tried them. A second key document is the trial of Vicenta Queralt by the Holy Office in Valencia. The *relación* does not give much away, but the original process is extremely enlightening.<sup>19</sup> It shows how a secular judge acted upon suspicions of maleficium and then coerced witnesses to falsely accuse Vicenta of witchcraft. It also shows how the inquisitors in Valencia got wind of the case before she was forced to confess, and then took over the trial. In their hands the allegations against her were proved to be lies and unfounded rumours.

This book argues that in Catalonia witchcraft trials took place among the large rural Christian population which was subjected to a direct influence from witch-hunting territories in France and had recourse to local secular courts with little judicial oversight and limited intervention by the Holy Office. Whereas in Valencia the small Christian rural population combined with the Muslim tradition and weaker French influence led to only a very small number of witchcraft trials being initiated, and because the strong Inquisition in Valencia was able to intervene at such an early stage in the proceedings, these trials came to nothing.

<sup>18</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 97<sup>r</sup>–98<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> The original trial is in AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13. The *relación* is Case no. 598.



## Background



## THE INQUISITION

[A] tribunal of which the real importance is to be sought, not so much in the awful solemnities of the auto de fé, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labours among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed on the Spanish intellect.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish Inquisition: the name itself has become synonymous with ferocious and fanatical suppression of beliefs. The casual reader will often get the impression of a powerful institution which successfully cleansed Spain of Jews, Muslims, and Protestants. This image of the Holy Office was an important part of the Black Legend, the protestant myth of Spanish cruelty.<sup>2</sup> It survives today, although scholars during the last thirty years have been at pains to show the Inquisition as ineffective, inefficient, bureaucratic, slow, and occasionally merciful. They have also stressed the differences between the Inquisition's tribunals, and so we should be careful not to draw conclusions that are too general.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1906–08), I, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on the Black Legend is also increasing significantly. Recent works include Ricardo García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra: Historia y opinion* (Madrid: Alianza, 1998), Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York: Knopf, 1971), William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971), Miguel Molina Martínez, *La leyenda negra* (Madrid: Nerea, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> While classic works such as those by Llorente and Lea used sources from various tribunals, modern research has concentrated on individual tribunals. Notable exceptions are Andrés Acosta González, 'Estudio Comparado De Tribunales Inquisitoriales (Periodos 1540–1570 y 1571–1621)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Nacional Educación a Distancia, 1990), Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*. The best general introductions are Ricardo García Cárcel and Doris Moreno

The various tribunals of the Holy Office worked under different conditions, with varying degrees of opposition from local authorities. There were also differences in the quality of the personnel — inquisitors included — destined to serve in the tribunals, a subject which so far has almost completely eluded serious study.<sup>4</sup>

### *Superstition: Jurisdiction and Legislation*

As with several other offences the Inquisition shared its jurisdiction over superstitions, including witchcraft, with both secular and episcopal courts. In most of Europe since Greek and Roman times, the secular courts had prosecuted maleficent magic, or simply magic in general.<sup>5</sup> After the Inquisition was established

Martínez, *Inquisición: Historia crítica* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2000), Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> The most notable studies on inquisitors and officials are Julio Caro Baroja, *El señor inquisidor, y otras vidas por oficio* (Madrid: Alianza, 1968), Gonzalo Cerrillo Cruz, *Los familiares de la Inquisición española* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000), Ángeles Cristóbal Martín, *Confianza, fidelidad y obediencia: Servidores inquisitoriales y dependencias personales en la ciudad de Logroño (siglo XVII)* (Logrono: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1994), Ricardo García Cárcel, 'Número y sociología de los familiares de la inquisición valenciana', in *La Inquisición española: Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, ed. by Joaquín Pérez Villanueva (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1980), pp. 271–84, R. López Vela, 'La elección y los rasgos sociológicos de inquisidores y fiscales', in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, ed. by Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, 3 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993), II, 744–79, Maximiliano Barrio Conde, 'Burocracia inquisitorial y movilidad social: El Santo Oficio plantel de obispos (1556–1820)', in *Inquisición y Sociedad*, ed. by Ángel de Prado Moura (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1999), pp. 107–38.

<sup>5</sup> Ancient Greece: Richard Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. by Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 159–275, 247–52. Ancient Rome: Peter Brown, 'Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages', in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, ed. by Mary Douglas (London: Tavistock, 1970), pp. 17–45; Valerie I. J. Flint, 'The Demonisation of Magic and Sorcery in Late Antiquity: Christian Redefinitions of Pagan Religions', in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*, pp. 277–348 (pp. 315, 319–23, 348); Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', pp. 253–65; Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*, trans. by Franklin Philip (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 41–43, 46–49, 59–60, 156. The Middle Ages: Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung* (Aalen: Scientia, 1983); Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*; Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 176–201; Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).



on papal authority as a way to fight the Albigensian heresy, the inquisitors had gradually tried to take over the prosecution of magic and witchcraft.<sup>6</sup> Two of the most influential inquisitor's manuals of the fourteenth century, Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis*, and Nicolas Eymerich's *Directorium inquisitorum*, deal with these issues as well as a range of others. In Spain however, inquisitors had been named only in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia during the Middle Ages, and in these areas inquisitors had been passive to say the least.<sup>7</sup> The Catholic kings sought and obtained papal bulls establishing a new Inquisition, manned by royally designated inquisitors outside of the bishops' control, in order to deal with the large number of converted Jews in Spain who were reported to continue to follow Mosaic law.<sup>8</sup> Thus, when the Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478, cases of superstitions were still being handled by the ordinary ecclesiastical and secular courts. The result was an overlapping of jurisdiction between competing courts that was only partially resolved in the Inquisition's favour.

It was the existence of an explicit or implicit pact with the devil that put superstitions under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. The pact with the devil was tantamount to apostasy and idolatry, and thus it constituted formal heresy. The *concordia* between King Ferdinand and the representatives of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia in 1512 stipulated that the Inquisition should only have jurisdiction over witchcraft where heresy was involved.<sup>9</sup> But since all attempts to perform acts outside of the bounds of nature, such as knowing the future or finding enchanted treasure, were dependent on intervention from either God or the Devil, all forms of superstitions did in fact remain within the Inquisition's jurisdiction. However, that did not remove the laws against magic and witchcraft from the other judicial systems of early modern Spain, and cases continued to be initiated in other courts. As in so many other jurisdictional disputes, the Inquisition — at least in theory — eventually had its way, and all other courts were required to turn their witchcraft cases over to the Holy Office. But this was a gradual process, often marked by local resistance. Thus, in 1549 the inquisitors in Barcelona saw themselves

<sup>6</sup> Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 190–93, Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, pp. 204–05.

<sup>7</sup> Ricardo García Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición española: El tribunal de Valencia 1478–1530*, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Peninsula, 1985), pp. 47–49, García Cárcel and Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición: Historia crítica*, pp. 26–28, Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, I, 230–33, Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 8–65, Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, I, 145–288.

<sup>9</sup> Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, p. 75.

forced to obtain a *cédula real* granting them exclusive jurisdiction over witchcraft and forbidding all other courts to hear these cases, which the secular courts stubbornly continued to do.<sup>10</sup> These problems were not limited to Catalonia: In 1530 the Royal Council of Navarre was ordered by a *cédula real* to turn over the witches and records of witchcraft cases it held to the Inquisition. But this happened only after bitter resistance, which saw the councillors travelling to Toledo with some of the processes to speak to the Inquisitor General. They stated that this was not a new problem, and that it had earlier caused similar troubles with the inquisitors.<sup>11</sup> In 1555 la Suprema ordered all tribunals that no witch was to be prosecuted without its consent. However, the protests from secular and ecclesiastical courts were so strong that it had to permit the plurality of jurisdictions.<sup>12</sup> Several witches tried by the Holy Office in Barcelona had originally been arrested by the secular courts, but only a minority of those tried by secular courts in Catalonia were ever turned over to the Inquisition.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the tribunal in Valencia had trials of sorcerers and magicians transferred from secular courts at least as early as 1531, and as late as in 1701.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, despite the problems with compliance from competing courts, there were never any real doubts about the Inquisition's jurisdiction over these crimes; it was the claim for exclusivity that was contentious.

In 1526 the Inquisitor General decided to assemble a *junta* of ten in Granada to resolve the question of whether the witches really went to the sabbat with the devil, or only imagined it.<sup>15</sup> This was a question of no small magnitude, and the entire reality of diabolic witchcraft hinged on this. It was no new question either. In effect, the *junta* had to choose between the old-canon *Episcopi*, which denied the reality of the flights to the sabbat, and the new modern conception of witchcraft, which had the sabbat as its central fact. This view was supported by papal bulls such as Innocent VIII's *Summis desiderantes* from 1484, and had its most

<sup>10</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 93<sup>r</sup>–94<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Joaquín José Salcedo Izu, *El Consejo Real de Navarra en el siglo XVI* (Pamplona: Príncipe de Viana, 1964), p. 220.

<sup>12</sup> Jaime Contreras, 'Los procesos de la etapa: Zugarramurdi', in *Historia de la Inquisición* (see n. 4, above), I, 913–18 (pp. 915–16).

<sup>13</sup> See below, Chapter 4.

<sup>14</sup> AHN, Inq, Leg 523, Exp 6, and Leg 521, Exp 24, respectively.

<sup>15</sup> Fernández Avilés, 'El Santo Oficio en la primera etapa carolina', in *Historia de la Inquisición* (see n. 4, above), I, 443–74 (pp. 463–64), Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, IV, 212–14.

famous expression in the *Malleus maleficarum*, which was in use by inquisitors both in Valencia and Barcelona.<sup>16</sup> In the end the *junta* could not agree, with a majority of six deciding that ‘they really went’. This became the Inquisition’s official stand, and brought it into line with the rest of Europe. More surprising is the fact that there was a minority of four deciding the opposite, that the witches only went in their imagination. Among these four was the future Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés.

The Inquisition had decided that the witches and the sabbat was a physical reality. That did not mean that they would accept every aspect of every confession. The same *junta* agreed that the homicides confessed by the witches might be imagined, since the devil was the father of all illusions. Therefore the Inquisition was to handle these cases, and the secular authorities were not to be allowed to prosecute witches for homicide unless they had proof that someone had actually been murdered.

Witchcraft was notoriously difficult to prove. In many European countries this meant that the standard of proof was lowered in these cases, but the Spanish Inquisition drew the opposite conclusion. It is necessary to proceed with great circumspection in the cases of witchcraft, Isidoro de San Vicente cautions in the opening of the chapter on witchcraft in his famous *abecedario*, the *Modo de proceder*. To underline this, he points out the ‘great complications’ in the Inquisition in Logroño from 1608 to 1612.<sup>17</sup> These ‘complications’ led la Suprema in 1614 to issue new instructions on witchcraft, replacing those from 1526. But this careful attitude from the Inquisition’s central leadership was nothing new. As early as 1539 la Suprema had sent a letter to the inquisitors urging them to proceed quickly in these cases, ‘showing consideration for the difficulty of these matters, always inclining more towards mercy than rigour.’<sup>18</sup> The sceptical and cautious attitude of la Suprema was not always echoed in the local tribunals, and in 1549 la Suprema took the inquisitor of Barcelona to task for his handling of witchcraft cases.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See below, pp. 152–53.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Grandes complicaciones’: AHN, Inq, Lib 1231, fol. 363<sup>r-v</sup>. These ‘complications’ were the notorious trials of the witches of Zugarramurdi. See Henningsen, *Witches’ Advocate*.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Joaquin Pérez Villanueva, ‘Felipe IV y su política’, in *Historia de la Inquisición* (see n. 4, above), I, 1006–79 (p. 1078).

<sup>19</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 265–67, Moreno Martínez, ‘Representación y realidad’, pp. 393–417.

### *Inquisitorial Legislation*

One of the first things to become apparent to the student of the Spanish Inquisition is the bewildering array of manuals and instructions that the inquisitors had at their disposal. Some of the old inquisitors' manuals were still in use, in particular Nicolas Eymerich's *Directorium inquisitorum*, which was widely used in Spain. In 1585 it was republished in Rome with a commentary by the Spaniard Francisco Peña.

The central pieces of legislation are sets of instructions from two of the earliest inquisitor generals, Torquemada and Valdés, dating from 1484 and 1561, respectively. Torquemada's instructions, later known as the *Instrucciones antiguas* (Old instructions), were promulgated just six years after the Spanish Inquisition was established.<sup>20</sup> He had been entrusted by the Pope and the Spanish king with the task of bringing inquisitorial law up to date. This was an attempt to evade the irregularities committed by the first inquisitors. Therefore these instructions placed their emphasis on those areas that had most often been the source of complaint. They also dealt extensively with the organization and economy of the tribunals, a natural concern at a time when the tribunals had not yet reached their permanent form. Because there existed large variations in procedure between the different tribunals, Torquemada called a meeting with all the inquisitors in Spain in 1488, where he tried to persuade them to unify the manner of proceeding in all the tribunals. Although agreement was made that they should do so, it also became clear that the inquisitors thought these variations were 'consistent with law', and 'tolerable'.<sup>21</sup>

When Valdés promulgated his compilation of instructions in Toledo in 1561, it was with the explicit intent of achieving procedural unity in all the Inquisition's tribunals. To achieve this, the *Instrucciones nuevas* (New instructions) focused

<sup>20</sup> Torquemada actually promulgated four sets of instructions: Two in 1484, one in 1488, and the final one in 1498. These sets of instructions complemented each other by covering different aspects of the Inquisition's activities. In addition he was responsible for some earlier, undated, provisional or 'preinstructions'. It is the printed compilation of his four sets of instructions that are normally referred to as 'Torquemada's instructions', the *Instrucciones antiguas*. José Luiz González Novalín, 'Las instrucciones de la Inquisición española: De Torquemada a Valdés (1484–1561)', in *Perfiles jurídicos de la Inquisición española*, ed. by José Antonio Escudero (Madrid: Instituto de Historia de la Inquisición, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1989), 91–109 (pp. 93–97), J. Meseguer Fernández, 'Los hechos', in *Historia de la Inquisición*, (see n. 4, above), 1, 281–370 (pp. 312–22).

<sup>21</sup> González Novalín, 'Las instrucciones de la Inquisición', p. 98.

almost exclusively on the formalities of the inquisitorial process in the most minute detail. The issues of economy and organisation that had so occupied Torquemada were not mentioned. These instructions supplemented rather than replaced the old instructions, which were also reprinted together with the new in 1627, 1630, and 1667. After this, there are no known printed compilations for the last 153 years of the Inquisition's history.<sup>22</sup>

Another important source of inquisitorial regulations are the *cartas acordadas*. These were letters of instructions that la Suprema sent to all the tribunals, and the inquisitors were ordered to keep these manuscripts in an appendix to the printed instructions. They were numbered in chronological order, with number 1 being dated 10 December 1513. In the years after 1561 this manuscript form of distributing instructions seems to have done completely away with the printing of new compilations.<sup>23</sup>

With such a disparate number of sources of legislation it is no wonder that some of the Inquisitors themselves felt the need to make a unified guide to procedure from the various instructions they had at their disposal. Not only that, but they also wanted a guide to which legal texts (with exact references) contained the information they were looking for at any given time. This is exactly what an *abecedario* is. This type of document got its name from its alphabetical organization of its contents. The most famous, and probably most used, was Gaspar Isidro de Argüello's *Modo de proceder*, which was printed in 1627.<sup>24</sup> As this is one of the earliest *abecedarios* known to us, it is another sign of the Inquisition's slow but steady increase in sophistication. A fairly large number of these texts have survived, and they are as helpful to the historian now as they were to the inquisitors then. The Inquisition used a number of other alphabetical registers to keep track of testimonies, prisoners, etc., so this was an established way to manage the flow of information. The *abecedarios* share a general mode of making legal information readily available to the user. They do not, however, all contain the same information. According to a study of more than thirty *abecedarios*, there are two main differences between them. First, there is a difference in content. Some contain all normatives pertaining to the Inquisition, including instructions and

<sup>22</sup> Gustav Henningsen, 'La legislación secreta del Santo Oficio', in *Perfiles jurídicos* (see n. 20, above), pp. 163–72 (p. 164).

<sup>23</sup> See Henningsen, 'La legislación secreta', for an interesting exposé of how and when these *cartas acordadas* were numbered, and to what degree they form a complete series.

<sup>24</sup> It has recently been reprinted with a short introduction: Juan Carlos Domínguez Nafría, 'La "copilación" de las instrucciones inquisitoriales de Gaspar Isidro de Argüello', *Revista de la Inquisición*, 12 (2006), 137–276.

privileges from the pope, the king, and the Holy Office itself, while others simply reflect the contents of certain type of document, such as the *cartas acordadas*, or the *instrucciones*. Secondly, there is no single convention as to the key words, though they of course have some internal logic from the common literature they reflect.<sup>25</sup> We do not know the original number of these manuscripts, nor do we know the provenience of most of those that are preserved. The late process in some tribunals of copying other tribunals' *abecedarios* does, however, indicate that some tribunals did not have access to these tools until an advanced stage of their existence.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps the most important points in all this are the following three: First, the Inquisition's legislation was secret. Thus it was never distributed outside the Inquisition, and most of it was never printed. What little was printed came in editions of around two hundred copies.<sup>27</sup> As a consequence our knowledge of the Inquisition's very legislation is imperfect, and we are mostly dependent on what has survived in manuscript form from the Inquisition's own archives. The second consideration is that all the different manuals, instructions, and *abecedarios* allowed the inquisitors an enormous amount of discretion in how they handled cases. Finally, the main operating principle behind inquisitorial law was to make sure that in no way could crimes against the faith go unpunished, and the Inquisition was willing to uphold that principle at (almost) any cost.

Different sources of legislation that sometimes contradict each other on certain points; local variation; inquisitors' discretion to take whatever steps they found necessary: taken together it all seems to muddy the waters as we try to get a better grip on the procedures of the Spanish Inquisition. Still, there is a strong consistency to the way the different tribunals operated, not least because of the centralizing efforts of la Suprema. Many of the small inconsistencies and differences in descriptions of the procedures of the Inquisition can be attributed to the inquisitors' discretion: it permitted a large number of permutations and corruptions of trial procedures in individual cases among the tens of thousands of cases handled by the hundreds of inquisitors working in the different tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition over the centuries. Thus the historian looking through the trial records can find evidence of different ways of handling a trial. In short, variation in description of the inquisitorial procedure can in large part be attributed

<sup>25</sup> Francisco Luque Muriel, 'Los abecedarios como fuente para estudio de la legislación', in *Perfiles jurídicos* (see n. 4, above), pp. 147–61 (p. 149).

<sup>26</sup> Luque Muriel, 'Los abecedarios', p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> Henningsen, 'La legislación secreta', p. 163.

to the different trials one has studied and based one's considerations on. As we now proceed to look at the Inquisition's procedure, and then its jurisdiction over witchcraft and other superstitions, we have to avoid this problem by making it a general description. It is therefore important to remember that many individual trials may deviate in some way or other from this norm. Nevertheless, the following sections should give the reader a good idea of how an inquisitorial trial developed.

### *Trial Procedures*

The inquisitorial trial followed a general pattern that had been established two centuries before the Spanish Inquisition was founded. The most basic principle was its absolute secrecy.<sup>28</sup> Interrogations were held in its secret chambers, prisoners were held in its secret prisons, and its papers never left its buildings. All parties to a process were sworn to secrecy, and anyone revealing details of it were mercilessly prosecuted. After his arrest a prisoner disappeared completely, only to reappear at an *auto de fe*, perhaps years later. This secrecy led to a number of misperceptions about the workings of the Holy Office, some of which survive to this day. The secrecy surrounding the Inquisition also allowed abuses to go unchecked, since normally the only persons outside the tribunal to know its actions were the members of la Suprema. Gradually la Suprema enforced a greater uniformity in proceedings and reduced the number of abuses, but this was a slow process. With little to fear, the inquisitors wrote down their abuses in the trial records, thus contributing to the large number of procedural inconsistencies and variations visible in the preserved trials.

There were generally speaking three ways of starting an inquisitorial process. Denunciation was perhaps the most common way. In the presence of a notary and two 'honest' witnesses, the denunciation was made to the inquisitor, who asked any questions he felt to be relevant. Finally, the person making the denunciation swore on the Holy Bible that he had told the truth. However, the Inquisition also accepted anonymous denunciations, such as small paper slips stuck under the doors of inquisitors or familiars.<sup>29</sup> This acceptance of anonymous denunciation

<sup>28</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, II, 470–78.

<sup>29</sup> Torquemada's instructions from 1498 prohibits the acceptance of anonymous denunciation, but they were nevertheless accepted by many inquisitors. Meseguer Fernández, 'Los hechos', p. 322.



of course did much to facilitate the Inquisition's work. It also made it very easy to initiate an inquisitorial process against someone out of spite or genuine concern for the purity of the Catholic faith. If we adapt Daniel Lord Smail's consumer perspective on the use of courts to the Holy Office, the Inquisition was an inexpensive way of transacting hatred.<sup>30</sup> There was no financial investment, and the personal risk involved was small, though not inexistent.<sup>31</sup>

The other ways processes were initiated were through a general or informative inquisition, or a special or punitive inquisition. The aim of the latter was not to discover heretics, but to punish them. Only circumstantial evidence was necessary to justify such an undertaking, but was rarely used against witches. On the other hand, a general or informative inquisition was a way to seek out if there was any trace of heresy in an area. A general inquisition could be initiated in several ways: if there were strong rumours of heresy; whenever an inquisitor stopped on his visitation of his district; whenever a new tribunal was established; or when a new inquisitor was taking his place in a tribunal. In all these cases the Holy Office published an edict of faith or (rarely) an edict of grace. The edict of faith enumerated the possible heresies a Christian was obligated to avoid and denounce, under threat of being prosecuted for harbouring heretics if he did not. The edict of grace declared a period of grace of thirty or forty days for all those guilty of heresy.

The period of grace permitted anyone to come forward and voluntarily confess and ask to be pardoned. Those who did so would not be punished by death, prison, or confiscation of property. Confessions had to be absolutely complete in laying out the heretical acts committed, and in naming all those taking part. If the confession later was found to be incomplete it was considered to be insincere, and the person making it impenitent. A second trial could then follow with devastating effect, as it was impossible to claim for clemency at a second trial. If any trace of heresy committed at a later date than the first trial was found, the prisoner was treated as relapsed and normally relaxed to the secular branch for burning. A confession made in a period of grace could therefore give the Inquisition enough information to prosecute those who did not come forward voluntarily, as well as

<sup>30</sup> Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

<sup>31</sup> The Holy Office did in fact prosecute false denunciations and false witnesses, though no such case has been recorded for Barcelona or Valencia in connection with trials for superstitions. The secrecy of the trials were in part designed precisely to protect denouncers and witnesses from attacks and threats as retaliation for testifying, and from attempts at forcing them to withdraw or change their testimony.



cause to prosecute those who did so on much more serious charges at a later date. This of course had devastating effects on the tightly knit communities of Moriscos and Judaizers who performed their religious rites in groups. It had, however, equally catastrophic effects on local communities when witchcraft trials turned into large serial processes. In the Inquisition's first years as it concerned itself with Judaizers, the edict of grace led to numerous self-denunciations. But by 1500 the edict of grace had generally fallen into disuse, being replaced by the newer and seemingly harsher edict of faith. This change closely parallels the Inquisition's growing concentration on the offences of Old Christians.

The visitation of districts played a much larger role in the first century of the Inquisition's life than it did in its later years.<sup>32</sup> In 1517 visitations were to be held every four months, and in 1581 were required once a year, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century they were becoming rare and eventually they fell out of use completely. For the visitations a single inquisitor travelled together with a secretary and an *alguacil*. At each stop the edict of faith was read to the inhabitants after Mass. The inquisitor was allowed to decide simple cases alone and on the spot, and to handle those who came forward. More serious cases that came to his knowledge would have to be processed by the tribunal when he returned. A visitation was an arduous undertaking that lasted months and was highly unpopular with the inquisitors. Travel was dependent on good weather, and often took them through difficult terrain. In addition visitations were not to be made during harvest time. Normally visitations would take place in the months from February to July. The aim of the visitations was to ensure an inquisitorial presence, but since it was impossible for an inquisitor to manage to go to all towns and villages in his district in one year they generally only stopped at the major population centres. Large parts of the countryside were thus out of touch with the Inquisition.

After a possible offence had come to the tribunal's attention, the summary phase, the *instrucción del sumario*, aimed at ascertaining whether there was cause to proceed with the case. The first step towards this aim was to question all pertinent witnesses. This included all those mentioned in the denunciation and all others who could bring relevant information about the case. Witnesses were

<sup>32</sup> The subject of visitations has received almost no attention from historians. The only independent study of the subject is Jean-Pierre Dedieu, 'Les Inquisiteurs de Tolède et la visite du district: La Sédentarisation d'un tribunal (1550-1630)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 18 (1977), 235-56. Apart from this, scattered references can be found in the monographs on individual tribunals.

never informed why they were called to appear before the tribunal. Before being questioned, the witnesses had to swear to tell the truth and maintain secrecy about their testimony. After testifying they were again admonished to maintain secrecy about the proceedings. The questioning should be done by the inquisitor himself in the presence of two friars. The questions should not be formulated in such a way as to suggest the answer, and the name of the suspect and the place of the supposed offence should not be revealed. Witnesses were asked if they knew the accused, if he was well regarded in his home town, and if they could remember if this person had done or said anything contrary to the faith. The witness could be called several times to confirm or modify his testimony. Testimony from this phase was not admissible as evidence in the trial itself and had to be ratified later if the trial went ahead. If a witness contradicted the statements signed by others he was considered a false witness and risked being prosecuted as a protector of heretics. After this followed the assessment by theological experts of whether the alleged facts were indeed heretical. This became a necessity as the inquisition gradually became staffed with jurists rather than theologians. A careful summing up of the case, with anonymity assured for the accused and witnesses alike, was sent to the *calificadores*, who determined if the matter at hand was a question of heresy or not.

If there seemed to be cause for suspicion of heresy, the tribunal would sometimes write the other tribunals and ask for any information they might have about the accused and his family. This often caused long delays, as documents had to be transcribed and sent to the tribunal requesting information, but it was another cause of the Inquisition's efficacy, as perpetrators trying to get a fresh start and escape their past could be tracked down.

The probatory phase began with the *informe del fiscal*. This was the prosecutor's summing up of the case, and it ended with a recommendation on whether to continue the proceedings with formally prosecuting the accused or to suspend the case. This was immediately followed by the *acuerdo de los inquisidores*, which was the inquisitors' formal decision on whether to proceed. If suspended, the case could be reopened at any time if further information was forthcoming, such as a new denunciation or being mentioned in a confession from another prisoner. If the case was to continue, the accused would be arrested and charged. It is important to remember that this was the beginning of the trial proper, and also that this would only occur if there was sufficient proof to *presume that the defendant was guilty*. The inquisitorial trial thus started with a presumption of guilt that the trial aimed at proving, but the trial only started after prior evaluation of evidence found legal proof of guilt.

The accused might be cited to appear at the Inquisition's tribunal, or he might be arrested and brought there by the *alcaldes* and familiars. An oral citation to appear before the tribunal was made in the accused's home, or in writing if he was not at home. If the accused was absent he would be cited by edicts, threatening to convict him in his absence if he did not appear. An arrest could only be made if there was reason to fear an escape or there existed sufficient circumstantial evidence to warrant the application of torture. As the *fiscal* always requested the accused to be arrested when he recommended continuing a trial, arrest was the rule rather than the exception. In some cases arrest preceded the examination by *calificadores*, and some prisoners even sat in prison without any charge ever being produced against them. In 1533 this led the Cortes of Aragon to protest.<sup>33</sup> With the arrest followed the sequestration of the prisoner's property. The prisoner had to pay for his stay in the Inquisition's jail even if he was acquitted. As soon as whatever he had in ready money had been used up, the tribunal would sell off his belongings and property to pay for the cost of his imprisonment. The sequestration of property also served to ensure that the Inquisition could actually confiscate his property if he was convicted and sentenced to a loss of property. In witchcraft trials this form of punishment was not allowed. The cost of months or years in jail could still be crippling and must have been a powerful incentive to confess quickly and thus end the trial swiftly. With the sequestration of property the family of the accused was reduced to poverty, since the Inquisition at first made no provision for relatives. The instructions of 1561 allowed the support of dependants out of sequestrations and made it less likely that the prisoner's family would be reduced to begging in the streets or dying of hunger.

The Inquisition had various grades of prison, the 'secret prison' being the harshest. This was where most defendants awaited their fates during the lengthy trials of the Inquisition.<sup>34</sup> Though meant only as a temporary means, and not a punishment in itself, prisoners remained in this jail for months or years as their trials dragged on. In most cities the Inquisition was allowed the use of old castles or fortresses with reliable dungeons to use as prisons. Because of the good state of these cells, the Inquisition's prison was considered better than royal or ordinary ecclesiastical gaols, as is testified by a letter from the Inquisition in Barcelona which refused to move its prisoners to the unhealthy city prison in 1624.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>33</sup> Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, p. 183.

<sup>34</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, II, 507–34.

<sup>35</sup> Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 184–85. Compare also the trial of Esperanza Sans Yliso, transferred from secular jail to the Inquisition and charged with superstitions. She claimed to be

the conditions were sufficiently unhealthy to cost some prisoners their lives. In addition to the secret prison the Inquisition maintained a prison for familiars who were arrested for criminal matters. This was occasionally also used for prisoners who were being tried for crimes against the faith if their cases were considered not very serious. Finally there were the 'perpetual' prisons, which were meant to hold those sentenced to life imprisonment. 'Perpetual' prison never in reality constituted a life term, and by the seventeenth century generally meant a few months for a repentant prisoner, while 'lifetime' prison meant a term of about ten years.<sup>36</sup>

As soon as possible, and no later than three days after his arrest, the prisoner was called in for the first of his three *audiencias* with an inquisitor. Each *audiencia* was to be held on a separate day, but a single *audiencia* could also last for several days. During these questionings the inquisitor admonished the prisoner to tell the truth and confess his crimes. If the prisoner confessed 'spontaneously' he was received in confession. If he refused to confess, the trial went to the next stage: the *fiscal*'s formal accusation.

The actual conduct of these interrogations were left to a large degree to the inquisitor's discretion. The first *audiencia* would normally be dedicated to general questions: if he knew or guessed the reason for his arrest, his genealogy, place of origin, profession, if he had travelled to foreign countries, and so on. Later the Inquisition developed lists of questions to be directed at the prisoners during the *audiencias*. These lists ensured that all prisoners were asked all relevant questions and enabled the inquisition to write short biographies of all its prisoners, as it started to do in the eighteenth century.

The *acusación del fiscal* should be formulated within ten days of the arrest of the prisoner. It should be made even if the prisoner had confessed during the first three *audiencias*. The charges should include all heresies mentioned by witnesses and confessed by the prisoner, as well as all other crimes not part of the Inquisition's jurisdiction that might be relevant to proving him a bad Christian. If the offences were not well proven, the accusation should also include a petition for submitting the prisoner to torture. The accusation was then read to the prisoner who had to respond immediately to all the charges. Afterwards he was given a copy of the accusation so that he could state if the witnesses had spoken correctly or should be interrogated again, and so that he could prepare an answer to all the articles it contained. To help him with this he was given an advocate, also an employee of the Inquisition.

innocent of sorcery, but to have blasphemed in the hope of being turned over to the Holy Office. See Case no. 626. Her case is not unique: Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, II, 509–10.

<sup>36</sup> Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, p. 201.

The advocate's first task was the same as the inquisitor's: to find out if the prisoner was guilty or not. If the prisoner was innocent the advocate should try to prove so by all legal means. If the prisoner was guilty he should do everything in his power to bring forth a confession. The advocate could only meet the prisoner in the presence of an inquisitor and a notary who wrote down everything said. The advocate could make them read out the testimony of the witnesses and the confession of the prisoner, but if the prisoner wished to continue his confession the advocate had to leave the room. After the trial he had to maintain secrecy of the proceedings and devolve all documentation to the inquisitors.

Presumption of guilt was not sufficient to convict the prisoner as heretic; it was, however, sufficient to convict him as suspected of heresy. This could be based on affinity with heretics, education and conversation, way of life, bad deeds and ambiguous propositions, and so on. The suspicion could be *vehemente* or *levi*, according to gravity. Full proof of guilt of heresy demanded at least two legitimate witnesses who had ratified their testimonies, preferably in the instructory phase. Their testimonies were ratified in the presence of the fiscal, notary, inquisitor, and two honest persons. If necessary the witnesses were recalled for further questioning, also at the prisoner's behest.

After being ratified, the testimonies were 'published' and given to the prisoner to help him prepare his defence. The main defence strategies employed by the accused were to deny the factual allegations of the charges, to claim that the prosecution's witnesses were his mortal enemies, or to make a claim for mitigating circumstances such as love, passion, just fury, or being a woman or a rustic. After having received the advocate's brief, the probatory phase could be closed, or the accused could be submitted to torture.<sup>37</sup> Torture should not be used until all evidence had been gathered, and the evidence necessary to allow the use of torture was greater than that required for a conviction in England.<sup>38</sup> Contrary to general opinion, torture was only used in a minority of cases, and it was only used as an instrument of procedure, never as a punishment. Most estimates point to about one-third of all prisoners being subjected to torture in the sixteenth century, and in some tribunals much fewer than that.<sup>39</sup> Really good statistics are in fact difficult

<sup>37</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 1–35.

<sup>38</sup> John H. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 77–79.

<sup>39</sup> Haim Beinhart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: Magnus, 1981), p. 120, Bartolomé Bennassar, *L'Inquisition espagnole: XV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Hachette,

to assemble, since few tribunals have preserved sufficient series of original trials, and the *relaciones* in the sixteenth century do not consistently report whether torture was used. During the eighteenth century torture fell out of general use and was finally banned by the Pope in 1816. A confession made during torture was not accepted as proof. It had to be ratified the next day to be used as evidence. If the prisoner refused to ratify his confession, torture was normally resumed. The aim of the torture was to bring forth a confession without physically damaging the prisoner. Therefore the number of methods used by the Inquisition were limited. The three most common ones were the *garrucha*, the *potro*, and the *toca*. The *garrucha* (also known as the *strappado*) involved being hung by the wrists from a pulley on the ceiling with weights attached to the feet. The prisoner was raised slowly, and then allowed to fall with a sudden jerk. The *potro* meant that the prisoner was tied down tightly over a rack by cords which passed around the body and limbs. The executioner tightened them by turning a stick attached to the cords at the end, causing the cords to slowly bite into the flesh. The *toca* was a form of water torture. The prisoner was tied to a rack and his mouth was kept forcibly open. A linen cloth was put down his throat to conduct water poured slowly from a jar. A number of jars could be used, varying the severity of the torture. The manuals urge the inquisitors to apply the pain bit by bit, slowly increasing the agony, to avoid a sharp pain from numbing the prisoner for the rest of the session.

During torture the prisoner was naked, except for small garments to hide the genitalia. This undoubtedly added to the sense of helplessness during the ordeal. There seems to have been no limit to the use of torture or the age of the prisoners who could be subjected to it, except the injunction to avoid killing or physically damaging them. Old prisoners would therefore sometimes be examined by a doctor to see if they were fit to undergo any of the forms of torture employed by the Inquisition. If not, they could still be brought to the torture chamber in an attempt to frighten them into confessing. Normally the torture was performed by the public executioner, and the rules required the inquisitors, a representative of the bishop, and a notary writing down the proceedings to be present. In spite of the apparent cruelty of these procedures, the Inquisition's use of torture was quite mild compared to that of the contemporary secular justice with its common

1979), pp. 115–16, Ricardo García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad en el siglo XVI: La Inquisición en Valencia, 1530–1609* (Barcelona: Peninsula, 1980), p. 199, Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 33.

mutilation of prisoners. The Inquisition knew that torture was a double-edged sword, and all its instructions on torture make this abundantly plain: torture could force a prisoner to reveal the truth that he wanted to conceal, but it could also make him confess a crime he did not commit, simply to escape the pain. The manuals urged caution on this point, and therefore it should not be any surprise that a number of prisoners overcame their torture without confessing.

The confession of the prisoner would lead to a reduction of penalty. The extent of this reduction depended on when the confession was made. If it was made during a period of grace he would not suffer the death penalty, imprisonment, or confiscation of property. Outside of the period of grace, a voluntary confession made before he was arrested would lead to reconciliation with confiscation of property. If he confessed after witnesses had been questioned, or after having been cited to appear before the tribunal, he could be reconciled and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment with loss of property. Similarly, if he confessed after having been sentenced to death, the inquisitors had the option of reconciling him and converting his sentence to perpetual prison and confiscation of property. Enormous discretion was left the inquisitors in meting out their sentences, though the general principle was that it was to be lighter the earlier a confession was obtained, and suitably heavier when the guilty stubbornly refused to repent and confess.

The decisory phase started with the *consulta de fé*, which later was abandoned when la Suprema made all final judgements. During this votation, held in the fiscal's absence the opinions on the case were first set out by the *consultores* (judges from the local chancery), then by the ordinary (the bishop or his representative), and finally by the inquisitors with the senior one speaking last. Following that came the promulgation of the sentence. In case of a conviction, the written sentence should contain all the errors the convict had confessed, or had been found guilty of. It should not contain the names of the witnesses or circumstances that would enable the convict to identify them. If on the other hand it ended with an acquittal, the verdict should not name the crime he was acquitted of. Another possibility was sentencing to torture if there was insufficient evidence for a conviction, but too much for an acquittal, and so the trial would resume again. The final sentence should be read to the prisoner by an inquisitor. In practice, of course, things were not always resolve in such a clear and tidy manner. A number of cases just end with the defendant being set free, without a final sentence, or even recording that the case had been suspended. During the seventeenth century these cases became more frequent, as did the cases were the defendant was simply given a warning and ordered to pay for the expenses of his trial.



### *The Auto de Fé*

The sentences were normally published and carried out at a public *auto de fé*, the Inquisition's lavish punishment ceremony.<sup>40</sup> In some instances the case would be completed in a private *auto* within the tribunal's courtroom if there was danger of scandal and damage to the church. This would normally only be the chosen course of action if the convict was one of the Inquisition's own people, or a cleric convicted of heresy or making sexual propositions during confession. But a public *auto* was preferred, and the more spectators who were present to learn the lessons imparted, the better. From the *auto* the Holy Office held in Valencia 4 July 1621, a diarist reported that 'nearly half the people of the kingdom came to see the spectacle'.<sup>41</sup>

The Inquisition had at its disposal a large variety of punishments.<sup>42</sup> The different punishments were often used in combinations, depending on the offence, the state of the evidence, the time a confession was made, and finally if this was the convict's first trial before the Inquisition. The most dramatic form of punishment was relaxation to the secular branch for execution, either in person or in effigy if the convict was dead or had escaped. Relaxation was generally reserved for those who were relapsed, absent, refused to confess, or stubborn and unrepentant (the *relapsos, ausentes, inconfesos, contumaces y impenitentes*). Since the inquisitors as men of the church were forbidden to draw blood they could not execute the heretics themselves. Instead they turned them over to the secular authorities at the end of the *auto*, who then took care of the execution. Like many of the other punishments, relaxation was normally accompanied by confiscation of property. Relaxation also banned all the convict's descendants from holding public office

<sup>40</sup> Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições: Portugal, Espanha e Italia* (Lisboa: Temas & Debates, 1996), pp. 195–259, Alejandro Caneque, 'Theater of Power: Writing and Representing the Auto de fe in Colonial Mexico', *Americas: A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History*, 52 (1996), 321–43, Maureen Flynn, 'Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish Auto De Fe', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22 (1991), 281–97, Consuelo Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fe* (Madrid: Istmo, 1992), Doris Moreno Martínez, 'Una apacible idea de la gloria: El auto de fe barroco y sus escenarios simbólicos', *Manuscrits: Revista d'història moderna*, 17 (1999), 159–77.

<sup>41</sup> 'Vngueren a aquest espectacle casi la mitat de la gent de tot lo reïne': Joan Porcar, *Coses evengudes en la ciutat y regne de Valencia: Dietario de mosén Juan Porcar, capellán de San Martin (1589–1629)*, 2 vols (Madrid: Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, 1934), II, 52.

<sup>42</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 121–208.



or honours, and the *sanbenito* of the relaxed heretic was to be displayed prominently in his parish church in perpetuity.

Sensitive to the monarchy's need for manpower, the Inquisition made galley service a punishment for healthy males convicted of heresy. Sentenced to serve as rowers for a number of years, this came close to being a death sentence. Galley service often followed a public whipping at the *auto*. For the whipping the convict was placed back to front on an ass and driven through the streets while being whipped, normally one or two hundred lashes. For others, the whipping was followed by a determined number of years in exile. A sentence of banishment from the tribunal's area, or from the kingdom itself, could mean a total loss of income as well as separation from family and kin. In all cases these punishments were followed by confiscation of property.

Imprisonment in the secular prisons was another punishment, and had its counterpoint in forced reclusion in a monastery. The latter would normally be accompanied by obligatory religious instruction. Several other religious punishments were available, such as enforced prayers or pilgrimages, and, of course, the wearing of a *sanbenito* to make the heretic's disgrace known to all.

In addition, the prisoner would be made to swear off the heresy of which he was suspected or to which he had confessed. There were two forms of swearing this, corresponding to the strength of the suspicion. *De levi* for light suspicion, and *de vehementi* for vehement suspicion or full confession of heresy. As María Tausiet has pointed out, in those cases where the document of the abjuration is preserved, it constitutes an invaluable source to what the inquisitors considered heretical in the case.<sup>43</sup>

Finally after the *auto* was completed and la Suprema was satisfied, the case was filed away in the Inquisition's archive. There it waited — with all the other completed cases and the cases that at some point had been dropped due to a lack of evidence; filed with an alphabetical index for easy access to old sinners — waited in case the inquisitors had cause to reopen an old case or again prosecute an old convict — dead or alive.

### *Enforcement in Catalonia and Valencia*

The Inquisition's power was mediated by its surroundings. Without denunciations there was little the inquisitors could do. Similarly, in those cases where the

<sup>43</sup> Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos*, pp. 110–14.

Holy Office shared jurisdiction with secular or ecclesiastical courts, the attitudes of those courts were essential to the eventual outcome. And as we have seen, the inquisitors needed the acquiescence of the bishop and the local chancery for the proper working of the tribunal, since representatives of those institutions were required to vote with the inquisitors in the decisory phase of the trials. We shall see later how these matters affected the tribunal in Barcelona much more than that in Valencia. But power and influence also fluctuate over time. In its early years, the Spanish Inquisition enjoyed a much more direct and forceful royal support than it would in the seventeenth century when other concerns became more pressing to the Crown. The gradual withdrawal of royal support eventually left the tribunal in Barcelona in grave difficulties, while the Valencian inquisitors managed to adapt better to the new circumstances.

In light of this, Foucault's concept of power as something which one does not possess but exercises, a practice rather than an attribute or possession, seems suited to describe the difference between the two tribunals.<sup>44</sup> On paper the Inquisition in Barcelona enjoyed the same rights, privileges, and liberties as in Valencia. Both tribunals rested on the authority of the same papal bulls, and therefore beyond the reproach of local secular and religious authorities. Thus the Holy Office was theoretically equally powerful in both areas. In practice, the Valencian tribunal was able to exercise its powers to a much greater extent. And this difference in the exercise of power deserves some scrutiny.

There is a growing literature on the Inquisition's tribunals in Barcelona and Valencia, much of it of a specialized nature.<sup>45</sup> Of general studies, Valencia has two monographs (if we count García Cárcel's two books as one work),<sup>46</sup> while

<sup>44</sup> This concept is primarily drawn from his book on the prison: Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Prison: Discipline and Punish*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

<sup>45</sup> Rafael Carrasco, *Inquisición y represión sexual en Valencia: Historia de los sodomitas, 1565–1785* (Barcelona: Laertes, 1985), Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan De Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568–1614* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), Mary Hoyt Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> Valencia: García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad*, García Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición*, Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia 1478–1834* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990). This is not counting the outdated Manuel Ardit, *La Inquisició al País Valencià* (Castelló: Sanchis i Cardona, 1970).

Barcelona has so far seen one rather uninspired general study and a new dissertation focusing on the difference between reality and representation of the Inquisition in Catalonia.<sup>47</sup> The classic view of the Inquisition in Catalonia is reaffirmed by Blázquez Miguel's statement that 'the history of the Holy Office in Barcelona could almost be described as the history of a jurisdictional dispute between it and Catalan authorities'.<sup>48</sup>

The only comparative work to use the two tribunals is William Monter's study which gives us some basis for comparison. He memorably labels the Holy Office in Barcelona as 'inquisitors with short arms', which, indeed, has been the standard view of that tribunal and is backed up more recently by Moreno Martínez.<sup>49</sup> The different pictures he draws of the tribunals in Barcelona and Valencia are starkly contrasted. While Barcelona was entangled in endless conflicts with local authorities and unable to execute a single prisoner in decades because the actual executions had to be carried out by secular authorities who refused to cooperate, Valencia saw little effective opposition except for the period from the early 1540s to 1563. Instead it became a useful tool for the Crown in its struggles with the local nobility.<sup>50</sup> Stephen Haliczzer sees the Holy Office in Valencia as having become a Valencian institution, with jurisdictional conflicts centred on the Inquisition's privileges, but not on trials for crimes against the faith.<sup>51</sup> The

<sup>47</sup> Juan Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña: El tribunal del Santo Oficio de Barcelona, 1487-1820* (Toledo: Arcano, 1990), Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad'. Moreno has also produced a number of articles.

<sup>48</sup> Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña*, p. 84. See also Joan Bada Elías, 'El tribunal de la Inquisición en Barcelona, ¿Un tribunal peculiar?', *Revista de la Inquisición*, 2 (1992), 109-20.

<sup>49</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 105-24. Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad', pp. 277-654.

<sup>50</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 110-14 and 125-26.

<sup>51</sup> There is an appearance of disagreement between Monter and Haliczzer, mainly caused by Haliczzer focusing on the Inquisition in relation to political and social issues, while Monter studies its treatment of crimes against the faith. Haliczzer sees a process where 'a once-powerful tribunal suffers a series of defeats beginning in the early 1550s and finally stabilizes at a much lower level of prestige and political authority', which leads to the 'tribunal's gradual evolution into a primarily Valencian institution'. Virtually all of Valencia's jurisdictional disputes centred on trials of familiars and other officials of the Inquisition, and never on trials for superstitions. Haliczzer's theory is compatible with Monter's view, and goes a long way towards explaining why the Valencian tribunal had much less trouble with secular courts than their colleagues in Catalonia, because there the Inquisition never ceased to be viewed as an alien institution (Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, pp. 6, 8, 32, 35, 40, 191-93, and 339).

trial against Vicenta Queralt is again central to our understanding of how the Valencian tribunal came to deal with these cases.<sup>52</sup> Her case came to the notice of the inquisitors through their *consultor* Dr Braulio Esteve, who was also a judge at the Real Audiencia. He brought the original process to the Inquisition 'on orders from the Viceroy and the Real Audiencia of this kingdom'.<sup>53</sup> In other words, in Valencia the secular courts sent the Holy Office such trials on their own initiative.

An interesting document is the letter sent by the inquisitor Joan Becerra to la Suprema in 1576. At the time he wrote the letter he had just left his post as inquisitor in Valencia to perform a visitation (inspection) of the Barcelona tribunal.<sup>54</sup> As such, he was in a unique position to describe the differences between the two tribunals, and indirectly he does so in his unflattering description of the Inquisition in Barcelona. Claiming that the Barcelona tribunal was the one with the smallest number of trials in all of Spain, he fixes the blame on the *comisarios* for their laziness and the notaries for their unwillingness to help them. He then goes on to criticize his colleagues for not keeping the tribunal's books and records in order, before he finally claims that all the tribunal's employees routinely break the Inquisition's secrecy. His recommendation was that the inquisitors be ordered to correct their records and add the missing protocols, and that all officials except the *alguacil* be forced to give up their keys to the Inquisition's building. La Suprema concurred, implicitly embracing his criticism of the way the Holy Office in Barcelona was run.

The exercise of power is one thing, while the outward appearance of doing so is another, and arguably it is equally important for a judicial system. This was somewhat of a paradox for the Holy Office. The Inquisition worked in strict secrecy, which was criticized by its opponents but seen as of paramount importance to success by the inquisitors. As a counterpoint to this self-imposed silence came the widely publicized punishment of the guilty at the *auto de fé*. This lavish

<sup>52</sup> See below, pp. 125–33.

<sup>53</sup> 'De orden del virrey y real audiencia de este Reyno'. This information is not contained in the original documents about her from the Inquisition's archive. The original process from her trial in the secular court is not included with those documents in the AHN, nor is it preserved in the ARV in Valencia. We learn how this information reached the inquisitors at the beginning of the summary of her case in the *relación* for 1670: AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 161<sup>v</sup>–162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Letter dated 3 February 1576, in AHN, Inq, Lib 738, fol. 222<sup>r-v</sup>. These visitations were part of la Suprema's ongoing efforts to assert control over local tribunals and check abuses. For visitations to the Barcelona tribunal, see Doris Moreno, 'La Inquisición vista desde dentro: La visita del licenciado Cervantes al tribunal del Santo Oficio en Barcelona (1560)', *Historia social*, 32.3 (1998), 75–95, and Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad', pp. 357–486.

ceremony of pardon and punishment symbolized the power of the Church and Inquisition to find and punish heretics, but also its merciful treatment of its wayward spiritual children who were forgiven and reconciled with the Catholic Church.<sup>55</sup> Spectacles of punishment have always been important expressions of power for the authorities, but for the Inquisition it became even more so since its proceedings were secret.<sup>56</sup> Only by holding a public *auto de fé* — preferably with some delinquents being relaxed to the secular branch for execution, ‘which is what ordinary people usually come to watch’<sup>57</sup> — could the inquisitors properly manifest their power. This prompted the inquisitors in Barcelona to announce their *auto de fé* in 1570 earlier than usual, because people living in remote areas had complained that they had been unable to come to Barcelona in time for the *auto* on earlier occasions, arriving after it had finished. The inquisitors explained in a letter to la Suprema that they had taken these complaints to heart and that this year the *auto* was announced early ‘since it is so exemplary and necessary that there should be many people there’.<sup>58</sup> This manifestation of power then reinforced the tribunal’s ability to exercise power in the future, by giving the assembled public and notables the impression of a vigorous and active Inquisition. It was precisely the ability to do this which the Barcelona tribunal lacked for much of its existence since it had such great difficulties in executing its convicts. The only thing worse than secretly not executing the guilty would be to publicly give them lesser punishments than they by law should suffer. That would be nothing less than a public display of inability to exercise power, and that was what the Inquisition in

<sup>55</sup> As Maureen Flynn argues persuasively, the *auto de fé* consciously represented the Final Day of Judgement (‘Mimesis of the Last Judgment’).

<sup>56</sup> The literature on executions is extensive. Good texts on executions as manifestations of power are Foucault, *The Birth of the Prison*, Peter Linebaugh, ‘The Tyburn Riot against the Surgeons’, in *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. by Douglas Hay and others (New York: Pantheon, 1975), pp. 65–117, Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Anton Blok makes some interesting observations on executions as rites of passage: see Blok, ‘Openbare strafvoltrekking als rites de passage’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 97 (1984), 470–81.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Que es en lo que communmente mas el vulgo pone la mira’: letter from Valencia to la Suprema, 1 July 1608, in AHN, Inq, Leg 506, Exp 1, fol. 16<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Como sea de tanto exemplo y necesario que se alla mucha gente’: AHN, Inq, Lib 737, fol. 249<sup>v</sup>.

Barcelona suffered in the years 1578–1600 when secular authorities refused to carry out the executions ordered by the Holy Office.<sup>59</sup>

If we turn to the trials for superstitions, we see the same pattern of a weak tribunal in Barcelona in comparison to that in Valencia. By the time witch finders such as Joan Mallet or Lorenzo Carmell were brought before the inquisitors in Barcelona, they were reportedly responsible for dozens or even hundreds of convictions for witchcraft in secular courts.<sup>60</sup> But when a would-be witch finder showed up in Valencia, he was arrested by the Inquisition for performing an unauthorized exorcism, before he could initiate even a single witchcraft trial in secular courts.<sup>61</sup> In Barcelona, many witchcraft trials brought before the inquisitors had started in secular courts. Only at a late stage, usually when several of the accused already had been convicted and executed, did the inquisitors get wind of these trials and even then they had trouble forcing the secular judges to send them the trial documents. On the contrary, when Vicenta Queralt was arrested by a secular judge in the Kingdom of Valencia the inquisitors were able to take over the case almost immediately. Apparently, the secular judge had not even had time to question her before the case was taken from his hands.<sup>62</sup> There are few cases in the Valencian Inquisition's records that started in secular courts, but they all share the characteristic of having been turned over to the inquisitors at an early stage and without protests. Furthermore, we have a number of cases of sorcery in Valencia which started with denunciations from personnel in the secular courts who had stumbled across magical books or the performance of rituals in the course of their duties, often when making an arrest. Instead of adding these offences to those already being tried, they turned them over to the Inquisition. That was almost unheard of in Catalonia, where the secular courts tried to keep these cases for themselves.<sup>63</sup> And finally we have the fact that the tribunal in Barcelona in 1549 saw itself forced to seek both a *cédula real* and a letter of instructions from the Inquisitor General in order to defend their jurisdiction over the crime of witchcraft.<sup>64</sup> Not even with these documents and orders on their side could they prevent secular judges from continuing to try, convict, and execute

<sup>59</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 110–14.

<sup>60</sup> See below, pp. 86–88 and 105–08.

<sup>61</sup> See below, pp. 133–37.

<sup>62</sup> Trial documents in AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

<sup>63</sup> See below, p. 129.

<sup>64</sup> Both documents can be found in BN, MS 2440, fols 93<sup>r</sup>–96<sup>r</sup>.

witches. By 1619 they had essentially given up. In an extraordinary internal dispute, the tribunal's *fiscal* wrote a series of petitions, effectively demanding that the inquisitors enforce their jurisdiction over witchcraft. The inquisitors refused and chose to let the secular courts continue the trials, as long as they did not try the accused for heresy and apostasy. Even though the sources show that the inquisitors believed these witches to be innocent, or at the very least that there was no evidence against them after having examined the trial documents, they decided to avoid confrontations with the secular courts, and did nothing.<sup>65</sup> Later on we shall return to the difference between the two tribunals in their dealings with these cases at greater length, but for now it should have become clear that the Inquisition was far more able to enforce its jurisdiction in Valencia than in Barcelona.

Having established the difference in the two tribunals' ability to exercise power, we should note that this also influenced the Inquisition's usefulness for individuals who sought to utilize the courts in their own exercise of power or transact their hatred. A salient feature of the early modern Spanish judicial system was the way in which different courts competed for business and actively sought to increase both their income and prestige by handling large numbers of important cases. Litigants and accusers availed themselves of these competing jurisdictions by going to the court which appeared to hold the greatest promise of giving the desired result, and often countersuing in a different court than that of the original lawsuit.<sup>66</sup> There was a choice of courts in which to prosecute witches, and if the Inquisition appeared to be unable or unwilling to exercise power and punish the guilty, then secular courts would be the preferred venue since they appeared more likely to give the desired outcome, the execution of the witch.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 139<sup>r</sup>–144<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Richard Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile 1500–1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

<sup>67</sup> The Bishop of Vic noted another reason for denouncing witches in secular courts rather than the Inquisition, when he pointed out that it was both difficult and expensive to travel to Barcelona in order to denounce somebody: letter to the Viceroy, 22 February 1622, in ACA, CA, Leg 368.





## CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS

On a topic so broad and recalcitrant as contact-conflict of Spanish Moors and Christians, one can too easily babble his way into the bibliographical undergrowth, never again to emerge.<sup>1</sup>

This stern warning by the Grand Old Man of Mudejar studies should not be taken lightly, and it will probably ring true in the ears of anyone who has ventured beyond the most superficial study of the literature on the subject. In the almost two decades that have gone by since Father Burns wrote his warning, the literature has only continued to increase.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Mudejars and Moriscos is massive, and there are no really good introductory texts to point to. The most important works relevant to Valencia are: María del Carmen Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano: Historia y dialecto* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1984); Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens: Un affrontement polémique, 1492–1640* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977); Louis Cardaillac, Juan Aranda Doncel, and Bernard Vincent, *Les Morisques et l'Inquisition* (Paris: Publisud, 1990); James Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Barbara Fuchs, 'Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos and the Fictions of Spanish Identity', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2 (2001), 13–26; Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos: Los procesos del tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo veintiuno, 1978); Andrew Hess, 'The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *American Historical Review*, 74 (1968), 1–25; Pedro Longás, *La vida religiosa de los moriscos*, facs. edn (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1990); Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia*; Ronald E. Surtz, 'Morisco Women, Written Texts, and the Valencia Inquisition', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 32 (2001), 421–34. In addition, there are important studies on the Moriscos in Valencia in the various works on the Holy Office in that kingdom. The study of Valencian Mudejars is dominated by Robert I. Burns, and has grown to be a large field. Central

But we shall have to make a brief attempt to explore some facets of this subject, because the Spanish Muslims — first as Mudejars and later as Moriscos — have some bearing on our subject. As we have seen earlier, the Moriscos have played a part in earlier attempts to explain the relative scarcity of diabolical witchcraft cases in Spain. H. R. Trevor-Roper viewed the Moriscos and Jews as groups that fulfilled the function that witches did elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> essentially portraying them as interchangeable groups of scapegoats. That theory has been adequately addressed by Brian P. Levack.<sup>4</sup> But since the complete absence of diabolical witchcraft in the southern half of Spain largely corresponds with the presence of a Morisco population, it is pertinent to ask if there is indeed a link. The maps of Henningsen's 'magical geography' of Spain and Lapeyre's geography of Morisco Spain are not identical, but they are sufficiently similar to suggest a connection.<sup>5</sup> Not because the Moriscos had taken the place of the witches, but because they had introduced conceptions of magic and sorcery that stopped the demonological views from finding a foothold. Islam does not have a conception of the Devil and eternal damnation in Hell in the same way as Christianity, but allows for numerous spirits or lesser demons that both have influence and may be influenced in this world. If this conception of the magico-religious universe took hold also among the Old Christians, then demonological witchcraft trials with their sabbats and cult of the devil would make little sense.

Acculturation is not the only part of Christian-Muslim relations to hold interest for us here, since population patterns may also be of some importance. Witchcraft trials in Catalonia, and indeed in most of Europe, tended to start in rural areas, in particular in small and remote settlements, such as mountain ham-

works are John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), Robert Ignatius Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià* (Barcelona: Institució Milàa i Fontanals CSIC, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and Other Essays*, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), pp. 110–11.

<sup>4</sup> Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 229–30.

<sup>5</sup> Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 72, Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1959), p. 278. See below, p. 50.

lets.<sup>6</sup> To some extent it is meaningful to speak of a ‘witchcraft demography’, and we must consider what the presence of a large Muslim minority had on that demography. The Moriscos then, are essential to our understanding of the differences between trials for superstitions in Barcelona and Valencia.

### *The Morisco Population*

The Moriscos as a group came into existence in the sixteenth century as a result of the forced conversion of the Spanish Muslims. The crusaders who had captured Valencia in 1238 had allowed their Muslim subjects to keep their faith and live on as Mudejars, swearing allegiance to their Christian king on the Koran.<sup>7</sup> Some Muslim lords became vassals of the conquerors and retained their castles.<sup>8</sup> In the first decades after the reconquest the Mudejars formed the majority of the population. Over the next fifty years or so, the immigration of Christian settlers from Aragon and Catalonia eventually reduced the Muslims to a minority and forced them off the fertile irrigated lands of the *huerta* and out into the dry plains and up in the mountains, a process which was further accelerated by Christian riots and failed Mudejar revolts.<sup>9</sup> The Muslims quickly became a minority in the cities, and by the fifteenth century even the trade with the sultanate of Granada was in Christian hands.<sup>10</sup> Though there were some converts to Christianity in the

<sup>6</sup> For Catalonia see below, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Robert I. Burns has studied two local surrender constitutions in detail: Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, pp. 52–79. See also the chapter ‘Surrender Terms: Universality and Pattern’ in Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, pp. 117–38. Also worth reading is his entertaining earlier article on peace-making: ‘How to End a Crusade: Techniques for Making Peace in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia’, *Military Affairs*, 35.4 (1971), 142–48.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, ‘The Muslim in the Christian Feudal Order: The Kingdom of Valencia, 1240–1280’, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 5 (1976), 105–26.

<sup>9</sup> On revolts, see Robert Ignatius Burns, ‘Social Riots on the Christian-Moslem Frontier (Thirteenth-Century Valencia)’, *American Historical Review*, 66 (1961), 378–400, and Burns, ‘The Crusade against Al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective’, *American Historical Review*, 93 (1988), 80–106. At first the crusaders had difficulty attracting Christian settlers and instead imported Muslim settlers: see Burns, ‘Immigrants from Islam: The Crusaders’ Use of Muslims as Settlers in Thirteenth-Century Spain’, *American Historical Review*, 80 (1975), 21–42.

<sup>10</sup> R. Salicrú i Lluç, ‘The Catalano-Aragonese Commercial Presence in the Sultanate of Granada during the Reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 27 (2001), 289–312.

aftermath of the reconquest,<sup>11</sup> the conversion of the Muslim population was intimately connected with the Germanías revolt of 1521–22, when the rebels forcibly converted thousands of Mudejars.<sup>12</sup> After the rebellion was crushed, Church and Crown decided to treat the forced baptisms as valid, thus binding the former Muslims to live as Christians and to be subject to the Inquisition. The conversion of the Valencia Mudejars was completed in 1525 by an edict which ordered them to accept baptism or leave Spain.<sup>13</sup>

The forced conversion of the Mudejars produced a large Morisco population, which was to remain one of the fundamental characteristics of the Kingdom of Valencia up to the time of their expulsion in 1609–14. In Catalonia, however, the Morisco population was very small. Lapeyre puts the total figure at 5000 in some sixteen different villages at the time of the expulsion,<sup>14</sup> and these Morisco settlements were not part of the district of the Holy Office in Barcelona: those in the south-eastern province of Lleida were under the jurisdiction of the tribunal in Zaragoza, while the majority of Moriscos in Catalonia were settled on the banks of the Ebro River in the southern part of the province of Tarragona and thus within the district of the Valencian Inquisition.<sup>15</sup> As a consequence, the Morisco influence on Catalan culture was limited, and Muslims made up an insignificant number of those tried by the Barcelona tribunal.

In Valencia the situation was very different. Making up nearly one-third of the population, the Moriscos were in the words of William Monter, ‘too important to ignore, too numerous to coerce, too segregated to assimilate’.<sup>16</sup> At the time of their expulsion they numbered around 124,000 in the Kingdom of Valencia;

<sup>11</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, ‘Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia (1240–1280)’, *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 337–56.

<sup>12</sup> For the Germanías in general, see Eulalia Duran, *Les germanies als països catalans* (Barcelona: Curial, 1982), Ricardo García Cárcel, *Las germanías de Valencia*, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Peninsula, 1981), Vicent Joan Vallés Borrás, *La germanía* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 2000). On forced conversions, see Ricardo García Cárcel and Eduard Císcar Pallarés, *Moriscos i agermanats* (Valencia: L’Estel, 1974).

<sup>13</sup> Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, p. 246.

<sup>14</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l’Espagne morisque*, pp. 98–99, tables on p. 113.

<sup>15</sup> For the extent and development of the different tribunals’ districts see Jaime Contreras and Jean-Pierre Dedieu, ‘Estructuras geograficas del Santo Oficio en España’, in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y America*, ed. by Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, 3 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993), II, 3–47.

<sup>16</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, p. 127.

117,464 of them were expelled in the years 1610–12.<sup>17</sup> No wonder then that Valencia was one of the strongholds of Morisco culture in Christian Spain, and even more so after the second Alpujarras uprising (1568–70) led to the exiling of the Moriscos from Granada. Valencian Moriscos continued to speak Arabic, they often wore their traditional forms of dress, and they attempted to follow the precepts of their religion.<sup>18</sup> As Henri Lapeyre has shown, Moriscos and Old Christians in Valencia lived segregated. The Moriscos lived in small rural settlements, while the Old Christians concentrated in the cities and in the most fertile irrigated areas. In the mountainous region in the south of the kingdom, Moriscos formed a great majority of the population.<sup>19</sup> Another characteristic of the Valencian Moriscos is that the immense majority of them lived on lands belonging to the nobility.<sup>20</sup> The nobles defended their valuable and very profitable vassals against secular and ecclesiastic courts, and even against the Inquisition.<sup>21</sup> Moriscos constituted the majority of the grandees' retainers until they were disarmed in 1563, which spelled the end of private armies in Valencia.<sup>22</sup> On the nobles' estates the Moriscos could often continue their traditional way of life, protected by their feudal lords and shielded by the remoteness of their homes.<sup>23</sup> In the Kingdom of

<sup>17</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, pp. 62 and 67.

<sup>18</sup> Haliczzer emphasizes the Valencian Moriscos' poor knowledge of Islam, and believes that it was declining in part because of less use of Arabic. However, the Old Christians penanced by the Inquisition in the sixteenth century had an equally tenuous grasp of Christianity, so this may not necessarily be a question of declining religious competence among the Moriscos, but rather a reflection of how superficial religion was for many Spaniards irrespective of faith in this century. Furthermore, he probably overstates the argument for declining use of Arabic among the Valencian Moriscos. Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, pp. 249–51.

<sup>19</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, pp. 33–47. Halperín Donghi warns us against the oversimplification of categories such as 'bad soils and good', but agrees that these in general were religiously homogenous settlements (*Un conflicto nacional: Moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1980), pp. 50–52).

<sup>20</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, pp. 26–27.

<sup>21</sup> García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad*, pp. 25–33, Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, p. 256, Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 369–70 and 373.

<sup>22</sup> Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia*, pp. 208–10. More than 25,000 weapons were confiscated from Moriscos when the ban was enforced. Sebastián García Martínez, *Valencia bajo Carlos II: Bandolerismo, reivindicaciones agrarias y servicios a la monarquía* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Villena, 1991), p. 61.

<sup>23</sup> In Villahermosa and Vall de Uxó for instance, 'the Moriscos ruled their own lives and very little had changed since the Middle Ages' (Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia*, p. 111).

Valencia then, most of the population in the small rural settlements was neither Christian nor well disposed to the Inquisition or other Christian courts of law in the sixteenth century, and only after the expulsion of the Moriscos and consequent repopulation did it become so.

### *Moriscos in the Inquisition*

During the first five decades of its existence the Holy office in Valencia was mainly occupied with the Judaizers, and Moriscos only made up 3.3 per cent of those prosecuted in the years 1478–1530.<sup>24</sup> That changed after the first wave of persecutions, and baptized Christians charged with following Islamic law made up nearly 61 per cent of the Valencian Inquisition's defendants in the period from 1554 to 1692, even though their numbers fell sharply after the expulsion of the Moriscos.<sup>25</sup> Before 1615 they made up 73 per cent of the total number of prisoners, and thereafter they formed 18 per cent of those tried by the Holy Office in Valencia.<sup>26</sup>

The Inquisition in Valencia may have been less severe towards the Moriscos than other tribunals, since 40 per cent of the Moriscos expelled from Spain were from Valencia but only 10 per cent of those executed before the expulsion died in Valencia.<sup>27</sup> In total, 42 persons accused of following Islamic law were executed by

<sup>24</sup> García Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición*, p. 180.

<sup>25</sup> The numbers are for defendants accused of being Muslims after having been baptized as Christians. It does not reflect the total number of Moriscos tried by the Inquisition, because it does not take into account that some were tried several times. Nor do these figures include Moriscos tried on other charges such as superstitions or blasphemy. It should also be mentioned that while the majority of those tried for this offence were Moriscos, these figures also include Christians who had converted to Islam and North African and Turkish captives who had been baptized. The numbers given here and in the following are based on the *relaciones de causas*, which are well preserved, though not complete. We are thus dealing with minimum figures.

<sup>26</sup> The numbers are: 3049 of 5002 defendants for the entire period, 2847 of 3897 before 1615, and 202 of 1105 from 1615 onwards. These figures differ somewhat from those given both by Anita Gonzalez-Raymond and Gustav Henningsen. The reasons for the discrepancy are a general reworking of the *relaciones de causas*, and that previous researchers used the books in the AHN marked as containing *relaciones de causas*, while these figures also include a number of *relaciones* which are misplaced in books of letters and boxes of miscellany in that archive. Anita Gonzalez-Raymond, *Inquisition et société en Espagne: Les relations de causes du tribunal de Valence (1566–1700)* (Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de France-Comté, 1996), p. 60, Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, p. 127.

the Inquisition in Valencia, and 65 were burned in effigy.<sup>28</sup> Almost all of them were executed before 1615. In relation to the total number of defendants (3039), the number is extremely low, and it probably would have been higher if we had reliable figures for the period before 1554. The relative leniency of this tribunal is also apparent if we look at the proportion of executed Muslims relative to the total number of executions: in all the Holy Office in Valencia relaxed 101 persons to the secular arm for burning in the years 1554–1692. If we look at the period before 1615, only 37 of the 72 executed were sentenced to death because of being Muslims. In fact, the chances of being relaxed were smaller than those of being absolved: in all, 134 accused Muslims were absolved, 72 of them before 1615. Thus, Moriscos formed an extremely important part of the Valencian tribunal's work, in particular before the expulsion, but they did not suffer massive numbers of executions.

Another way to approach this is to look at the number of people tried for Islamic practices by the tribunal in comparison to the size of the population. Then we find that in the period of the most intense persecution, 1585–95, a total of 1063 defendants from a population of nearly 180,000 were tried by the Holy Office in Valencia for Islamic practices.<sup>29</sup> A few more were tried every year for other crimes such as sodomy and superstitions. Even at this exceptional time, less than half a per cent of the Morisco population passed through the Inquisition's courtroom in a decade.

The Moriscos were vital to the economy of the Inquisition in Valencia, and their expulsion was an important economic blow.<sup>30</sup> Another effect of the expulsion of the Moriscos was obviously that the Old Christians now made up a much larger proportion of the delinquents tried by the Holy Office in Valencia. Simultaneously, the number, both relative and absolute, of trials for superstitions increased.<sup>31</sup> But these cases had always been there; from the first extant *relación de causas* from Valencia we learn that 43 persons had been tried for Islamic practices in 1554, and 3 others for superstitions.<sup>32</sup> Trials for superstitions were

<sup>28</sup> Another twelve Moriscos were relaxed for other offences, such as sodomy, bestiality, and resisting the work of the Holy Office.

<sup>29</sup> Haliczzer links this high tide of persecutions to increased corsair activities: Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, pp. 265–66.

<sup>30</sup> Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, pp. 98–99.

<sup>31</sup> See below, pp. 55–57.

<sup>32</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fols 8<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>.



not something that sprang up in the absence of Moriscos; it was something that gained greater importance after their expulsion.

Though there were Moriscos in Catalonia as well, they made up a much smaller part of the Inquisition's business, as is to be expected, since they were such a small part of the population and the Morisco settlements in Catalonia were outside the Barcelona tribunal's district. As a consequence, less than 1 per cent of the prisoners tried by the Holy Office in Barcelona were tried for Islamic practices, both before and after the expulsion.<sup>33</sup> None were executed in person, but four in effigy.

### *Segregation and Influence*

If we take into account the way Old Christians and Moriscos lived segregated, and that very few of the Old Christians who were prosecuted for superstitions admitted having learned their arts from Moriscos, or even practised them in their company, it may appear somewhat strange that the two groups had similar magical practices.<sup>34</sup> By the sixteenth century, Moriscos and Old Christians had coexisted in Valencia for centuries. With this time scale, it is clear that the two communities' mutual influence on each other is not reduceable into directly traceable personal connections in inquisitorial records. Furthermore, it was in the obvious interest of an Old Christian arrested by the Holy Office to avoid mentioning any connection with Moriscos, since that could easily lead to far more dangerous suspicions on the inquisitor's part. The relative lack of evidence of direct contacts between Morisco and Old Christian sorcerers is therefore rather logical, but not indicative of a lack of mutual influence.

While Spain's importance to the diffusion of Arab learning in Europe in the Middle Ages has long been recognized,<sup>35</sup> the extent of Muslim-Christian cultural exchange at the more practical level in Spain is less well known outside of spe-

<sup>33</sup> That is, 214 out of a total of 3197 defendants. Before 1615 they constitute 105 of 2006. Again, these numbers differ slightly from those given by Henningsen, for the same reasons as for the numbers from Valencia ('The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 58). Because of the almost complete absence of native Moriscos in Catalonia, the majority of the Muslims tried in Barcelona were renegades, Christians who had converted to Islam. Blázquez Miguel puts the figures as 28 Moriscos to 198 renegades for the period 1503–1764 (*La Inquisición en Cataluña*, p. 156).

<sup>34</sup> See below, 'Conclusion'.

<sup>35</sup> The classic study is William Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972).



cialist circles. Thomas F. Glick's fine study of irrigation communities in Valencia shows how cultural forms could persist the transition from Muslim to Christian rule, and how Muslim techniques and terminology were adopted by Christians.<sup>36</sup> Such communal services as public baths and granaries would after the Christian reconquest be either shared or operated separately by Muslims and Christians.<sup>37</sup> There followed a natural process of acculturation, more by convenience and necessity than by deliberate choice. Or as Robert I. Burns puts it, 'very little of the acculturation was formal — that is, under the deliberate direction of the authorities.'<sup>38</sup> Glick believes the most important acculturation took place before the reconquest. In the early Middle Ages Christian culture had to adapt to the Muslim conquerors and they to their new subjects.<sup>39</sup> Whether the most important acculturation took place early or late in the Middle Ages, by the middle of the fourteenth century 'Muslims and Christians worked together, formed companies together, lived in close proximity with each other, had recourse to the same low life, even committed crimes together'.<sup>40</sup> This coexistence and acculturation took place in an environment of religious hostility and economic exploitation, after a crusade which had ostensibly aimed at ridding the country of Muslims.<sup>41</sup> The reality of fourteenth-century Mudejar life, according to John Boswell, was 'uncertainties and contradictions'.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps then, the activities best suited for Muslim-Christian cooperation on the individual level were the illicit ones, where religious differences would matter less.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1970).

<sup>37</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, 'Baths and Caravanserais in Crusader Valencia', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 443–58, James F. Powers, 'Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain', *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), 649–67.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, 'Spanish Islam in Transition: Acculturative Survival and its Price in the Christian Kingdom of Valencia', in *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Speros Vryonis, Jr (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), p. 91.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

<sup>40</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p. 372.

<sup>41</sup> On the crusade, see: Robert Ignatius Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967). On exploitation: Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*. On religious polemic: Cardailiac, Aranda Doncel, and Vincent, *Les morisques et l'Inquisition*.

<sup>42</sup> Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, p. 404.

David Nirenberg has recently drawn attention to a case where a Christian shepherd offered to lend his Muslim colleague money to buy the services of a Christian prostitute.<sup>43</sup> Nirenberg uses this case as part of his argument that the female body was the boundary between the faiths, but it serves equally well to illustrate how individual Muslims and Christians jointly broke the law and transgressed social and cultural boundaries together. We would never have known about the generous shepherd if the prostitute had not reacted so violently at finding out that her client was a Mudejar. Moriscos and Christians probably also cooperated in the rampant banditry that so plagued the Kingdom of Valencia in the early modern period, though the literature on the subject is still too superficial to allow firm conclusions.<sup>44</sup> The literature on the history of crime in Spain does not allow us to move much forward in this direction, but it might be useful to remember that some Moriscos were so well assimilated in 1609 that they were allowed to remain in Spain after the expulsion.<sup>45</sup>

Concluding then, we should not be surprised to see similar magical practices among Moriscos and Old Christians, but rather expect it. We have seen how the Christians adapted Muslim techniques and practices in such concrete matters as irrigation, and magic is just another practice to solve concrete problems. It is one of the practices we should expect to cross the cultural divide, and even more so since such heterodoxical traditions should normally be less bound by the boundaries of orthodoxy than others. Furthermore, the practice of magic is inherently experimental and thus open to innovations and foreign influences. We have also seen that Muslims and Christians did break laws and social mores together. If anything could be expected to bring them together it would be the kind of activity that brought them into conflict with authorities. But we should not make the mistake of believing that their magical practices were identical, even after centuries

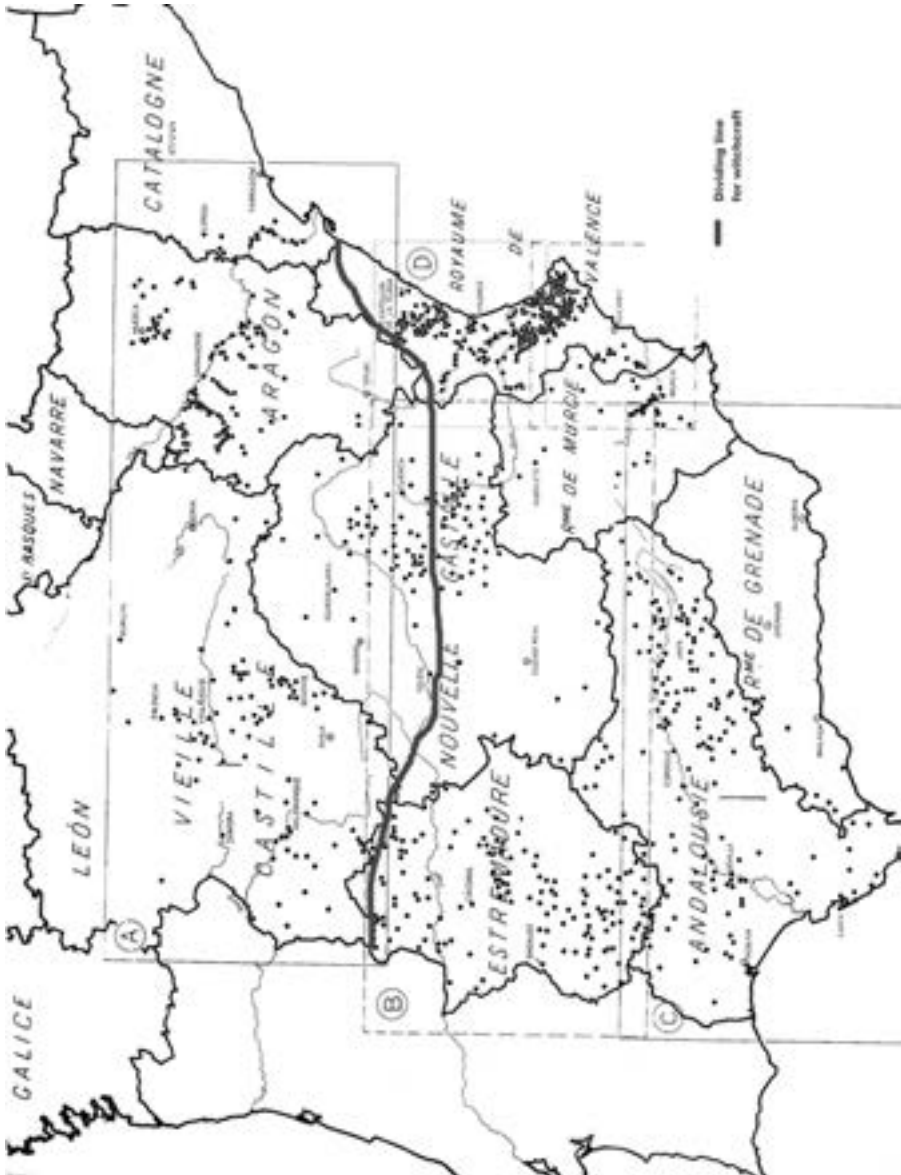
<sup>43</sup> David Nirenberg, 'Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon', in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. by Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), pp. 141–60 (pp. 146–47).

<sup>44</sup> García Martínez cautions against Halperín Donghi's assertion that banditry constituted a new fraternity which made the distinction Old Christian–Morisco irrelevant, pointing out that it is not based on any documentary evidence. His call for further research to clarify the matter has so far gone unheard (*Valencia bajo Carlos II*, pp. 126–27 n. 401). Earlier Richard I. Burns found Muslims among Christian robbers preying on the Muslim population of thirteenth-century Valencia ('Social Riots', p. 397).

<sup>45</sup> This point has most recently been made in Mary Elizabeth Perry, 'Moriscos and the Limits of Assimilation', in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews* (see n. 43, above), pp. 274–89.

of acculturation. Magic — ‘superstition’ — and religion are closely connected, and the magician’s practice is influenced by his religious beliefs and upbringing. He uses parts of his religion in his magic, but his religion also imbues his magic with meaning.<sup>46</sup> For example, both Christians and Muslims wore amulets with sacred texts, but the texts were not the same. Depending on the wearer’s (or maker’s) religion, the text would be an extract from the Koran or the Bible. Thus two religions with a shared culture of magic can be expected to produce similar, but not identical magical practices.

<sup>46</sup> In their classic article on acculturation, Thomas F. Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer mention religious beliefs as one of the ‘boundary-maintaining mechanisms [...] through which external stimuli are filtered’. These constitute the ‘defenses of cultural integrity’ (‘Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), 136–54 (p. 140)). This process does not necessarily imply the wholesale rejection of unacceptable practices, but the rejection of the objectionable parts and the assimilation of those found to be useful.



Map 1. Morisco settlements in Spain, from Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (1959), with approximate dividing line between witch-free and witch-infected areas inserted, from Gustav Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition' (1993).

## OVERVIEW

There are no pages of European history more filled with horror than those which record the witch-madness of three centuries, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth. No land was more exposed to the contagion of this insanity than Spain, where, for more than a hundred years, it was constantly threatening to break forth. That it was repressed and rendered comparatively harmless was due to the wisdom and firmness of the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup>

**B**efore moving on to study in detail the factors most important to the difference between the trials for superstitions in Valencia and Catalonia, we shall now turn to look at their scope, chronology, and typology. We shall also briefly consider the difference between high and popular magic, and the Inquisition's role in punishing as well as perpetuating sorcery. Finally, we will study the trials involving Moriscos to see if they have any particular characteristics.

### *The Numbers*

It is time now to look at the actual numbers of trials, both those in the *relaciones de causas*, and those known from other sources. The numbers given here for the number of trials in the *relaciones de causas* are the results of a reworking of the original registration undertaken by Gustav Henningsen and Jaime Contreras. Both the numbers for superstitions and those for all trials include cases from *relaciones de causas* which have found and which were not registered by Henningsen and Contreras. These numbers therefore diverge somewhat from those published earlier.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, IV, 206.

<sup>2</sup> These are Barcelona, 1689, AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 1; Valencia, 1554–1557, AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fols 245<sup>r</sup>–245<sup>v</sup>; Valencia, 1557, AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fols 246<sup>r</sup>–247<sup>v</sup>; Valencia, 1567,

For Barcelona we have the figure of 287 cases of superstitions from a total of 3197 trials for the period 1539–1691.<sup>3</sup> These numbers come from *relaciones de causas* covering 101 of the 153 years in the period.<sup>4</sup> Six convicted witches who were executed in 1549 are not mentioned in the *relaciones*, when a total of 33 were punished.<sup>5</sup> One was killed in 1522, nine were accused in 1532, and another in 1537.<sup>6</sup> There are also a number of trials for superstitions after 1700 as well. Among the collection of documents called *allegaciones fiscales* there are papers concerning 30 such cases, a clear indication that the researcher who goes through the totality of the documentation will find a higher number of trials than that given here.<sup>7</sup> In a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid we find a transcription of the votation in the trial of Margarita Oliuera, dated 15 May 1620. This trial is not mentioned in the *relación de causas* of that year, nor in that of 1621, both of which are preserved.<sup>8</sup> In a series of *legajos* marked as letters to la Suprema we find some *expedientes* with documents from trials for superstitions, the majority from the eighteenth century. Five are from the period under study here, and four of those are not known from *relaciones de causas*.<sup>9</sup> The total number

AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fols 749<sup>r</sup>–753<sup>v</sup>; Valencia, 1571, AHN, Inq, Lib 912, fols 490<sup>r</sup>–499<sup>v</sup>; Valencia, 1595 (*auto*), AHN, Inq, Lib 917, fols 685<sup>r</sup>–704<sup>r</sup>; Valencia, 1595 (*entre años*), AHN, Inq, Lib 917, fols 704<sup>r</sup>–708<sup>r</sup>; Valencia, 1600 (*auto*), AHN, Inq, Lib 918, fols 200<sup>r</sup>–210<sup>r</sup>; Valencia, 1600 (*entre años*), AHN, Inq, Lib 918, fols 210<sup>r</sup>–215<sup>v</sup>; and Valencia, 1689, AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 6. Following Henningsen and Contreras, the *relaciones de visitas* have not been included among the *relaciones de causas*. As the names indicate, these are separate source types.

<sup>3</sup> The numbers given by Gustav Henningsen are 264 trials for superstitions and 3047 in total ('The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 58).

<sup>4</sup> The years covered are 1539, 1540, 1552, 1560, 1561–66, 1568–72, 1574–75, 1578–86, 1588–1604, 1606–24, 1626–39, 1653–54, 1656, 1658, 1661–68, 1672–75, 1677, 1680–82, and 1687–91.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to la Suprema in AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 7<sup>r-v</sup>. Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad', p. 408.

<sup>6</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 259 and 264–65.

<sup>7</sup> Compare this with the figure given by Blázquez Miguel of 425 trials of a total of 5424 for the period 1478–1820 (*La Inquisición en Cataluña*, p. 344). Joan Bada Elías gives a higher number of total trials, 5907, but he does not break these down by category ('El tribunal de la Inquisición', p. 117).

<sup>8</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 82<sup>r</sup>–84<sup>v</sup>. They are in AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 484<sup>r</sup>–519<sup>v</sup>, and in AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>v</sup>, respectively.

<sup>9</sup> They are Ana Maria Faydella, AHN, Inq, Leg 2156, Exp 22; Felicia de Bernes, AHN, Inq, Leg 2158, Exp 6; Pere Olivás, AHN, Inq, Leg 2156, Exp 47; and Gabriela Oquendo, AHN, Inq, Leg 2156, Exp 49.

of known cases in the Inquisition in Barcelona for this offence in this period is thus 309.

We know of more cases from Valencia. The *relaciones de causas* tell us of 356 cases of superstitions from a total of 5002 trials for the years 1554–1692.<sup>10</sup> The extant *relaciones* cover 113 of the 139 years.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the cases from the *relaciones de causas*, we know of 37 cases from the *allegaciones fiscales*. But only 3 of them predate 1700, and only one of those is unknown from the *relaciones de causas*.<sup>12</sup> From this tribunal we also have a number of preserved trials and trial fragments. From the archive of la Suprema we have 33 such *procesos*, 22 of them from the period under study here, 10 of which do not appear in the *relaciones de causas*.<sup>13</sup> From the archive of the tribunal itself we also have a number of trial documents, the majority of them from the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> In total we know of some 367 trials from Valencia.

The number of denunciations is likely to have been much higher. In Portugal the number of denunciations was nearly twenty times higher than the number of cases.<sup>15</sup> It is impossible to make a similar calculation for Barcelona because the registers of denunciations have not survived. Some such registers may still be extant from Valencia in the masses of uncatalogued documents from that tribunal, but none have surfaced so far.

<sup>10</sup> For this tribunal Henningsen gives the figures of 337 trials for superstitions and 4540 in total ('The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 58). Anita Gonzalez-Raymond puts the figures for the period 1566–1700 at 337 and 4740, respectively, though if we are to judge by the table she presents on page 42, the numbers would be 340 trials of 4723 (*Inquisition et société en Espagne*, pp. 33, 42, and 147).

<sup>11</sup> The years covered are 1554–57, 1566–93, 1595–1600, 1602–04, 1607–25, 1627–45, 1647–48, 1651, 1653–55, 1658–80, 1682, 1688–90, and 1692.

<sup>12</sup> Francisco Montañana, AHN, Inq, Leg 3725, Exp 187; Margarita Caselles, AHN, Inq, Leg 3725, Exp 230; José Manuel, AHN, Inq, Leg 3734, Exp 313. The latter is not to be found in the *relaciones de causas*.

<sup>13</sup> All of these are in AHN, Inq, Leg 5323. By name and *expediente* they are Ambroso de Acosta, Exp 3; Juana Aneta, Exp 10; Francisca Oruño, Exp 16; Francisco Flaviano, Exp 17; Juana Ana Perez, Exp 9; Fray Diego Gomez, Exp 25; Cleuteris Laura Henando, Exp 26; Clara Castella y Fernando, Exp 27; Jaime Martí, Exp 29; and Leonor Lopez, Exp 30.

<sup>14</sup> The absence of a detailed catalogue makes it difficult to be sure of the number of preserved trials. In the AHN's Inquisition section, *legajos* 518–67 are marked as containing *procesos de fe* from Valencia. There are trials for superstitions in *legajos* 522–28, 533, and 551. A number of these have been used in this book to supplement the *relaciones de causas*.

<sup>15</sup> José Pedro Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição num país sem 'caça às bruxas' 1600–1774*, 2nd edn (Lisboa: Editorial Notícias, 2002), p. 208.

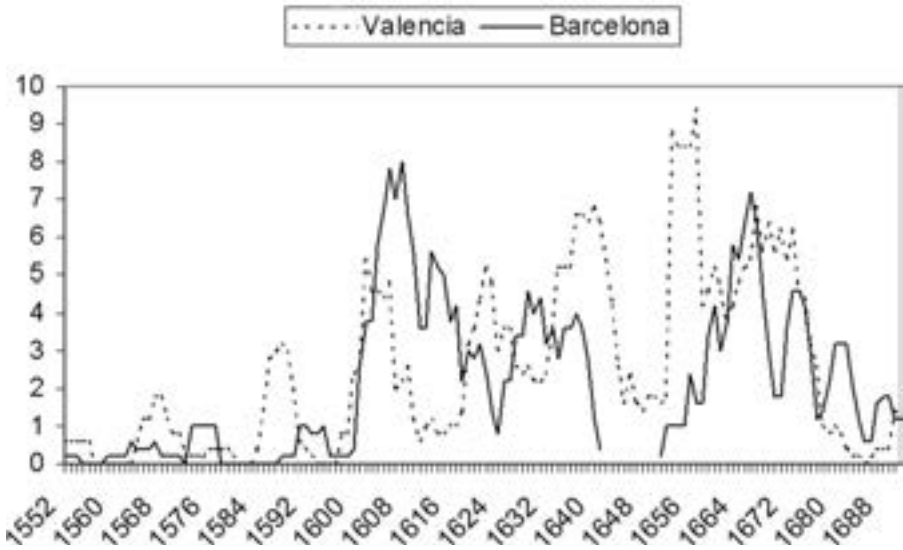


Fig. 1. Trials for superstitions in the Barcelona and Valencia tribunals, five-year moving average.

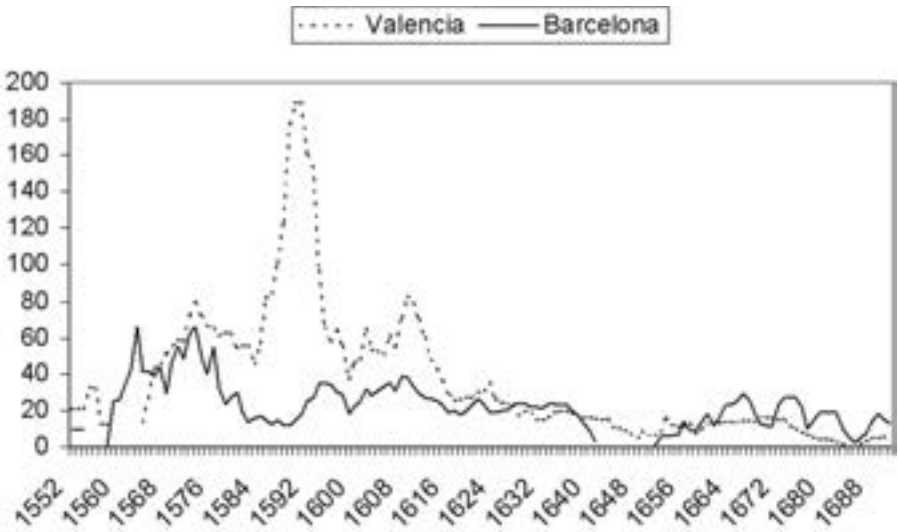


Fig. 2. All trials in the Barcelona and Valencia tribunals, five-year moving average.



### *A Statistical Approximation*

For this section we shall rely solely on the *relaciones de causas*, since they are a systematically preserved source, and more apt for the statistical analysis of percentages and trends of continuity and change than the randomly preserved original trials and other sources.

### **Chronology**

Turning to the chronological distribution of the cases, Figure 1 shows that there were some similarities in the developments in Valencia and Barcelona. The general trend of a sharp rise in the number of trials for superstitions in the seventeenth century is the same in both tribunals. That this was a significant development is shown by Figure 2, which shows the chronological distribution of all trials in the *relaciones de causas*. The decline of the Holy Office in the seventeenth century is readily apparent, in particular if we consider that our sources for the seventeenth century are considerably better than those for the sixteenth. If we look at the trials for superstitions as percentage of the total number of trials in Figure 3, we see how it increased noticeably in both Catalonia and Valencia in the first two decades of the seventeenth century and peaked in the period 1640–80. But why did the number of trials for superstitions increase when the number of trials in general decreased? In Catalonia the witchcraft trials brought the numbers up somewhat, but not in itself sufficiently to account for this increase. Furthermore, as Figure 4 shows, witchcraft trials were numerous only in the period before the French occupation, 1640–50. Both here and in Valencia other explanations must be sought. One such explanation might be that the Inquisition now investigated less-important cases of superstitions which earlier had been ignored in favour of the more serious matters of Lutherans, Muslims, and Jews. Another explanation might be somewhat similar, that trivial cases which had previously been dealt with on the spot during visitations, and thus never reported in the *relaciones de causas*, became the subject of fuller investigations when denounced to the Inquisition after the practice of visitations had been abandoned. This accords well with the decline of the visitations of districts which took place at the same time.<sup>16</sup> This is also the impression one gains from reading through the *relaciones de causas*. An example is the trial of the surgeon Diego Tason in Valencia in 1667. He was denounced for having tried to cure a

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 23.

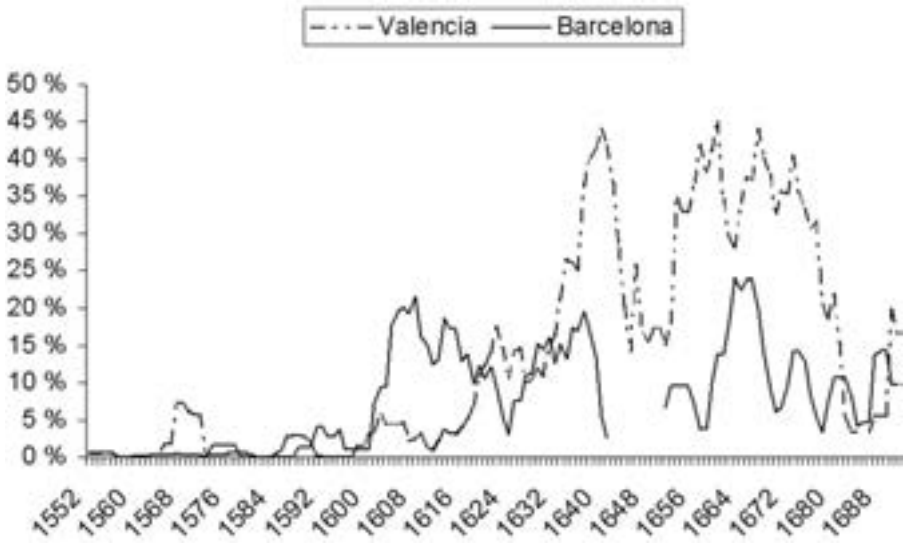


Fig. 3. Trials for superstitions as percentage of all trials in the Barcelona and Valencia tribunals, five-year moving average.

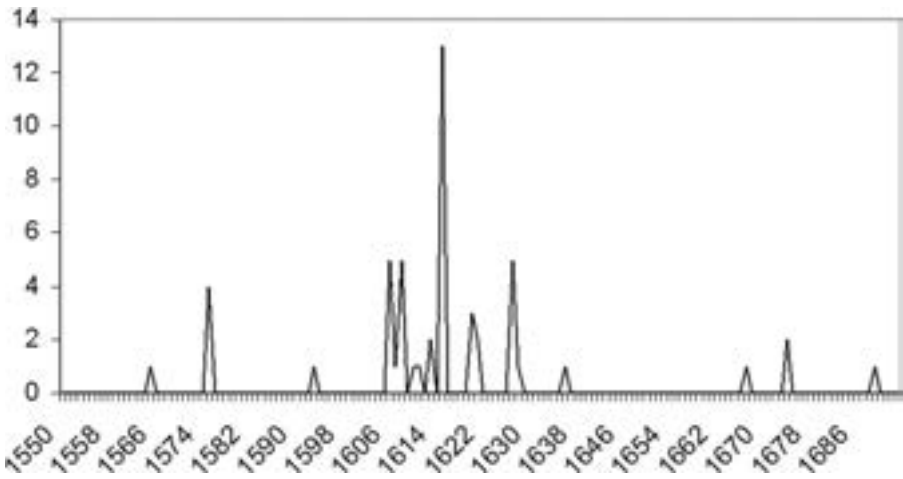


Fig. 4. Trials for witchcraft in the Barcelona tribunal, absolute numbers.

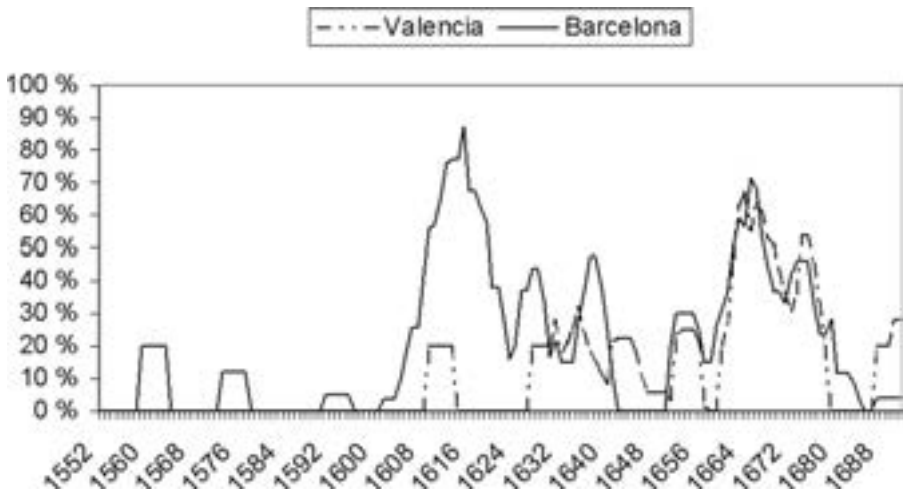


Fig. 5. Percentage of suspended trials and acquittals in cases of superstitions in the Barcelona and Valencia tribunals, five-year moving average.

bleeding head wound with an illicit prayer. The inquisitors reported that ‘he appears to have naively confessed the crime he was denounced for, showing his ignorance in believing he could use the said prayer since they were good and devote words’. He was ‘gravely reprehended, warned and threatened not to use them for healing from now on’, and then let go while his case was suspended.<sup>17</sup>

Figure 5 seems to bear out the impression that such less serious cases inflated the number of trials for superstitions over time, since it shows that the percentage of trials ending with an acquittal or suspended sentence increased in the seventeenth century in relation to the sixteenth. A great many lesser trials ended in this way, with a stern warning and a suspended case, or downright acquittal.

Thus, the increase in trials for superstitions may be attributed in some measure to the effects of witch-hunting by secular courts in Catalonia, as well as to the Inquisition in both Barcelona and Valencia having more time to deal with smaller cases, and to the practice of including in the ordinary caseload types of cases which earlier had been settled on the visitations without going to trial.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Parecía hauer confessado ingenuamente el delito de que hauia sido testificado manifestando su ignorancia en creer podia usar de dicha oracion por ser sus palabras buenas y deuotas [...] grauemente reprehendido aduertido y conminado no las use en adelante’: Case no. 580.

## Typologies

The basic typological distinction used in this book is that between sorcery and witchcraft, as outlined in the introduction. In the Barcelona tribunal, 52 of the 287 cases were for witchcraft, that is, 18 per cent.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, in the tribunal in Valencia the word ‘witch’ (*bruja*) is used in 10 of the 356 cases, but only in one is that the actual charge, and that trial did not originate in the Kingdom of Valencia: It was from the southern part Catalonia which fell under the Valencia tribunal’s jurisdiction.<sup>19</sup>

The remainder of the cases in the two tribunals, 237 and 355 respectively, can be further broken down in numerous ways; by aim, by method, by tradition, and by the practitioners, to name a few. However, it is not the aim of this book to write a complete history of the practice of sorcery in Barcelona and Valencia, though that is certainly a subject worthy of an exhaustive study. Instead we shall limit ourselves to studying those aspects which appear to have some bearing on our subject. In this case, the question is not which were the types of sorcery practised in Valencia and Catalonia, but rather, if there were differences in the sorcery practised in these two areas which might explain why Catalans prosecuted witches and Valencians did not.

One of those differences is the practice of invoking demons. The Inquisition in Barcelona tried 38 such cases, 18 of those involving the use of written instructions<sup>20</sup> and 20 rooted in oral tradition.<sup>21</sup> Of those defendants who employed the oral tradition, 5 came from other parts of Spain<sup>22</sup> and 2 were foreigners.<sup>23</sup> We thus only know of 13 Catalans prosecuted for using orally transmitted instructions to invoke demons during the space of 152 years. The picture is very different in

<sup>18</sup> Case nos 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 36, 37, 42, 43, 45, 52, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 74, 77, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 111, 112, 113, 115, 119, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 157, 229, 244, 246, 249, 250, and 286.

<sup>19</sup> That case is Barbara Esteller, Case no. 405. See also below, pp. 145–46. It appears to be the only case in which the charge was witchcraft, though the lack of original processes mean that some of those called a ‘witch or sorceress’ (*bruja o hechicera*) by their denouncers may conceivably have been accused of witchcraft by the *fiscal*. In any case, the word *witch* surfaces on a total of 10 *relaciones*, including that of a would-be witch finder. The other 9 cases are nos 358, 364, 378, 415, 450, 469, 554, 598, and 617.

<sup>20</sup> Case nos 6, 20, 25, 33, 39, 40, 53, 79, 80, 81, 104, 121, 208, 209, 210, 211, 220, and 252.

<sup>21</sup> Case nos 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 47, 70, 72, 142, 159, 175, 177, and 230.

<sup>22</sup> Two were from Valencia, one was from Granada, one from Aragon, and one from Majorca.

<sup>23</sup> Though one came from a part of the Spanish Crown, Palermo. The other one was French.

Valencia, where there were 118 cases involving invocation of demons, 96 of them rooted in the oral tradition.<sup>24</sup> In a typical Valencian case, Serafina Agueda was denounced as having invoked Satan himself, but also Barabbas and that very Valencian demon, ‘the limp devil’, all in order that ‘the men she wanted would come to her’.<sup>25</sup> A total of 84 of these 96 were natives of the Kingdom of Valencia, meaning that more than six times as many Valencians as Catalans were prosecuted for invoking demons based on orally transmitted formulas. In total, this kind of case makes up 27 per cent of the trials for sorcery in the Holy Office in Valencia, but only 8 per cent in Barcelona.

But Valencians were not much more inclined than Catalans to use magical books or other written instructions to invoke demons. This is charged in 22 cases in Valencia (involving 18 natives) versus the 17 (involving 13 natives) in Barcelona. Percentage-wise this means that Catalans were slightly more likely than Valencians to be prosecuted for this offence, since this means that 7 per cent of all cases in Barcelona and 6 per cent in Valencia fall into this category. The general proclivity for magical books was also fairly equal, which may be somewhat surprising since France appears to have been the most common source for these.<sup>26</sup> The prior Fray Hieronimo Sijar was rumoured to have sent a man to France in order to obtain magical books, and among his possession when arrested by the Bishop of Gerona ‘for matters concerning his habits and dishonesties’ (he allegedly had twelve children) were two copies of the *Clavicula Salomonis* in his own handwriting. He was penanced in Barcelona in 1608.<sup>27</sup> In total, 54 cases in

<sup>24</sup> For a further discussion of demonic invocations in Valencia, see below, pp. 157–64. The 118 cases involve 117 defendants: Case nos 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 313, 314, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 340, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 350, 349, 351, 352, 353, 356, 357, 358, 359, 361, 362, 363, 365, 371, 376, 380, 381, 383, 387, 388, 389, 391, 394, 403, 411, 431, 433, 435, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446, 448, 454, 455, 477, 482, 484, 495, 499, 503, 504, 505, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 539, 544, 555, 557, 561, 562, 578, 595, 596, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 607, 608, 626, 633, 635, 636, 640, 641, and 642.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Los hombres a quien quería viniesen a ella’: Case no. 334.

<sup>26</sup> Magical books circulated both in printed and in manuscript form. Since the books were illegal and often printed in Latin or in foreign languages, they were transcribed and often translated once in Spain. Translated transcriptions were often incomplete, and when they in their turn were copied, the new copies were often just extracts. This poses methodological problems, because it is impossible to separate those cases involving handwritten extracts from books such as the *Clavicula Salomonis* and those where the papers are a reified form of the oral culture. This is best solved by considering all of these as belonging to one group, that of written instructions.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Por cosas tocantes a sus costumbres y deshonestidades’: Case no. 53.

Valencia include claims of magical books or other written instructions,<sup>28</sup> while the corresponding number for Barcelona is 50.<sup>29</sup> Percentage-wise this means that 20 per cent of Catalan and 15 per cent of Valencian cases include this charge.

If we turn to accusations of maleficium, the numbers are again roughly equal, at least on the surface. There are 46 such cases in Valencia<sup>30</sup> and 42 in Barcelona.<sup>31</sup> However, this is not a fair comparison, since maleficium usually was the initial accusation against alleged witches.<sup>32</sup> We then get the following picture: Maleficium was among the charges in 13 per cent of Valencian trials for superstitions, and 17 per cent of the Catalan trials. But maleficium and witchcraft together make up 32 per cent of all trials for superstitions in the Barcelona tribunal. The difference between the two tribunals is clear.

Divination was an important part of the caseload in both tribunals, and does not present much of a difference between the two areas.<sup>33</sup> There are however some other differences well worth noting. One of these is the somewhat greater Valencian penchant for hunting enchanted treasures, which was part of the

<sup>28</sup> Case nos 303, 325, 326, 339, 342, 345, 346, 357, 360, 361, 365, 380, 381, 382, 383, 393, 395, 403, 446, 447, 448, 455, 457, 465, 472, 474, 484, 518, 540, 544, 547, 549, 550, 551, 553, 557, 561, 578, 579, 580, 583, 608, 610, 614, 613, 612, 611, 615, 618, 628, 632, 636, 639, and 640.

<sup>29</sup> Case nos 2, 6, 19, 20, 21, 25, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 71, 76, 79, 80, 81, 88, 102, 103, 104, 121, 138, 150, 152, 153, 154, 160, 161, 162, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 220, 221, 227, 252, 253, and 277.

<sup>30</sup> Case nos 364, 374, 378, 427, 433, 437, 439, 443, 447, 450, 459, 464, 468, 469, 470, 471, 482, 483, 484, 502, 505, 508, 510, 513, 516, 518, 521, 523, 539, 541, 554, 560, 573, 576, 577, 586, 590, 595, 596, 603, 604, 605, 606, 608, 634, and 635.

<sup>31</sup> Case nos 23, 45, 52, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 74, 83, 84, 89, 90, 93, 115, 118, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 151, 157, 159, 172, 179, 206, 213, 214, 217, 222, 237, 238, 246, 255, 268, 272, 275, 283, and 286.

<sup>32</sup> While witchcraft trials tended to generate accusations against other people than the initial defendants, it is prudent to include the witchcraft trials here so as not to underestimate the number of maleficium accusations. If we want to study the scope of trials for supernatural attacks we must include all trials with such accusations, and not just those containing charges of maleficent sorcery. In other words, the harm done, and not the way of wrecking it must be the criteria for selection. Thus, witchcraft belongs logically with maleficent sorcery in the Barcelona tribunal in this comparison with Valencia.

<sup>33</sup> Blázquez Miguel makes very little of this in his book on the Barcelona tribunal, while both García Cárcel and Gonzalez-Raymond emphasize it in their works dealing with Valencia: Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña*, pp. 250–80, García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad*, p. 252, Gonzalez-Raymond, *Inquisition et société en Espagne*, pp. 157–59.

charges in 83 cases in Valencia<sup>34</sup> and 37 in Barcelona.<sup>35</sup> This works out at 23 versus 16 per cent of the cases, and probably reflects a greater belief in enchanted and other hidden treasure in those areas recently vacated by the Moriscos. This theory is strengthened by the fact that only 8 of the cases from Valencia predate the completion of the expulsion in 1614. A number of these involved clerics, such as Fray Rafael Serra, penanced in Valencia in 1639. He was denounced by his ten co-conspirators after fumigation with incense, prayers, psalms, incantations, litanies, lighting candles, and Serra officiating as minister calling on angels failed to bring them the expected riches.<sup>36</sup>

More important is the difference in trials for love magic and magical cures, both of which show strong regional variation. Love magic that aimed to secure both marriage and sexual alliances by supernatural means crops up in no less than 151 trials in Valencia, that is, in 43 per cent of all cases.<sup>37</sup> In Barcelona the figure is 50 trials, and 21 per cent.<sup>38</sup> The difference is significant, but just what it means is difficult to say. Most probably it is an indication that Valencia had stronger ties to Italy, where such trials were also common,<sup>39</sup> than Catalonia, which was

<sup>34</sup> Case nos 303, 326, 329, 331, 336, 345, 352, 357, 360, 361, 366, 373, 383, 384, 393, 396, 397, 399, 403, 404, 417, 418, 431, 437, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 451, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 460, 461, 462, 463, 465, 466, 467, 472, 473, 481, 484, 491, 521, 522, 529, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 557, 561, 570, 571, 578, 579, 597, 599, 610, 613, 611, 612, 614, 615, 618, 628, 629, 632, 636, 641, 642, and 643.

<sup>35</sup> Case nos 9, 19, 20, 22, 25, 33, 39, 40, 50, 75, 78, 80, 87, 114, 121, 132, 134, 136, 150, 151, 152, 198, 204, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 218, 220, 226, 235, 252, 263, 265, 274, and 287.

<sup>36</sup> Case no. 444.

<sup>37</sup> Case nos 301, 305, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 317, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 334, 335, 337, 338, 340, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 350, 351, 356, 358, 359, 362, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 394, 395, 398, 401, 406, 409, 411, 433, 434, 435, 436, 438, 440, 441, 442, 443, 451, 455, 464, 469, 477, 482, 483, 484, 488, 489, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 527, 528, 534, 535, 538, 539, 540, 541, 543, 545, 546, 549, 550, 551, 552, 554, 555, 556, 557, 561, 562, 572, 573, 575, 576, 577, 582, 586, 589, 595, 596, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 616, 626, 631, 632, 633, 634, and 639.

<sup>38</sup> Case nos 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 38, 47, 51, 70, 72, 82, 117, 118, 121, 122, 130, 135, 139, 142, 145, 146, 150, 163, 166, 172, 174, 175, 177, 188, 189, 193, 194, 195, 199, 200, 202, 205, 207, 208, 209, 230, and 234.

<sup>39</sup> For love magic in Italy, see Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550–1650* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

much more attuned to France. But it also points to the connection to Islamic influence, since love magic — ‘the most important chapter of all magic formularies among all peoples’ — figures so prominently in the North African magic studied by Edmond Doutté.<sup>40</sup>

Moving to the world of the magical healers we find the opposite picture, with 71 such trials in Barcelona<sup>41</sup> and 38 in Valencia.<sup>42</sup> Madalena Ferrera, who in 1621 was ‘forty-seven years old but looks like she is seventy’, was denounced for having attempted to cure a sick child, ‘because they believed she could say prayers and heal children’.<sup>43</sup>

If we see the magical healers in the context of the trials for maleficium, we get a picture of Catalonia as a far more troubled place than Valencia. Not only were stories of supernatural attacks much more common, but magical cures were also needed to a much greater degree. And there is a clear connection here, since a very large number of the Catalan magical healers were trying to heal maleficium. In fact, many of those prosecuted for healing were also denounced for maleficium.<sup>44</sup> Frequently they were accused of causing the harm they were trying to undo, common enough in the rest of Europe, but a rare phenomenon in Valencia.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, while Catalans were denounced for maleficium and magical cures, Valencians were denounced for commanding demons to secure them love and find treasure. This difference clearly had great importance for the reception of

<sup>40</sup> Edmond Doutté, *Magie & religion dans l’Afrique du nord* (Alger: Jourdan, 1908), p. 253.

<sup>41</sup> Case nos 11, 36, 37, 46, 69, 73, 83, 84, 85, 89, 109, 111, 116, 118, 120, 131, 132, 143, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 156, 158, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171, 173, 176, 178, 179, 180, 182, 185, 187, 191, 201, 214, 216, 217, 223, 224, 227, 229, 231, 237, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 247, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 261, 262, 267, 268, 283, 284, and 285.

<sup>42</sup> Case nos 378, 402, 408, 414, 416, 421, 427, 429, 434, 447, 458, 459, 462, 468, 469, 471, 474, 478, 482, 521, 524, 537, 547, 548, 558, 568, 570, 578, 580, 582, 584, 585, 587, 588, 603, 607, 638, and 639.

<sup>43</sup> ‘De edad de 47 años pero por su aspecto parece de 70 [...] porq tenia a la dicha Rea en opinio de que sabia dezir oraciones y curar niños’: Case no. 116.

<sup>44</sup> There are fourteen such cases: Case nos 69, 83, 84, 89, 118, 131, 151, 179, 214, 217, 237, 255, 268, and 283.

<sup>45</sup> And this was quite unlike contemporary Sri Lanka, where ‘according to the theory of magic one cannot onself cancel the effect one has produced’: Richard F. Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 404.



demonology, and the prosecution of witchcraft, which focuses precisely on explaining misfortune.

## Torture

Despite common conceptions to the contrary, the Spanish Inquisition did not employ torture more often or more cruelly than other contemporary courts. This is particularly so when we look at trials for superstitions, where these two tribunals were also much more lenient than their Portuguese counterparts. The Portuguese Inquisition tortured more than half of those accused of superstitions, and the use of torture actually increased over time.<sup>46</sup> But in the 356 cases from Valencia, torture was used in only 6, all of them in the period 1586–1604.<sup>47</sup> Those tortured were 3 men and 3 women. Thus, torture did not play much of a role in these cases in Valencia.<sup>48</sup> If we turn to Barcelona, perhaps surprisingly, the situation is not very different. Torture was used in 9 cases in the years 1575–1627.<sup>49</sup> Three men and 6 women, 6 alleged witches (1 male), and 3 purported invocers of demons were interrogated in this way. Two of the accused witches were absolved, and one had her case suspended. None were executed, partly because a confession for a first-time offender ensured that he or she would not be executed. Anton Puig was accused of being a witch (*bruxo*) in 1606 but only under torture did he eventually confess ‘that he had given himself to the devil and offered to do whatever he was ordered to’, including murder.<sup>50</sup> We cannot be sure what would have been his fate had he not confessed, but once he did, the inquisitors sentenced him to reconciliation, whipping, and five years of service to the poor in the hospital. La Suprema accepted this sentence from Barcelona, but stepped in to suspend the case against Joana Ferrera, who the same tribunal wanted to penance the same year despite the fact that she did not confess under torture.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps then, Anton Puig would also have escaped conviction if had he resisted torture.

<sup>46</sup> Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição*, p. 202.

<sup>47</sup> Case nos 304, 307, 319, 331, 344, and 346.

<sup>48</sup> For a more detailed discussion of inquisitorial caution and the use of torture in Valencia, see below, Chapter 7.

<sup>49</sup> Case nos 8, 20, 23, 25, 43, 45, 52, 89, and 124.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Que se hauia dado al Diabolo ofreciendo que haria lo que mandase’: Case no. 45.

<sup>51</sup> Case no. 43.

## Punishment

Ever since Henry Charles Lea we have been aware of the relative leniency of the Inquisition in trials for witchcraft and other superstitions.<sup>52</sup> This is borne out in the few executions for these offences. In Valencia there is not a single one in the *relaciones de causas*,<sup>53</sup> while in Barcelona after 1549 one convicted sorcerer was executed in effigy.<sup>54</sup> Thus, on Spain's eastern seaboard the Inquisition prosecuted 643 cases of superstitions during a century and a half, without putting a single person to death. Finding a similarly bloodless prosecution elsewhere in Europe will be difficult.<sup>55</sup> The Barcelona Inquisition had executed witches earlier in the sixteenth century,<sup>56</sup> but the Valencia tribunal had not. As a point of comparison, for the same period the total execution rate in Barcelona was 1 per cent, and in Valencia it was 2 per cent.<sup>57</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum there are greater differences. In Valencia only 2 prisoners were ever outright acquitted, including the only one accused of witchcraft, Barbara Esteller.<sup>58</sup> This is even lower than the general acquittal rate of

<sup>52</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, IV, 246–47, Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 92 and 226–28.

<sup>53</sup> García Cárcel lists some sorcerers as killed by the Valencian Inquisition earlier, in 1482, 1484, 1512, 1530, and 1531. However, he does not give any references for this information. A thorough search of documents in the AHN has not uncovered any trace of these trials, which would indicate that he did not base his assertion on Inquisition documents, but on royal fiscal records preserved in the Archivo del Reyno de Valencia. García Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición*, pp. 239–304.

<sup>54</sup> Pere Rialp, 1552, Case no. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Portugal comes very close. The Portuguese Inquisition killed 4 of the 818 accused of superstitions 1600–1774: see Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição*, p. 225.

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 52.

<sup>57</sup> That is, 40 out of 3197 in Barcelona, and 102 of 5002 in Valencia. The earliest years were by far the bloodiest. García Cárcel calculates that in Valencia before 1530 there were 754 executions from 1997 trials, a 38 per cent execution rate. In addition there are 357 whose sentences are unknown (*Orígenes de la Inquisición*, p. 184). The work of Pablo Pérez García and Jorge A. Catalá Sanz now allows us to see the number of executions by the Inquisition in Valencia in relation to the total. According to the *relaciones*, the Inquisition executed 36 convicts in the seventeenth century. The total number of executions in Valencia that century was higher than 885, and is estimated to have been 1200 ('La pena capital en la Valencia del XVII', *Estudis: Revista de Historia Moderna*, 24 (1998), 203–46).

<sup>58</sup> Case no. 405. The other acquitted prisoner was Thomasa Cardailach, Case no. 436.

6 per cent in Valencia.<sup>59</sup> In Barcelona on the other hand, no less than 78 of the defendants were acquitted.<sup>60</sup> This is an acquittal rate of 27 per cent, which is on a par with the general acquittal rate of 29 per cent in this tribunal.<sup>61</sup> Of those acquitted, 40 were men and 38 were women. Fourteen (1 man and 13 women) were accused of witchcraft, which means that alleged witches were no more likely to be acquitted than were those accused of sorcery, an interesting fact when we bear in mind the Inquisition's sceptical attitude to witchcraft.

The other way of ending an inquisitorial trial without a conviction was by suspending the trial, which then might be reopened at any time in the future, though that appears to have been rare in cases of superstitions. Suspending the case, however, was quite common in both tribunals. In Valencia this was the end of 69 trials, some 19 per cent.<sup>62</sup> As a comparison, the general rate of suspended trials was 12 per cent in this tribunal.<sup>63</sup> In Barcelona the number was almost the same, 67 trials and 23 per cent.<sup>64</sup> This was much higher than the average of 10 per cent for all trials.<sup>65</sup>

Summing up, we find 20 per cent suspended trials and acquittals in Valencia, and 51 per cent in Barcelona. For Valencia this is almost the same percentage as for trials in general, which is 19, but for Barcelona it is much higher than the 38 per cent for all trials. Finally, looking at Figure 5 we see that the percentage of acquittals and suspended trials increased in the seventeenth century.

<sup>59</sup> That is, 300 of 5002 trials. Compare this with García Cárcel's assertion that during the period 1478–1530, acquittals were more common in Valencia than in other tribunals (*Orígenes de la Inquisición*, p. 199).

<sup>60</sup> Case nos 2, 7, 8, 10, 14, 21, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 71, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 137, 139, 140, 141, 144, 157, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 170, 175, 186, 191, 192, 201, 204, 206, 213, 215, 216, 225, 227, 234, 239, 240, 241, 257, 262, and 267.

<sup>61</sup> That is, 930 acquittals in 3197 trials.

<sup>62</sup> Case nos 358, 359, 414, 415, 417, 424, 432, 433, 449, 450, 470, 472, 473, 477, 483, 485, 493, 494, 525, 526, 527, 553, 554, 555, 558, 559, 560, 563, 566, 564, 565, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 576, 580, 581, 583, 584, 585, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 598, 599, 608, 614, 615, 616, 619, 620, 621, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 638, 639, and 640.

<sup>63</sup> That is, 615 of 5002 trials.

<sup>64</sup> Case nos 19, 42, 43, 44, 65, 67, 72, 74, 75, 81, 83, 85, 90, 94, 96, 92, 91, 100, 99, 95, 98, 93, 97, 101, 154, 169, 171, 173, 176, 177, 182, 184, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 197, 202, 203, 214, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 235, 236, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 247, 253, 254, 255, 256, 271, 278, and 286.

<sup>65</sup> That is, 338 of 3197 trials.

This is not the place to go into great detail about the punishment meted out by the Inquisition to convicted sorcerers and witches, which is already covered in some of the literature.<sup>66</sup> But it is necessary to stress that the relative leniency of the Inquisition's punishments did not mean that they did not have a severe impact on the lives of those convicted.<sup>67</sup> Usually the 'light punishments' consisted of banishment, sometimes in combination with a public flogging.<sup>68</sup> Thus the zero execution rate and the fact that 20 to 51 per cent of the defendants were let off with nothing more than a warning should not obscure the fact that these trials still brought suffering to hundreds of people.

### *Sorcerers and Witches*

The *relaciones de causas* give us the following figures for trials for superstitions in the Barcelona and Valencia tribunals (Table 1):<sup>69</sup>

**Table 1. Number and gender of defendants in trials for superstitions**<sup>70</sup>

	Barcelona		Valencia	
<b>Women</b>	147	51%	216	61%
<b>Men</b>	140	49%	140	39%
<b>Total</b>	287	100%	356	100%

<sup>66</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 121–208.

<sup>67</sup> See Gunnar W. Knutsen, 'Where Did the Witches Go? Spanish Witches after their Trials', in *Pathways of the Past: Essays in Honour of Solvi Sogner on her 70th Anniversary*, ed. by Hilde Sandvik and others (Oslo: Novus, 2002), pp. 197–207.

<sup>68</sup> Compare this with Geneva's practice of banishing those witches who were not convicted: Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, p. 50.

<sup>69</sup> For archival references, see my bibliography, below.

<sup>70</sup> In three cases the gender of the defendant is unknown. Using a cautious approach, these have been counted as females since they make up the majority of the defendants. These three come from the *relación de causas* from the *auto* held on 12 December 1554. The folios this *relación* was written on, AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fols 8<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>, have disappeared from the AHN at some time after they were categorized by Gustav Henningsen and Jaime Contreras. These defendants have been counted, even though the source is no longer available.

The high percentage of men is immediately striking for anyone familiar with the literature on European witchcraft trials, since in most areas of Europe 'the percentage of female defendants exceed 75 percent'.<sup>71</sup> It becomes even more so if we look at the trials for sorcery in Catalonia, excluding witchcraft. We then have 235 cases, 134 against men, who thus make up 57 per cent of the defendants in these cases. Among those accused of witchcraft the picture is radically different, with 88 per cent women among the 52 defendants. The two theories usually employed to explain a higher than usual ration of men to women among the accused in European witchcraft trials are quite unable to explain this. The first is the observation that the ratio of men tended to increase during large witch panics.<sup>72</sup> Here the situation was the opposite; during the witch-hunts and witch panics the ratio of men was far lower than for other magical crimes. The second theory is that the areas which had previously seen trials for heresy saw a larger number of male witches because witchcraft became equated with heresy.<sup>73</sup> But in Catalonia it was precisely the *heresy* of witchcraft which saw fewer males prosecuted, despite the fact that the Inquisition had been introduced there in 1232 to combat the Cathar heresy.<sup>74</sup>

Some types of information about the defendants are systematically noted in the *relaciones*, such as age and the place of origin for those from outside the respective tribunals' districts. It is also consistently noted if the prisoner belonged to any of the religious and ethnic minorities. Other information is only systematically forthcoming in the case of the women, such as marital status. This information was noted in the original trial documents of all prisoners, male and female alike. However, in the *relaciones* this was systematically reported about female prisoners, but not about the men. In fact, in the original trial documents there is a wealth of information about each prisoner, but that was not regularly conveyed to la Suprema until the eighteenth century. The same holds true for information about the defendants' professions, or that of their husbands. To obtain this information we must either use those original *procesos* which are extant, or those *relaciones* which tell us the marital status in some casual way, or a combination of both. However, these are not sound methods for producing

<sup>71</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 133–41 (p. 33).

<sup>72</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, p. 136, H. C. Erik Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562–1684: The Social and Intellectual Foundations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 179.

<sup>73</sup> Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>74</sup> García Cárcel and Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición: Historia crítica*, pp. 26–27.

reliable statistics,<sup>75</sup> and since this is not central to the present study we shall not pursue it much further.<sup>76</sup>

### Marital Status

It is rare to find information about the social status of the men in the *relaciones*. But we are informed about those of the defendants who belonged to the church, and in both Valencia and Catalonia a significant percentage of the men prosecuted for superstitions were members of the clergy or religious orders. In Valencia these were 40 of 140 men, 31 per cent of the total.<sup>77</sup> While in Barcelona they were somewhat fewer, 32 of 140, or 23 per cent.<sup>78</sup> The higher percentage of men among the accused appears to be in part because a significant number of clerics dabbled in ritual magic. While most of these predictably sought sex and money, some were accused of more exotic aims. Fray Joseph Thomas was reconciled in Valencia in 1665 after having been denounced for a range of magical exploits based on illegal magical books such as the *Clavicula Salomonis*. These ranged from the ability to make people invisible and divining by numerous means, to baptizing money so that the currency would always return when called by name by the sorcerer, even after having been paid to others. He also procured to remove the curse on the organ at his monastery. After conjuring and perfuming it, he confessed, 'it appeared to him to have improved somewhat', but only after following the advice of an organ-master to 'close properly all the valves in the registers but leave one register open' did the organ work properly.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> See the extremely small numbers managed by Gonzalez-Raymond when giving statistics for professions (*Inquisition et société en Espagne*, pp. 165–67).

<sup>76</sup> It could be argued that social status in fact is an important issue in light of the social strain model for explanation of European witchcraft trials. However, the social strain model, to the extent that it is still used by anyone, attempts to explain the large number of accusations of maleficium, and not the trials for love magic and treasure hunting which dominated Valencia. Whatever validity it still may possess is surely limited to trials for maleficium and witchcraft. We shall therefore attempt to address this where it may have some relevance, in the chapter on Catalan witches. See below, pp. 91–92.

<sup>77</sup> Case nos 297, 298, 336, 339, 354, 369, 381, 383, 399, 417, 418, 420, 422, 424, 430, 444, 453, 460, 461, 466, 474, 484, 486, 519, 520, 544, 547, 551, 561, 571, 579, 587, 588, 597, 609, 617, 618, 622, 623, 627, 632, 636, and 640.

<sup>78</sup> Case nos 6, 20, 21, 32, 38, 39, 53, 67, 76, 81, 102, 104, 110, 123, 162, 164, 169, 170, 173, 209, 225, 233, 235, 248, 253, 263, 264, 265, 269, 270, and 284.

<sup>79</sup> 'Le parecio mejoro algo [...] cerrase mas bien las ventanillas de los registros, y dexasse un registro habierto': Case no. 561.

Of the female defendants in Barcelona we have information on the marital status of 118 of the women. No women from religious orders were prosecuted for superstitions, while in Barcelona one *beata* was.<sup>80</sup> Apart from the *beata*, we have 16 unmarried women, 50 widows, and 51 married women. In Valencia we know the marital status of 184 of the accused women. As many as 41 were unmarried, while 72 were married and 71 were widows. In both cases the large group of widows is striking, while in Valencia's case the percentage of unmarried women is also rather high.

## Age

We have information on the age of the defendants in 295 cases in Valencia and 215 in Barcelona. Table 2 shows the distribution of age and gender of the defendants in the trials for superstitions in the two tribunals. There is no real difference in the age at which men and women were prosecuted by the Inquisition, nor is there much of a difference in the age distribution between the two tribunals. These numbers are also similar to those of the Catalan witches.<sup>81</sup> If anything at all is striking about these numbers, it is that they, with the exception of the under-21s, probably reflect the population structure more than anything else. In other words, no age group, such as the elderly, seem to have been singled out for prosecution for these offences.

**Table 2. Distribution of age and gender of defendants in trials for superstitions**

Age	Valencia			Barcelona		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
11–20	12	15	27	6	8	14
21–30	30	63	93	32	25	57
31–40	32	48	80	22	29	51
41–50	15	23	39	23	24	47
51–60	16	22	38	15	15	30
61–70	6	9	15	6	5	11

<sup>80</sup> Marianna Poch, Case no. 67.

<sup>81</sup> See below, p. 91.

Table 2 (continued)

Age	Valencia			Barcelona		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
71–80	1	1	2	1	0	1
81–90	1	1	2	0	2	2
91–99	0	0	0	1	1	2
All	113	182	295	106	109	215

### Nationality and Ethnicity

There are 20 foreigners among those prosecuted in Valencia, including 2 from Spanish possessions in Italy.<sup>82</sup> There are also 3 other Italians, 1 Macedonian priest, and 1 Dutch woman.<sup>83</sup> But the largest group of foreigners are the French, 10 in all.<sup>84</sup> There are also a total of 44 prisoners from other parts of Spain, usually also called foreigners by Valencians. Eight of these prisoners came from neighbouring Aragon, and another 8 came from Catalonia.<sup>85</sup> The other neighbouring territories also contributed a fair number of prisoners. From Majorca came 6, while Castile contributed 8.<sup>86</sup> A few prisoners came from areas further away in Spain. Eight came from Andalusia, 1 from Galicia, 2 from Navarre, and 2 from the Basque country.<sup>87</sup>

Spain's two largest minorities, the Moriscos and the Gypsies, are also represented among the prisoners. Ten Moriscos were tried for this offence, according to the *relaciones de causas*.<sup>88</sup> Six Gypsies were tried for superstitions in Valencia, and they came from all corners of Spain.<sup>89</sup> One was from Vitoria, another from Seville, and a third was from Valencia, while for three of them the *relación* does not contain this information.

<sup>82</sup> Case nos 399 and 559.

<sup>83</sup> Case nos 301, 304, 360, 381, and 423.

<sup>84</sup> Case nos 339, 342, 379, 386, 458, 465, 467, 529, 551, and 583.

<sup>85</sup> Case nos 305, 351, 514, 527, 539, 555, 626, 632, 347, 414, 425, 431, 444, 495, 502, and 577.

<sup>86</sup> Case nos 417, 463, 521, 540, 556, 557, 418, 424, 496, 507, 517 and 536 (same person), 550, 589, and 607.

<sup>87</sup> Case nos 345, 349, 422, 439, 500, 513, 526, 537, 640, 313, 549, 541 and 552.

<sup>88</sup> For more detail, see below, pp. 77–80.

<sup>89</sup> Case nos 370, 377, 406, 439, 545, and 552.



The *relaciones de causas* from Barcelona show that 45 foreigners were prosecuted for superstitions there, if we include Joana Montaña, alias 'Toneta', from Andorra.<sup>90</sup> The Barcelona tribunal also prosecuted 1 Englishman, 1 German woman, and 5 men from Spain's Italian possessions.<sup>91</sup> But it was the French who dominated, just as in Valencia. This is to be expected in a border area and with such a large immigrant population as Catalonia had in this period. In light of this it is perhaps surprising that there were no more than 38 French defendants, constituting 12 per cent of the total.<sup>92</sup> This is in contrast to William Monter's claim of a preponderance of French suspects. If we only look at the period after 1577, when in Monter's words 'the history of witchcraft trials by the Barcelona Inquisition virtually reduces to another instance of prosecuting French immigrants to Catalonia', we find that 12 of 45 witches came from France.<sup>93</sup> The evidence does not bear him out, and the majority of witches in Catalonia were Catalan. Even allowing for Monter's use of the word *witch* to include all forms of superstitions and not going beyond what he calls the 'Aragonese century', his assertion appears strange: among those prisoners tried for any kind of superstitions between 1577 and 1630, 20 of 128 defendants of whom we have information were French. This is actually below the average for Barcelona, where 28 per cent of all defendants were French.<sup>94</sup>

There are also a total of 19 accused from other parts of Spain. As is to be expected, the largest group is Valencians, 6 in total, closely followed by Majorca, Andalusia, and Aragon, each of which contributed 4 prisoners.<sup>95</sup> There was also a man from Navarre and another from the Canaries among the Spanish prisoners.<sup>96</sup> The minorities are barely represented here. There is but 1 Morisca and 2 Gypsies.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Case no. 8.

<sup>91</sup> Case nos 54, 149, 73, 81, 107, 123, and 175.

<sup>92</sup> Four of these were from Perpignan. Case nos 4, 9, 11, 14, 20, 21, 33, 35, 36, 37, 69, 75, 82, 89, 94, 93, 98, 100, 91, 92, 95, 101, 106, 120, 131, 132, 137, 143, 147, 150, 151, 158, 201, 214, 220, 232, 257, and 287.

<sup>93</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, p. 121.

<sup>94</sup> That is, 882 of 3197.

<sup>95</sup> Case nos 12, 18, 17, 39, 80, 228, 5, 72, 260, 272, 28, 41, 163, 282, 23, 71, 218, and 262.

<sup>96</sup> Case nos 279 and 185.

<sup>97</sup> Case nos 28, 61, and 282.

### *The Inquisition and Superstition*

If we are to sum up the Inquisition's relationship to superstitions there are two words that immediately come to mind: contradictions and failure. The Inquisition's failure is apparent at once: the trials for superstitions became more numerous over time, a clear signal that the prosecution of these practices did not succeed in eradicating them. Less obvious are the contradictions between the task of the Holy Office in curbing the practice of sorcery on the one hand, and the role it came to play in the world of the sorcerers on the other. Both of these factors are important in understanding the history of the crimes of superstitions in the Inquisition and are worthy of further study, but since they are of a secondary importance for the basic problem under study here we shall deal with them only briefly.

#### **Contradictions**

The Inquisition prosecuted witchcraft and sorcery, but its role can not simply be described as one of repression. Instead it interacted in intricate ways with popular culture, sometimes reinforcing the very traditions it was attempting to stamp out. In order to obtain information the inquisitors were forced to give it out: potential denouncers had to be informed about what was to be denounced. At regular intervals, as well as during their visitations, the inquisitors published their edict of faith.<sup>98</sup> This informed the populace of which crimes against the faith they were obligated to report to the Inquisition. But it also served to inform the same population about what witches were, and how magic was performed, albeit in a very brief way.

Likewise, the *autos de fe* with the public reading of the sentences of the convicts entailed giving the audience information of their misdeeds. The large ceremonies the Inquisition mounted to publicly punish transgressors also served as vehicles of information in unintended ways. They were meant to show the church's forgiveness, the hideousness of heresy, and the might of the Catholic Church. But they also included reading the convicts' crimes out aloud to the crowd, thus communicating who performed magic how and to which purposes.

<sup>98</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, II, 91–101 and 457–63. I. Villa Calleja, 'La oportunidad previa al procedimiento: Los "edictos de fe" (Siglos XV–XIX)', in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, ed. by Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, 3 vols (Madrid: BAC-CEI, 1993), II, 301–33.

In this way the inquisitors unwillingly or unwittingly gave people ideas about activities that they otherwise might not have considered. Since some crimes, such as that of priests soliciting sexual favours in the confessional, were not punished publicly because of the ‘scandal’ this would provoke, we can safely assume that the inquisitors were indeed aware of the problem.<sup>99</sup>

Professional sorcerers often possessed public fame, *fama*, for their knowledge and capabilities. That was what brought them their clients, who either knew of them directly or by word of mouth. And nothing gave greater *fama* than having been prosecuted by the Inquisition. What better proof could there be that their magic really worked? We see this in the case Catalina Bosonia (alias ‘Catalina Gra’), who was penanced first in Barcelona in 1603 and then in Valencia in 1607.<sup>100</sup> After she was banished from Barcelona she travelled south to Valencia, where she was denounced to the Inquisition by her clients. By their denunciations we see that she had boasted of her earlier conviction by the Holy Office in Barcelona. She had spiced up her story considerably, saying that ‘she had done such things in Barcelona that if she confessed they would burn her’, and that ‘even if they tortured her a thousand times she would deny [the charges]’.<sup>101</sup> Considering that the Holy Office in Barcelona had not burnt anyone for superstitions in nearly sixty years and that Catalina was not one of the few victims of torture in Barcelona, we may assume that her hair-raising stories were used to impress her clients and convince them to pay for her services. Thus, the Inquisition unwillingly became a source of credibility and knowledge about precisely what it was trying to repress.

## Failure

The Spanish Inquisition was normally a slow-moving bureaucracy that more often than not found itself unable to stamp out the practices that it was supposed to combat. Perhaps the best measure of the Inquisition’s lack of success in eradicating sorcery and magic is the fact that it continued to prosecute for this offence

<sup>99</sup> Indeed these trials, and most others involving members of the clergy were conducted in the strictest secrecy for precisely this reason. Juan Antonio Alejandro, *El veneno de Dios: La Inquisición de Sevilla ante el delito de sollicitación en confesión* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1994), Stephen Haliczler, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned*, Studies in the History of Sexuality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 180–82.

<sup>100</sup> Case nos 24 and 347.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Hauia hecho tantas cosas en barca. que si las confessara la quemaran’: Case no. 347.

right up to the time the tribunal was disbanded. From both Barcelona and Valencia there are cases preserved from the nineteenth century.<sup>102</sup> Another facet of the continuing practice is that some of the magical rites as described in our sources remained almost unchanged for three centuries.

While some sorcerers and magicians came to the Inquisition's attention shortly after they first ventured into the magical underworld, many did not. Several were denounced years after the fact by their accomplices, but more commonly they were shown to have been practising for years when the inquisitors started to assemble evidence against them. Many had been publicly famed for their magical skills for years, or even decades, before finally being denounced to the Holy Office. In addition to the sorcerers who had been practising for years before the Inquisition caught up with them, there were others who showed no signs of changing their habits even after an unpleasant encounter with the Inquisition. In fact, several were punished various times, a clear reflection of how hopeless the inquisitor's task was.<sup>103</sup> An example is Joana Mata, convicted thrice in Valencia, and called 'incurrible' in her last trial. Still, the inquisitors settled for sending her to Zaragoza by mule.<sup>104</sup> Even when she was convicted a fourth time, now in Zaragoza and again for invoking demons, there was disagreement about whether to flog her or simply reprehend her once more. She died in the hospital before any conclusion was reached.<sup>105</sup>

An example of how difficult it was to stop these practices can be found in the case against Jusepa Domenec.<sup>106</sup> She was denounced by another prisoner for using magic in the Inquisition's own prison in order to be released by the inquisitors. According to her denouncer, she had divined by a star before she prayed St Helena's prayer, and then she had said

*Estrella hermosa y galana tu te llamas Diana y yo me llamo Jusepa, yo te quiero bautisar, y conjurar, yo te conjuro por uno, quien te conjura por uno te conjura por dos, repitiendo estas palabras asta trece, y luego decia: estos trece conjuros son trece demonios, que al monte olibet subiran y tres matas de olmo negro coxeran, y estas significan trece demonios, estos trece demonios iran, y se pondran en los ojos tres, y tres en el cerebro, y los otros tres*

<sup>102</sup> Ramon Duarte, *proceso* from Valencia 1818, in AHN, Inq, Leg 524, Exp 10. Madama Janeta, *allegación fiscal* from Barcelona, 1815, in AHN, Inq, Leg 3721, Exp 208. For Barcelona we have fragments of two trials from the nineteenth century: Coll de Pujarnoll in 1802, in AHN, Inq, Leg 2174, Exp 17; and Janeta Parisott in 1818, in AHN, inq, Leg 2177, Exp 55.

<sup>103</sup> Knutsen, 'Where Did the Witches Go?'

<sup>104</sup> 'Incurrible': Case nos 362, 440, and 452. Knutsen, 'Where Did the Witches Go?', p. 202.

<sup>105</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 993, fols 23<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Case no. 633.

en los pies de los señores Inques para que me despachen luego, y salga de la carcel. (original underlining)

(Beautiful dashing star, your name is Diana and my name is Jusepa. I wish to baptize you and conjure you. I conjure you by one, who conjures you by one conjures you by two, repeating these words up to thirteen, and then she said: these thirteen conjurations are thirteen demons, who will climb Mount Olive, and take thirteen plants of black elm, and these signify thirteen demons. These thirteen demons will go, and three will place themselves in the eyes, and three in the brain, and the other three in the feet of the inquisitors, so that they will dispatch me, and I will be released from the prison.)

According to her denouncer, this was not the end of her efforts, which included other prayers aimed at changing the inquisitors' minds. The star named Diana was supposed to be 'the wife of the principal demon in Hell'. She was also denounced for using magic to make the *alcaldes* of the prison come to 'serve her and love her'. Her magic, as referred by her denouncer, was a strange mixture of demons and saints, which she had learned 'from a cleric who had loved her dearly'.<sup>107</sup> She denied most of the charges, but confessed some of them, and also certain magical acts that had not been denounced. But she denied having performed magic to escape from prison. Since this was aimed at the very inquisitors it is not surprising that she denied such activities. Such a confession could hardly be expected to make them well-disposed towards her. Instead she claimed that she had used divination in jail to see if the inquisitors would soon call her for interrogations and release her from prison. She also admitted that she had prayed the prayer of the just judge, which was supposed to prevent agreements from being disclosed. Since she was denounced, this obviously did not work, but curiously her denouncer failed to mention this particular prayer to the Inquisitors. Unfortunately we know nothing of what the inquisitors thought of this, but it must have been disconcerting, or at the very least, depressing to have prisoners perform in the Inquisition's own prison exactly the same things they had been arrested for doing. This case sums up the Inquisition's situation quite neatly. It could produce denunciations and convictions against individuals, but it could not stop the practice, even in its own buildings.

It might seem somewhat puzzling that the inquisitors were unable to deal with this magical culture. They had both torture and the death penalty at their disposal, so why did the sorcerers persist in their ways even after having been penanced? The reality, as we have seen, is that the death penalty was hardly ever used in cases of superstitions, and torture was used to force confessions which in

<sup>107</sup> 'La muger del Demonio mayor de el infierno [...] servirme y amarme [...] un clerigo que la queria mucho'.

themselves normally excluded the relaxation of the convict, since only those who relapsed or refused to confess were put to death.

The most common punishment was banishment. Banishment was a cruel sentence that uprooted people from their social environment, destroyed families, and left the convict without the usual bonds of family and friendship. However, for the already uprooted social outcasts it only meant that they would have to seek their fortunes elsewhere. More often than not, the professional sorcerer did not have much of a social network to lose. Of course, banishment removed the offending person from the tribunal's district for a number of years, but it did not stop his or her activity, since many broke their banishment or simply resumed where they left off when it was lifted. But banishment also meant that the different tribunals of the Inquisition offloaded their troublesome people on each other. A banished sorcerer who arrived in a new town without friends or relations to turn to was often left with magical practices as the only viable source of income.<sup>108</sup> Just as banishment of heretics spread their heresies,<sup>109</sup> so banishment of magical experts made their expertise available to new audiences in other parts of Spain.

Public flogging was also used as a punishment against sorcerers, but again the established had the most to lose. Maria Rubio appealed in 1639 to be spared of her flogging since it would ruin her entire family's honour and make her unmarriageable.<sup>110</sup> Again this would be most damaging to those who had families, status, and social bonds. To the slave or prostitute it would matter less since they had no honour or position to maintain. Flogging was probably a punishment by humiliation more than by the physical pain. Take for instance the case of the eighteen-year-old Tunisian slave Jusepe Rueda, who was given a hundred lashes of the whip for sorcery on 20 October 1628.<sup>111</sup> According to a Valencian diarist who noted the event, he was flogged 'and later set free, and that afternoon two persons were flogged as thieves by order of the Audiencia, and the slave went to see them with great joy'.<sup>112</sup> Even a hundred lashes of the whip does not appear to have been a

<sup>108</sup> Knutsen, 'Where Did the Witches Go?'.

<sup>109</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 25.

<sup>110</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 926, fol. 626<sup>r</sup>. Knutsen, 'Where Did the Witches Go?', p. 201.

<sup>111</sup> Case no. 400.

<sup>112</sup> 'Y fue librado luego; y en la tarde azotaron a dos ladrones por la Audiencia, y el esclavo los fue a ver con mucho gusto': Alvaro de Vich and Diego de Vich, *Dietario valenciano (1619 a 1632)* (Valencia: Hijo de Francisco Vives Mora, 1921), p. 137.

physically debilitating experience, but the humiliation to anyone of substance must have been enormous.

### *Morisco Magic*

In his study of the Moriscos in Granada first published more than forty-five years ago, Julio Caro Baroja commented that it would be interesting to study the Moriscos from inquisitorial sources by looking at their local traditions and folklore, rather than just the Muslim orthodoxy.<sup>113</sup> This is a challenge historians have been slow to pick up, as well as when it comes to the study of Morisco superstitions. And just as there are no studies of superstitions in general in Valencia, there are none for Morisco magic and sorcery in that kingdom. But several of the general studies of Morisco superstitions also deal with Valencia and use sources from that tribunal.<sup>114</sup>

Contemporary sources usually portrayed the Moriscos as particularly given to superstitious practices. However, inquisitorial sources from Valencia show them to be proportionally under-represented among those prosecuted for superstitions. Using the *relaciones de causas*, Ana Labarta found them to be 18 of a total of 64 prisoners for the period 1566–1609, while our calculations put them at 10 out of 65.<sup>115</sup> In either case, the number is low when considering that the Moriscos formed one-third of the population. Labarta adds that the Moriscos were much more severely policed than the Old Christians, which would mean that their magical practice would be more likely to come to the attention of the Inquisition. This is probably a misinterpretation, since the Moriscos formed closely knit

<sup>113</sup> Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de historia social*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Istmo, 1976), p. 125.

<sup>114</sup> Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla, *La magie en Espagne: Morisques et vieux chrétiens au XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla, 'Magie et répression: Morisques et chrétiens, XVI<sup>ème</sup> et XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècles', *Revue d'histoire maghrébine*, 22.79–80 (1995), 421–62, and Ana Labarta, 'Supersticiones moriscas', *Awraq*, 5–6 (1982), 161–90.

<sup>115</sup> These are Case nos 292, 302, 319, 330, 345, 346, 349, 352, 353, and 357. We have used the classification made by Henningsen and Contreras, as well as some misplaced *relaciones* which neither they nor Labarta were aware of. Labarta used some reports from visitations of the district which we have excluded, and she has classified as superstitions several of those cases which Henningsen and Contreras regarded as concerning Muslim rites. At the same time, several of the cases which Henningsen, Contreras and we regard as being for superstitions have for some reason or other not made their way onto her list. Labarta, 'Supersticiones moriscas', pp. 164 and 180–82.



societies and usually lived apart from the Old Christians. The vast majority lived in areas rarely visited by the Inquisition. Furthermore, recent research indicates that the proximity of Old Christian and Morisco populations was the determinant factor to the level of repression, and not the actual behaviour of the Moriscos, which again belies the notion of a strictly monitored minority.<sup>116</sup> Moriscos generally sought to avoid the attention of the Inquisition and were thus unlikely to denounce even enemies among their neighbours for superstitions, something which the Old Christians had fewer scruples in doing. At the same time, the separate lives Moriscos and Old Christians led meant that Old Christians were unlikely to observe Morisco superstitions unless they were in the form of physical artefacts such as amulets, since most magical rites were performed in secret. However, Labarta is probably right in concluding that the Moriscos were no more likely to engage in superstitious practices than their old Christian neighbours. That, however, appears not to have been the perception of the Old Christian Valencians of the time. Maria de Santana told the inquisitors in 1604 that when a local cleric heard that she was a Morisca from Granada, he had immediately asked her 'if she knew any sorcery'.<sup>117</sup>

A pertinent question is whether it is actually meaningful to speak of Morisco superstitions as a set of beliefs and practices identifiably different from those of the Old Christians, or just in the sense of the Moriscos' participation in a shared culture of magic.<sup>118</sup> Does Morisco magic mean acts performed by Moriscos, or acts performed *exclusively* by Moriscos? In the first sense it will signify a set of actions

<sup>116</sup> García Cárcel and Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición: Historia crítica*, p. 134, Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 192–96.

<sup>117</sup> 'Si sabia algunas hechizarias': Case no. 345.

<sup>118</sup> In his classic study of the Moriscos in Granada Julio Caro Baroja states that Moriscos and Old Christians differed in their heterodoxy as well as in their orthodoxy. He found that while both groups resorted to 'various superstitions and sorceries', the magical practices of the Moriscos were 'quite different from those the Old Christians used' (*Los moriscos*, p. 127). Ricardo García Cárcel is more explicit as to the differences, stating that 'of the three great preoccupations of everyday Christian-Valencian sorcery (sex, future-death, and health), the Moriscos were polarised fundamentally towards the third of these objectives' (*Herejía y sociedad*, p. 235). While these two eminent Spanish historians agree that Morisco superstitions differed from those of the Old Christians, they point out two very distinct differences. Caro Baroja sees a difference in means, but García Cárcel emphasizes the two groups' different aims. Of course, in both cases these are comments made in passing and should not be given too much weight, since neither of them studied Morisco superstitions as such. Ana Labarta did, and her brief article from 1982 was the first serious study of the subject ('Supersticiones moriscas').



and utterances in our sources which can only be identified and put in this category by the identity of the performers as Moriscos. In the second it is the characteristics of the actions and utterances themselves that allows them to be categorized in this way. However, the question has to be seen in a religious context: What constituted 'superstition' to a Morisco may have been interpreted as Muslim religious practice to Old Christians, and vice versa. That was probably often the case. A good example would be the Moriscos' use of amulets with inscriptions from the Koran, *herçes*. This is by all accounts the most common form of superstitions by Moriscos tried by the Inquisition.<sup>119</sup> But the use of these amulets came to the attention of the Inquisition during trials for Islamic practices, such as observing Ramadan, and did not constitute trials for superstitions. *Herçes* were rarely mentioned when Moriscos were tried for what the Inquisition in Valencia considered to be superstitions, and are virtually non-existent cases put under the heading of 'superstition' in the *relaciones de causas*. This subtle point has escaped those who have studied Morisco superstitions, even though it is of central importance both when comparing the practices of Old Christians to that of Moriscos and when studying the Inquisition's treatment of Morisco superstitions.

What is important to the present investigation is that those forms of 'superstition' most closely tied to Islam and viewed by Old Christians as Islamic practices are much less likely to have been assimilated by Old Christians sorcerers than those that did not appear to have any close ties to religion. This does of course work both ways: Just as there are no Old Christians wearing *herçes* there are no Moriscos calling on Santa Elena. The superstitions alien to religious practice are those most amenable to cross religious boundaries, and thus these are also the Morisco superstitions that are most likely to have influenced Valencian conceptions in such a way as to make demonology incompatible with their beliefs. Therefore we must let the larger question of Morisco superstitions lie, and concentrate on those trials the inquisitors and *calificadores* considered to be for superstitions, even though this means ignoring many of those trials for Islamic practices which contain elements that historians have later identified as heterodox. By concentrating on the trials for what Old Christians considered to be superstitious we find what the Old Christian sorcerer could learn from his Morisco colleague.

The central trait of these trials in Valencia is the invocation of demons. In fact, in the ten such trials summarized in *relaciones de causas* for the period 1566–1610, all the Moriscos confessed to invoking demons. The single most important thing

<sup>119</sup> Labarta, 'Supersticiones Moriscas', pp. 167–73. Cardaillac-Hermosilla, *La magie en Espagne*, pp. 58–59.

the Old Christian could learn from his Morisco colleague was that demons could be controlled and manipulated.<sup>120</sup> Apparently they learned the lesson well, since the invocation of demons became a stock feature of Valencia sorcery.<sup>121</sup>

### *Conclusion*

We have seen in this chapter that both the Barcelona and Valencia tribunals tried a larger number of trials for superstitions in the seventeenth century than in the sixteenth, while the total number of trials decreased in the same period. Simultaneously the percentage of acquittals and suspended trials increased, but remained higher in Barcelona than in Valencia. And while the Barcelona tribunal did not execute anyone for superstitions after 1549, Valencia did not sentence anyone to die for this offence.<sup>122</sup> In both tribunals the use of torture was rare and limited to the decades around 1600.

The majority of the defendants were locals, while a slim majority were women. Only one of them was accused of witchcraft in Valencia, while some 17.4 per cent faced that charge in Barcelona. Apart from this, the most significant difference is the much greater number and percentage of trials involving conjuring demons in Valencia. And finally, we have seen that this accords perfectly with the content of the trials against the Moriscos, every single one of whom was accused of conjuring demons.

If we see this in light of what we learned about Christian-Muslim cultural exchange and acculturation in Chapter 2, we get the following picture: There were no trials for witchcraft in areas with Morisco population and long-time Christian-Muslim interaction, but in these areas a high number of Old Christians

<sup>120</sup> This is an important contrast to Richard Kieckhefer's emphasis on astrology, alchemy, and astral magic as the Arab influence on European magic in the Middle Ages, as well as his implicit limitation of this influence to written texts and thus elite high magic. For Kieckhefer, Arab influence was not part of what he dubs 'the common tradition of medieval magic' in Europe, but in Valencia it was (*Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 56–94 and 116–50). It does accord well with Westermarck's study of twentieth-century Morocco where the sorcerers' control over spirits is a prominent feature, and subjects of Satan are conspicuously absent: see Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1926). Similar results are found in Gerda Senger's study of contemporary Egypt, *Women and Demons: Cult Healing in Islamic Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). See also the classic study of North African magic: Doutté, *Magie & religion*.

<sup>121</sup> See above, pp. 58–59, and below, pp. 157–64.

<sup>122</sup> García Cárcel lists some early executions for sorcery in Valencia but does not give his sources for this information (*Orígenes de la Inquisición*, pp. 251–314.)

were accused of conjuring demons. In other words, the Christian areas were infected with Satan's servants while the mixed Christian-Muslim areas were infested with masters of demons. This is no coincidence, and goes a long way towards explaining the absence of witchcraft accusations in the south.



Barcelona



## A PLAGUE OF WITCHES

[Las brujas] son peores que sodomitas, porque cometen nefandas pecados, no solo fuera del sexo, y contra su especie pero tambien fuera del genero humano viuiendo amancebadas con el demonio.<sup>1</sup>

(The witches are worse than the sodomites, because they commit abominable sins, not just outside their sexual organs and their species but also outside mankind, living as the devil's concubines.)

We have seen earlier that the Barcelona tribunal prosecuted witches with less regularity than it did the other forms of superstitions. Figure 4 (p. 56) shows how these trials came in irregular waves, and not in a trickle over many years like the other trials. Superstitions were endemic, but witchcraft was epidemic. However, this graph simply reflects the number and chronological distribution of the witchcraft trials in the Holy Office, and does not include those in secular courts. And the number of trials in secular courts was in fact far higher than the number of trials in the Inquisition.

We are still a long way from knowing the full extent of the witchcraft trials in Catalonia, and not a single author dealing with the subject has so far taken on the daunting task of going from village to village to see what, if any, relevant material the local courts and municipal authorities have left behind. Local studies show that there are indeed relevant sources to be found in local archives.<sup>2</sup> These pioneer

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Lerida, Antonio Serra, in letter to the viceroy dated 8 January 1622, in ACA, CA 368.

<sup>2</sup> Raimundo García Carrera, *Les bruixes de Caldes de Montbui* (Caldes de Montbuy: Ajuntament, 1985); Pladevall i Font, *Persecucio de bruixes*.

studies have been the basis of virtually all subsequent work.<sup>3</sup> What we do know is that there were hundreds of these trials, and Catalonia's foremost theologians and jurists called the witches a 'plague'.<sup>4</sup>

### *Known Trials in Secular Courts*

Before we move on it may be helpful to sum up the trials in secular courts that are known to us through local studies and by mention in other sources such as inquisitorial trial documents. The trial of Pere Torrent in 1619 is known to us because the trial transcript has been published.<sup>5</sup> Antoni Pladevall i Font writes of more than forty executed witches in the Vic region in the years from 1618 to 1622, including Pere Torrent and those named in his trial.<sup>6</sup> Raimundo García Carrera names seven witches who were executed in Caldes de Montbuy in 1619 and 1620.<sup>7</sup>

Many witches are known to us simply because they are mentioned in passing in other trials. In the votation in the trial of Margarita Oliuera, all that is preserved of the trial, we learn that she had been accused by other witches 'and all four have been hanged'.<sup>8</sup> So here we are dealing with four witches executed by the secular authorities, while the fifth, Margarita Oliuera, was fortunate enough to wind up in the hands of the Inquisition which did not convict her, while her ultimate fate is unknown.<sup>9</sup> The witch finder Cosme Soler claimed in his 1617 trial that nine witches had been executed because of his efforts and that he had pointed

<sup>3</sup> Joan Guillaumet, *Bruixeria a Catalunya* (Barcelona: La paraula viva, 1976), Lluís Orriols i Monset, *Les bruixes segrestades* (Barcelona: Dalmau, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> 'Plaga': BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *Procés d'un bruixot*, ed. by Nolasca del Molar (Olot: Aubert Impressor 1968). The *relación* of the trial of Eulalia Ursola from Caldes de Montbuy in 1621 mentions that she was accused by six witches, five of whom had been hanged by secular justice.

<sup>6</sup> Pladevall i Font, *Persecucio de bruixes*, pp. 26–31.

<sup>7</sup> García Carrera, *Les bruixes de Caldes de Montbui*, p. 85. This book is a rather strange fictionalized description of these trials based on documents in local archives, but it appears to be on the level when it comes to the actual numbers and names of the witches, as well as the dates of their trials and their fates.

<sup>8</sup> 'Todas quatro estan ahorcadas': BN, MS 2440, fol. 82<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> She does not appear in the *relaciones de causas* for 1620 or 1621. These are in AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>v</sup> and 484<sup>r</sup>–519<sup>v</sup>.



out a tenth witch to judicial authorities.<sup>10</sup> Lorenzo Carmell, another witch finder, claimed in 1619 to have brought two hundred witches to justice, at least twenty of whom had been executed.<sup>11</sup> His victims probably include several of those mentioned here from other sources. The same year saw the trial of Barthelomo Romero, yet another witch finder, who claimed to have caused five witches to be executed.<sup>12</sup> Also in 1619, the *fiscal* of the Inquisition in Barcelona claimed that ‘in this principality of Catalonia in two or three years the secular judges have hanged more than three hundred people as witches’, a figure which must have included those mentioned in the trials of Lorenzo Carmell and Barthelomo Romero, but which should make us add another one hundred witches to our count.<sup>13</sup> A year later inquisitor Valdés stated ‘that more than a thousand persons have been hanged as witches in these parts in recent times’.<sup>14</sup> Finally, the 1627 trial of Joana Amadora speaks of another witch tried by secular justice.<sup>15</sup> Many more witches are mentioned without giving any clues as to the numbers. In fact, as early as 1517 we hear of secular courts punishing witches in the bishopric of Urge.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, even without any systematic attempt at locating sources in village archives we hear of hundreds of witches prosecuted by secular courts, while the same sources make it clear that the real number was much higher, perhaps more than one thousand just in 1620 and a few years before.<sup>17</sup> These numbers would be difficult to believe if we did not know how the witch finders operated in Catalonia.<sup>18</sup> In addition to this come the sixty-four witches we know from the Inquisition. Compare also the number of executions, which must have been in

<sup>10</sup> Case no. 105.

<sup>11</sup> Case no. 106.

<sup>12</sup> Case no. 107.

<sup>13</sup> ‘En este principado de Cataluna de dos o tres anos de esta pt. an ahorcado los jueçes seglares mas de treçientas personas por brujas’: BN, MS 2440, fol. 141<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Aber ahorcado mas de mill personas por brujas de poco tiempo a esta parta’: BN, MS 2440, fol. 84<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Case no. 127.

<sup>16</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 316, Segundo libro de Aragon, fols 50<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> This does not include the thirty-two witches of Capcir, since that region today is part of France. See Nuria Sales, ‘El bisbe d’Alet i les bruixes del Capcir’, *Recerques*, 1.19 (1987), 133–43. The figure of four hundred at the beginning of the seventeenth century was given by Reglà and repeated by Ricardo García Cárcel, *Historia de Cataluña: Siglos XVI–XVII*, II: *Los caracteres originales de la historia de Cataluña* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1985), I, 413.

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 105–08.

the hundreds, with the Inquisition's seven known executions, all before 1550, and the modest role played by the Holy Office compared to secular courts is plain to see.

### *Patterns of Prosecution*

Having established that there were hundreds of trials, conducted in both secular courts and the Inquisition we must now try to get some feeling for their geographic and chronological distribution. The earliest mention of witches in extant sources from the Holy Office in Barcelona is from 1517. On 8 May that year, la Suprema sent a letter to the tribunal in Barcelona, which, among other things, instructed the inquisitors to 'go and publish your edicts and collect information from witnesses against the witches'. A letter dated the same day and addressed directly to Inquisitor Mercader ordered him specifically to go 'to the mountains and publish the edicts against the witches'.<sup>19</sup> In June he was again urged to go to the mountains and proceed against the witches.<sup>20</sup> Thus, witches were a problem faced by the Holy Office in Catalonia from a very early date. A second point of note is that witchcraft is here clearly believed to be a problem besetting the sparsely populated mountain regions of the Pyrenees. This is confirmed by statements made thirty-one years later by Catalan theologians and jurists who said that earlier 'this plague was limited to a few in the mountains'.<sup>21</sup> We should also take good note of how la Suprema here urged the local inquisitors to take action against the witches, which they also did in another letter the same year. This third letter tells us that witches were then being prosecuted by secular authorities in the bishopric of Urgel situated north in Catalonia.<sup>22</sup>

In 1548 Catalonia exploded in a witch-hunt initiated by the witch-hunter Joan Mallet. The exact number of witches prosecuted is unknown to us, but the witch hunt was centred on Tarragona and the surrounding countryside. Even when faced with an appeal by local authorities to intervene because 'the whole land was doomed by the evils and damages wrought by the witches', and an offer by Tarra-

<sup>19</sup> 'Yr a publicar los edictos y recibir ynformaciones de testigos contra las bruxas [...] yr a las montañas a publicar los edictos contra las bruxas': AHN, Inq, Lib 316, Libro primero de Aragon, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 318, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> 'No abia esta plaga sino en las montañas y pocas': BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 316, Segundo libro de Aragon, fols 50<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>.

gonna to pay the costs of the trials, as well as appeals by the witches' relatives to take over the case stating that 'they would rather be burned by me [i.e., Sarmiento] than be set free there [by the secular judges]', the Inquisition hesitated.<sup>23</sup> The inquisitor found himself in a quandary because the instructions stated:

No puedo tomar a ninguno sin tener suficiente infon. y todas estas veo que an sido tormentadas sin indicio ni probança alguna mas de por el dicho de malet por el qual alla las prendieron.<sup>24</sup>

(I can not arrest anyone without sufficient evidence, and I see that all of these have been tortured without any evidence or indication whatsoever, apart from Mallet's claims, which was the reason why they were arrested there.)

This is an extraordinary indictment of the proceedings of secular justice. In fact, Inquisitor Diego Sarmiento is a harsher critic of the proceedings of witchcraft trials than many modern historians, anticipating by more than seventy years his much more famous successor Salazar, immortalized by Gustav Henningsen as the witches' advocate.<sup>25</sup> But he does not appear to have had Salazar's strength in going against established opinion. Instead of setting the witches free he convened a meeting of clergy and *audiencia* judges to discuss the reality of the witches' confession, telling them that he 'never wanted to judge in cases of witches', but that he would accept their decision. They decided that 'these witches could very well be punished'.<sup>26</sup> He followed their advice, and executed six witches the next year.<sup>27</sup>

The next large witch panic in Catalonia is often dated to the 1620s when it reached its high point, but it started earlier.<sup>28</sup> This time it also affected a much

<sup>23</sup> 'Toda aquella tierra estaba perdida por los males y daños q las brujas haçian [...] mas estimarian ser quemadas por mi que no ser absueltos alli': BN, MS 2440, fol. 97<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Salazar summarized his visitation of the witch infected areas saying, 'I have found not a single proof nor even the slightest indication from which to infer that one act of witchcraft has actually taken place [...]. Rather [...] that the testimony of accomplices alone — even if they had not been submitted to violence and compulsion — without further support from external facts substantiated by persons who are not witches is insufficient to warrant even an arrest' (quoted in Henningsen, *Witches' Advocate*, pp. 304–05).

<sup>26</sup> 'Nunca e querido entender en negocio de brujas [...] estas brujas podian ser muy bien castigadas': BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Letter to la Suprema, in AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 7<sup>r-v</sup>. This earned him the anger of la Suprema: Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 265–67.

<sup>28</sup> Pladevall i Font, *Persecucio de bruixes*, p. 32.

larger area, and the entire principality was convulsed in a panic which spurred even the highest political authorities into action. Judging by the *relaciones de causas*, this witch hunt started, or had its antecedents in, the first decade of the seventeenth century, and other sources indicate that it reached its high point in 1619–21. After trying one witch in 1565 and four in 1575, the Holy Office tried only one witch in 1593 before 1606. During the subsequent twenty-three years it tried 39 of the 50 witches we know from the *relaciones*.

The written protests that the *fiscal* delivered to the inquisitors and their replies in 1619 tell us that the lack of inquisitorial trials that year was not due to a lack of suitable suspects, but to the inquisitors' reluctance to intervene.<sup>29</sup> We should thus be careful to use the activity of the Holy Office as our yardstick for the level of witchcraft prosecution in Catalonia, but the concentration of trials in these decades do indicate that the large number of trials in secular courts in 1618 and in the next few years did not come on the heels of a long period free of such trials.<sup>30</sup>

After this intensive period of witch-hunting, only one witch was tried by the Holy Office (in 1636) before the French occupation brought the Inquisition's activities in Catalonia to a halt.<sup>31</sup> A few trials followed the restoration of Spanish rule, one in 1667, two in 1674, and the last in 1689. No trials are known from secular courts in his period, except in Capcir (present-day France) in 1643,<sup>32</sup> and any trials which may have been caused in the eighteenth century fall outside the scope of the present investigation. In total, the Holy Office in Barcelona tried witches in 18 of the 101 years covered by the *relaciones de causas* in the period from 1539 to 1691. These trials tended to take place grouped together in short time frames, and with great external pressure, in marked contrast to the other trials for superstitions which were caused by individual denunciations and came in a slow but steady trickle over the centuries.

<sup>29</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 139<sup>r</sup>–144<sup>v</sup>. The *relación de causas* for that year does not show any witches to have been tried. AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 426<sup>r</sup>–459<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Somewhat relatedly, Pladevall i Font points out that several of the witches confessed to having learned witchcraft from their parents, or had been suspected of witchcraft for as long as thirty years before their trials. Pladevall i Font, *Persecució de bruixes*, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup> The Holy Office under the French occupation has received extraordinarily little attention for such an interesting subject. Monter devotes a page and a half to it (*Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 123–24), while others, such as Blázquez Miguel, ignore it completely.

<sup>32</sup> Sales, 'El bisbe d'Alet'.

### *The Witches*

As we have seen earlier, few trials from secular courts are available, which makes the study of the defendants quite difficult. For those tried by the Holy Office the situation is somewhat better. The *relaciones de causas* give us some information about the 52 accused witches named there, most significantly that 46 of them were women.<sup>33</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, this sets these trials apart from the other trials for superstitions in the same tribunal where the majority of the defendants were actually men.<sup>34</sup>

While the majority of witches were female in most parts of Europe, it is rare to see such an absolute dominance as we have here. It is in fact quite difficult to account for, in particular since most of these were tried in the course of chain trials where evidence from other parts of Europe indicate that the percentage of men usually *increased*.<sup>35</sup> Whether this reflects a particularly strong Catalan conception of witchcraft as a female crime or a stronger than usual demonological influence must remain an open question, but a study of the witches' ages and marital status may bring us somewhat closer to an answer.

We have information on the ages of 38 of these 44 women. Their ages range from 13 to 94 years, with an average of 44.8 and a median of 47.5 years. Clearly the older part of the female population was most at risk. It should be no surprise then, that there were 21 widows among the 40 women we have information about. Another 16 were married while only 3 teenagers (aged 13, 14, and 18) were maidens. Most were Catalans, but at least 8 were French. The Catalan witch was the mirror image of the witch of the *Malleus maleficarum*, an older women who wrought terrible damage and murdered infants in the devil's service, but that does not prove any direct link to demonology.

Finally we should quote the Jesuit Pedro Gil who wrote a *memorial* on the witches in 1619, pleading that they should be treated with 'great caution and maturity' because 'it has to be presumed and appears certain that some of them are innocent', and if they are guilty 'they are as if blind and deceived by the devil'.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Case nos 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 42, 43, 52, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 74, 77, 83, 89, 90, 97, 93, 99, 95, 94, 100, 91, 92, 96, 98, 101, 112, 113, 115, 119, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 157, 229, 244, 246, 249, 250, and 286.

<sup>34</sup> See above, pp. 66–67.

<sup>35</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt* p. 136, Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany*, p. 179.

<sup>36</sup> 'Grande cautela y maduresa [...] porq. se presume y parece case es cierto q. algunas de ellas son Inocentes, y si ay de culpadas como son siegas, y engañadas del Demonio por su daño.' The

His description of the accused witches is less charitable. According to him they were 'poor, destitute, dim-witted women, and ignorant of the faith and Christian religion and obeying the commandments and good customs'. Therefore, he explained, 'nobody advocates for them'.<sup>37</sup>

### *Damages*

Perhaps the most frequent accusation made against the witches was that they murdered human beings, especially small children. The charge of murder appears among the first mentions of witches in Catalonia. A letter from la Suprema in 1517 describing the activities of the witches in Urgel states that the witches 'have killed and every day kill many [people]'.<sup>38</sup> From the deliberation of the *junta* assembled in Barcelona in 1548 we know that the witches then were accused of 'daily killing and burning children and causing many other damages'.<sup>39</sup> These charges would be repeated in later trials.<sup>40</sup>

In 1575 Andreua Beltraneta was accused of killing livestock with poison, while Joana Salauerda was charged with 'killing several children'.<sup>41</sup> In 1608 Antonia Foguera confessed to killing children and 'some clerics who had eaten the pears where she had put the medicines to kill the said boy'.<sup>42</sup> Madalena Cadefferrer told

version of this *memorial* used here is BN, MS 2440, fols 89<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>r</sup> (quotation on fol. 89<sup>r</sup>). This is the same *memorial* that can be found in BUB, MS 1008, fols 338<sup>r</sup>–340<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> 'Por q como son Pobres desamparadas, cortas de Juizio y ignorantes en la fe y Religion xpiana y obseruancia de los mandamtos. y buenas costumbres ninguno aboga por ellas': BN, MS 2440, fol. 92<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> 'Han cho y cada dia hazen muchas muertes': AHN, Inq, Lib 316, Segundo libro de Aragon, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> 'Los males y muertes que de cada dia se haçian de mochahos muertos y quemados y de otros daños muchos': BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> However, despite how hard Catalonia was hit by the plague, there are no cases of witches being accused of spreading the plague as they were in Switzerland. Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, pp. 44–45, 47–49, 94–95, 115–18, and 121–27; William G. Naphy, *Plagues, Poisons and Potions: Plague-Spreading Conspiracies in the Western Alps, c. 1530–1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). For the plague in Catalonia, see José Luis Betrán, *La peste en la Barcelona de los Austrias* (Lleida: Milenio, 1996).

<sup>41</sup> 'Hauia muertos ciertos niños': Case nos 9 and 7.

<sup>42</sup> 'Ciertos clerigos q comieron de las peras en las cuales ella hauia puesto las medecinas para matar al dicho moco': Case no. 68.

the inquisitor that 'she killed two of her hogs with some powder the devil gave her'.<sup>43</sup> The devil's Catalan servants clearly had a penchant for poisoning their victims.

Another common accusation was that the flying witches hurled hail from the sky, destroying crops and damaging buildings.<sup>44</sup> Making 'hail and other things in company of the devil' was a charge made against witches arrested in 1619.<sup>45</sup> Margarita Oliuera was accused of 'committing murders and causing damages to the fruit crops by hail and fog'.<sup>46</sup> Two years later Madalena Cadefferrer confessed to murdering two infants and two men as well as 'damaging the fruits of the earth many times'.<sup>47</sup> Eulalia Ursola's confession the same year tells of how this supposedly was done. The witches assembled in the company of the devil 'and they all went to a lagoon and there they threw some powder [onto the water] and clouds rose and a great hail fell and this caused harm'.<sup>48</sup> In his first confession Pere Torrent claimed not to have harmed people, because he had told the devil he did not want to do that, but he had 'caused hail to fall' all the fifteen or sixteen years he had been a witch.<sup>49</sup> He also told the court how the devil had taught him to raise wolves that 'would follow me like dogs wherever I wanted to', but he claimed never to have sent them to attack livestock as the *fiscal* suggested.<sup>50</sup>

A *memorial* states that the witches were guilty of infanticide as well as ruining 'the fields and grain with hail they let fall from the sky and fog which ate the fruits [...] and killing livestock'.<sup>51</sup> The Jesuit Pedro Gil wrote in 1619 that Catalan witches were being sentenced to death by secular judges 'based solely on the testimony of witnesses who claimed to have heard the witches

<sup>43</sup> 'Con unos poluos q la dio [el demonio] mato a dos puercos suyos': Case no. 115.

<sup>44</sup> Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, pp. 151–57.

<sup>45</sup> 'Con el demonio hecho caer piedras y otras cosas': BN, MS 2440, fol. 141<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> 'Se hallaba en los homicidios y daños de piedra y niebla q se hacian a los fructos': BN, MS 2440, fol. 82<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> 'A hazer daño a los frutos de la tierra muchas vezes': Case no. 115.

<sup>48</sup> 'Y fueronse todas a una laguna y hecharon allí unos poluos y se leuataron nublados y cayo grande piedra que hizo daño': Case no. 119.

<sup>49</sup> 'Fer caure pedra': Del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 58.

<sup>50</sup> 'Me seguirien com uns cans allí on jo voldria': Del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 60.

<sup>51</sup> 'Talauan los campos y miesses con piedras que hazian caer y niebla que se comia los frutos y otros muchos males infanticidios y muertos de ganados': BN, MS 2440, fol. 85<sup>v</sup>.

say that on such and such days they had caused thunderstorms, lightening, and hail'.<sup>52</sup> The case of Juanna Farres in 1615 is an illustration of this. She was arrested after the outskirts of Terrassa had suffered three hailstorms that summer. Since the *jurados* 'were beforehand of the opinion that the said Juanna Farres was a witch, and it seemed to them that she was the cause of the hail', they appealed to the *baile* of the said town that he should gather testimonies against her.<sup>53</sup> This was all it took to start a witchcraft trial in secular courts in Catalonia.

### *Pact and the Witches' Sabbat*

The surviving documents tell us that Catalan witches were believed to enter into a pact with the devil who gave them their powers, and they give us a few glimpses of the witches' sabbat as described in Catalan courtrooms. Usually it is referred to as the devil's *juntas y bailes* (gatherings and dances), and it was where the witches paid homage to their lord.

The reasons given for joining the hellish cult varies. For Pere Torrent it started out with a toothache. In the forest the devil appeared to him 'in the shape of a ram and in that instant he transformed and was like a young man' who asked 'why I was angry'. He then offered to cure the toothache if Pere would come and play with him, and Pere went along because he 'knew how to play the tambourine and flute'.<sup>54</sup> Here the devil appears as the classic tempter in the woods, and gained a worshipper by promising to cure a toothache, which he did. When asked 'what moved him' to become a witch, Pere answered that it was 'the will of the devil, who had tempted me to that'.<sup>55</sup> Other souls were equally inexpensive, or even cheaper. Some witches give no indication of why they became witches in their confessions, such as Magdalena Duch, who simply said she was visited by a witch riding a wolf

<sup>52</sup> 'Solo por hauer sido conuencidos con testigos q. han hoydo dezir a ellas q. ellas han causadas tales dias tempestades de truenos, Rayos y piedras': BN, MS 2440, fol. 90<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> 'Teniendo de atras opinion de q la dicha Juana farres era bruja y pareciendo les que ella era la causa de qe. hubiese apedreado hizieron'. The *baile* sent the result of his investigation to the Holy Office, which probably saved her life. Case no. 89.

<sup>54</sup> 'En forma d'un moltó; i aquí mateix se tornà i féu com un home jove [...] de qu'estava jo enujat [...] jo sabia de sonar tamborí i flauta': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 56.

<sup>55</sup> 'Què el movia a ell [...]. Que vol lo demoni, qui m'havia temptat ab això': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 58.



when she was shepherding goats,<sup>56</sup> while Eulalia Ursola claimed to have been forced by her mother.<sup>57</sup> Neither of them were promised a reward by the devil.

The first description we have of the witches' sabbat is from the *relación de causas* for the *auto* held on 23 May 1575. According to the *relación*, Andrea Beltraneta had confessed that she, in the company of her mother and two sisters,

fueron algunas noche caulleras en unos cabrones negros y vermejos y de diversos colores a un bosque que ellos llaman el bosque de viterna,<sup>58</sup> adonde vinieron otra gente que ella no sabia quienes eran y baylaron en corro y one que alli estaua con un gran sombrero vestido de negro como un hombre con las manos todas cerradas con uñas como de osso tomaua aora la una a,ora la otra, y tenia cuenta con ellas conociendo a cada una por si carnalmente, y que teniendo el miembro aspero como un rillo y qudo sobre ella pesaba como un plomo, y que ellas estando estauan boca abaxo y esta no rescibia ningun plazer, y las otras dezian lo mismo, y que lo que comian era sin sabor y no les daua sustento y dize que la primera vez que fuero al bosque de Biterna, el demonio las hizo renegar de dios y renunciarle, y tomar al mal espiritu por señor.<sup>59</sup>

(some nights rode on black and vermillion and other coloured goats to a certain he-goat which they called the he-goat of Biterna where other people she didn't know also came and they danced in a circle and one who was there wore a great hat and was dressed in black as a man with his hands closed up and with nails like the claws of a bear took first one of them and then another, and had relations with them knowing each one carnally, and his member was rough like a grater, and when he was on top of them he weighed like lead, and they were face down, and she received no pleasure, and the others said the same, and what they ate was without taste, and gave them no sustenance and she says that the first time they went to the he-goat of Biterna, the devil made them disown and renounce God and take the evil spirit as their lord.)

In this summary by the inquisitors of her original confession made before the *baile* of Tornafort we find all the common element of the witches' sabbat as described by the demonologists. Apostasy and idolatry was followed by ring dancing, foul food, and being painfully sodomized by the devil.

Magdalena Duch's confession differs slightly, in that the witch who took her to the sabbat made her undress and then anointed her with an ointment,

<sup>56</sup> Case no. 77.

<sup>57</sup> Case no. 119.

<sup>58</sup> The scribe has written *bosque*, 'forest' in Castilian, but the testimony actually refers to the *boque* (*boc*), 'he-oat', in Catalan. The *boque de Viterna* (*Biterna*) is in fact a name for the devil, documented as early as 1398 in Andorra: see J. Saroihandy, 'El boque de Biterna en los fueros catalanes del Valle de Aneu', *Revista de filología española* (1917), 26–49. Today it is the name of pyrotechnics company based near Barcelona.

<sup>59</sup> Case no. 9.

and then she ‘walked as if she was flying’. There she met several riders who ‘had horns as if they were goats and long nails on their feet’, and they ate the sour-tasting liver of an infant. The ritual ass kissing and sodomizing was the same.<sup>60</sup> Madalena Cadeferrer gave less details, saying that

se halló en muchas juntas con otras bruxas con el demonio adonde le adoraua besandole la trasera y el las dezia q hiziessen mal y el demonio la leuaua a dichas juntas algunas vezs en caualla, y otras en cabron.<sup>61</sup>

(she had been to many gatherings with other witches with the devil where they worshipped him kissing him in the posterior and the devil told them to do evil and the devil brought her to the said gatherings sometimes on foot and other times riding, sometimes on a horse, and other times on a goat.)

However, she came to the Holy Office and confessed this without any accusation having been made against her. The lack of an accuser and the cautious way the inquisitors investigated these cases make it highly likely that this was her own conception of what a witch was and did, very possibly based on what she had heard at trials or had heard recounted from trials of other witches.

Joana Domingo confessed that ‘she had sometimes gone at night in the company of other witches to certain mountains where they had danced with demons, while one of them played a tambourine’, but ‘the devil had not known her carnally’. Instead he had embraced her when she swore him obedience. She also stated that ‘the vassalage she had given the devil was from ignorance and not from the heart’.<sup>62</sup>

In Pere Torrent’s confession he was playing the flute and ‘the old monk from Rupit played the tambourine’, and the witches and demons ‘danced a lot’.<sup>63</sup> The monk’s tambourine was painted with ‘figures of toads and other ugly

<sup>60</sup> ‘Caminauan todos com si volassen [...] lleuauan cuernos como si fuessen cabrones y uñas largas en los pies’: Case no. 77.

<sup>61</sup> Case no. 115.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Hauia ydo de noche algunas vezes en compania de otras brujas a ciertas montañas adonde hauian baylado con los demonios haziendo el son uno de ellos con un tamburin [...] a ella el demonio no la hauia conocido carnalmente [...] el hauer dado vasallaje al demonio hauia sido por innorancia y no de coraçon’: Case no. 124. Note the word *vassalage* with all its implications of feudalism, which is another interesting instance of the devil’s domain being the mirror image of man’s world, and not simply God’s. For the feudal traits in Genevan witchcraft confessions, see Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, p. 58.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Lo monjo vell de Rupit sonava un tamborí [...] ballaren molt’: del Molar, *Procés d’un bruixot*, pp. 56–57.

figures'.<sup>64</sup> There he worshipped the devil and disowned God, saying, 'I disown God and the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity, and take Satan as my lord and master.'<sup>65</sup> When asked if he went to the sabbat 'bodily or if they carried him, and who carried him, or if he flies through the air, or if it is in illusion or appearance', he answered, 'I have always gone bodily, in my own being, and I went through the air riding on a demon who carried me.'<sup>66</sup> After torture he confessed that the 'devil taking the shape of a man, had carnal dealings with me; and, thus, he rode me two times'.<sup>67</sup> The devil sodomized his male servants as well.

### Conclusion

In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the Catalan population appeared to suffer the onslaught of a sect of witches who murdered grown men and babies, even clerics, and ravaged the harvests with heavy fogs and savage hailstorms. The trials revealed what everyone feared, that these deaths and damages were not accidental, but that they were the results of supernatural attack by groups of men and women who had disowned God and taken the devil for their master, who flew to secret gatherings where they engaged in unnatural sex, occasional cannibalism, and worshipped their evil master. The Catalan witch bears a striking similarity to the witch of the demonologists.

Faced with this threat, sceptical inquisitors who never killed anyone were scant relief for the beleaguered communities which sought protection from local judicial authorities. Furthermore, the Inquisition was thin on the ground with just two inquisitors to judge all cases in all of Catalonia.<sup>68</sup> It would be impossible for them to handle hundreds of these difficult cases, and the Holy Office had never managed to get the necessary respect to compel local authorities to do its

<sup>64</sup> 'Figuras de calàpats i altres figures feies': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 58. Compare this with the importance of toads in the Basque trials: Henningsen, *Witches' Advocate*.

<sup>65</sup> 'Jo reneç de Déu i de la Verge Maria i de la Santíssima Trinitat; i prenc a Satanàs por amo y senyor': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> 'Si anava corporalment o si l'aportaven, i qui l'aportava; o si va per los aires, o si és que per il·lusió o pàrençia [...]. Jo sempre he caminat corporalment, ab mon propi cos; i anava per los aires sobre d'un dimoni, qui m'aportava': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 60.

<sup>67</sup> 'Dimoni, prenent la forma d'un home, tingué tractes carnals ab mi; i així me cavalcà dos vegades': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 65.

<sup>68</sup> The number of inquisitors varied from one to three: Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña*, pp. 89–94.

bidding.<sup>69</sup> The Holy Office found itself out-competed by secular courts which were willing and able to deal with the suspected witches in a manner that satisfied their neighbours.

The hardest cases of all, witchcraft, would in Catalonia be tried by local authorities, easily influenced by local opinion and often in feudal jurisdictions with no judicial oversight or proper channels for appeals. It was a recipe for disaster, and the death toll we saw at the beginning of this chapter is testimony to that.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 105–24. And while the Inquisition was often used to cover ‘an initial power vacuum on the king’s side’, that power vacuum itself fatally weakened the Holy Office (Moreno Martínez, ‘Representación y realidad’, p. 273).

<sup>70</sup> Compare this with Levack’s observations on the judicial foundations for witchcraft trials, where he identifies the use of torture, local courts, and lack of central control as important factors. Somewhat ironically in light of this chapter, he points to the Spanish Inquisition as having ‘prevented witch-hunts’ (*Witch-Hunt*, pp. 68–99). Wolfgang Behringer makes the same point about German-speaking areas: ‘We can generalize that the countless tiny baronies, counties and ecclesiastical territories faced a greater danger of persecutions, being more dependant on the whims of their rulers and the mood of the populace’ (‘Witchcraft Studies in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland’, in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Jonathan Barry and Marianne Hester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 64–95 (p. 77)).

## COURTS OF INJUSTICE

La heregia o supersticion es un cancer [...] ningun medico curo jamas el cancer con vnctions, y remedios blandos, sino con nauaja y botones de fuego que abrasando, y cortando atajan la contagion: porque tratada con medicamentos suaues, yria cundiendo hasta no dexar parte en el cuerpo, que no dañasse, pues enfermedades graues piden, que escueçan las medicinas.<sup>1</sup>

(Heresy or superstition is a cancer [...] no doctor has ever cured cancer with unctions and mild remedies, but with knife and cauterium, which stop the contagion by burning and cutting. Because if treated with mild medications, it would spread until it left no part of the body unhurt. Grave illnesses demand stinging medicines.)

**T**hough the Inquisition sometimes clashed with Catalan secular courts over the jurisdiction over witchcraft, this was not always the case. A number of trials were handed over to the Holy Office by secular courts in less acrimonious circumstances. What then happened was conditioned by how far the secular authorities had progressed in their investigation. If they had not yet forced a confession the case was usually suspended quite rapidly. If, on the other hand, the inquisitors were faced with a confession, they would pursue their own investigation vigorously. This usually meant the use of torture if the accused changed or revoked his earlier confessions as the accused were wont to do when being transferred to the Inquisition. Even in these cases the inquisitors tended to give light sentences, if they convicted anyone at all. Thus, local witch panics and tortured confessions of witchcraft did not necessarily entail mass trials and numerous convictions if the Holy Office managed to keep things firmly under control. They

<sup>1</sup> Pedro Ciruelo, *Tratado en el qual se reprueuan todas las supersticiones y hechizarias: Muy util y necessario a todos los buenos christianos zelosos de su saluacion* (Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas, 1628), pp. 12–13.

rarely did. More surprisingly, they sometimes willingly relinquished control over their jurisdiction and sat back while secular courts tried witches in the most appalling manner.

An example of how the Inquisition could and did intervene to quell a local witch panic can be found in the events in Terrassa in 1615, when the suspected witch Juanna Farres was arrested by the *baile* after pressure from the *jurados*.<sup>2</sup> After making her confess, the *baile* informed the Inquisition of her case and handed over her trial documents. The inquisitors decided to try her and had Juanna transferred to the Inquisition's jail. During the course of her trial she confessed parts of what she had told the *baile* and changed some parts of her confession, eventually making the inquisitors decide to torture her. The *relación* gives no indication of whether or not she had been tortured by the *baile*, so it is unclear if her first confession also was caused by torture. What is certain is that she did not confess at her first interrogation by the *baile*.

At this point, threatened with torture, Juanna Farres made a complete confession of being a witch, going to the witches' sabbat, and paying homage to the devil. She also expanded the number of other women she claimed were witches, to a total of eleven.<sup>3</sup> Like Juanna herself, several of these women (or their husbands) were French. All of them were arrested, none of them confessed, and all had their cases suspended. Consequently, the only one to be punished was Juanna, who was sentenced to a hundred lashes of the whip and perpetual banishment from the tribunal's district. More interesting are two things. The first is that the inquisitors state that part of the reason why the other women were arrested was the 'disturbance and belief that arose in the town that all the women were witches'.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the inquisitors recognized that they faced a witch panic and the possibility of a popular riot which might move the secular judges to try the suspects themselves if the Holy Office did not intervene swiftly and decisively against the witches. When we consider the fates of those overtaken by local witch panics and their subsequent trials in secular courts, this move almost certainly saved the lives of these eleven women. Thus, by for once overcoming its traditional tardiness, the inquisitors managed to stay in control of the situation by defusing local tension with the arrest of the witches.

<sup>2</sup> Case no. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Case nos 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 100.

<sup>4</sup> 'Por el alboroto y opinion que se leuanto en dicha villa de que unas y otras eran bruxas': Case no. 90.

There is another case next to these twelve in the *relación de causas* that makes it clear that we are indeed talking about a local witch panic. At the time of the trials of the suspected witches of Terrassa in 1615, María del Portal, another French widow, was arrested by the *baile* of Caldes de Montbuy for witchcraft and then handed over to the Holy Office. The *relación* gives no indication that she had been suspected of witchcraft earlier. Instead she had been denounced by a man who had chanced upon her in the woods. Seeing her make a fire to cook, he asked her what she was doing there all alone in the forest. She told him that she ‘was fleeing because she had been told that many women had been arrested as witches in Terrassa’. When asked if she was a witch she had replied no, but that ‘with all this she wanted to flee’.<sup>5</sup> That was obviously a good idea, since this incident was enough to warrant her arrest in the heated atmosphere of 1615. The inquisitors suspended the case against her.

### *Secular Action and Inquisitorial Inaction*

On 20 June 1548 a group of theologians and *audiencia* judges were convened by the Holy Office in Barcelona to discuss the matter of witches.<sup>6</sup> The task the inquisitor Diego Sarmiento had put before them was to establish ‘if they [i.e., the witches] go corporally [to the sabbat] and if they do inflict the damages they say and confess’.<sup>7</sup> The theologians decided that the witches really did go to the sabbat in person, and that they really did cause the deaths and damages attributed to them, echoing the *junta* in Granada twenty-three years earlier.<sup>8</sup> But more interesting are their claims about the spread of witchcraft:

Mientras la inqon. en tiempos pasados abia entendido en estas no abia esta plaga sino en las montañas y pocas, y así como se abia alçado la mano dellas se abia bajado al plano y a las ciudades.<sup>9</sup>

(When the Inquisition in earlier times judged these cases this plague was limited to a few in the mountains, but after the Inquisition lifted its hand from them they have descended to the plains and the cities.)

<sup>5</sup> ‘Se hiba huyendo porque abia entendido que en la villa de terrassa abian prendido muchas mugeres por bruxas [...] con todo esso se queria huir’: Case no. 101.

<sup>6</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 97<sup>r</sup>–98<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Si estas ban corporalmente y si haçen los males q diçen y confiesan’: BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 573, fol. 128<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>v</sup>. Note how this accords with earlier injunctions to the inquisitors to read edicts and gather evidence against the witches *in the mountains*. See above, p. 88.

Thus, according to these believers in the reality of witchcraft, the absence of inquisitorial prosecution had allowed the sect of the witches to multiply and to descend as a plague on the villages and cities in the lowlands.<sup>10</sup> But from Diego Sarmiento's opening words we know that the void left by the Inquisition had been filled by the secular courts who at the time of this *junta* held many witches imprisoned and had tortured them to confess.<sup>11</sup> This is a key document, because it allows us to follow the development of a large Catalan witch hunt.

When the inquisitors did not intervene against the witches, the much more brutal secular courts did, and they tortured confessions from the arrested witches, who in turn implicated a large number of other women, a pattern typical of chain trials for witchcraft.<sup>12</sup> What the theologians are telling us is that when the inquisitors prosecuted these cases they did not produce massive chains of accusations, which is precisely what happened when the secular courts took over. The apparent increase in the number of witches was not due to a lack of prosecution, but to overzealous prosecutors who ruthlessly used torture to extract fresh denunciations which continuously extended the circle of suspects. And at the heart of this witch hunt stood the witch-hunter Joan Mallet, whom we shall meet again later.

The initial inaction of the Inquisition in this case was no coincidence. In fact, Sarmiento told the assembled theologians that he 'never wanted to judge in cases of witches because the judgement is very dangerous and such that any judge could easily make mistakes'.<sup>13</sup> This refusal to actually judge cases of witchcraft would reappear among his colleagues decades later during the next Catalan witch panic in the years around 1620. Then the Bishop of Vic charged the inquisitors with neglecting the prosecution of witches and defended the feudal lords for having

<sup>10</sup> The use of the word *plague* is significant. It compared the witches to the most deadly phenomenon known to man, perhaps the greatest terror of Medieval and early modern Europeans, the highly contagious and rapidly spreading plague. At the time of this meeting almost three decades had passed since the last time the plague had struck Barcelona in 1530, but the memories remained, and most of those gathered by the inquisitor to discuss the witches would have lived through the 1530 plague as children or young men. That these men chose to put the epithet of plague on the witches means that they viewed the witches as equally dangerous, equally horrible as the plague that killed as many as a quarter of Barcelona's population in 1530. See Betrán, *La peste en la Barcelona*, pp. 99, 124–29.

<sup>11</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 97<sup>v</sup>–98<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 173–77, Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany*, pp. 85 and 149, Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, pp. 93–100.

<sup>13</sup> 'Nunca e querido entender en negocio de brujas por tener el juicio muy peligroso y muy aparejado pa. que qualquier juez hierre facilmente': BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>r</sup>.



‘procured the remedy’ to the damages done by the witches to the crops after being spurred on by the local population. He also made the important point that it was expensive and difficult to go to Barcelona to denounce a witch.<sup>14</sup>

A corollary to the refusal to judge was the practice of handing innocent witches back to the secular judges saying that ‘as far as the Holy Office is concerned there is no reason for him to detain her’.<sup>15</sup> This recommendation was made by Inquisitor Muñoz about Margarita Oliuera in the same breath as he stated that her trials documents contained no evidence of her guilt, but it carries no indication that the inquisitor intended to prevent the secular judge from trying her for murder and damages to crops and property.<sup>16</sup> Her four co-defendants had already been hanged.

The distinction between formal heresy and the crimes of murder and damages was central to the conflict that the *fiscal* had had with the inquisitors the year before, in 1619. The *fiscal* Paniagua was furious that the inquisitors washed their hands of the witchcraft trials and allowed the secular judges to proceed unchecked against the witches. Thus, when the inquisition willingly or unwittingly ceded jurisdiction to the secular courts, the result was massive witch hunts and large chain trials.

### *Sentenced to Death, Acquitted, and Hanged?*

Several witches who were sentenced to death in secular courts were acquitted by the Holy Office. As an example we can take the case of Eulalia Ursola, arrested and tortured by the *baile* of Caldes de Montbuy in 1620.<sup>17</sup> Six other witches had denounced her under torture, and this was the only evidence against her at the time of her arrest. The other witches were hanged, so they did not testify in her trial; only the transcripts of their tortured confessions were used. When Eulalia refused to confess she was also tortured. At first she maintained her innocence, but when the torture was increased she broke down and confessed that she was a witch and had been initiated by her mother when she was eleven or twelve

<sup>14</sup> ‘Procurado el remedio’: letter dated 22 February 1622, in ACA, AC, 368.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Por lo toca al Sto. offo. no tiene q detener a esta rea’: BN, MS 2440, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> His colleague Valdés urged that the Holy Office should make further inquiries and not dismiss the case out of hand. He also favoured that she should be tried for the homicides and other crimes the secular courts had jurisdiction over. BN, MS 2440, fols 82<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Case no. 119.

years old. She was sentenced to death by hanging. At this point somebody appealed to the Inquisition on her behalf, informing the inquisitors that the only crime proved against her in her trial was apostasy which the Holy Office alone could judge.

The inquisitors made the *baile* turn over the prisoner and the trial records. When the inquisitors interrogated her she maintained her confession. But the inquisitors then asked other questions that the secular courts had not, such as ‘did she believe that her soul would condemned in the Catholic faith but saved by believing in and worshipping the devil’. No, she said, she gave herself to the devil out of fear of her mother, but ‘she never thought she could save her soul by renouncing God and St Mary’. The inquisitors then asked if ‘she believes and holds it to be true that there is no other law or religion that can save the soul than the belief of our Holy Catholic Faith and if she will declare to live and die in it.’<sup>18</sup> She answered that

cree y tiene por cierto q no ay otra religion ni ley para saluar su anima sino la ley Catholica y que protesta viuir y morir sin apartarse della jamas como hasta aqui lo ha hecho. y q si renego la vez q ha refferido, fue por temor de su madre la qual la engaño por ser muchacha y de poca edad.

(she believes and holds it to be true that there is no other religion nor law to save her soul other than the Catholic law and she declares her desire to live and die without ever straying from it as she has in the past, and that if she has reneged the one time she has referred here, it was for fear of her mother who fooled her because she was a young girl.)

The inquisitors acquitted her. This is an astounding sentence. Eulalia Ursola confessed that she was a witch, she maintained that she had attended the witches’ sabbat, that she had worshipped the devil, kissed his ass, and let him sodomize her. Several women in her village had been hanged on the same evidence, as had hundreds elsewhere in Catalonia. And still the Holy Office accepted her professed beliefs in the Catholic faith as sufficient to absolve her despite her confession. In arguing for her acquittal they dismissed the prior evidence in the following manner: ‘The witnesses testify under torture and they are all women who have been hanged except one who fled [...] to France [...] and what they say is of little substance and was said before an incompetent judge.’<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> ‘Si creyo por entonces q en la creencia del a fee catholica condenaria su alma y que creyendo y adorando al demonio la salvaria [...] nunca creyo q renegando de Dios y de sta. maria podia saluar su alma [...] si tiene y cree por cosa cierta q no ay otra ley ni religion para saluar el alma sino la creencia de nra sta. Fee Catholica y si protesta viuir y morir en ella.’

<sup>19</sup> ‘Los testigos q contra esta rea deponen dixeron en tortua y son mugeres que todas estan ahorcadas excepto una qe huyo [...] al Reyno de Francia [...] y lo que deponen contra la rea es de

What we do not know is what happened to Eulalia Ursola afterwards. Did the inquisitors set her free? Did they hand her back to the *baile* with orders to set her free? Or did they hand her over to the *baile*, allowing him to hang her for some alleged homicide? This is an extremely interesting aspect of Catalan witchcraft trials which so far has escaped historians and deserves future attention, but will require intensive study of local archives.

### *Witch Finders*

One aspect of the trials in secular courts which merits particular attention is the use of witch finders. Here the difference between the Inquisition and the secular courts is immediately brought out: the secular courts used the witch finders to locate witches for subsequent trial and execution, but the Holy Office punished the witch finders instead.

As we saw in the previous chapter, some of these witch finders boasted of uncovering an astounding number of witches.<sup>20</sup> This should remind us of the devastating effect of the English witch finder Matthew Hopkins, who was responsible for the only large chain trials of witches in English history.<sup>21</sup> But there were others who were much more modest in their accomplishments, and some who only aspired to be witch-hunters without any success at all. Indeed, the line between witch and witch finder was thin, and several witch finders found themselves prosecuted as witches. An example is the humble French shepherd Antonio Moliner, alias 'el barbudo'. He told the inquisitors that he knew who the witches were because his French friend and fellow shepherd Bernardo Costaseca had told him so. They themselves were suspected of being witches. Both were penanced.<sup>22</sup>

poca sustancia y dicho ante juez incompetente'. The word *incompetent* should in this context be interpreted both as formally incompetent, in other words, a judge acting outside his jurisdiction, but also as meaning that the judge did not have the knowledge or training to decide whether or not someone was an apostate and heretic.

<sup>20</sup> See above, pp. 86–87.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Deacon, *Matthew Hopkins: Witch Finder General* (London: Muller, 1976), Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy* (London: Murray, 2005), James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England 1550–1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 128–48.

<sup>22</sup> Case nos 36 and 37.

In total, the Holy Office in Barcelona prosecuted ten people who claimed to be able to identify witches, eight of them men.<sup>23</sup> Apart from Joan Mallet, who was arrested in 1548,<sup>24</sup> the phenomenon of witch finders was a temporary one, limited to the years from 1606 to 1631,<sup>25</sup> and generally coinciding with the greatest Catalan witch hunt of all. Furthermore, six of these ten were French.<sup>26</sup> Thus the Catalan witch finders were predominantly French men, and they surfaced during the great witch hunts, but do not appear to have had much of an impact at other times.

The main way witch finders identified the witches was by searching them for the witches' mark left by the devil. This was usually said to be a mark shaped as a rooster's foot, which could be seen by washing the suspect's back with holy water.<sup>27</sup> Lorenzo Carmell's activities were reported in the following manner in the *relación* for 1619:

Los conocia en que el demonio los marcaua con su señal en una de las espaldas poniendo una señal de pie de gallo o pie de conejo y otras vezes les ponía la dicha señal en otras partes del cuerpo y para descubrir la dicha señal los lauaba con agua clara y despues con agua bendita.<sup>28</sup>

(He recognized them because the devil marked them with his mark on either side of the back, putting the sign of a rooster's foot or a rabbit's foot, and at other times he put the mark in other places on their bodies. In order to discover the said mark he washed them in ordinary water and then in holy water.)

<sup>23</sup> Included in this figure are all those who claimed to have some knowledge of how to identify witches, and not simply those who are known to have taken this role actively in secular courts. There are two reasons for this choice. First that our knowledge of the activities of the witch finders in secular courts is as limited as our general knowledge of witchcraft trials there. Secondly, as this section will show, there is sufficient similarity between all these cases to consider them part of a common tradition of identifying witches.

<sup>24</sup> Neither his original trial nor the *relación de causas* containing his trial summary has come down to us, but his activities are known through correspondence and mention in case documents from witches accused by him. BN, MS 2440, fols 95<sup>r</sup>–98<sup>v</sup>. AHN, Inq, lib 322, pt 2, fols 50<sup>v</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>, and 54<sup>r</sup>–58<sup>r</sup>. See also Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 265–67, and Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad', pp. 393–417.

<sup>25</sup> Case nos 36, 37, 89, 105, 106, 107, 114, 132, and 143.

<sup>26</sup> Case nos 36, 37, 89, 106, 132, and 143.

<sup>27</sup> Note the difference to most other countries where the witches' (or devil's) mark was shaped like a teat and was found by pricking with a needle. See Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, pp. 157–65, and Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, pp. 73–74, 143–44, and 178–81.

<sup>28</sup> Case no. 106.

The same year they reported that Bartelomo Romero had also travelled around recognizing witches, whom he identified by black marks in their eyes ‘and a mark of a rooster’s foot on their backs’. Again this was revealed by ‘washing them with Holy Water and [in] doing this they discovered the mark of a rooster’s foot’.<sup>29</sup> Two years earlier they reported that Cosme Soler had told people in different places in Catalonia that he could identify the witches because they ‘had a mark shaped like a rooster’s foot on the left side of their back’, which he exposed ‘washing and rubbing them with holy water’.<sup>30</sup> The Bishop of Solsona reported that the witch finder Torragó, who was never arrested by the Holy Office, ‘went around pointing out women who were witches and undressed them to see a mark on their backs’.<sup>31</sup>

This procedure was of course ‘superstitious and the subject vehemently suspect of being a sorcerer and having a pact with the devil’ according to the *calificadores* who considered Cosme Soler’s case.<sup>32</sup> Consequently the Inquisition punished the witch finders. Two of them, Juanna Farres and Clemente de Uega, were actually acquitted of all charges, while the other eight suffered various punishments. Cosme Soler was set free with a warning ‘from here on not to do the things he had confessed to now in order to recognize witches nor to teach it to anyone’.<sup>33</sup> Antonio Moliner and Bernardo Costaseca were given a hundred lashes of the whip each in the streets of Barcelona and banished for five years.<sup>34</sup> Lorenzo Carmell, who by his own admission had anywhere between twenty and two hundred lives on his conscience, was sentenced to ten years in the galleys.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> ‘En la espalda una señal de pie de gallo [...] los lauase con agua bendita y que haziendo esto descubria la señal del pie de gallo’: Case no. 107.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Tenian una marca como pie de gallo en la espalda yzquierda [...] las láuaba y fregaua con agua bendita’: Case no. 105.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Yua señalando mugeres que eran Brujas, y desnudandolas para ver un señal en las espaldas’: letter dated 12 January 1622, in ACA, CA, Leg. 368.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Supersticioso y el sujeto vehementemente sospechoso de hechizero y de que tenia pacto con el demonio’: Case no. 105.

<sup>33</sup> ‘De aqui adelante no ussasse de las cosas q hasta aqui tenia confessado en materi de reconzer brujas ni lo enseñase a nadie’: Case no. 105.

<sup>34</sup> Case nos 36 and 37.

<sup>35</sup> It was rare for galley sentences to exceed ten years, including those from secular courts. Lorenzo Carmell thus received what was effectively the maximum sentence short of relaxation. See Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 7.

But before he was imprisoned and punished by the Inquisition, Lorenzo Carmell had enjoyed the full cooperation of secular courts. This had been the case with Joan Mallet seventy years earlier, and also with Carmell's contemporary Tarragó.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, we know that local authorities actively sought out Tarragó, as they had Mallet seventy years before him, in order to 'facilitate the despatch of justice' in the phrase of the *consellers* of Vic.<sup>37</sup>

After observing a contemporary movement of witch finders in Africa in 1935, Audrey Richards concluded that part of the witch finders' skill was 'to create the sense of danger from which they professed to save the people so miraculously.'<sup>38</sup> This would appear to be the case with early modern European witch finders as well, and the difference in how inquisitorial and secular courts in Catalonia reacted to their appearance is an important factor in explaining why secular courts found and executed so many more witches.

### *Torture and Maltreatment*

One of the ways that secular courts forced confession was the liberal use of torture even on the flimsiest of evidence. We have already seen several denunciations of how the secular courts proceeded. An indication of the difference in the courts' treatment of these cases is the fact that six of those witches who confessed in secular courts were absolved in the Inquisition.<sup>39</sup> The number is small, but since another case was suspended,<sup>40</sup> it means that half of the fourteen witches who had first been arrested by secular judges were acquitted by the Holy Office. Several of these women had already been sentenced to death, and some had been tortured into confessing by the secular judges. H. C. Erik Midelfort makes the observation

<sup>36</sup> Witch finders were also used by secular courts in Navarre: see Julio Caro Baroja, *Las brujas y su mundo* (Madrid: Alianza, 1966), pp. 189–90; William Monter, 'Witch Trials in Continental Europe 1560–1660', in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials*, ed. by Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 3–52 (p. 45).

<sup>37</sup> 'Facilitar l'expedició de la Justícia': quoted in Pladevall i Font, *Persecució de bruixes*, p. 33. For Mallet see Moreno Martínez, 'Representación y realidad', pp. 394–95.

<sup>38</sup> Audrey Richards, 'A Modern Movement of Witch-Finders', in *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, ed. by Max Marwick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 201–12 (p. 206).

<sup>39</sup> Case nos 8, 77, 119, 126, 127, 128, and 129.

<sup>40</sup> Case no. 101.

that sustaining a large witch-hunt required a low rate of ‘torture failure’.<sup>41</sup> The Catalan secular courts managed this by sheer brutality, which was the only way to keep suspects from asserting their innocence.

A case in point is that of Sabina Plajana in 1627. She confessed under torture in the secular court and later confirmed her confession to the Inquisition’s *comisario*. But she revoked it once she was in the custody of the tribunal, stating that ‘she had said everything for fear of the torture which was very hard, so much so that they had pulled out her thumb and left the other hand useless’. The inquisitors could not agree on what to do with her, but la Suprema ordered them to acquit her.<sup>42</sup>

When Joana Trias was seated nearly naked on the torture bench, she was told:

Ja saps que estàs condempnada a mort i a turmentar-te per a que digues la veritat: ab quines persones haveu usat de l’art de bruixa. Digues la veritat: no vuelles que tes carns sien maltractades.<sup>43</sup>

(You already know that you are sentenced to death and to be tortured in order that you will tell the truth: with which persons have you used the art of witchcraft. Tell the truth; you do not want your flesh to be maltreated.)

With such ominous threats and given the lives already lost, it is no wonder that the witches denounced others. When he was extorted to tell the truth before the torture was to start, Pere Torrent cried, ‘My lord, I haven’t been any such thing, of this. For the love of God don’t make me say what I am not.’ The transcript goes on: ‘And, immediately, seeing that he would not tell the truth’ the torture started. The torture proceeded among cries of ‘Ai, Mother of God! I haven’t been any such thing! Don’t torture me!’ and ‘Mother of God of the rosary, help me! ai, ai, ai! I’m dying! My heart is giving! My chest is breaking! I haven’t been any such thing’, until he confessed.<sup>44</sup> His trials were not over. After having been sentenced to death he was again dragged to the torture chamber to denounce his fellow witches:

<sup>41</sup> Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany*, p. 149.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Todo lo hauia dicho por miedo de los tormentos q fueron muy grandes, y tanto que la arroncaron en ellas el dedo pulgar de una mano y de la otra quedó manca’: Case no. 128.

<sup>43</sup> Del Molar, *Procés d’un bruixot*, p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Senyor, jo no hi sé res, en això. Per amor de Déu no em fassau dir lo que no sé [...]. E continent, vist que no volia dir la veritat [...]. Ai, Mare de Déu! Jo no hi sé res! No em turmenteu! [...] Mare de Déu del Roser, ajudau-me! ai, ai, ai! jo em mor! lo cor se me’n va! la post dels pits se trenca! Jo no hi sé res!’: del Molar, *Procés d’un bruixot*, p. 64.

Pere, ja veeu que estau per vostres desmèrits condemnat a morir penjat per lo coll lo dia present i que sieu turmentat, per saber de vós la veritat des sòcios vostres [...]. Per ço, digau la veritat de tot lo que sabeu i sòcios vostres, per descàrrec vostre i de vostra consciència i rellevar vostra persona de pena de turments.

(Pere, you know that for your evil actions you are sentenced to die hanged by the neck today, and to be tortured, in order to know from you the truth about your accomplices [...]. So, tell the truth about all you know and of your accomplices, for the discharge of your conscience and to relieve your person from the pain of torture.)

No torture was necessary this time. Pere answered: 'I shall speak the truth in order to discharge my soul and my conscience, since I have to die.'<sup>45</sup>

Also used to extort confessions were false promises, such as those made to Joana Montaña, alias 'Toneta', by the secular judge in Caldes de Andorra in 1575. When asking her if she had renounced God and taken the devil as her lord, 'he was promising to set her free if she said so'. Her case reveals another way to make prisoners speak, which was to get them drunk. She revoked the confession made before the secular judge, telling the inquisitors that 'if she had told him anything she could not remember it because she had drunk wine when they took her confession and was not in her right mind'.<sup>46</sup> The *relación* of her case when it was still pending is even more eloquent, stating that 'they got her drunk'.<sup>47</sup> She resisted the Inquisition's torture and was acquitted. Her two co-defendants and accusers had already been hanged by the secular court.

### *The French Connection*

The existence of a 'French connection' in Catalan, and indeed in Spanish witchcraft trials in general, has become something of an established truth.<sup>48</sup> This is usually seen as an extension of the general persecution of Frenchmen by the Inquisition in Barcelona.<sup>49</sup> We have seen earlier that this claim is dubious with

<sup>45</sup> 'Jo diré la veritat per descàrrec de ma ànima i de ma consciència, pus tenc de morir': del Molar, *Procés d'un bruixot*, p. 67.

<sup>46</sup> 'Y si alguna cosa ella le dixo no se lo acuerda porq quando le tomaron su confesion hauia beuido vino y no estaua en su juyzio [...] prometiendole que la libreria si lo dezia': Case no. 8.

<sup>47</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 298<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 121–22. Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *Las brujas en la historia de España* (Madrid: Temas de hoy, 1992).

<sup>49</sup> Elisabeth Balancy, 'Les Immigrés français devant le tribunal de l'Inquisition de Barcelone (1592–1692)', in *Les Français en Espagne à l'époque moderne* (Paris: CNRS, 1990), 45–69, Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 106–11.



regard to the defendants in Catalan superstition trials.<sup>50</sup> During the witch panic in Terrassa in 1615, eight of the twelve women arrested as witches were French, and at least one of the others was married to a Frenchman.<sup>51</sup> But this appears to have been an aberration. Only four other witches are known to have been French,<sup>52</sup> a total of twelve of fifty-two. If there was a French connection in Catalonia, it was the witch finders. As we saw earlier in this chapter, half of the witch finders tried by the Barcelona tribunal were French.

### *Indictment of the Secular Judges*

We have briefly touched upon the way the inquisitors regarded their secular counterparts' handling of witchcraft trials. Diego Sarmiento was succinct when he summed up the lack of merit of the cases against a number of witches in Tarragona in 1548, saying that 'all these [arrested witches who had confessed] have been tortured without any evidence or indication whatsoever, apart from [witch finder] Mallet's claims'.<sup>53</sup> Seventy-two years later, Inquisitor Muñoz was no less frank in his characterization of the evidence against Margarita Oliuera:

Los testigos son quatro mugeres q las dos depusieron en el tormento y ante juez incompetente y todas quatro estan ahorcadas y no es necesario buscar procesos de otras brujas para ver si en ellos resulta culpa contra esta rea pues de su proceso no resulta.<sup>54</sup>

(The four witnesses are women. Two of them testified under torture before an incompetent judge, and all four have been hanged. There is no reason to look at the trial records of other witches to see if there is any evidence against her, for in her own trial there is none.)

The Bishop of Solsona wrote that 'all the secular judges [...] often fool themselves, because many women confess out of fear of torture and they die without guilt'.<sup>55</sup> A *memorial* from 1620 decried the 'ignorance' of the secular judges who employed

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 70.

<sup>51</sup> Case nos 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, and 101.

<sup>52</sup> Case nos 9, 89, 93, and 101.

<sup>53</sup> 'Todas estas veo que an sido tormentadas sin indicio ni probança alguna mas de por el dicho de malet': BN, MS 2440, fol. 98<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> BN, MS 2440, fol. 82<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> 'Todos los juezes seculares [...] se engañan en muchas ocasiones, porq por miedo de los tormentos confiesan y muchas mueren sin culpa': letter dated 12 January 1622, in ACA, CA, Leg 368.

the witch finder Lorenzo Carmell, asked witches for accomplices by suggesting named individuals under torture, and broke several other procedural rules.<sup>56</sup> The *fiscal* Paniagua wrote several letters in 1619, protesting that the secular judges who dealt with witchcraft trials intruded on the Inquisition's jurisdiction and demanding that the Holy Office should intervene in these witchcraft trials.<sup>57</sup> In a reply to one of Paniagua's letters, the inquisitors stated that the *comisarios* and some secular judges of their own accord had sent the tribunal 'a large number of trial records' and 'to this day not a single one has been found to contain sufficient evidence for the Inquisition to proceed [against the witches]'.<sup>58</sup> On this evidence, insufficient for the Inquisition even to investigate, the secular judges passed hundreds of death sentences.

The *memorial* sent to the Catalan bishops, asking them to comment on how to deal with the witches in 1621, reads like a litany of abuses by secular judges.<sup>59</sup> This came about because even the King was troubled enough by the Catalan witchcraft trials to order the viceroy to ask the 'principal persons' about a general pardon for the witches.<sup>60</sup> He was responding thus to the prodding by the viceroy who wrote him several times about the 'excesses and injustices which are committed because of the witches'.<sup>61</sup> It is clear that the prosecution of witches in Catalonia was not instigated and perpetuated by Madrid or the Barcelona elite. It was driven by an alliance of the rural population and the local elites, egged on by French witch-hunters.<sup>62</sup> These trials caused the central authorities considerable headaches, destabilizing the French border during the first years of the Thirty Years' War, when France was fighting Spain by proxy in the Netherlands and Germany.

<sup>56</sup> 'Ignorancia': BN, MS 2440, fols 85<sup>v</sup>–86<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 139<sup>r</sup>–140<sup>r</sup>, 141<sup>r</sup>–142<sup>r</sup>, and 143<sup>r</sup>–144<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> 'Gran numero de procesos tocantes a brujos y brujas [...] no se a hallado hasta el dia de oy proceso con prueba bastante para que por la inqon. se pueda proceder': BN, MS 2440, fol. 144<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> BN, MS 2440, fols 85<sup>r</sup>–88<sup>r</sup>, and ACA, CA, Leg 368.

<sup>60</sup> 'Personas principales': letter dated 7 November 1620, in ACA, CA, Leg 368.

<sup>61</sup> 'Excessos y sinjusticias que se hazen en el en razon de las Bruxas': letter dated 4 September 1621, in ACA, CA, Leg 368.

<sup>62</sup> Witchcraft trials did depend on this alliance between the elite and the population at large. See Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland*, pp. 40–41.

### *The Catalan Bishops*

The Catalan bishops do not appear to have played a particularly active part in witchcraft trials, although this statement again must be seen in the context of a lack of research.<sup>63</sup> The catalogue of the diocesan archive of Barcelona shows no trials for witchcraft in this period,<sup>64</sup> which may be taken as an indication that future research is unlikely to uncover much more.

But the bishops did take an active part in the discussions of what was to be done with the witches during the 1620s. In 1621 they were asked to comment on whether the witches should be given a general amnesty and whether all future trials should be handled by the Inquisition. Their thoughts are of some interest. The Bishop of Lérida expressed doubts about the number of witches, stating 'they are not that many'.<sup>65</sup> He opposed giving the witches a general pardon, and he was also against giving the Inquisition sole jurisdiction over witchcraft. This would harm the bishops and ecclesiastical judges, as well as the feudal lords, by stripping them of their rights and jurisdictions, and could not be done without convening the Cortes or obtaining an apostolic brief.

The future bishop of Urgel was positive on both counts: the witches should receive a general pardon and their cases should be heard by the inquisitors alone. He also recommended that an authorization should be sought from the Pope to allow the inquisitors to try infanticide. The Bishop of Elna recommended a general pardon but thought that the question of jurisdiction should be left to the next Cortes. The Bishop of Solsona was in favour of both a pardon and letting the Inquisition alone try these cases. He considered the quick resolution of this issue to be important, because 'the introduction of witches has increased so much that if the remedy is late the whole land is in danger'. Nevertheless, he stated that he 'had not found anything touching on witches', which makes his alarmist statement seem somewhat strange.<sup>66</sup> The Bishop of Tortosa opposed giving the Inquisition sole jurisdiction over witchcraft but favoured a general pardon.

<sup>63</sup> The only study of the subject to date is a brief article: Sales, 'El bisbe d'Alet'.

<sup>64</sup> It does, however, show one trial from 1419: J. M. Martí i Bonet, L. Niqui i Puigvert, F. Miquel i Mascort, *Processos de l'arxiu diocesà de Barcelona*, 1 vol. (Barcelona: Departament de cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984), I, 216.

<sup>65</sup> 'No son tantas': letter dated 8 January 1622. ACA, CA, Leg 368.

<sup>66</sup> 'La introducion de las Brujas que a ydo contanto aumento que a tardar el remedio pasaua peligro toda la tierra [...] no he hallado cossa ninguna que tocasse a Brujas': letter dated 12 January 1622, in ACA, CA, Leg 368. Conceivably, 'toda la tierra' might be interpreted as 'the entire earth', though in this case he probably meant just Catalonia.

The Bishop of Vic was adamant that ‘the majority of these things are real and done awake and by the persons themselves with intervention by the devil’.<sup>67</sup> He charged the inquisitors with neglecting the matter of witches and thus forcing the feudal lords to intervene themselves in the face of crop damage and popular demands.<sup>68</sup> The inquisitors should therefore not be given sole jurisdiction, and he also opposed a general pardon.

In 1643 the stern Bishop of Alet intervened and set free the thirty-two witches who had been arrested in Capcir at the command of a French witch finder. The Bishop interrogated the witch finder, who confessed his fraud. He then celebrated Mass with the accused women on one side and the witch finder on the other, and made the hapless witch finder confess his deceit and apologize to God, to the witches, and to the assembled local folks.<sup>69</sup> In general, the Catalan bishops appear to have had a dampening effect on the witch-hunts, to the degree that they actually influenced anything. However, they were by no means unanimous.

### *Conclusion*

It should be clear by now that the large number of witchcraft trials in Catalonia was caused by the Inquisition’s inability and unwillingness to enforce its jurisdiction, giving the secular courts free reign over the witches. Rita Voltmeer has shown that witchcraft trials were a useful method for judicial and political self-assertion by minor territorial lords, and this fits well with the Catalan case.<sup>70</sup> As Brian P. Levack has observed, ‘[T]he dynamic force in most witchcraft prosecutions were local authorities.’<sup>71</sup> The uncritical use of witch finders and liberal application of torture by Catalan secular courts led to the execution of hundreds of women whom the inquisitors believed to be innocent. Perhaps there was a

<sup>67</sup> ‘Las mas son verdaderas executadas en vigalias, y por las propias personas con intervencion del Demonio’: letter dated 22 February 1622, ACA, CA, Leg 368.

<sup>68</sup> These were not mere words. He consented to the witchcraft trials in secular courts in the baronies of la Mitra, which were subjected to his immediate jurisdiction. See Pladevall i Font, *Persecucio de bruixes*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>69</sup> Sales, ‘El bisbe d’Alet’, p. 139.

<sup>70</sup> Rita Voltmer, ‘Hexenprozesse und Hochgerichte’, in *Hexenprozesse und Gerichtspraxis*, ed. by Herbert Eiden and Rita Voltmer (Trier: Paulinus, 2002), pp. 475–525.

<sup>71</sup> Brian P. Levack, ‘State-Building and Witch Hunting in Early Modern Europe’, in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Barry and Hester, pp. 96–115 (p. 99).

deliberate policy of destabilizing the border area, which would have been in the interest of France, and parts of the local elite.

But this alone does not explain everything. It was equally important that Catalan society was receptive to this way of thinking. Denunciations had terrible consequences in secular courts because these local courts believed in witches. And denunciations were made against 'witches' because Catalans believed the witches to be real and the cause of many of their misfortunes.<sup>72</sup> It was this belief, this culture receptive to the image and reality of the demonological witch, that gave the Inquisition's weakness such extreme consequences.

<sup>72</sup> J. H. Elliott, *The Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain (1598–1640)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 32–33, Pladevall i Font, *Persecucio de bruixes*, p. 24.



Valencia





## THREE CASE STUDIES

The main reasons why the Inquisition did not deal with witchcraft in the demonological sense in Valencia can be illustrated in three cases. The first deals with a fourteen-year-old girl who confessed to consorting with the devil and having sexual relations with him, but who — even when threatened with torture — denied having entered a pact with him and having given him her immortal soul. The second, more than eighty years later, involves an elderly woman who was charged by a secular judge of flying through a chimney and injuring her neighbours by magical means. When the witnesses who called her a witch (*bruja*) were questioned by the Inquisition, the case dissolved into thin air. The third case is the story of an unauthorized exorcist who also tried to convince locals of his abilities as a witch finder. None of these incidents ended with a dramatic witchcraft trial or witch-hunt which they so easily might have done if they had taken place some kilometres further north, in Catalonia.

*The Devil's Little Mistress*

Perhaps the most extraordinary display of inquisitorial restraint and caution in all of these cases is the trial of the fourteen-year-old servant girl Vicenta Mapel. Originally from Canta Vella in Aragon, at the time of her arrest she was a servant in the household of Miguel Mirbotero in Valencia. In 1588 she was denounced to the Holy Office for saying that she had many revelations where she had seen Christ on a column and on a cross. She also claimed to have seen the Holy Virgin, St Francis, St Vicente Ferrer, and other saints, as well as 'other religious persons dead and living, and other souls who treated her as a devotee of

God's mother'.<sup>1</sup> This claim of revelations was far from unusual in early modern Spain, but the claim of seeing souls was rather rare.<sup>2</sup> More dangerous was her claim that

Y que tambien le aparecía el demonio en diferentes figuras Una vez de gentil hombre de dama de biuda y conocía que hera el demonio porque en nombrando Jesus de nacaren se desaparecía.

(Also the devil appeared to her in different figures. Once as a Gentile man, as a lady, and as a widow and she knew that it was the devil because by naming Jesus of Nazareth he disappeared.)

When interrogated, Vicenta confirmed the allegations, and later, when presented with the accusation, she told the inquisitors that she believed that these visions were genuine and that God gave her these graces.

But then she started changing her story. Eventually she came to maintain that she had understood the visions to be bad and coming from the devil. At this stage many thoughts must have gone through the inquisitors' minds, and they must have pondered some hard questions. Why had she chosen not to tell her con-

<sup>1</sup> 'Otras personas Religiosas biuas e difuntas y otras animas que la tratauan de debota de la madre de dios': Case no. 310.

<sup>2</sup> For other visionaries who had run-ins with the Inquisition, see the massive literature on St Teresa of Avila and William A. Christian, Jr, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), Lara Mary Diefenderfer, 'Making and Unmaking Saints in Seventeenth-Century Madrid' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 2004), Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). There are actually two other cases from Valencia containing claims of speaking to the dead, both in the *relación de causas* from the auto held on 27 July 1608. Nofre Castellon and Ysabel Juan Luna were both penanced for having claimed to speak with the souls in Purgatory. In response to the *relaciones*, la Suprema told the inquisitors that these cases did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office and asked why the inquisitors had intervened. In a letter describing the progress of the cases the inquisitors then showed how they had kept la Suprema informed of the proceedings of the cases, and even had submitted the sentences for approval and received it in writing from la Suprema before carrying them out. After this embarrassment la Suprema still ordered the sentences to be retracted, the prisoners to be let off with a warning and that their trial documents should be marked as not to hinder them or their descendants in any way. Finally the inquisitors were ordered never to intervene in this kind of case again. See Case nos 354 and 355; the note scribbled on the margin of the *relación* on fol. 409<sup>r</sup>; letter to la Suprema in AHN, Inq, Lib 919, fol. 39<sup>r-v</sup>; Letter to Valencia in AHN, Inq, Leg 506, Exp 1, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>.

fessor? Was her contact with the devil restricted to visions? Had he attempted to make her give him her immortal soul? Unfortunately the *relación* is silent on these counts. But the inquisitors were not satisfied with her confession and decided to investigate further because they suspected her of having entered a pact with the devil.

### Vicenta's Confession

Whatever their ruminations, the inquisitors voted to investigate the suspicions of a pact with the devil and to use torture if necessary. Finally, 'following many variations', Vicenta produced a consistent confession which she stood by after being threatened with torture. In the inquisitors' summary it reads:

Su ama la auia renido muy mal y estando por esto muy desagraciada se le aparecio el demonio la uez primera en forma de gentil hombre uestido con ropilla negra greguescas de seda barrete uerde con plumas y la auia dicho, toma mi consejo para que tu ama no te pegue y las gentes te tengan por santa y acudan a ti a saber secretos hazles creher que as uisto a la madre de dios muy hermosa y al niño Jesus a los sanctos y personas religiosas que arriba tiene dichas y quando las gentes se pregunten e consulten as de llamarme por nombre de Joan y por esta uia yo te dire lo que tienes de responder y seras tenida por sancta en esta ciudad y reyno y ella con este desseo auia consentido y consultado muchas e diferentes vezes al demonio las preguntas q a ella le pedian y porque acertaua crecía la fama y el demonio inuocandole ella por Joan uenia en los trajes susodichos y esto a durado por tiempo y espacio de quatro años y los dos ultimos auia tenido parte carnal con ella unas vezes estando ella uestida la alçaua las faldas y la hechaua en la cama y el se abaxaua los greguescos y mostraua las piernas y se hechaba sobrella poniendole su miembro ueril dentro de su uaso natural y quella sentia la hechaua la simiente no fria ni caliente aunque ella entendia que nunca la corrupio y estaua virgen y con el acceso tenia contento y el demonio hazia meneos para dar la contento y acabado el acto sentia tristeza y la besaua y dezia palabras de requiebros y otras vezes auia tenido parte con ella estando desnuda y acostandose con ellas desde las nueue hasta las doze de la noche que se yua lo qual auia hecho muchas vezes por tiempo de dos años —

Y que hera uerdad que el diablo la auia pedido el anima y quella firmase con cierta señal que la daria e que a esto no quiso ella uenir por mas que la ofrecía de hazerla rica y que tambien la induzia a que no recase que no tenia necesidad que sin recar se saluaria y que tambien la auia pedido que quando el uiniese adonde ella estaua le hiziese reuerencia y acatamiento y besase el ladrillo y trezia que el pisase y que la rreuerencia hazia a dios y a los sanctos e ymagenes que se la hiziese a él y que en esto tan poco auia consentido porque solamte le auia hecho la reuerencia que las mugeres suelen hazer a los ombres porque ella ya tenia entendido que hera el diablo y que nunca auia confesado esto a sus confesores con confesarse de quinze a quinze dias e que por este, orden auia respondido a la duquesa de ueraguas que pariria y ternia hijas y lo mismo a la gouernadora de Valencia y a otras

muchas personas de suerte, y otras sucessos de pleitos y cosas ocultas y poruenir y que tambien se auia arobado inifinitas uezes que el demonio en aquella, ocasion la ponía en la garganta la mano y la hazía estar tresa y no la dexaua hablar aunque bien oya lo que se hablauay que el demonio la amençaua porque no le daua el alma y hazía lo que el queria.

(She was feeling miserable after a terrible row with her mistress when the devil appeared to her for the first time, in the shape of a Gentile man dressed in black jacket, silk breeches, and a green beret with feathers. He said to her, take my advice so that your mistress doesn't hit you and that people take you for a saint and come to you in order to know secrets. Make them believe that you have seen the beautiful Mother of God and the Child Jesus, and the saints, and the members of religious orders mentioned above. When people ask you and consult you, you have to call me by the name of Joan. That way I will tell you what you have to answer and you will be taken for a saint in this city and kingdom. Desiring this, she had agreed, and she had consulted the devil many and different times the questions which were put to her, and since she answered correctly her fame grew. When she invoked him by Joan, the devil came in his said clothes and this lasted for four years. The last two years he had had carnal relations with her. Sometimes she was dressed, and he lifted her skirts and threw her on the bed and he lowered his breeches and showed his legs and got on top of her putting his virile member in her natural vessel. She felt him ejecting semen, which was neither cold nor warm, although she understood that he never corrupted her and she remained virgin. He was content with the access, and the devil wiggled to satisfy her. She felt sadness when the act was over and he kissed her and said flirtatious words. Other times he had carnal intercourse with her while she was naked. Then he went to bed with her from nine to twelve at night, when he left. He had done this many times for two years —

And it was true that the devil had asked her to give him her soul, and that she sign with a certain mark that he would give her, but she would not agree to this no matter how much he offered to make her rich. He also induced her to not pray, saying that she did not need to do so, that she would be saved without praying. Furthermore, he had asked her to show him reverence, and pay tribute, and kiss the brick and soil he tread on whenever he came to her, and to show him the reverence that she showed to God, and the saints and images. Nor in this had she consented, since she had only shown him the reverence which women usually show men, because she had already understood that he was the devil. She had never confessed this to her confessors, to whom she confessed to every fifteen days. In this way she had answered the Duchess of Veragua that she would give birth, and she had daughters, and the same to the wife of the Governor of Valencia and many other persons of importance, and the outcome of lawsuits and hidden things, and the future. She had lost the use of her senses infinite times when the devil had put his hand on her throat and made her go rigid and not let her speak, even though she well could hear what was said. The devil threatened her because she did not give him her soul and do what he wanted.)

This confession is extremely interesting for a number of reasons. It shows that the Inquisition in Valencia could produce a confession of meeting with the devil and having sexual relations with him, and that the inquisitors were not beyond using

the threat of torture to elicit one.<sup>3</sup> But it also shows that this did not mean that they would force such a confession to its logical conclusion, a confession of pact with the devil and attending the witches' sabbat. That they did not force the trial in this direction even after having decided to use the threat of torture to explore if the suspect *had* entered a pact with the devil is testimony to their caution in dealing with this matter. It is even more so when we consider that the accused was a fourteen-year-old girl with a vivid imagination, and who was probably susceptible to suggestive questioning. The effects of this caution is brought home when we keep in mind the similarity of Vicenta to the child witches who triggered the great witch-hunts in the Basque country and Sweden, and to a lesser degree, Germany.<sup>4</sup> The scepticism of the inquisitors is brought home further by their repeated warnings to Vicenta that 'the Holy Office did not want false testimony towards herself nor any others'.<sup>5</sup>

### Breaks with Demonology

The cautious questioning by the inquisitors is what gives this confession its many idiosyncrasies, such as the devil being polite enough not to rob her of her virginity even when having sexual intercourse with her, and his rather uninspired attempt to force her to give him her soul. And of course his extravagant clothes, which make him sound like a pimp — known already then for their unorthodox dress code — rather than the lord of darkness. Besides his fortunate prognostics and the trick of preserving Vicenta's virginity, he talks and behaves very much like an ordinary man in her story. It is a far cry from the demonologists' description of

<sup>3</sup> Note how this contradicts Walter Stephens's theory that witchcraft trials was the result of an intellectual need to confirm the reality of demons by focusing on demonic sex. This case shows that stories of demonic sex even in trials did in fact not require the full framework of a satanic sect of witches. Stephens's position thus becomes untenable, even if he were to be right that a crisis of belief required constant confirmation of the physical reality of demons, which in itself is doubtful since very few witchcraft trials actually have the strong focus on sex which he claims to be their central feature. See Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Bengt Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna i Sverige* (Stockholm: Nordiska, 1971), pp. 215–323; Wolfgang Behringer, *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria: Popular Magic, Religious Zealotry, and Reason of State in Early Modern Europe*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 126, 164–65, and 167; Henningsen, *Witches' Advocate*.

<sup>5</sup> 'Que el Sancto oficio no queria que se leuantese falso testimonio A si ni a nadie'.

Satan's relationship with his witches. But some of the details in the story indicate that the inquisitors have asked questions which would arise in the minds of those familiar with demonology. One such detail is that the devil's semen was neither hot nor cold. That would scarcely have appeared to be important to a young girl, but it is a stock feature of demonological literature that the devil's semen is cold.<sup>6</sup> That the summary says it was neither hot nor cold is an indication that the inquisitors have asked the question of whether the devil did ejaculate inside her, and if so, if his semen was cold or if it was warm. They settled for being told it was neither. Another detail which probably has crept into the story by way of the inquisitors' questions is how the devil moved to pleasure her during intercourse. Demonology often stressed that the women did not feel pleasure during sexual intercourse with the devil or even that they experienced it as painful. But Vicenta told the inquisitors that the devil had actually tried to pleasure her, which they again accepted. The inquisitors questioned her on points of relevance from demonological literature, but they also accepted that her answers were at variance with that doctrine.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the essence of this story is how powerless the devil is in the face of a human being's will. Having looked through him, Vicenta refuses to give him her soul and all he can do is make vain promises and try to strangle her. The inquisitors accepted this version of events, and that is also interesting. It implies both a belief that the devil did actively seek recruits in Valencia, but also that this did not by necessity mean that there was a coven of witches to be hunted down. They accepted the story but did not seek to embellish it by actually using torture. Instead they admonished the girl not to confess crimes she had not committed. In the end they sentenced her to a public whipping and subsequent reclusion for religious instruction. Then she slips away from our sources.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium maleficarum*, trans. by Montague Summer (New York: Dover, 1988), p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Other points of the story may also be the result of this kind of systematic questioning, but may equally well come from Vicenta herself or what she had picked up from other people's stories about witches. For instance, the suggestion that the devil wanted to mark her may have come from questions based on demonology or from her remembering popular stories of witches bearing the devil's mark. The same can be said about the devil's request that she show him reverence, while the fact that she specifically had vaginal and implicitly not anal intercourse with the devil (which the demonologists were apt to stress) may or may not be the result of a specific question.

### *The Witch that Never Was*

The village of Traiguera lies north-east in the province of Castellón de la Plana, close to the border with Catalonia. An inland village with a pleasant climate at 232 metres altitude, Traiguera is still dominated by an agricultural economy based on olives, almonds, and oranges. After being wrestled from the Moors in 1232 the village and surrounding lands were given to the Hospitallers. Together with the rest of the Hospitallers' holdings in the Kingdom of Valencia, Traiguera was passed on to the new Order of Montesa in the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Today the village has some 1600 inhabitants, not unlike in 1609 when it had 478 households according to the census.<sup>9</sup> In the following decades the number of households steadily dwindled, reaching what appears to have been the low point of population early in the eighteenth century. By 1712 there were only 120 households in Traiguera, a number which had increased to 134 by 1730 when the long depopulation finally gave way to a new increase.<sup>10</sup> The Gothic town hall was old already by then, the fifteenth-century building which still dominates Traiguera's Calle Mayor — the main street. The town hall and the hermitage just outside the village are the most important visual reminders of the high point of Traiguera's existence, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The economy was expanding based on trade and agriculture, and Traiguera even achieved some political influence when it sent representatives to the Valencian Cortes of

<sup>8</sup> The Order of Montesa was established as part of the redistribution of the property of the Templars when their order was disbanded. The new order was to have the properties of the Hospitallers and the Templars in Valencia, while the Hospital received the Templars' properties in the other parts of the Crown of Aragon. See Laurent Dailiez, *L'Ordre de Montesa, successeur des Templiers* (Nice: Alpes-Méditerranée éditions, 1977), Alan John Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 359–62, and Enric Guinot Rodríguez, *Feudalismo en expansión en el norte valenciano: Antecedentes y desarrollo del señorío de la Orden de Montesa, siglos XIII y XIV* (Castellón: Diputación de Castellón, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> Joan Serafi Bernat i Martí and Miquel Àngel Badenes Martín, *El crecimiento de la población valenciana (1609–1857)* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1994), p. 146.

<sup>10</sup> Bernat i Martí and Badenes Martín, *El crecimiento de la población valenciana*, pp. 220 and 238. In this northernmost part of the Kingdom of Valencia the Morisco population was relatively small. Traiguera does not appear to have had any Moriscos among its inhabitants according to Bernat and Badenes, and the expulsion did not contribute directly to the depopulation. Indirectly it may have done so, since the expulsion was followed by an internal migration of Old Christians who took the Moriscos' place in some areas. Some of these may have come from Traiguera. For the Morisco population in the province of Castellón de la Plana, see Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, pp. 24–25 and 33–35.

1411 and 1421. Then followed the long decline of the seventeenth century, the economy contracting and the population eventually falling to a quarter of what it had been. Our interest in Traiguera dates to 1670, when a local woman named Vicenta Queralt was arrested for witchcraft. At that time the village must have had some 800 inhabitants in slightly less than 200 households.<sup>11</sup>

### Vicenta

We do not know much about Vicenta Queralt. The sources do not tell us her age, but we are told she had grandchildren. We know that she was married to Jayme Ferreres, a tailor from Traiguera. Whether she was from that village herself is unknown. The main reason for our ignorance about her is that the inquisitors never conducted a formal interrogation of her, which would have given us considerable information on her family and life. Nowhere in the brief trial documents is there mention of her husband or other family members; only in the case summary are we informed of her marital status. Whatever else the inquisitors may have known about her they did not see fit to put down in writing. A second cause of our paucity of knowledge of Vicenta is that there exists little documentation of Traiguera for this period. The municipal archive has few documents dating before 1936, and the parochial archive has none at all predating the Civil War.<sup>12</sup>

### Witch

Vicenta Queralt was believed by her neighbours to be a witch or a sorceress. That much is clear from the documents we have. They believed she had the power to injure others by supernatural means and to undo the spells she had cast. For this reason she was beaten and threatened by angry and frightened villagers who believed her to be responsible for their misfortunes. Only a few documents from her

<sup>11</sup> This estimate is based on the figures of 200 households according to the census in 1646, and 183 in that of 1692. Bernat i Martí and Badenes Martín, *El crecimiento de la población*, pp. 173–207.

<sup>12</sup> The municipal archive has four parchments, the earliest dating from 1353 and the latest from 1598. In addition there is a handwritten parchment book of taxes. All the remaining documents are from the twentieth century. The parochial archive has no documents dated earlier than 1939. See *Cens-guia d'arxius de la província de Castelló* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, 1995), pp. 280–81.



original trial in the secular court have turned up, but the Inquisition's documents shed ample lights on her alleged sorcery.<sup>13</sup>

Angela Domenech had fallen ill some two years before Vicenta's trial. None of the cures she tried worked, and she did not get well again. Then one day, on her way home, her mother, Barbara Vedriño, found a small cotton bundle in the patio behind the door of Angela's house. When the Augustine monk and preacher Francisco Castillo from the monastery in Vinaros passed by her house a fortnight later, Barbara gave him the suspect bundle, which he opened and discovered to contain different seeds. He took it with him to Onofre Esteve, the Vicar of Traiguera. The good vicar also examined the bundle and decided to burn it. Soon after, Angela recovered from her illness.

A year later Joseph Bayarsi gave Vicenta a beating, believing she had bewitched his wife, who had fallen ill. By the time he assaulted Vicenta she had already suffered the wrath of her neighbours more than once. Joseph Andreu had threatened to kill her unless his daughter recovered from her illness, which the doctor had been unable to diagnose. Eight days later she was well again.

In none of these stories do we glimpse any reason why Vicenta should be suspected of attacking her neighbours. There is a general opinion that she is a witch or a sorceress, but her victims do not tell of any particular reason why they singled out her, from the village's eight hundred inhabitants, for attack. But Bautista Vidal told why he believed her to be responsible for his daughter's illness. One evening a group of children threw stones at his house. He ran out and gave one of the boys a few lashes. That boy was Vicenta Queralt's grandson, and when she a few days later met Bautista's daughter she promised her that she would have to pay for the lashes her father had dealt Vicenta's grandson. That very same day the girl suffered heart pains. So when Bautista caught up with Vicenta some twenty days later he grabbed her by the arm and told her would kill her if his daughter didn't get well again. His daughter promptly recovered.

Ana Ceruira, the wife of Jayme Valles had barely recovered from her chest pains following childbirth when she met Vicenta Queralt on her way to hear Mass. Vicenta asked her how her breasts were and touched her chest. Ana told her that by the grace of God she was better, and went home. And from thence on she

<sup>13</sup> The trial documents are in AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13, manuscript of eleven unnumbered folios. The *relación* is Case no. 598. Testimonies collected by the secular court in what appears to be a fragment of her original trial is preserved. These papers came from la Suprema's archive and are not included among the documents of her trial by the Inquisition; AHN, Inq, Leg 5323, Exp 21.

suffered such illness in her breasts that ‘the surgeons said they didn’t dare to cure her’.<sup>14</sup> Jayme then sought out Vicenta and beat her with a rock, saying he would kill her if his wife did not get well. She improved the same day and was well a few days later.

These stories of mysterious illness and recovery will sound familiar to most students of European witchcraft trials, since they are quite typical stories of maleficium as can be found in any country in Europe. Familiar are also the beatings she received. This kind of popular violence against suspected witches is well documented in most European countries, and it appears to have become a part of Vicenta’s life. Suspected witches were beaten in order to force them to undo their spells,<sup>15</sup> or in some countries, because drawing blood from the witch was believed to rob her of her power.<sup>16</sup> Every time one of Vicenta’s presumed victims healed after she had been beaten or threatened with murder, the belief in her being a witch or sorceress was strengthened in the minds of her neighbours, who only grew to fear her more. Her apparent ability to heal the mysterious diseases reinforced the impression that she was the one to have caused them.<sup>17</sup>

Read backward, Vicenta’s life appears to be a story of suspicions, fears, and beatings. But it is important to note that every single incident noted as proof of her witchcraft was dated to the last two years before her trial. Her reputation may have been older, but the stories brought forth about her by the Inquisition’s witnesses were not.<sup>18</sup> Another aspect well worth noting is that her neighbours used two words to describe her: *hechicera* and *bruja*, sorceress and witch. In the evidence from the secular court, this is rendered in the original Romance as ‘bruixa, ò, echissera’, showing that the inquisitors’ use of the word *witch* in this case was no arbitrary translation. This is significant, because Valencians rarely used the

<sup>14</sup> ‘Los cerugianos dezian que no se atreuián a curarla’: AHN, Inq Leg 527, Exp. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Robin Briggs, *Witches & Neighbours* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> Gunnar W. Knutsen, *Trolldomsprosessene på Østlandet: En kulturhistorisk undersøkelse* (Oslo: Tingbokprosjektet, 1998), pp. 89–91, Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 109, and Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, pp. 159–60.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Bever, ‘Witchcraft Fears and Psychosocial Factors in Disease’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 30 (2000), 573–90.

<sup>18</sup> However, two witnesses not interviewed by the *comisario*, Antoni Asnar and his wife Elisabet Josa, told the secular court about events eight years earlier. Antoni Asnar also claimed that Vicenta Queralt had an accomplice: Francisca Agullo. She is not mentioned elsewhere in documents relating to this case. AHN, Inq, Leg 5323, Exp 21.

word *bruja*. Implicit in this choice of word is the opinion that Vicenta was more than just a sorceress, though it is impossible to say if this belief predates her trial.

## The Trial

Vicenta Queralt resembles the archetypal European witch: an elderly woman believed by her neighbours to inflict mysterious diseases on her enemies. Seen in this light, there appears to be a certain inevitability to her trial. Sometime in 1669 she was arrested by order of the secular court in Traiguera. The exact date is unknown to us, but it was probably during late winter or early spring.<sup>19</sup> The case was then transferred to the Real Audiencia in Valencia, where the judges and the viceroy decided to send it to the Inquisition. Dr Braulio Estevez, who was both a judge of civil trials at the Audiencia and a *consultor* for the Holy Office, informed the inquisitors of the case and brought them the trial documents produced by the court in Traiguera.<sup>20</sup>

The inquisitors received the trial documents on 27 November. On 17 December they wrote their *comisario* in Vinaros with orders to investigate the matter. The letter to the *comisario* contains questions to be asked of three different groups of people, with strict orders not to ask them other questions than those ordered by the inquisitors. The people to be questioned were the witnesses against Vicenta Queralt, and the questions to be asked of them went to the core of their testimony before the secular court. In particular the inquisitors wanted to know what reason

<sup>19</sup> The *relación* erroneously states she was tried by the secular court in 1670 and that the case came to the attention of the Holy Office on 27 November 1670. The trial documents show that the case was transferred to the Inquisition in December 1669, and the *relación* itself only deals with cases completed in 1670. Exactly when the case was brought before the secular court is also unclear. The extant testimonies from the secular court show that evidence against her was being collected in January and February 1669, and it may even have started earlier: the instruction sent to the *comisario* in November includes the name of a witness who had died a year earlier. Vicenta herself does not appear to have made a confession by the time the Inquisition intervened in November, which again followed the intervention of the Real Audiencia. The absence of a confession would indicate that the trial had been interrupted at an early stage, or at the very least before torture was used since that too would have been mentioned by the inquisitors. Thus, it may well be that she was not arrested at the time when evidence against her was being gathered, but only several months later, during the summer or early autumn.

<sup>20</sup> This information is not to be found in the original trial documents, but is given at the start of the *relación*. For a schematic summary of Dr Estevez's career, see Teresa Canet Aparisi, *La magistratura valenciana: s.XVI–XVII* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1990), p. 175.

the villagers had for believing that Vicenta was a witch and that she caused mysterious illnesses. On 19 December 1669 Pedro Gavalda started questioning the witnesses in Traiguera.

Through these questions we can see that something had crept into the story of Vicenta during her trial which definitely changed her status from sorceress to witch. A maid-servant named Madalene Ferreres<sup>21</sup> had testified that being alone by the fireplace of her master's house one night, she

sintio una cosa que baxaua por la chimenea y leuantando los ojos vio que baxaua por la chimenea cierta muger con son sus vestidos y atauios de cabeza, a la qual conocio muy bien por que tenia un candil encendido. y hauiendo se le parado delante la muger pregunto a la dicha criada donde estaua cierto hombre, y respondiendole que fuese a buscarle y que no sabia lo que podia querer a tal ora y mas entrando por puesto tan inusitado y haciendo ademan parar sacudirla con el forroll de la chimenea, la dixo dicha muger nombrandola por su nombre, que para que queria alborotar la casa, y entonces dicha criada se la dexo en la cosina y se retiro al aposento de su ama a la qual refirio lo que hauia pasado, y ella la dixo se acostase y no lo dixese a los demas de casa, y boluiendose ala cosina dicha criada no hallo en ella a la dicha muger y hallo cerradas todas las puertas y ventanas de la casa como las hauia dexado. y el dia siguiente antes de salir el sol, salio a la fuente por agua dicha criada y encontro a la dicha muger, y la dixo que para que la hauia acusado a su ama de que ella hauia entrado en su casa y la coxio del braço diciendola, yo te aseguro me la pagaras y por ventura no habras menester medico ni cirujano, y de alli a una u dos dias se sintio maleficada dicha criada de un gran dolor de cabeça, y vientre que la aparejaron tan mal que huuo de dexar casa sus amos, y irse a casa de sus padres a otro lugar y le duro dicha enfermedad medio año, y ha presumido que dicha muger la hauia malefiado, por tener entera la salud antes que la amenaçase y por estar tenida y reputada publicamente dicha muger por gran bruja y hechizera.<sup>22</sup>

(felt something coming down the chimney and raising her eyes she saw a certain woman [i.e., Vicenta Queralt] coming down the chimney with her clothes and dress pulled up to her head. She recognized her well because she had a lighted candle. Having stopped in front of her, the woman asked the said maid-servant [i.e., Madalene Ferreres] where a certain man was. She replied that she should go and search for him, and that she didn't know what she might want at that hour and even more so entering by such an unusual way. When she gestured as if she was going to beat her with the fireplace poker, the said woman calling her by her name, said why did she want to disturb the house. Then the said maid-servant left her in the kitchen and withdrew to her mistress' room to whom she told

<sup>21</sup> By her surname we might believe that she was Vicenta's daughter, or at least related to Vicenta's husband. If she was, the trial documents would undoubtedly have reflected this; instead we are simply told that Madalene Ferreres was a twenty-one-year-old maiden from the village of Xert.

<sup>22</sup> Questions to be asked of witness no. 1: AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

what had happened to her, and she told her to go to bed and not tell it to the others in the house. Returning to the kitchen the said maid-servant did not find the said woman and she found all the windows and doors of the house closed as she had left them. And the next day before sunrise, the said maid-servant went out to the fount for water and she met the said woman. She asked why had she accused her to her mistress of having entered her house, and she caught her by the arm saying, I assure you that you will pay for this and with luck you won't need neither doctor nor surgeon. One or two days from then, the said maid-servant felt maleficated with a great pain in her head and stomach. Such illness seized her that she had to leave her mistress' house and go to her parents' house in another place and the said illness lasted half a year. She has assumed that the said woman had maleficated her, because she was of good health before she threatened her, and because the said woman was taken to be and publicly rumoured to be a great witch and sorceress.)

When confronted with this horrific testimony by the *comisario*, she declared that

es verdad que todo lo contendio en dicha pregunta lo ha testificado en poder del juez secular contra una muger que esta presa en las carceles desta villa q se llama Vicenta Queralt pero que lo testifico por miedo de las amenazas que le hizieron de que la meterian presa, pero que la verdad es por el juramento que ha prestado que todo lo que dixo es mentira y falcedad y no sabe cosa malhecha de tal muger y assi que le restituye la fama y se retracta de todo lo que ha dicho contra ella.<sup>23</sup>

(it is true that she has testified all contained in the question to the secular judge against a woman who is a prisoner in the prison in this village whose name is Vicenta Queralt, but she testified this from fear of the threats which they made to her that they would imprison her. The truth by the oath she has sworn is that all that the things she had said were lies and inventions, and she doesn't know any evil thing done by that woman, and so she restores her fame and retract all that she has said against her.)

The whole story of bewitchment, of flying through chimneys and of leaving houses without opening doors or windows, was a lie told out of fear. A forced testimony based on threats and not suspicion was what had turned Vicenta from a sorceress into a witch. But what about the other suspicions?

Francisco Unoll testified that, although he had seen Joseph Bayarsi beat Vicenta because he believed her to have bewitched his wife who soon recovered, 'he doesn't know that the said Vicenta has cast any spells, or is a witch, or that she knows how to do this'.<sup>24</sup> Ana Canelles testified that Joseph Bayarsi had told her how he had beaten and threatened Vicenta, and how his wife then had recovered from her illness. She also stated that 'in the said town of Traiguera the said Vicenta Queralt is reputed to be a witch; but she doesn't know that anyone

<sup>23</sup> Statement of witness no. 1: AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

<sup>24</sup> 'Que no sabe que la dicha Queralt aya hecho algunos echisos, o sea Bruxa, y sepa hazerlos': testimony of witness no. 4, AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

has seen her cast any spell, or that she knows how to do it'.<sup>25</sup> Pedro Montagut testified:

Vicenta Queralt la qual esta presa en las carseres de dicha villa de Trayguera esta tenida y reputada en dicha villa por echisera pero sin fundamento alguno pues no sabe que alguno le aya visto hazer algunas echiseras, ni que algunas personas enformas ayan allado mejoría con algunos palos, o amenazas que le ayan hecho, o dado.<sup>26</sup>

(Vicenta Queralt who is imprisoned in the prison in the said town of Traiguera is taken and reputed in the said town to be a sorceress, but without any reason at all, since he doesn't know anyone who has seen her cast any spell, nor that any person has healed with a few blows [i.e., after beating Vicenta] or any threats they have made or done.)

There was no reason to suspect Vicenta, then; it was all imagination. In a region as rife with real magical practice as the Kingdom of Valencia, no one had actually ever seen Vicenta do anything. We see here how the whole case against Vicenta dissolves at the first direct and critical questioning of the witnesses. She was no witch: that part of the testimonies was a direct and deliberate lie. But she was no sorceress either. Not a single witness could point out any specific thing she had done. There remained only the vague suspicion of her causing illnesses in some unspecified way. And even that, the witnesses had to confess, was without any reason. Even Bautista Vidal had to admit that. He had threatened to kill Vicenta Queralt if his daughter did not get well, and when his daughter did regain her health he 'thinks it was because of the threat which he made to the said Queralt who in the said town is though and reputed to be a witch'. But he admitted that 'he doesn't know with what reason nor that she knows how to cast spells or that she has cast any'. Presumptions strong enough to cause violence and death threats became too weak to sustain a testimony in the Inquisition.<sup>27</sup>

Vicenta Queralt had the good fortune to live in the Kingdom of Valencia. Had she lived a few kilometres to the north, in Catalonia, she would probably have been hanged. The crucial factor was that the Holy Office in Valencia was able to intervene at an early stage in her trial. The inquisitors' handling of suspected witches wasn't very different in Catalonia and Valencia, but in Catalonia the

<sup>25</sup> 'En esta villa de Trayguera la dicha Vicenta Queralt esta reputada por Bruxa; pero que no sabe que alguno le aya visto hazer algun echiso, o que lo sepa hazer': testimony of witness no. 10, AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

<sup>26</sup> Testimony of witness no. 5: AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

<sup>27</sup> 'Jusga que fue por la amenaza que hizo a dicha Queralt la qual en dicha villa tiene opinion y fama de Bruxa pero que no sabe con que fundamento ni que sepa hazer echizos, o los aya hecho': testimony of witness no. 7, AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

Inquisition was often unable to assert its jurisdiction before one or more executions had taken place. As we have seen earlier, the Holy Office in Barcelona did not kill witches after 1549, and suspended the cases or acquitted witches more often than it punished them.<sup>28</sup>

The inquisitors in Valencia decided to suspend the case against Vicenta Queralt after reading the report the *comisario* sent them on 28 December. On 25 January, the *comisario* was instructed to make another trip to Traiguera. There, in the presence of two familiars or priests, he was to 'reprehend, warn and minutely detail to the said Vicenta Queralt how badly she is believed to be a sorceress'.<sup>29</sup> After that she was to be set free. It is perfectly clear from the documents that the Holy Office in Valencia would not permit the secular court to try her after the Inquisition had abandoned the case. At the end of her trial documents is a letter dated 8 February 1670 from the *comisario* informing the inquisitors that she had been released from jail and had been warned to live according to her obligations as a Christian in the future.

Thus ended the story of Vicenta Queralt, the witch that never was.<sup>30</sup>

### *The Witch-Hunter Failed*

A year after Vicenta Queralt suffered her trial, Fray Juan Girona was denounced to the Holy Office for his activities in Torre Blanca, south-east of Traiguera.<sup>31</sup> His trial, which was to drag on for three years, was the result of his attempts to

<sup>28</sup> See above, pp. 64–65.

<sup>29</sup> 'Reprenda aduierda y comine a la dicha Vicenta Queralt sobre la mala opinion en que esta tenuta de hechizera': AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 13.

<sup>30</sup> On the cover of her trial documents is a scribbled note that the *comisario* had been ordered to collect more information on Vicenta in Traiguera on 4 September 1670. Apparently this was caused by misgivings by the *jurados* of Traiguera, since a letter from them was stated to be included with the *comisario*'s order. However, nothing seems to have come of this. There are no further papers in her file, and in the *relación* she is reported to have been set free and the case suspended. The letter from the *jurados* has not come to light, and no correspondence of substance between Valencia and la Suprema on this case is to be found, though there is a lacuna in the letters from la Suprema. AHN, Inq, Leg 511 contains the letters from la Suprema to Valencia 1660–83, but the old Book XXII which covers the years 1669–76 is missing. The letters from Valencia to la Suprema for this period (1668–76) are in AHN, Inq, Lib 931.

<sup>31</sup> Case no. 617.



exorcize a possessed woman despite lacking a licence to act as exorcist. His methods were also questionable at best.<sup>32</sup>

The form of the exorcism was commonly determined in part by the cause of the possession. If it was caused by a physical object, that had to be destroyed for the exorcism to succeed and to ensure that the demons did not return once it was over. Other factors to be taken into consideration was the presence of the witches or sorcerers who had cast the spell. Fray Juan Girona required the presence of the nine-year-old daughter of one of the five women he blamed for the possession. He also (re)baptized the possessed woman when she claimed not to have been baptized, sprinkled her house with holy water, beat her with a stole, burned several of her possessions, threw her clothes out of the windows, and sent a squadron of angels to guard her, in addition to commanding the demons to leave her body. Believing that a spell had been cast on the possessed woman, he claimed that the charm causing the possession was in the house of the possessed woman's mother and made several people dig there. He found and burnt what he claimed to be the offending charm after having ordered everyone else to leave the room. Afterwards he gave the following description to his aides: 'It was like two silkworms having become butterflies and it cost him more than half an hour to burn them and being ashes they still moved.'<sup>33</sup> Even this success did not solve the problem, and indeed he does not appear to have been able to exorcize her successfully. On at least one occasion he told several witnesses that the woman he exorcized was possessed again the next day.

Recognizing possession was also difficult. One of the fourteen witnesses against Fray Juan Girona was a medical doctor who thought that 'by the rules of medicine and other signs given by the books on exorcism' the woman wasn't possessed.<sup>34</sup> Needless to say, he was overruled. His misgivings were shared by other educated men. When reported to the *calificadores* for assessment during the

<sup>32</sup> For exorcisms and demonic possession in Spain, see Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *Demonios y exorcismos en los siglos de oro* (Madrid: Akal, 1990), Beatriz Monco Rebollo, 'Las maravillas del convento de San Placido' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1985), Beatriz Monco Rebollo, *Mujer y demonio, una pareja barroca: Treinta monjas endemoniadas en un convento* (Madrid: Instituto de Sociología Aplicada de Madrid, 1989), and María Tausiet, *Los posesos de Tosos (1812–1814): Brujería y justicia popular en tiempos de revolución* (Zaragoza: Instituto Aragonés de Antropología, 2002).

<sup>33</sup> 'Hera como dos gusano de seda ya hechos mariposas y que le costaron de quemar mas media ora y que hechos ceniza aun se meneauan.'

<sup>34</sup> 'Segun reglas de medicina y otros señales que dan los libros de exorcisar'.



trial, Fray Juan Girona's various activities and statements were considered by the theological experts to be 'illuso, injurioso, supersticioso de bana observança vehemente sospechoso de pacto explicito, y comunicacion, con el demonio, con proposiciones de vana jactanzia temerarias con resauios de herejia y hereticas' (illusive, invective, superstitious, of vain observance vehemently suspicious of explicit pact and communication with the devil, with propositions of vain reckless vaingloriousness, with heretical vices, and heretical). So the exorcist becomes the sworn follower of the Devil in the theologians' interpretation of events. And that brings us to what makes this case so interesting for the present investigation: that Fray Juan Girona had not restricted himself to exorcisms. As part of his trial summary we are also informed that he had stated that in Torre Blanca there 'were many witches, or sorceresses, and one of them had the Devil's mark on her back and for her there was no remission'. When speaking to another person he was more specific, or that person had a better memory: 'this prisoner had said that in the said town there was a witch marked on the back with the rooster's foot, and she was damned without hope'.<sup>35</sup> This is strikingly similar to the statements of the Catalan witch finders, who also claimed to know who the witches were and the way the Devil had marked them.<sup>36</sup>

But unlike his northern counterparts Fray Juan Girona was denounced to the Holy Office before any trial for witchcraft was initiated. Of course, we have no way of knowing if such a trial was ever in the making, but the situation had all the ingredients for a witchcraft trial: there was a victim of witchcraft in the possessed woman who did not improve through the exorcisms, and who might be prepared to go to trial as a next step to rid herself of the demons possessing her. There was also a witch finder who claimed to have identified the Devil's own in the town. And finally, by all reports there was a considerable crowd — including priests — participating in the failed exorcisms and hunts for charms organized by Fray Juan Girona. And yet it is he who becomes the only accused in a trial for superstitions and eventually sentenced to banishment for eight years, two of those in reclusion in a monastery. Clearly, being a witch-hunter in Catalonia and in the Kingdom of Valencia were two different things.

The Inquisition was quick off the mark in starting the investigation of the case. The denunciation was made on 26 July 1671 before the *comisario* in Castellón de

<sup>35</sup> 'Auia muchas brujas, o, hechizeras, y que entre ellas auia una que tenia la marca en las espaldas del diablo y que para ella no auia remision [...] dho este reo que en dha Villa auia una bruja señalada en las espaldas con el pie del gallo, y que estaua condenada sin remedio.'

<sup>36</sup> See above, pp. 106–07.

la Plana. After an exchange of letters with the inquisitors he started questioning witnesses in Torre Blanca on 19 August that year. After the initial flurry of activity the case dragged on until Fray Juan Girona was finally penanced in July 1674. On 12 February 1672 he appeared before them to ‘discharge his conscience’ — the stock phrase used by those denouncing themselves to the Inquisition — which would normally be a clear sign that he had gotten wind of the proceedings against him.<sup>37</sup> Instead of confessing what he had been denounced for, he told the inquisitors that ‘desiring to be mortified by the hands of strangers’, he had arranged for more than twenty-five different women to whip him and be whipped by him while naked.<sup>38</sup> This information was then investigated by the inquisitors who on 23 May 1672 ordered his arrest. On his first *audiencia* he informed the inquisitors that he feared he might have been imprisoned because of his many competitors after many years of teaching Christian doctrine. He also emphasized how he was held in high regard, not just in his own order, but in ‘all of Spain’ because of his good works. Indeed, he claimed to have performed more than three thousand miracles in his three years in Valencia, ‘giving hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, speech to the mute and curing various diseases’.<sup>39</sup> For good measure he added that he had been dead and in Heaven several times, and that

la quinta vez, que estubo en el cielo, que abria quarenta y siete años, le dijo ntro señor, que bolbiese al mundo porque conbenia para que se salbase muchas almas, con la Doctrina que este Reo enseñaua, y tambien ayudando a bien morir.<sup>40</sup>

(the fifth time he was in Heaven, which was forty-seven years ago, Our Lord told him to return to the world because in that way he would save many souls with the doctrine he taught and also by helping them to die well.)

<sup>37</sup> A good study of the dynamics of denunciations and self-denunciations is Jean-Pierre Dedieu, ‘Denunciar-denunciarse: La delación inquisitorial en Castilla la Nueva, Siglos XVI–XVII’, *Revista de la Inquisición*, 2 (1992), 95–108.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Deseando este Reo ser mortificado por por manos ajenas’.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Toda españa [...] dando oido a sordos, vista, a ciegos, lengua a mudos, y curado diferentes enfermedades’.

<sup>40</sup> Note the similarity with the Hungarian fairy magicians mentioned by Éva Pócs, who also had the ability to cure after coming back from the dead: Éva Pócs, *Between the Living and the Dead: A Perspective on Witches and Seers in the Early Modern Age* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), pp. 150–58. Dying well was an important concern in early modern Spain. See Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth Century Spain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Upon reading this confession the modern reader may well begin to question the sanity of Fray Juan Girona. However, there is no evidence that the inquisitors believed him to be mad, and they eventually decided to punish him rather than send him to Valencia's madhouse.<sup>41</sup> Instead of madness they saw superstition and excessive religious fervour. There was no witch-hunt in Torre Blanca.

### *Three Cases, No Witches*

The preceding cases are not representative of the trials for superstitions in Valencia in any other way than by not ending as witchcraft trials. Unlike most of the other trials they do not include any specific acts of magic. There is no sorcery here, only false revelations and vague suspicions. But these cases do furnish important clues as to why there are no cases of witchcraft proper. They show how suspicions of witchcraft crumbled before critical questions, and how the Inquisition did in fact ask those questions when secular courts did not. They show that the Inquisition could and did take these cases from the hands of secular courts at an early stage. They show how the inquisitors would force a confession, but did not steer that confession into a specific pre-determined pattern such as that dictated by demonology. And they show that the inquisitors were informed by a knowledge of demonology but refused to let that dictate their actions.

<sup>41</sup> The inquisitors did have to deal with insanity on several occasions. Some prisoners were sent to Valencia's madhouse because of their condition, such as María Maimón, who spent two years in hospital during her trial because she 'showed evidence of madness' (hizo demostración de loca). During her madness she confessed to having sexual relations with the Devil and being his succubus, but this was disregarded by the inquisitors when she revoked it after her madness was deemed to have been cured. See Case no. 319. The insane in medieval and early modern Valencia were generally viewed as invalids suffering an illness, and considered to be among the deserving poor. See Héléne Tropé, *Locura y sociedad en la Valencia de los siglos XV al XVII* (Valencia: Diputació de València, 1994), pp. 55–69 and 142–47. Sara Tilghman Nalle has published a rare in-depth study of how an inquisitor dealt with a prisoner he believed to be insane, even though his surroundings did not: *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).



## A CAUTIOUS INQUISITION

Preguntado si la invocación que hacía de los demonios era en virtud de pacto expreso, o tácito que con ellos, o alguno de ellos tenía, y en que forma lo practicaba.

Dijo etc.

*Nota.* Aquí se le debe explicar claramente lo que es pacto explícito, e implícito con el Demonio.<sup>1</sup>

(Asked if the invocation of demons he was doing was by virtue of express or tacit pact he had with them, or which he had with some of them, and in what form he did it.

Answered etc.

*Note.* Here it should be clearly explained what an explicit or tacit pact with the devil is.)

The preceding case studies show how the Inquisition in Valencia was able to intervene before suspicions of witchcraft could evolve into witch-hunts, or indeed even trials for witchcraft proper. This was possible in part because the Holy Office in Valencia did not suffer encroachment on its jurisdiction in these cases. The normal procedure when information about superstitions came to the attention of secular authorities was for them to denounce the suspects to the Inquisition. Failing that, when the inquisitors were made aware of proceedings for superstitions in secular courts by other parties, the secular courts did not challenge the Holy Office's jurisdiction when the inquisitors chose to enforce it. The pre-eminence of the Inquisition in these cases was acknowledged, and that made the inquisitors' handling of these cases the determinant factor in

<sup>1</sup> This is one of series of questions to be asked in cases of superstitions, all presented in the format of 'Asked ...' followed by 'Answered etc.', thus showing not just how the questions were to be asked, but also how the interrogations were to be transcribed in the trial records: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 213 2° (*Codex Moldenhaverianus*), fol. 381<sup>r</sup>.

deciding if the ensuing trials would become trials for witchcraft in the demonological sense or not. The inquisitors were cautious in this kind of case, whether instigated by the Holy Office itself or by secular courts. It is important to realize that this caution was not an expression of an ignorance of demonology or of a radical disbelief in the devil's powers. Rather, it was a reflection of how difficult the inquisitors believed these cases to be, and as we saw in the case of Vicenta Queralt, even the moderately cautious expedient of asking the witnesses *why* they believed someone to be a witch might be sufficient to bring the trial to an abrupt halt when the allegations were found to have no basis. We shall see later in this chapter how this caution on the inquisitors' part was systematic and adopted on the basis of a thorough knowledge of demonology, but let us first return to the Inquisition's relations to the secular courts.

### *Helpful Secular Courts*

In marked contrast to their colleagues further north, the inquisitors in Valencia suffered little grief at the hands of the secular courts as far as supernatural crimes were concerned. In fact, the inquisitors tried cases even they themselves believed might be outside their jurisdiction, as a letter to la Suprema from 1566 shows.<sup>2</sup> Inquisitor Miranda in Valencia wrote to ask for instructions on how to deal with these cases, if they should continue to prosecute them in the future. The answer was affirmative; they should continue to prosecute for superstitions even when there was no suspicion of heresy.

The extant correspondence between la Suprema and the tribunal in Valencia does not reflect any conflict of this sort between inquisitorial and secular justice over the matter of superstitions. To the contrary, both the original trials and *relaciones de causas* contain information about the secular courts and their ministers aiding the inquisitors in these cases.

In some cases, such as that of Vicenta Queralt, the close relation between the Valencian Inquisition and the judges of the Real Audiencia of the city who served as *consultores* may have been important. The combination of institutional and personal ties certainly facilitated an informal flow of information which allowed the inquisitors to be kept up to speed on relevant trials in the secular courts. Somewhat related was the way in which these personal connections may have facilitated the acceptance of the Inquisition as a natural and specialized element in the local judicial system.

<sup>2</sup> Letter dated 24 July 1566, in AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fol. 591<sup>r</sup>.

It was due to this acceptance of the Inquisition that justice officials turned suspect sorcerers over to the Holy Office instead of initiating their own prosecution or turning the suspects over to their superiors. This was a likely outcome when secular authorities decided to search Moriscos for illegal weapons or hidden messages from corsairs or foreign Muslim powers.<sup>3</sup> An example is the case of Angela Espardañer, who was denounced to the inquisitors in 1603 after the *alguacil* Pedro de la Torre decided to search her and her two companions after learning that they travelled from la Marina, the southern coastal region of the Kingdom of Valencia.<sup>4</sup> He claimed to have feared they might be carrying 'some notice for the Moors', and ordered a search. Angela was found to be in possession of a book and some papers with instructions for sorcery. After having her and her companions arrested he denounced the three of them to the Holy Office, which gladly took over the prosecution of the case. Although she successfully resisted torture without confessing, she was sentenced to a hundred lashes of the whip, payment of ten ducats, and reclusion in jail while receiving religious instruction. Seven years later the same fate befell Jayme Alexandre, who was denounced by justice officials who had found books on both sorcery and Islam among his possessions after a search.<sup>5</sup> Again the inquisitors were happy to oblige, sentencing Jayme to two hundred lashes of the whip, three years of galley service, and payment of fifty ducats.

Judges and *alguaciles* denounced people to the Inquisition, and so did the *alcaide* of the *galera* in Valencia. He denounced his prisoner Esperanza Sans Yliso, a 'woman not of good life' for saying, 'Demons my friends come for me, and bring this soul to Hell. It is already burning and damned.' Apparently she had claimed it to be 'better to spend an eternity in Hell than a hour in that dungeon'.<sup>6</sup> And that was more or less her claim later. When brought before the inquisitors she

<sup>3</sup> For control of Morisco travels, see García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad*, pp. 98–99 and 238, Haliczler, *Inquisition and Society*, pp. 257–58 and 263–64. For the role of women, see Surtz, 'Morisco Women'. The classic treatment of the Moriscos as a potential fifth column is Hess, 'The Moriscos'. See also Bernard Vincent, 'Le peril morisque', in *Governare il mondo: L'impero spagnolo dal XV al XIX secolo* (Palermo: Società Storia Patria Palermo, 1991), pp. 369–79.

<sup>4</sup> Original trial in AHN, Inq, Leg 551, Exp 6 (unnumbered folios). The *relación* is Case no. 346.

<sup>5</sup> Case no. 357.

<sup>6</sup> 'Por muger no de buen vivir [...] demonios amigos mios venit por mi, y llevad esta alma, a los infernos que esta ia ardiendo y condenada [...] mejor era estar en el infierno por una eternidad que un hora en aquella carzel': Case no. 626.

claimed to have said these words so that ‘the court would judge her to be desperate and throw her out of the prison’.<sup>7</sup> She was also denounced for having said that ‘if she had a crucifix she would have whipped it only to get out of that prison, and so that they would bring her to the Inquisition’.<sup>8</sup> As she found out, there was no need to brandish a crucifix for that wish to come true. However, she was not one of those prisoners who preferred the Inquisition’s prison to the royal gaol, even though that is the impression one gets at first from reading her case.<sup>9</sup> She was quite simply desperate to get out of the jail, where the *alcaide* was mistreating her. Other witnesses against her stated that she had performed love magic and divination, but not by invoking demons. So her utterances in prison were not in line with her magical practices, and she held firm in her explanation that she had hoped the authorities would throw her out of jail when they heard her speak in this way. To her then, it would be sign of desperation or madness to speak in this way. To the cruel *alcaide* of the *galera* who ‘put her in chains and shackles and insulted her’ it was an opportunity to denounce her to the Inquisition, which he did no less than three times. Two of the witnesses stated that when she said these words ‘she was incensed and desolate by the bad treatment’ of the *alcaide*.<sup>10</sup> In the end the inquisitors decided to reprehend her and suspend the case, returning her to the women’s jail of the *galera*. This latter case should serve to remind us that the Inquisition was also used as a tool for settling personal scores, but the *alcaide*’s decision to go to the Holy Office instead of to his superiors is also another indication of how the Inquisition had managed to enforce its jurisdiction over these offences.

These were just a few examples of how the secular courts turned cases over to the Holy Office or denounced suspects to the inquisitors. There are other similar cases, and conversely there are no letters of complaints from the inquisitors about recalcitrant or hostile secular courts involving cases of superstitions. Pablo Pérez García found that the secular courts in the city of Valencia had imposed small

<sup>7</sup> ‘Que la Justizia juzgaría que estava desesperada y la hecharia de la carsel’. In fact, she claimed not to have said the exact words she was accused of. Instead of having said ‘mil demonios vengan por mi’, she had said ‘mil demonios vengan por mil’ (a thousand demons, come by the thousand). Similarly she had renounced ‘Tristo’ (sad), not ‘Christo’ (Christ).

<sup>8</sup> ‘Si tubiera un christo lo azotara solo por salir de aquella carzel, y que la truxeran al la Inq.on’.

<sup>9</sup> For prisoners preferring the Inquisition’s prison, see Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, p. 184, Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, II, 509.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Cargandola de Grillos y cadenas diziendola palabras injuriosas [...] era con colera y afligida de los malos tratamientos’.



finest in a few cases of love magic in the period 1479–1518, but in general the secular courts in the Kingdom of Valencia were helpful to the Inquisition when it came to prosecuting superstitions<sup>11</sup> — and so apparently were the bishops, even though their intervention is rare.<sup>12</sup> In 1631 the Vicar-General of Valencia sent the twelve-year-old Ana Balaguer to the inquisitors to confess what she had told him and also gave the inquisitors his written notes from talking to her.<sup>13</sup>

### *Tortosa*

The diocese of Tortosa in southern Catalonia was part of the Valencian Inquisition's district and it is interesting to see how this area pitted the inquisitors in Valencia against many of the same problems that plagued their colleagues in Barcelona. Here they suffered encroachment on their jurisdiction by both secular and ecclesiastical courts, and even a case of witchcraft in the full demonological sense, including the witches' sabbat.

In all of Spain the ecclesiastical courts had jurisdiction over superstitions, and occasionally a bishop made a bid to enforce it.<sup>14</sup> The only such case in the papers of the Valencian Inquisition dates from 1584. In a letter to la Suprema, the inquisitors inform that the Bishop of Tortosa included matters belonging to the Holy Office in the edicts he used to publish.<sup>15</sup> Together with the letter they provided a translation of the edict, which commanded the faithful to report any

<sup>11</sup> Pablo Pérez García, *La comparsa de los malhechores: Valencia 1479–1518* (Valencia: Diputació de València, Centre d'Estudis d'Història Local, 1990), p. 26. After this date the secular courts apparently respected the Inquisition's jurisdiction since no further trials are to be found (personal communication from Pablo Pérez García). This also appears to have been the case in Granada where several of the sorcerers were prisoners on trial in the Chancery who were also tried for sorcery by the Inquisition before being returned to the Chancery: Flora García Ivars, *La represión en el tribunal inquisitorial de Granada, 1550–1819* (Madrid: Akal, 1991), p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> This is in marked contrast to Portugal, where 18 per cent of the inquisitorial trials for superstitions started with denunciations from episcopal courts. See Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição*, p. 198.

<sup>13</sup> Case no. 407.

<sup>14</sup> Little has so far been written about Spanish bishops' handling of these cases. The best study is Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos*, pp. 124–84 and 241–47. See also Isabel Pérez Muñoz, *Pecar, delinquir y castigar: El tribunal eclesiástico de Coria en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Cáceres: Institución Cultural 'El Brocense', Excma. Diputación Provincial de Cáceres, 1992), pp. 44 and 46–47, Sales, 'El bisbe d'Alat'.

<sup>15</sup> Letter dated 5 November 1584, in AHN, Inq, Lib 915, fol. 617<sup>r</sup>.

heretic, clearly an encroachment on the Inquisition's jurisdiction. The edict also included sorcery and witchcraft among the crimes to be reported:

Item de algunas personas que hazen encantamientos o conjuros no devidos o tengan algunas supersticiones, hechizos, o hechizerias o Bruxerias o que enxalmen o saluden sin nra licencia.<sup>16</sup>

(Item any persons making undue enchantments or conjurations or who maintain any superstitions, spells, or sorcery or witchcraft or who charm or cure without our permission.)

Joan Izquierdo, the Bishop of Tortosa, was clearly meddling in the Inquisition's business, and the wording of the inquisitors' complaint make it clear that this was not the first time he had done so, though no mention of this is to be found in earlier letters. The inquisitors hoped la Suprema would settle the matter 'in the manner which it has been done with other prelates who have attempted to put similar clauses in their edicts'.<sup>17</sup> La Suprema promised a *cédula real* ordering the Bishop to remove the offending paragraphs from his edict, and ordered the inquisitors to notify them if the Bishop did not comply.<sup>18</sup> There is no previous mention of this problem in Valencian sources, so the other prelates the letter refers to may have been troubling other tribunals of the Inquisition. Furthermore, there is no further correspondence on this matter, and it seems unlikely that the inquisitors would let any actual trial for witchcraft by the Bishop go by without informing la Suprema, so in the face of the absence of any further correspondence on the subject it appears unlikely that the Bishop instigated any trials. But this was not the last time that the Bishop of Tortosa interfered in the Inquisition's dealing with witchcraft. In 1621 Luis de Tena wrote that witchcraft trials should not be tried by the Inquisition alone and that the jurisdictions of other courts should be respected.<sup>19</sup> Ironically — perhaps — his comment was in response to the outbreak of witchcraft trials in Catalonia at the time, which affected Tortosa very little. The see of Tortosa, of course, is in the southern part of Catalonia but it was subject to the Inquisition in Valencia. It is probably no coincidence that the only bishops to dispute the Valencian Inquisition's jurisdiction over sorcery and witchcraft came from its only Catalan see.

<sup>16</sup> AHN, Inq, Lib 915, fols 619<sup>r</sup>–621<sup>r</sup> (fol. 619<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>17</sup> 'Segun q otras vezes se a hecho con/otros Perlados q han intentado a poner semejantes clausulas en sus edictos'.

<sup>18</sup> Letter dated 17 November 1584, in AHN, Inq, Lib 328, fols 223<sup>v</sup>–224<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Letter dated 31 December 1621, in ACA, CA, Leg 368. Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 242.

But that was not the end of the Inquisition's troubles in Tortosa. In 1629 a fourteen-year-old girl from Ulldescona by the name of old Barbara Esteller was denounced to the Holy Office by three people, including her father.<sup>20</sup> According to the brief *relación*, both her mother and her maternal grandmother had been hanged as witches. They were probably among the five who were hanged in Ulldescona in August 1627, when many other witches were also said to have been discovered. The hanged witches had 'died as heretics', leaving no doubt that this was witchcraft involving apostasy and idolatry, which the Inquisition should have judged alone.<sup>21</sup> Barbara Esteller was denounced for saying that her mother and grandmother became witches because of her and that 'her grandmother had brought her to the assemblies and dances which they held at night'.<sup>22</sup> After her arrest she was interrogated, and confessed that

su abuela la llebo algunas veçes en compañía de otras quenombro, y que vailauan con los diablos, y iban a hazer malos a los niños y bestias. y que Jamas ella quiso darse al demonio.

(her grandmother brought her sometimes in the company of others whom she named, and they danced with the devils. They went to make children and animals ill, but she never wanted to give herself to the devil.)

She held to this story during all her interrogations and also when faced with the accusation and the publication of witnesses. The inquisitors investigated in order to find out if the specific damages she claimed to have caused with the demons were true, but 'no evidence was found that what she had said was true'. Thus, with a confession of witchcraft by what would have been a third-generation witch and no corroborating evidence, the inquisitors had to decide what to do with the case. This caused a split in the tribunal. One faction wanted to suspend the case, and the other wanted to acquit her outright. Everyone agreed that she should be given over to the care of a 'good and Christian person so that she may be raised as such'.<sup>23</sup> *La Suprema* ordered that she should be absolved and then put in care as the inquisitors had suggested.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Case no. 405.

<sup>21</sup> 'Mriren com a heretges': Porcar, *Coses evengudes*, II, 244. No trace of these trials, or even of an awareness of them, are to be found in the Inquisition's correspondence for these years.

<sup>22</sup> 'La abuela la auia llevado a las juntas, y vailles que hazian de noche'.

<sup>23</sup> 'No consto ser verdad lo que dixo [...] persona christiana y de bondad para que la crie como tal'.

<sup>24</sup> *Votos*, in AHN, Inq, Lib 1159, fol. 150<sup>v</sup>.

Even though this case has only come down to us in the form of a brief summary, it contains a wealth of valuable information and allows for some interesting speculation. The date for the trial tells us that this case comes right at the end of the Catalan witch-scare of the 1620s which caused the Barcelona tribunal so much trouble. And like the inquisitors in Barcelona, in this case those in Valencia appear to have found out what was happening in their district at a late date, after at least five witches had been executed. Indeed, the lack of any surviving correspondence on this matter may lead one to speculate whether the first time the inquisitors heard about these cases at all was when Barbara was denounced by her own father and another man and a woman, and the other cases were already over.<sup>25</sup> Apparently, Barbara had not made any confession during her mother's and grandmother's trials since she was denounced for talking about the witches' sabbat 'extra-judicially'. Talking like that could easily make her suspect in the eyes of the law, and her father may have denounced her to the Inquisition to pre-empt a prosecution by secular courts. By denouncing her to the Inquisition he would ensure that his daughter was tried by a court known to be more lenient in these cases than the one which had executed his wife and mother-in-law. At the same time he would cover himself against the possible suspicions that would have arisen against him if Barbara was later arrested and he had kept her stories a secret. But Barbara's confession is also interesting because while she did not deny having been to the witches' sabbat or that her grandmother was a witch (she says nothing of her mother in the inquisitors' summary of her confessions, even though she was denounced for speaking about her mother as well), she claims her own refusal to submit to the devil or even to believe him. She thus casts herself in the role of the child victim and not that of the child witch — an important distinction. Whether this is a reflection of a conscious managing of roles on her part (perhaps with some coaching by her father) will have to remain speculation, but that coupled with an inquisitorial rather than secular trial would make for an effective survival strategy by father and daughter. Whether this was a calculated gambit or not, the combination of these two factors assured her physical survival when her mother and grandmother both died.

<sup>25</sup> The diary of Mosen Juan Porcar makes it clear that the rumour of the executed witches took about a month to reach Valencia: Porcar, *Coses evengudes*, II, 244. It may be, of course, that this case and the hanging of Barbara Esteller's mother and grandmother was not related to those of 1627, but the beginning to a new round of witchcraft trials in Ulldecona.

### *Sceptical Inquisitors*

The caution and scepticism the inquisitors displayed when dealing with Barbara Esteller is clearly visible in many other cases of imputed supernatural crimes. But the label of 'superstition' also applied to ineffectual attempts at magic or communication with the devil, and thus such acts were also open to punishment.<sup>26</sup>

An example of this caution is to be found in one of the handful of cases that explicitly mention harmful magical practices. In 1611 Mariana Lopez and her daughter Mariana Custalba were accused of 'putting evil in a house'.<sup>27</sup> Their accusers also claimed that they on the same occasion had said that six years earlier they had put evil in a house 'and there has never been peace in it', and that this was done by 'conjuring many demons'.<sup>28</sup> They were also accused of trying to kill one of the witnesses' lover, by driving nails through a heart and claiming that he would be dead in less than twenty-four hours after refusing to kill Mariana Lopez's husband.<sup>29</sup> In addition they were accused of divining by sieve and shears. Not only did mother and daughter refuse to confess, but they also managed to prove that their accusers were their enemies, one of the few formal defences allowed by the Inquisition. And in spite of the daughter's confession of certain suspect prayers to appease her husband, and the mother's confession of having taken a man's suggestion of placing gospels and candle wax in a suspected witch's house to expose her, both their cases were suspended. This is a notable outcome of a trial where there was legal evidence in the form of two witnesses who claimed to have

<sup>26</sup> This is highlighted in the case against Jacinto Jaca. Attempting to use the failure of his magic as defence, he argued that since both he and the witnesses against him testified that his attempts at finding enchanted treasures had been in vain, that constituted proof that the devil had not been involved. This did not liberate him from punishment. Original trial in AHN, Inq, Leg 525, Exp 17, argument on fol. 45<sup>r</sup>. The *relación* is Case no. 481. Jacinto Jaca is an interesting sorcerer, and appears to have been a pious man, afraid of using diabolical means. He was also a familiar of the Inquisition. His genealogy and the testimony of the witnesses who asserted his good character and life before he was admitted as familiar is in AHN, Inq, Leg 854, Exp 1.

<sup>27</sup> 'Poniendo mal en una casa': Case no. 358.

<sup>28</sup> 'Jamás ha hauido paz en ella [...] conjurando muchos demonios'.

<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, this is very similar to the methods of love magic. See for instance Gonzalez-Raymond, *Inquisition et société en Espagne*, María Helena Sánchez Ortega, 'Sorcery and Eroticism in Love Magic', in *Cultural Encounters*, ed. by Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 58–92. But this is also very different from the methods described in the few actual cases of maleficium in Valencia, a good indication that these charges were indeed fabricated. For maleficium see below, pp. 166–70.

seen the accused with 'two black cloths on their heads, talking amongst themselves and shaking their bodies a lot', in addition to driving nails through a heart.<sup>30</sup>

To sum up these two trials, two widows aged twenty-five and sixty, mother and daughter, were accused by two adult witnesses of specific acts of magic, including maleficium causing death and familiar strife. They were acquitted because the witnesses were not permissible due to proven enmity. In other words, the Inquisition did not relax its standard of evidence as did so many other European courts in this type of trial. Nor did the inquisitors resort to torture to force confessions in two trials where the invocation of demons was allegedly used to cause harm. Both the accused as widows and their supposed actions of maleficium with diabolical aid conform closely to the European stereotype of the witch.<sup>31</sup> The beginnings of these two trials are also quite similar to the start of thousands of other contemporary trials all over the European continent. To their credit the inquisitors refused to force a confession or convict on illegal evidence. But they also failed to absolve the accused outright, which is again a very cautious manner of ending the trial since it constitutes a decision on the evidence only, and not on the question of guilt.

The murder of infants and subsequent use, or even eating, of their corpses is a stock motif in the portrayal of the European witch.<sup>32</sup> This act was so unusual and repugnant that any mention of the use of infant corpses must have brought the idea of diabolical witchcraft to the mind of any early modern European when confronted with it. In 1588, the same year as Vicenta Mapel's trial, the inquisitors of Valencia were confronted with just such a story. Isabel Joan Navarra was denounced for numerous magical practices, including having 'disinterred the body of a child removing its heart to make other spells'.<sup>33</sup> Apparently she confessed even this part of her denunciation since she 'satisfied her testification' in the Inquisition's parlance, that is, she confessed what she was accused of. But she denied having a pact with the devil. Unfortunately this case is only known through a very brief summary which gives little detail. But we know that after being convicted of

<sup>30</sup> 'Con dos paños negros en la cabeza hablando entre si y haziendo muchos meneos del cuerpo'.

<sup>31</sup> Or indeed, the Catalan witch! See above, pp. 91–92.

<sup>32</sup> See Martín de Castañega, *Tratado de las supersticiones y hechizarias y de la posibilidad y remedio dellas* (1529), 3rd edn (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1994), pp. 26–27, Guazzo, *Compendium*, pp. 88–90. Kramer and Sprenger notoriously attribute this activity to midwives who are witches: see Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus maleficarum*, trans. by Montague Summers (New York: Dover, 1971), pp. 66 and 140–44.

<sup>33</sup> 'Que auia desenterado el cuerpo de un niño y sacadole el coraçon para hazer otras hechicerias': Case no. 313.

the love magic of which she was accused, and presumably also of the disinterring and use of the infant corpse, she was sentenced to a hundred lashes of the whip and four years of banishment.

Another illustration of inquisitorial restraint is the case against Catalina Ferrer from the village of Orriol.<sup>34</sup> She was arrested in 1617 after having been denounced for witchcraft and maleficium. According to the *relación*, which is the only surviving document of her trial, no less than twenty-eight witnesses testified that she had killed donkeys, made men impotent, and that she had claimed to have a crucifix that gave her all she wanted and took revenge on her enemies. According to the testimony she was generally believed to be a witch and a sorceress (both the words *bruxa* and *hechicera* are used), and people avoided her even in church. Calling her a witch appears to have been the work of a local healer who blamed her for all illnesses in the village. His allegations are prominent in the testimony of the villagers, and in her own defence, where she claimed that before his death he had apologized to her for unjustly accusing her of being a witch. But the accusation stuck. One witness even said that ‘he had heard that a certain man had seen a witches’ dance and among them he had recognized the defendant [i.e., Catalina]’.<sup>35</sup> Even this exquisite piece of hearsay of a real witches’ sabbat did not draw out the inquisitors. They arrested Catalina, but only convicted her of the ‘superstitions’ she confessed. In the end, she was no witch either.<sup>36</sup>

Then there is the case of Catalina Ferrera, who was twice convicted of having entered a pact with the devil.<sup>37</sup> Despite having confessed that she had done so, relapsed and given her soul to the devil a second time, she was not executed, nor was she pressured into confessing attending the witches’ sabbat.<sup>38</sup> Like Vicenta Mapel

<sup>34</sup> Case no. 364.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Que oyo dezir que cierto hombre hauia visto un bayle de bruxas y entre ellas hauia conocido la rea’.

<sup>36</sup> The nature of the surviving documents does not allow us to be certain to what extent the inquisitors pursued the suspicion that Catalina was a witch, since the *relación* only mentions this in the summary of the witnesses’ testimony. The word *witch* does not appear in the summary of her interrogation and confession, but that summary is too brief to include information on which charges she explicitly was asked about and denied. Thus we do not know if the inquisitors dismissed the information on the witches’ sabbat out of hand, or if they did in fact investigate and found it to be unfounded.

<sup>37</sup> *Relación* of her first trial is Case no. 316. At this time she was called ‘Catalina Sclava’ (Catalina slave). She was named as Catalina Ferrera in the *relación* of her second trial in 1602, which is Case no. 330. *Votos*, from *la Suprema*, 1602 trial, in AHN, Inq, Lib 1158, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> The inquisitors in Valencia wanted to execute her as a relapsed heretic in her second trial. This would have been the correct procedure under inquisitorial law, but *la Suprema*



she was initially denounced for claiming to have visions and for being consulted by people who asked for her help in knowing secrets. She confessed that the reputed miracles were false but claimed that the visions were real. The inquisitors then decided to torture her to find out if she was telling the truth about the visions and if she had entered a pact with the devil. She quickly confessed that the visions were inventions. The inquisitors then decided to continue the torture because of the remaining suspicions of a pact. When Catalina was told she would be tortured again,

Confeso auer tenido pacto espreso con el demonio Prometiendole el alma Por un albaran que el mesmo la truxo scripto y se quedo con el el qual conthenia que ella le daua el alma Porquel la dixese lo que a ella le preguntasen y porque, ordenase de manera que la tuuiesen por sancta.<sup>39</sup>

(She confessed that she had had an express pact with the devil, promising him her soul, by way of a written contract he himself had brought and which he kept. This stated that she gave him her soul, for which he would tell her the answer to whatever people asked her, and that he should arrange it for her to be taken for a saint.)

On this occasion he had appeared to her as a man dressed in leather, but on later occasions he appeared in fearsome shapes. However, she had not been afraid, as she was used to seeing him. She would invoke him by saying twice ‘come luzbell’, but sometimes he would not come when called. As part of his strategy for making her appear a saint, the devil had anointed her hand with a strong-smelling black unguent which ‘seemed like a heavenly thing to everyone who came there, but for her it smelled of dead things’.<sup>40</sup> But in this and the other elements of her confession and in the questions the inquisitors reported to have investigated in detail there is no mention of the witches’ sabbat or any form of collective adoration of the devil. Catalina Ferrer confessed to having foresworn God and taken the devil as her master, giving him her eternal soul. But their relationship was one to one, as was the devil’s relationship with Vicenta Mapel.<sup>41</sup>

ordered her sentence commuted to irremisable perpetual prison. Their leniency in this case is nothing less than striking, in particular since Catalina belonged to the absolute lower class in Valencia: She was a freed black slave and thus prime material for a show trial and execution. Case no. 330.

<sup>39</sup> Case no. 316.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Que a todos los que alli uenian les parecia cosa del cielo y a ella le olia a cosas muertas’.

<sup>41</sup> A sometimes forgotten fact is that the demonologists also open for entering pact in private: see de Castañega, *Tratado*, pp. 18–19, Guazzo, *Compendium*, pp. 13–19, Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus*, pp. 99–101.



We see in these examples the same unwillingness to force a confession of witchcraft as we saw in the cases of Vicenta Queralt and Vicenta Mapel in the previous chapter. One consequence of this was that torture was hardly ever used. In the *relaciones de causas*, torture is recorded as having been used in only six cases, less than 2 per cent of all trials.<sup>42</sup> The last mentions of torture in this type of case date from 1604, when two prisoners were tortured, one of them a Morisca.<sup>43</sup> Neither of them confessed to anything as sinister as a pact with the devil, let alone witchcraft. In fact, the Morisca Angela Espardañer did not confess to anything at all under torture, which again should be an indication of inquisitorial restraint.

We have also seen that the absence of witchcraft cases can not be attributed to a lack of cases that were suggestive of witchcraft or which had ingredients susceptible to a demonological interpretation. The cases from 1588 bring this out clearly: this year the inquisitors heard the confession of a girl who had sexual intercourse with the devil (Vicenta Mapel), they heard the confession of a woman who had entered a pact with the devil (Catalina Ferrera), and finally that of a woman who had used a child's corpse for magical recipes (Isabel Joan Navarra). As suggestive as all this was of the existence of organized witchcraft in Valencia, it was still not enough to convince the inquisitors. This raises the question of whether these inquisitors knew their demonology.

### *Demonology*

While the inquisitors seldom concluded that the accused were in league with the devil, the *calificadores* never missed an opportunity to denounce the devil's influence. Take the case of Antonio Giner, who in 1651 was accused of giving the devil credit for the healing of his leg. He had apparently stated, 'I put my things in his hands and later I am well', and for good measure he had added, 'God doesn't heal, but rather he punishes.' To the *calificadores* this statement made him 'vehemently suspicious of explicit pact with the devil'.<sup>44</sup> The inquisitors settled for punishing him as a blasphemer.

In fact, the *calificadores* used the phrase 'vehemently suspicious of pact with devil' (whether explicit or implicit) in a very large number of cases. Sampling the

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> Case nos 344 and 346.

<sup>44</sup> 'Yo mis cosas, en sus manos las pongo, y luego estoy bueno [...]. Dios no cura antes castiga [...] vehemente sospecha de pacto explicito con el Demonio': Case no. 490.

*relaciones de causas* we can see how often the inquisitors reported that the *calificadores* found reason to suspect pact with the devil. In the period 1587–1628, they were reported to have done so in 36 of 100 cases.<sup>45</sup> Intriguingly, the suspicions about pact with the devil disappear from the *relaciones de causas* in the years 1629–45, and is not mentioned in the summaries of 77 trials for superstitions in this period. Then they make a comeback and are mentioned in 66 of 164 cases in the *relaciones* from the latter half of the seventeenth century.<sup>46</sup> In total, some 28.5 per cent of the cases is reported to have aroused these suspicions. And while men make up some 38.8 per cent of all those tried, 33 per cent of those suspected of pacts were males. This slight over-representation of women does not in any way accord with the extreme views of women's greater proclivity to enter into pacts which we find with the demonologists.<sup>47</sup>

The phrase 'vehemently suspicious of pact with devil' is the most consistent expression of demonological doctrine in the Valencian Inquisition, reflecting the demonologists' insistence that magic can only work by the devil's intervention. As such, it should be no surprise that this issued from the Inquisition's theological experts. But what of the inquisitors? A serious problem is the lack of extensive biographies or even a prosopography of inquisitors.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it is no small work to find out where the inquisitors of any given tribunal had studied, worked, or came to work later. For the present investigation it would have been very helpful to see how many of the inquisitors in Valencia had previously convicted witches or came to do so later during their service with other tribunals. That would be an investigation in its own right, so we shall have to settle for something less.

When the inquisitor Joan Becerra left his post in Valencia to perform a visitation of the Inquisition in Barcelona in 1574, he brought with him his earthly

<sup>45</sup> It must be stressed that this is how often the inquisitors reported in the *relaciones to la Suprema* that the *calificadores* used this phrase, and not how often the *calificadores* actually did so, for which we have no sources to do a quantitative analysis. Case nos 307, 308, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 320, 324, 325, 327, 329, 340, 358, 359, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 370, 371, 376, 379, 384, 387, 388, 389, 392, 393, 394, 396, 402, and 403.

<sup>46</sup> Case nos 483, 484, 488, 489, 490, 491, 495, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 521, 522, 523, 529, 534, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 554, 555, 558, 559, 561, 562, 570, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 585, 586, 589, 595, 596, 597, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, and 610.

<sup>47</sup> De Castañega, *Tratado*, pp. 19–21, Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus*, pp. 41–48.

<sup>48</sup> The most important works on this subject are Caro Baroja, *El señor inquisidor*, López Vela, 'La elección y los rasgos', and Maximiliano, 'Burocracia inquisitorial'. For the inquisitors in Valencia see García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad*, pp. 127–30, Haliczler, *Inquisition and Society*, pp. 101–50.

possessions. Upon his death from the plague, his colleagues in Barcelona made an inventory of his belongings, which included a copy of the *Malleus maleficarum*.<sup>49</sup> It is highly unlikely that he had purchased the book in the short time after moving to Barcelona (although his colleagues inform us that he was in debt to local merchants), so we can safely assume that at least this inquisitor knew his demonology while working in Valencia.

Among the hundreds of bundles of documents pertaining to the Inquisition in Valencia in the AHN that are only marked *varios* (various), the enterprising scholar may occasionally strike gold if he has the time and patience to test his luck. For instance he may find instructions of how to deal with accusations of witchcraft. And indeed, such instructions are to be found in an incomplete and undated manuscript from the Valencian Inquisition. Caution is urged from the first sentence: 'This crime can not be well proven in any other way than by the confessions of the accused and their accomplices.' And, 'One has to tread carefully in believing the witnesses because often what they say they have seen and done happened in their dreams and they believe they were there corporally.'<sup>50</sup> Perhaps most importantly, one should not prosecute individuals if the only evidence against them is that they are rumoured to be witches or to have killed animals or children. Thus, the caution and scepticism the inquisitors displayed was an informed behaviour, consistent with the Inquisition's stated attitudes and the regulations on witchcraft from 1526 and 1614.<sup>51</sup>

The inquisitors took their cues from the *calificadores* when they stated that there was suspicion of an explicit or implicit pact with the devil. This then became the working assumption, and the inquisitors interrogated their prisoners in order to find out if they indeed had entered such a pact. But they did so in a very careful

<sup>49</sup> The inventory of his belongings is to be found in AHN, Inq, Lib 738, fols 190<sup>r</sup>–206<sup>v</sup>; *Malleus*, on fol. 204<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> 'Este delicto no se prueba bien sino por la confesion de los Reos y por los complices [...] ha de andar con gran tiento a los testigos por que muchas ueces lo que dicen han uisto y hecho les succede en sueños y juzgan se hallaron en cuerpo': AHN, Inq, Leg 799, Exp 1. There are several manuscripts in this *legajo*. The one referred to here is marked *Manual* and consists of bits and pieces of several manuscripts put together at some time. The instructions on witchcraft are in a section of numbered folios, 109<sup>v</sup>–110<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Ana Conde found that *la Suprema* and stringent rules sent to local inquisitors ensured that no witch-hunts took place in the tribunal of Cuenca, north-west of Valencia, which did see a small number of trials with accusations of witchcraft, but no convictions after 1527. Here the inquisitors were explicitly warned not to believe the *Malleus Maleficarum*; see Conde, 'Sorcellerie et Inquisition'.

and measured way, and did not force confessions of having entered a pact with the devil. Furthermore, even a confession of pact did not lead them to force a confession of witchcraft and participation in the witches' sabbat. This implies a sceptical attitude to demonology's claim of the existence of an organized sect of witches, but also an outright rejection of the popular conception in Valencia of demons as beings subject to human domination.

## INCOMPATIBLE COSMOLOGIES

ni sabia que cosa era pacto tacito ni expreso<sup>1</sup>  
 (nor did he know what a tacit nor explicit pact was)

According to the Spanish demonologist Gaspar Navarro, ‘it is laughable to think that there are natural things which, working naturally, force the Devil’.<sup>2</sup> However, this ‘laughable’ perception was one of the fundamental characteristics of Valencian magical practice. Both popular and high magic relied to a large degree on forcing demonic intervention. And while the demonologists claimed that the Devil and the demons could not be forced by humans to do their bidding, Valencians believed that demons could be not only forced, but also trapped, and sold by humans. It was precisely this belief which made early modern Valencia so unreceptive to the new ideas of demonology that were spreading across Europe in the sixteenth century, and it made accusations of witchcraft extremely rare in the Kingdom of Valencia. Valencians did not fear the servants of Satan, but the masters of demons.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the confession of Sebastian Figuerer, 1667, Case no. 578.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Que es cosa de risa pensar que ay cosas naturales que naturalmente obrando fuercen al Demonio’: Gaspar Navarro, *Tribunal de superstición ladina, explorador del saber, astucia y poder del demonio: En que se condena lo que suele correr por bueno en hechizos, agujeros, ensalmos, vanos saludadores, maleficios, conjuros, arte notoria, caualista, y paulina y semejantes acciones vulgares [...]* (Huesca: Pedro Bluson, 1631), fol. 48<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This chapter will rely mainly on those cases which do not include the use of written instructions, since the written tradition easily passes great distances of both time and space. As such it does not necessarily represent any local continuity. But orally transmitted traditions rely on repeated performance to survive, and when they survive in recognizable forms over very long periods of time as they do in our sources from Valencia, then they are very much part of the local culture, or at the very worst, subculture.

We tend to speak of demonology in a way that belies its complexity and contradictions. Demonology was not a simple, coherent, and monolithic doctrine. It was a huge sprawling mass of learning, which resulted in a large number of books that deviated in details and matters of presentation.<sup>4</sup> This was the inevitable result of some of the key characteristics of demonology, such as its longevity, which caused it to be added to over centuries. It was also due to the fact that demonological treatises were written in most European countries, crossing the confessional divide between Catholicism and Protestantism. Furthermore, demonology as a literary genre straddled the gap between theory and practice, mixing studies of Scripture with practical experience of witch trials. Differences in experience and variations in interpretations of Scripture added to the complexity and diversity of demonology as a corpus of knowledge and doctrine. Finally we must remember that the devil was the father of all lies, which in itself rendered all practical experience suspect, or at the very least, difficult to interpret.

This diversity was not a real problem at the time; rather, it gave demonology an enormous flexibility in making sense of apparently contradictory individual cases of witchcraft and satanic intervention. However, there were a number of constants which all demonologists agreed were central. One of those was that humans could not force demons and that all magic (except natural magic — the manipulation of hidden forces in nature) was dependent on demonic intervention, which only came about with an implicit or explicit pact with the devil.<sup>5</sup> Another point most demonologists agreed on was that the witches who took the devil as their lord and master really flew to the witches' sabbat, and everyone thought that they brought evil by diabolical intervention.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In the words of H. C. Erik Midelfort, 'witchcraft theory in the early modern period simply cannot be viewed as a monolith challenged only by a few heroic and enlightened men. The medieval heritage was diverse and confused enough to ensure continued debate. Thus it should be clear that men could disagree with works like the *Malleus maleficarum* while in no way regarding themselves as sceptics or opponents of witchcraft theory' (Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany*, p. 24). In a letter to the inquisitors in Logroño in 1538, la Suprema advised them not to believe everything they read in the *Malleus maleficarum*, but this did not mean that the council did not believe in witchcraft. See Henningsen, *Witches' Advocate*, p. 347. Stuart Clark stresses that demonology was not an autonomous field of learning, but fully integrated into European intellectual culture (*Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)).

<sup>5</sup> Ciruelo, *Tratado*, pp. 19–20, Guazzo, *Compendium*, pp. 4–13, Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus*, pp. 12–21, Navarro, *Tribunal de superstición*, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> De Castañega, *Tratado*, pp. 14–27, Guazzo, *Compendium*, pp. 33–50, Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus*, pp. 104–49, Navarro, *Tribunal de superstición*, fols 49<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>.

But the true cornerstone of demonology was the pact with the devil. On this was built the whole artifice of demonology as an explanation of magic and witchcraft.<sup>7</sup> And it was precisely here that Valencian culture, both popular and elite,<sup>8</sup> not just differed, but flat out contradicted demonology: magic was *not* dependent on pact with the devil, demons *could* be forced, and consequently the logical link between magic and witchcraft was broken. And Valencians did not just believe this, which is often claimed for other parts of Europe as well, but they acted in a manner consistent with those beliefs: mastering demons and ignoring witches. These were thus incompatible cosmologies, with completely different conceptions of the relations between humans and demons. We shall see this in more detail as we study how Valencians conjured demons and the way familiar demons were said to be trapped and exploited, as well as bought and sold for money. In this same context we shall study the relative absence of accusations of maleficium, because the lack of cases of magical attack also weakened the appeal of demonology which aimed to explain such misfortunes. Finally, we shall have to address the question of whether Valencia was an open or closed society, especially in beliefs concerning the magical, and what bearing this had on demonology's failure to make an impact.

### *Conjuring Demons*

The conjuration and invocation of demons was a staple of Valencian magical practice, and this is reflected even by a superficial statistical analysis of the *relaciones de causas*. For the period under study here, nearly one-third of all cases included charges of conjuring demons. If we concentrate on the cases not involving written instructions in the period up to and including 1614,<sup>9</sup> the relative

<sup>7</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 35–38.

<sup>8</sup> There are some persons of substance both among those prosecuted and among their clients, and their actions and beliefs do not significantly differ from those of more humble Valencians. Examples include familiars of the Inquisition such as Jacinto Jaca (trial records in AHN, Inq, Leg 525, Exp 17; the *relación* is Case no. 481), and the important clients handled by Vicenta Mapel (Case no. 310). See also the high number of clerics prosecuted, above, pp. 68–69. A Valencian diary shows that gentlemen also took part in the search for enchanted treasure: see de Vich and de Vich, *Dietario Valenciano (1619 a 1632)*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>9</sup> This cut-off date is not arbitrary. In this year new instructions for dealing with witchcraft were issued, which probably made the inquisitors even more cautious about charging witchcraft when faced with other forms of superstitions. The same year saw the end of the expulsion of the Moriscos, which deprived the Inquisition in Valencia of a significant amount of its business. The

proportion of this type of case increases even further to 72.3 per cent.<sup>10</sup> Of course, numbers alone can only go so far, but even a quantitative analysis can be done in other ways. Since there were usually several witnesses in each case, we are talking about several hundred or even a thousand individuals telling the inquisitors stories of human control of demons. Or we might take a diachronic perspective and study the years in which such stories were told in the Valencian Inquisition. That will tell us that this happened in at least forty-eight of the years in the period under study here, while the real number most likely is much higher.<sup>11</sup> But even this can not quite convey how one by reading through these cases one by one, year by year, finds oneself recognizing spells and invocations, slowly gaining an understanding of how natural man's command of demons was in this society. Inquisitors and lay Valencians alike were accustomed to dealing with people who claimed to master the demons, and to use them to their own purposes. In this world demonology made very little sense.

Demons were invoked in numerous forms of magic. Conjuring them features powerfully in love magic. Sebastiana Segrada may serve as an example.<sup>12</sup> She knew several ways of making a man love a woman. One of them was the following:

Para que algunos hombres quisiesen bien a vnas mugeres puso a quemar en el fuego en diversas vezes un poco de alumbre y sal diziendo, conjurote con satanas, y barrabas, y lucifer y todos los demas q estan en el Infierno y fuera del que asi se abrasen los coraçones de fulano y fulano para que quieran bien a fulana y fulana. y despues de quemado el dicho alumbre pico y molio los polvos y cenizas del y puesta de noche a vna ventana dezia por los mismos conjuros que te he hecho con satanas y barrabas te mando que vayas a los

subsequent increase in the number of less important cases of all categories, including superstitions, was surely a result of this. Thus, after 1614 the inquisitors in Valencia can reasonably be expected to deal with a larger number of less serious cases that earlier would have been dropped, while simultaneously deal more carefully with those with clear demonic involvement. For the 1614 instructions, see Henningsen, *Witches' Advocate*, pp. 366–77.

<sup>10</sup> That is, 47 cases of a total of 65: Case nos 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 301, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 313, 314, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 334, 335, 337, 336, 338, 340, 341, 344, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 356, 358, and 359.

<sup>11</sup> This assertion is based not just on the lacunae in the series of *relaciones de causas* which have been used as the basis for this calculation (see above, p. 53, for a further discussion of these), but also on the fact that the years counted here are the years of the final reports, and not every year of each investigation. Since many cases were investigated for more than a year, this number is clearly the absolute minimum. The years are 1566–67, 1569–70, 1577–78, 1586–88, 1591, 1600, 1602, 1604, 1607–08, 1610–11, 1614–15, 1619, 1621–25, 1628, 1633, 1636–40, 1644, 1648, 1655, 1659–60, 1662–63, 1665, 1667, 1670–71, 1675, 1679, 1680, 1682, and 1692.

<sup>12</sup> Case no. 324.



coraçones de dichos hombres y no las dexes estar ni reposar en plaça ni en portal ni fuera de portal ni con amigos conversar ni ninguna amiga monja biuda ni donzella tratar hasta que aui vengan arreberar y en pago desto te doy a comer y con la mano Izquierda hecho los dichos poluos de reues por la calle y cerro la ventana.

(In order that some men would love some women she on various occasions put alum and salt on the fire saying, I conjure you with Satan, and Barabbas, and Lucifer, and all the others who are in Hell and out of it, that so burn the hearts of so-and-so so that they will love so-and-so. And after the alum was burnt she crushed and ground the powder and ashes that was left of it. At night by an open window, she said, by the same conjurations that I made you with Satan and Barabbas I order you to go to the said men's hearts and not let them be nor rest in plaza nor in doorway nor out of doorway, nor speak with their friends, nor treat with any girlfriend, nun, widow nor maiden until they come here bursting with passion. In payment of this I give you this to eat, and with the left hand she threw the powder out on the street and closed the window.)

For the same purpose she made the women smear their menstrual blood on pieces of meat which she made a secret conjuration over, advising them to give the men the meat in their food. In the same vein she made them give her hair from their armpits, genitals and legs. She then burnt and conjured the hair before returning it to the women with the advice of serving it in the men's food or drink. Presumably, these other conjurations were also demonic. One of the most common ways of gaining a man's love was to put oranges on the fire. Angela Perez was seeking the return of the canon who had deflowered her, and got Esperanza Bonfilla to help her:

Tomando tres naranjas y abriendolas por medio puso azeite sal jabon y cal e dixo ansi como este azeite da gusta al comer de gusto a fulano para que el haga lo que yo quisiere y al jabon que ase como hera Resbalador hiziese Resbalar al coraçon de fulano y binieste a la voluntad de esta y tambien dezia otras semejantes palabras a la sal y a la cal que no se acuerda y luego tomo un clauo y le hincó en cada naranja uno y dezia yo no clauo este clauo en esta naranja sino en el coracon de fulano y luego las conjuraua nombrando a satanas y barrabas y berzebu y a todos los mas diablos que ay en el infierno y en todo el mundoy con aquello las conjuraua diziendo que todos se ajuntasen en aquellas naranjas y ansi como las quemasen tambien quemasen y a le sen pena al coraçon de de fulano para que hiziese lo que esta queria.<sup>13</sup>

(Taking three oranges and cutting them in half she put oil, salt, soap and lime in them, and said, just as the oil gives pleasure in the meal, give so-and-so pleasure in doing what I want, and to the soap as it was slippery make so-and-so's heart slippery and come to her will. She also said other similar words to the salt and the lime which the witness couldn't remember. Then she took a nail and drove it into every orange and said, I don't drive this

<sup>13</sup> *Proceso* for Esperanza Bonfilla in AHN, Inq, Leg 525, Exp 1, unnumbered folios. The *relación* is Case no. 322.

nail into this orange but into the heart of so-and-so, and then she conjured them, naming Satan, Beelzebub, and all the devils in Hell and in all the world, and she conjured them saying that they all should join with the oranges, and as they burnt so should also so-and-so's heart burn and be in pain to do what she wanted.)

Valencian women were invoking not just the devil, but all the demons of Hell, even for the relatively mundane and harmless aim of winning love. There is some bad theology in this, such as including Barabbas among the demons, but more impressive is the forthright manner in which these women would call on and command the demons to do their bidding.<sup>14</sup> Ysabel Medina was bold enough to ask three demons to make the men come 'by their genital members'.<sup>15</sup>

Devils were also invoked in order to earn money. In 1624 the widow Francisca Nicolaua Almenara confessed that she in order to attract customers to her pastry shop conjured the devil using salt:

Tomando un puñado de sal gorda entre las dos manos y las puso iunto de la boca diciendo Diablo guarañon y tus hijas del Rey faraon traedme los conpraderes a casa y arrojó la sal al fuego y no hizo el efecto q pretendia.<sup>16</sup>

(Taking a handful of coarse salt between her two hands, she held them next to her mouth, saying devil Guarañon and your daughters of the king Faraon, bring me buyers to my house. Then she threw the salt on the fire. It did not have the effect she intended.)

A more unusual example can be found in the trial of Angela Perez. She was asked to help ensure that the opponent in several pending lawsuits would agree to a settlement. The witnesses said she did this by putting two glass ampoules of wine on the fire while 'saying certain secret words'.<sup>17</sup> She was also denounced for

partiendo unas narajas hechando sal y aceyte en ellas y clavando en cada una un clavo y diciendo puestas al fuego que asi como se ablandauan en el se ablandase el coraçon de fulano ymbocando angeles buenos y malos y a san Pedro y a san Pablo y al berçeбу y a satanas.

<sup>14</sup> And this is according to the inquisitors. Compare this with Walter Stephens's claim that '[s]ince women's sexuality was defined as passive, women were imagined [by literate men] as being dominated by demons rather than controlling them'. Neither the women nor the inquisitors in Valencia fit Stephen's description (*Demon Lovers*, p. 53).

<sup>15</sup> 'Por el miembro genital': Case no. 356.

<sup>16</sup> The quotation is from the *proceso* in AHN, Inq, Leg 527, Exp 1, unnumbered folios. The *relación* is Case no. 387.

<sup>17</sup> 'Diçiendo çiertas palabras secretas': Case no. 320. This method is also the most common form of love magic in the Valencian sources. In this case it was adopted to soften the heart of a legal adversary, while in other cases it was used to soften the heart of a judge, or those of a woman's absent brothers. But normally it was the heart of the beloved which was to be softened.

(dividing some oranges and putting salt and oil in them and driving a nail through each one. After putting them on the fire she said that so-and-so's heart should be softening just as the oranges on the fire were softening, invoking good and bad angels, and St Peter, St Paul, Beelzebub, and Satan.)

Here we see 'good and bad angels' invoked simultaneously and to the same effect. It is rare to see angels, saints, and demons invoked side by side in individual cases such as here, but in the wider perspective of magical practice in Valencia the picture is somewhat different. Demons and saints were invoked in different performances of the same ritual in a manner which suggests that they were interchangeable on a cultural level, if not in most individual cases. In the same vein, the same invocations were made at different rituals, such as putting oranges on the fire or putting shears on a sieve. Somewhat differently, Antonia Mendieta was accused of making the sign of the cross while invoking demons, and the *calificadores* condemned Bernarda de Albornoz for 'attempting to obtain effects proper to the devil by invoking the most Holy Trinity'.<sup>18</sup>

Lévi-Strauss's theory of magic as *bricolage* seems especially apt when used on Valencian magic, particularly when used on the female sorcerers who were less inclined than men to use written instructions.<sup>19</sup> *Bricolage* in this sense refers to the practice of combining a limited number of existing (magical) elements to create magical rituals which are constantly new (because of new combinations) but recognizable (because of known elements). If we break down the orally transmitted magic in Valencia into two parts this becomes clear. Most magical practices consisted of physical acts and incantations or invocations. For instance, the use of sieve and shears for divination was used in various cases. The diviners invoked different powers when doing this; saints and angels or demons. The same saints or demons could be invoked when divining by putting a bundle of clothes on the head, or winning a man's love by putting oranges on the fire. Let us start by enumerating some of the most common actions employed:

- Putting oranges on the fire
- Putting a jar of wine in the fire
- Placing a bundle of clothes on one's head
- Placing shears on a sieve

<sup>18</sup> 'Querer obrar por medio de la inuocacion de la ss.ma Trinidad efectos q son propios del demonio': Case nos 539 and 541.

<sup>19</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 16–22.

In addition there were numerous less normal variations, such as a making a man out of salt. These acts were combined with invocations, incantations, and prayers. Common examples include

- St Helena's prayer
- St Martha's prayer
- Invoking St Peter and St Paul
- Invoking Satan, Barabbas, and Lucifer
- Invoking the limp devil<sup>20</sup>
- Invoking a star
- Invoking the lone soul

In addition there were several less common ones, and several of them could be combined. Any or several of these could be used in conjunction with the physical actions outlined earlier to create numerous distinct but recognizable magical performances. In addition, any such combination could be used for several purposes. The same manner of proceeding could be used for determining a man's amorous intentions or the possibility of his holding office. Burning oranges could be used both to make a man desire a woman's company and to make a judge release her from jail.

Thus, there existed a repertoire of magical speech actions and physical actions that in itself was limited and recognizable, but which could be combined in an almost endless number of ways to create magical rites for any occasion. The inquisitors themselves occasionally reflect this when they simply list the magical rituals attributed to a sorceress. Thus they summarized one witness's testimony

<sup>20</sup> The limp devil is a figure who also surfaces in contexts other than that of conjuration. For instance, he is mentioned in the case against Fray Juan Girona, who claimed that a woman he was exorcizing was possessed by 'all the demons of Hell except for one who was limp and had stayed behind to guard Hell' (todos los demonios del infierno fuera vno que era cojo y se auia quedado a guardar el infierno; Case no. 617). The professional healer and finder of enchanted treasure Juan (or Fernando) Ferrer, described by the inquisitors as a fat, short, and limping man, was even suspected by one of his own clients to be 'the limp devil he had heard mentioned' (el diablo cojo que auia oydo nombrar; Case no. 521). Also interesting is the book *El diablo cojuelo* in which the student Don Cleofás frees the limp devil from the glass vial he was trapped in. Clearly the limp devil was a firmly established character in early modern Spain. What is intriguing is the way in which the author makes him a comic figure, when he was very much a real living creature in the contemporary Valencian trials. See Luís Vález de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (Madrid: del Reyno, 1641).

against Serafina Agueda as performing ‘the spells of the Rosary, and the ampoule, and the consecrated altar, and the lonely soul, and the window’, adding that ‘among the said conjurations there were some invocations of demons’.<sup>21</sup> This mere listing without description of five different spells shows how familiar these were, not just to the inquisitors in Valencia, but also to the council in Madrid. The mention that demons were sometimes invoked further underlines the fact that they were dealing with a set of standardized and recognizable physical actions and utterances.

Finding hidden and enchanted treasure was another common aim for Valencian sorcerers, and so many stories of enchanted treasures circulated that people who did not themselves know how to find an enchanted treasure still had expectations of rituals to be included in the process by magical specialists. A seventeen-year-old vagabond took advantage of this. He earned his living as an herbal healer, which, as he explained to the inquisitors, people took as a sign that he must also know how to find treasure. In his own narrative, he denied this until other people’s insistence became more than he could resist, and he eventually agreed to help them find a treasure — even though he, of course, didn’t know how to find enchanted treasures and invented the whole thing along the way, adding new components and rituals as the other participants asked about things they had heard to be necessary for this kind of thing.<sup>22</sup>

What concerns us here is the way demons were a natural component in a system of magical ingredients that might be combined at will. As we have seen, this was implicitly acknowledged by the inquisitors in their case summaries when they simply enumerated the spells employed instead of describing them. Sorcerers working from written instructions would also attempt to invoke or conjure demons, sometimes by using the trappings of official religion. The use of incense when hunting enchanted treasure was seen as adoration of the devil by the *calificadores*, but the accused claimed otherwise. Mosen Vicente Primo claimed to have used the incense to ‘oppress the demons so that they would not hinder them in removing the treasure’.<sup>23</sup> Another cleric, Fray Miguel Rexaque, was even more

<sup>21</sup> ‘Los conjuros de del rosario y de la ampolleta y el de la hara consagrada y el de la anima sola y el de la ventana [...] entre los dichos conjuros abia algunas imvocaciones de demonios’: Case no. 334.

<sup>22</sup> Case no. 642. While Agustin Pastor did not invoke demons, he has been included here because the construction of consciously fraudulent magical rituals by the manipulation of a series of elements perceived to possess magical powers or attributes is the corollary to the sorcerer as *bricoleur*.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Oprimir los demonios q no les impidiesen sacar aquel tesoro’: Case no. 336.

fanciful in his explanation, claiming to have burnt incense in order to ‘ask the choirs of angels to oppress the demons so that they would let them remove the treasure they were guarding for the Antichrist’.<sup>24</sup>

### *Familiar Demons*

Demonic familiars are known mostly from British witchcraft trials, but also make their appearance in the Basque country. There the familiar was usually a sign of allegiance to the devil. Sometimes a gift, at other times an obligation that had to be nurtured, the familiar could also be bought, sold, or inherited among the witches.<sup>25</sup> The difference from British and Basque cases is striking when we encounter these creatures in Valencia. The Valencian familiars could be acquired or passed on in the same way, but they did not come from allegiance to the devil. They were trapped demons who had been forced into servitude. Powerful as they were with their ability to foresee the future and find hidden treasure, they were nevertheless completely dependent on their owners’ goodwill. Logically this is but an extension of the invocation of demons. For if demons could be forced to do man’s bidding, why should they not be forced to be at hand to do so at all times?

The modern reader’s incredulity at the enslavement of such powerful creatures is seemingly matched by Esperanza Bonfilla’s reaction when her neighbour Angela Perez suggested that they should buy a familiar together:

Se marauillo de lo que la dixo y respondio que no podia ser y entonces la Angela la dixo que la Ribellas tenia tres demonios familiares y que venderia el uno por doze reales y que entre las dos podrian compralle a seis reales cada una y esta riendose de lo que la hauia dicho dixo que si e diablo hauia de ser de las dos que renyirian por cuyo seria y quien se hauia de valer del.<sup>26</sup>

(She marvelled greatly at this and responded that this could not be. Then Angela told her that la Ribellas had three familiar demons, and would sell one for twelve *reales*, and between the two of them they could buy him for six *reales* each. Laughing at what she had said, Esperanza replied that if the devil had to belong to the two of them, they would end up fighting about whose he was and who was to make use of him.)

<sup>24</sup> ‘Pedir a los choros de los angeles que opprimiesen a los demonios para que diesen lugar a sacar el theso que tenian guardado para el Antechristo’: Case no. 329, quotation on fol. 207<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> For Britain, see Briggs, *Witches & Neighbours*, pp. 29–30, Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, pp. 71–74, 137, Emma Wilby, ‘The Witch’s Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland’, *Folklore*, 111 (2000), 283–305. For The Basque country, see Henningsen, *Witches’ Advocate*.

<sup>26</sup> *Proceso* of Esperanza Bonfilla in AHN, Inq, Leg 525, Exp 1.

Others seem to have been less doubtful about the reality of demonic familiars. Eighteen-year-old Miguel Martinez stated that he had believed that invocations were true and that one by fasting for the devil might become the master of a familiar demon which could be used for anything.<sup>27</sup> And when Jayme Vicente suggested to three men that they acquire a demon in the shape of a servant boy ‘who by his industry and good services would make them very rich’, they claimed to have asked him if they could confess and be good Christians when they had a demon as their servant. Even allowing for their interested self-representation to the inquisitors as good Christians, their lack of disbelief as they followed him to acquire the demon boy is astounding. Only later did they realize that he was a fraud, leading them along in order to gain ‘money, gifts and things to eat’, in his own words.<sup>28</sup> By then he had led them out on treasure hunts several times, drawn circles in the sand, written a letter to the prince of demons, and told them that fourteen hundred demon boys went out to find masters in a single night. Several of the cases of familiar demons are cases of fraud such as this, as indeed are several of the cases of treasure hunting.<sup>29</sup> What they prove is not just the cynicism of the con men, but the credulity of their victims, who believed that even impoverished people could bring them great riches and enslaved demons.

The Valencian familiars were usually shaped as human beings, either in full size or as very small figures when trapped in rings or glass bowls. This is another contrast to the Basque country, where the familiars were toads, and Britain, where they usually appeared as animals such as mice or cats. Esperanza Bonfilla describes the demon Miguel who Angela Perez had shown her in the street as a ‘tall, white, and blonde youth with a closed collar and completely dressed in black’.<sup>30</sup>

Familiar demons were rare, but not impossibly so. In the *relaciones de causas* we find them mentioned in eighteen cases, six of these before 1614.<sup>31</sup> Demonic familiars are also mentioned in ten cases involving written instructions, bringing

<sup>27</sup> Case no. 403; *meritos* in AHN, Inq, Lib 923, fols 882<sup>r</sup>–883<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> ‘El qual con su industria y sus buenos servivios les haria muy ricos [...] dinero y otros regalos y cosas de comer’: Case no. 437.

<sup>29</sup> Examples of fraud among treasure hunters: Juan Gonzalez, Case no. 641; Joan Cupplet, Case no. 465; and Gismundo Talpa, Case no. 360. Agustin Pastor used both claims of having a familiar demon and treasure hunting to defraud people: Case no. 642.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Un moço alto blanco y ruuio con un cuello conçertado y todo vestido de negro’: *Proceso* of Esperanza Bonfilla in AHN, Inq, Leg 525, Exp 1.

<sup>31</sup> Before 1614: Case nos 291, 304, 320, 321, 353, and 355. After 1614: Case nos 400, 411, 437, 441, 444, 445, 449, 482, 513, 575, 607, and 642.

the total number of cases up to twenty-eight.<sup>32</sup> And they span the whole period: The first mention is in the case against Rafaela Perez in 1566, and the last in the case against Agustin Pastor in 1692.<sup>33</sup> It is important to stress what this number signifies, for these are not cases of idle talk or simply gossip. During 126 years the inquisitors in Valencia investigated twenty-eight named individuals whom they had been informed were in possession of demonic familiars. It goes without mention that this must have been a popular subject for gossip and speculation among the inhabitants of Valencia in a far higher number of cases.

### *Maleficium*

Charges of maleficium was a staple of European trials for witchcraft and sorcery. Trials were rarely initiated with an accusation of witchcraft and attendance at the witches' sabbat. Rather, they tended to start with accusations of maleficium while the courts introduced the concept of witchcraft of the demonological kind during the course of the trial.<sup>34</sup> At that point the exact methods used to bring about supernatural harm usually slipped from the courts' attention as judges focused on the witches' relations with the Devil. Thus, maleficium was central to bring these trials about, but the exact manner in which it was wrought was rarely a phenomenon which received much attention during the trials. Maleficium was mainly used as proof of the perfidity of the Devil and his witches. As a consequence of the relative lack of interest of the judges (and to some extent modern historians who prefer to decry the superstition of early modern Europeans), we know very little of possible traditions for maleficium in most European countries at this time.<sup>35</sup>

There is a small number of cases mentioning maleficium in Valencia, but even this reduced group, comprising 13.2 per cent of the cases, is far from homogenous.<sup>36</sup> Some of these cases started with denunciations of maleficium in the

<sup>32</sup> Case nos 303, 325, 345, 393, 403, 446, 447, 448, 551, and 578.

<sup>33</sup> Case nos 291 and 642.

<sup>34</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 167–69.

<sup>35</sup> As Levack correctly point out, maleficium is a broad category which encompasses more than sorcery. It also refers to such phenomena as the evil eye and causing harm by evil wishes or envy. See Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 4–7. It is not always possible to discern in trial documents between these beliefs of maleficium without any activity, and judicial disinterest in actual practices. In either case historians have been lax in attempting to reconstruct practices.

<sup>36</sup> A complicating factor is that the *calificadores* occasionally used the phrase 'maleficio hostil' to describe cases which in their *relación* does not suggest maleficium to the modern reader. This



traditional European way, that of favours denied followed by mysterious misfortune. Thus, of Esperança Gozaluo, a reputed *bruxa hechizera malefica*, nine witnesses said that ‘she bewitched and cast spells on all who didn’t give her what she asked for so that they fell deadly ill’.<sup>37</sup> The inquisitors ordered her to appear before them and then decided to arrest her and proceed with the case. However, she did not confess but claimed that people wished her ill, and to the inquisitors she appeared to be simpleminded and older than the sixty years she said she was. In line with the cautious attitude described in the previous chapter, they decided to suspend her case and send her home. An indication of how little substance the inquisitors believed there to be in these allegations is the fact that the *relación* summing up the case was just over a page long.

All of the cases of allegations of maleficium without any information of any specific magical ritual intended to cause harm ended this way.<sup>38</sup> Even when the denouncers claimed to have found the physical parts of a spell (normally a small bundle), those claims were successfully denied by the defendants.<sup>39</sup> More often than not the women accused of maleficium were engaged in love magic, which indicates that accusations of maleficium may have been the result of outsiders’ confusion as to what magic was being performed.<sup>40</sup> Although this certainly seems plausible, some caution is in order since the small (magical) bundles reported to

might conceivably be due to the fact that the *calificadores* had access to the full testimony of the witnesses, while the *relaciones* only give summaries. However, there is no reason to believe the inquisitors would omit such important information. A more likely explanation is that this is the result of theological niceties. In total, the cases counted as including maleficium in the *relaciones de causas* number 46 (43 individuals, since 3 of them were prosecuted twice). Case nos 364, 374, 378, 427, 433, 437, 439, 443, 447, 450, 459, 464, 468, 469, 470, 471, 482, 483, 484, 502, 505, 508, 510, 513, 516, 518, 521, 523, 539, 541, 554, 560, 573, 576, 577, 586, 590, 595, 596, 603, 604, 605, 606, 608, 634, and 635.

<sup>37</sup> ‘A todos los que no le dauan lo que pedia los embruxaia y maleficaba de mana que enfermauan de muerte’: Case no. 450.

<sup>38</sup> Case nos 433, 470, 560, and 576.

<sup>39</sup> Case no. 483.

<sup>40</sup> A total of 27 out of 40 of the cases where women were suspected of maleficium, they were also accused of love magic, one of them twice. Case nos 374, 433, 443, 464, 469, 482, 483, 502, 505, 508, 510, 513, 518, 539, 541, 554, 573, 576, 577, 586, 595, 596, 603, 604, 605, 606, and 634. Juana Ana Perez was tried by the Inquisition several times, though Case no. 508 appears to have been the only time she was accused of maleficium. See also Case nos 447 and 538. *Procesos* in AHN, Inq, Leg 5323, Exp 9 and Leg 528, exp 3. Only one of the six men accused of maleficium was similarly charged with love magic, Antonio Diaz, Case no. 484.

have been found hidden in houses or clothes in some of these cases do not carry much similarity to the practice of love magic as it is described in our sources.

Another way charges of maleficium arose was through the misinterpretation of sorcery that did not aim at causing harm. This is a universal problem for magicians, that their actions, which are unintelligible to others, may be misconstrued.<sup>41</sup> To this general problem must be added the intrusive nature of love magic. A type of love magic practised in Valencia which was particularly liable to be misinterpreted was the practice of piercing animal hearts with pins or needles. This was meant to make the man feel pain in his heart, that is, be love sick. However, it could very easily be mistaken for an attempt at killing by magic, that is, maleficium. For example, Jusepa Domenec explained to a group of women that a woman could win a man's love by making small wax figures of men and a wax heart and piercing them with pins. Then she should tie twelve knots on a string, light a candle, and let her hair down at midnight, praying while passing the knots through her hands. Placing herself before the candle she should observe the movements made by her shadow and ask for what she wanted. If it turned out well, 'a figure would appear to her, or an animal such as a cat or other'.<sup>42</sup> Then she had to throw coal and whatever else came into her hands and the vision would disappear and she would achieve what she wanted.

Esperança Tener was accused of trying to kill the violent husband of one of her clients with something closely resembling this form of love magic. She did this by saying some words over needles before sticking them in a black sheep's heart. The wife was then told to let the heart dry out on a roof or in a ceiling, which would make her husband dry up until he died. Esperança only confessed to various acts of love magic (not including) piercing animal hearts, and was convicted of that.<sup>43</sup> The tradition of love magic was so much stronger than the tradition of maleficium that the inquisitors did not forcefully investigate these claims using torture. Instead they convicted these women of the love magic they confessed.

Finally, in some cases of love magic there are attempts at making a man selectively impotent, so that he would be unable to have sexual relations with other women than his wife or girlfriend. As an example, Angela Perez gave Isabel Juan

<sup>41</sup> The most obvious example is that of the magical healers, the 'cunning folk' or 'white witches' of whom we still know very little. Willem de Blécourt, 'Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests: On Cunning Folk in European Historiography and Tradition', *Social History*, 19 (1994), 285–303.

<sup>42</sup> 'Se le aparecia una figura, o animal, como gato, u otro': Case no. 633.

<sup>43</sup> Case no. 464.

a belt string with nine knots that would prevent her lover from knowing his other mistresses carnally.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the Catalan witches who made men impotent *in* their marriages, the Valencian sorceresses made men impotent *outside* their marriages and relationships in order to lure men back to their wives' and girlfriends' beds. Thus they paradoxically sought to bring order to the Christian world which the Catalan witches were trying to disorder.

There is also a small number of cases involving the use of toads to kill human beings. These cases show sufficient similarity in execution to suggest that in Valencia there may have been a genuine tradition of maleficium, although these cases are few and late. The first dates from 1670, when Isabel Joan Montoliu was accused of love magic and of attempting to kill her client's husband. This was done by putting shredded pieces of his clothes and hairs in a toad's mouth and closing the mouth with a large needle. She denied the charges.<sup>45</sup> One year later Francisca Villegas was denounced for offering to kill a man in a similar manner. She placed hairs and chewed bread from the victim in a toad's mouth, and pushed long needles through its head and body. She made benedictions over the toad with her hands and said some words. After this, she placed the toad with tied legs between some bricks and said that when the toad died, so would the man. During her trial she confessed to having done this, but claimed she had not been able to kill the man this way.<sup>46</sup> Then, in 1679 Teresa Lopez was denounced for, among several other things, having said that she had pushed long needles through a toad's head and buried the toad by a canal in order to kill a man. She denied the accusation of maleficium but claimed to have been present in the house of Doña Eugenia Sanz when she and Maria Ulcina tried to kill Dr Joseph Aracil and his children. They did this, she claimed, by putting a poisonous powder in a toad's mouth and then piercing its head with three or four sewing needles while a blind man said some words, naming Satan and Barabbas.<sup>47</sup>

The similarity between these cases is striking, and so is the fact that they are very different from most other cases of sorcery in Valencia. The differences resides not so much in the manner of proceeding as in the destructiveness of the aims. Valencians used magic to become rich, to see the future, to heal, and to love, but

<sup>44</sup> Case no. 320.

<sup>45</sup> Case no. 595.

<sup>46</sup> Case no. 603. See also the *relaciones* of her accomplices, Juana Ana Sanchez, Teresa Pina, and María Viciano: Case nos 604, 605, and 606.

<sup>47</sup> Case no. 634. Teresa Lopez had been tried by the Inquisition in Valencia once before, in 1666, but the case was suspended: Case no. 576.

almost never to destroy or hurt. These cases are therefore so completely out of character with the magic one otherwise finds in inquisitorial sources that it begs the question of whether this was a foreign tradition recently imported, a tradition which until the 1670s had escaped the Inquisition's knowledge, or quite simply a new invention. All of those tried for this kind of maleficium were natives of the Kingdom Valencia, which may suggest that this was not a foreign tradition, but apart from that there is very little evidence to go by. The fact is that these are the only cases that actually contain information of black magic aimed at taking human lives.

These are the only cases that show any real attempts at maleficium. There are no cases of maleficium against livestock, crops, or property. This, of course, does not mean that Valencians never suffered the same kinds of misfortunes as their northern neighbours. The difference is that these did not result in trials for maleficium of witchcraft in which named individuals were held responsible for the destruction. We do have one case from Valencia which shows a magical remedy to prevent hailstorms, which was one of the main triggers of witch-hunts in Catalonia. The Italian sailor Vincencio Conti was denounced for this in 1664, and his case shows that destructive hailstorms met with a different response in Valencia than in Catalonia.<sup>48</sup>

The small number of cases involving charges of maleficium thus points towards a culture that did not fear magical harm in such a way as to bring a large number of accusations to the attention of the Inquisition. This does not mean that such fears were absent or that they were never brought to the attention of secular courts — something which can only be established with certainty by the tortuous work of travelling from village to village and checking local records — but it does indicate that this was not as important a factor in Valencians' conception of the world as it was farther north in Catalonia, where a much weaker Inquisition faced large numbers of such cases.

### *An Open Society*

In the preceding pages it has been argued that demonology failed to make an impact in Valencia because popular culture there was constituted in such a way as to make it incompatible with demonology. There is of course an alternative explanation, that Valencia was a closed society that rejected demonology along with

<sup>48</sup> Case no. 559.

other outside influences.<sup>49</sup> This can easily be shown to be incorrect, not just in general terms, but specifically in matters of sorcery and magic, where Valencians showed openness and even eagerness in learning from foreigners. When a Portuguese woman staying in Angela Perez' house told her that in her own country she had 'seen how to cast a spell so as to see the person one wanted to see', Angela 'implored her to tell how it was done'.<sup>50</sup> She later convinced the Portuguese woman to show it to herself and Esperanza Bonfilla. This case can serve as an illustration of how the Valencian sorcerers tried to expand their magical knowledge by incorporating foreign knowledge when available.

And foreign knowledge was readably available, as is to be expected in a major international seaport. In the period under study here, we find foreigners and dozens of Spaniards from other parts of Spain (also called foreigners by Valencians).<sup>51</sup> The French dominate the statistics of foreigners, with ten defendants, followed by the Italians with five. There are also a Tunisian, an Algerian, a Macedonian priest, a Sardinian, and a Dutch woman. The Spaniards come from all over Spain, including the Basque country and Andalusia.

However, the foreigners penanced by the Inquisition in Valencia for superstitions may also be taken as victims of the xenophobia the Holy Office has earned such a reputation for.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the prosecution of foreign sorcerers would be a sign of their rejection rather than their acceptance. This would be a mistaken conclusion, since the majority of these foreigners were in fact performing their sorcery in the company of, or even at the behest of, Valencians. Their status as foreigners

<sup>49</sup> Valencia's proximity to Catalonia and Aragon as well as its large French colony makes the idea that demonology might be unknown there a non-starter. Around 1600 there were some 14,000 to 15,000 Frenchmen in Valencia, making up 5 per cent of the Old Christian population there. See Casey, *Kingdom of Valencia*, pp. 6–7, Jordi Nadal Oller and Emili Giralt i Raventós, *La Population catalane de 1553 à 1717: L'Immigration française et les autres facteurs de son développement* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1960), p. 165. They also heard the news and gossip of Catalan witchcraft trials: Porcar, *Coses Evengudes*, II, 244.

<sup>50</sup> 'Hauia visto echar una suerte para ver la persona que se queria ver [...] la importuno que la dixesse como se hacia': *Proceso* against Esperanza Bonfilla, AHN, Inq, Leg 525, Exp 1.

<sup>51</sup> See above, pp. 70–71.

<sup>52</sup> William Monter notes this as a general feature of the Aragonese tribunals' (and particularly Barcelona's) relation to the French, most visible in trials for Protestantism, sodomy, and bestiality (*Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 105–22, 234–46, and 290–96). Henry Kamen also views the Inquisition as fundamentally xenophobic (*The Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 276–79). Ricardo García Cárcel and Doris Moreno Martínez on the other hand see this mainly in the trials for sodomy (*Inquisición: Historia crítica*, pp. 308–09). It's worthy of note that this view does not surface in the monographs on the Holy Office in Valencia.

may have made them more vulnerable to denunciation, but the majority became vulnerable in the first place because they performed magic in the company of others.

It bears mentioning that we among these prisoners find people from areas which did see witch-hunts: France, Catalonia, the Basque country, and Aragon. This does not appear to have influenced their trials or their confessions, nor do their trials show them as introducing a foreign knowledge of witchcraft as opposed to sorcery in their dealings with Valencians.<sup>53</sup>

### *Good Christians and a Muslim Influence*

The *Weltanschauung* we have seen here goes a long way towards explaining why demonology failed to make an impact in Valencia. However, we are left with the problem of explaining this cultural difference between the Kingdom of Valencia and the Principality of Catalonia. The most likely culprit is of course the Morisco minority, and indeed we have seen that all trials against Moriscos in Valencia involved invoking demons.<sup>54</sup> But we have also seen in Chapter 2 that most historians place the most important phase of acculturation between Muslims and Christians in the Middle Ages, before the period covered by the present study. What we find in the Inquisition's documents is thus not so much evidence of a process of acculturation, as the result of that process.<sup>55</sup>

We are thus left with trying to sort out some of the consequences of this acculturation, a work which is hampered to no little degree by the relative lack of studies of magic in Islamic societies, both historic and contemporary. Acculturation is a two-way street, and the studies of magic and sorcery in Islamic societies less influenced by Christianity than those of Spain are therefore important guides to what the Muslims and their Morisco descendants in Valencia contributed to the Valencian magical culture. Fortunately we have the valuable study of holy men and sorcerers in seventeenth-century Maghreb by Houari Touati.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The obvious exception is of course Fray Juan Girona. See above, pp. 133–37.

<sup>54</sup> See above, p. 79.

<sup>55</sup> This of course is not a denial that acculturation was still an ongoing process as a result of continuing Morisco-Christian interaction. Rather, it is to stress that acculturation had already firmly influenced Valencian culture before 1500.

<sup>56</sup> Houari Touati, *Entre Dieu et les hommes: Lettres, saints et sorciers au Maghreb (17e siècle)* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes Études en sciences sociales, 1994).

One of the salient points Touati makes is the relative tolerance of magic (but not maleficium), as long as the practitioner was a faithful Muslim and scrupulously observed his religious obligations. A devout Muslim who acknowledges that all knowledge and power flow from Allah could safely learn and practise magic.<sup>57</sup> This has an interesting counterpart in the insistence of the Valencian sorcerers and sorceresses. While confessing magic, they usually also claimed to be good Christians and brought in witnesses to testify to their Christian character. Among the witnesses we find their confessors, who testified how they had fulfilled the requirements of the Catholic Church by attending Mass and confessing regularly. This was of course a part of very conscious attempts by the accused to escape harsh punishment, and a number of them confessed that they knew their sorcery was prohibited by the church.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, it does seem clear from the witnesses that most of these magicians were perceived as ordinary Christians, and not even those that denounced them gave any indication of viewing them as having left the flock of the faithful. Thus the pious sorcerer was very much a part of Valencian popular culture, even among the Old Christians. This was based on the view of magic as the collection and use of knowledge, and not as seeking an alternative to God and the church. This view is likely to stem from the Muslim influence, where the lack of any formal church or clergy made possible a much wider range of legitimate modes of communication with and learning from God.

### *Conclusion*

We have seen in this chapter how the pious sorcerer who was a good Christian not only could but in fact did command demons in Valencia. Both popular and elite culture appears to have assimilated these notions from Spain's Muslim heritage which proved to be a bulwark against demonology.

<sup>57</sup> Touati, *Entre Dieu et les hommes*, pp. 270–81. Compare this with Norman Cohn's description of (Christian) ritual magic: Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (London: Sussex University Press, 1972), pp. 164–79.

<sup>58</sup> The defendant was helped in this by his or her advocate, who would try to show their good Christian character as part of the defence, while the *fiscal* would try show the opposite; that the defendant was not a good Christian.





## CONCLUSION

Further, you should talk to the leading and more enlightened residents, explaining that when the harvest fails or the crops are damaged, it may be that God permits it because of our sins, or it may be due simply to the weather. This sort of thing happens, after all, in areas where there is no suspicion of witchcraft, and yet the wines are damaged by hail and frost, and the harvests are spoiled in the same way. You must tell them that they should not imagine that only witches do these things.<sup>1</sup>

In the preceding chapters we have studied the different development of trials for superstitions in two tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition. Through these we have been able to see the underlying reasons why Valencia escaped the European witch-hunt while Catalonia did not. The Morisco minority was the most decisive factor, though not in the form of an alternative scapegoat as sometimes has been claimed.<sup>2</sup> The Moriscos were the descendants of a Muslim society which profoundly influenced the later Christian society in Valencia and infused Valencian culture with an understanding of the magico-religious universe which was incompatible with demonology by putting man in control of the demons. From that source came many of the influences behind the rich and varied Valencian magical practice, predominantly urban, and centred on obtaining love, sex, and riches.

There were two other ways the Moriscos influenced the absence of witchcraft trials in Valencia. First, they reduced the importance of the feudal jurisdictions in

<sup>1</sup> Letter from la Suprema to the tribunal in Logroño, 27 November 1538. *The Salazar Documents*, ed. by Gustav Henningsen (Leiden: Brill, 2004), document 13.6.

<sup>2</sup> Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze*, pp. 110–11. His argument was later picked up by Anne Llewellyn Barstow (*Witchcraze* (London: Pandora, 1994), p. 93), but rejected by Brian P. Levack (*Witch-Hunt*, pp. 228–29).

the Kingdom of Valencia. These jurisdictions were the focal points of Catalan witch-hunts, and Valencian feudalism was equally entrenched and extensive as any other in Spain. However, the Valencians who were subject to seigniorial jurisdiction were overwhelmingly Moriscos who did not believe in witches and who, if they had done so, nevertheless would not have taken their suspicions to Christian courts.

The final way the presence of Moriscos inhibited witchcraft trials was also connected to the geographic distribution of the population in the Kingdom of Valencia. In Spain, as in most of Europe, the sparsely populated rural areas with small villages and hamlets were the core areas of witchcraft trials. These were not the only places to see such trials, but they were places which most often saw the beginning of the witch-hunts. In Valencia these areas were populated by Moriscos, while the Old Christians settled in the cities and larger villages in the rich agricultural areas. Thus, the areas where we first would expect to see witchcraft trials were again inhabited by people who did not believe in witches and who would not have gone to court if they did.

The Old Christians in Valencia, the part of the population which might have believed in witches, were not subject to the judicial system most likely to resist the Inquisition's jurisdiction and to engage in the excesses necessary to produce a large number of witchcraft trials. And as we have seen, the Old Christians in their cities, towns, and villages subject to the Inquisition's undisputed jurisdiction over superstitions viewed demons and the devil in a way which was essentially at odds with the very logic of witchcraft.

In Catalonia on the other hand, the population was made up almost entirely of Old Christians and French immigrants. The Catalan rural population which was subject to village courts and feudal jurisdictions did believe in witches, and it was directly influenced by French witch-hunts as well as broader cultural currents. This must not be exaggerated as it has been in the past, but it was nevertheless important. Stories of witchcraft traversed the border, as did both witches and witch finders. The Catalan judges who confronted the Inquisition drew inspiration from French judges, sometimes known to them personally. French authorities eager to undermine Spanish rule may have actively encouraged this, and witchcraft may have been used to strengthen local and regional elites at the expense of their superiors.

In these areas the Inquisition was hard pressed to maintain its jurisdiction and was sometimes unable even to keep itself informed of what actions had already been undertaken in other courts. The desire of Catalan courts to try these cases on their own was augmented by the Inquisition's habit of absolving accused

witches. Secular courts out-competed the Holy Office as an attractive venue for dealing with witches. In contrast, the Holy Office in Valencia was able to intervene swiftly and decisively in cases which certainly had the potential to evolve into witchcraft if tried by judges who were looking for witches. In Valencia nobody looked for witches, and none were found. But many, or even most, Catalan judges were free to look for witches without inquisitorial interference, and hundreds of witches were found and hanged.

The different factors we have studied here may be grouped under two headings. First, that of cultural differences which caused such distinct denunciations and witness testimonies, and secondly that of the judicial systems which acted on those denunciations and testimonies. It is the various combination of these different variables which must be used to explain the variation within Spain, where some areas saw large witch-hunts, others saw a few witch trials, and others again only saw trials against sorcerers and magicians. Cuenca is one of these intermediary areas, where belief in witchcraft existed, but the judicial system was sufficiently centralized to prevent the few early witchcraft trials from developing into witch-hunts.

### *A Wider View*

Thus we have come to the end of our road. Some old ideas are confirmed and a few new ones are brought forward. In some areas we end up with as many questions as we started with, but hopefully this investigation has given results that will withstand the test of future research. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the difference between the witch-free southern part of Spain and the witch-infested north was first uncovered by the *relaciones de causas* project. It is only proper that we, after considering the differences between Catalonia and Valencia, should take the time to see if the explanation offered for the difference between these two tribunals has anything to offer for the rest of Spain.

The areas that did not see witchcraft trials do in general coincide with Morisco settlements outside of Valencia as well, and this does appear to validate the Morisco influence. Furthermore it is noticeable that the areas with witchcraft trials, generally speaking, coincide with the other parts of our explanatory scheme. First, the tribunals of Zaragoza, Logroño, and Barcelona share a border with France. Santiago, Toledo, and Cuenca do not. However, Galicia's long coastline was close enough to France to make up for that objection in Santiago's case. Cuenca and Toledo are more troubling, but since both of these tribunals saw only a small number of witchcraft trials originating from remote mountain villages,

they indicate that the French influence may have influenced the number of trials rather than their existence. A second trait the tribunals in Logroño and Zaragoza share with that in Barcelona is the difficulty of maintaining sole jurisdiction over these crimes. As studies have shown, the inquisitors in these tribunals faced an uphill battle when they attempted to prevent other courts from trying this kind of case, and indeed others.<sup>3</sup> The tribunals in Castile had an easier task, but again they saw only a limited number of trials. Again we find the meddling of other courts to be something which drove the number of trials up rather than the determining factor for their occurrence. The determining factor then, was the influence of Muslim culture on Spain, while the others caused the number and severity of the cases to increase.

Trials for superstitions made up an important part of the workload for the Inquisition's tribunals in Valencia, and more so over time. This is a common feature of the two tribunals studied here, but if we look at the other tribunals on the Iberian Peninsula the picture is different. In many tribunals these trials actually formed only a small part of the total number of cases. In Majorca they were 32 of 699 cases, while in Seville they were 41 of 1962. In Murcia, directly south of Valencia, they were 116 of 1735, and in Llerena the trials for superstitions were 80 of 2851.<sup>4</sup> There is no clear pattern here. In both the secretariats of Aragon and Castile there were tribunals with few and many cases, and both Valencia and Barcelona had many trials. But in general, it is noticeable that the number of trials for superstitions tended to be lower in areas without witchcraft trials than in the areas which saw such trials. We are still at too early a stage in research on these trials to say if there was a direct connection.

This investigation also has some points of interest for the history of witchcraft trials in the rest of Europe. The importance of witch finders is one of these, and a subject which merits further investigation. The difference between Catalan witch finders and Matthew Hopkins is apparent at once, in particular if we compare his written defence of his practices with the statements of Catalan witch finders.<sup>5</sup> Their devastating effect was the same.

<sup>3</sup> Antonio Bombín Pérez, *La Inquisición en el País Vasco: El tribunal de Logroño (1570–1610)* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 1997), Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, Iñaki Reguera, *La Inquisición española en el País Vasco* (San Sebastian: Txertoa, 1984), Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos*.

<sup>4</sup> All numbers are quoted from Henningsen, 'The Database of the Spanish Inquisition', p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Matthew Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches* (London: R. Royston, 1647).

Another intriguing point is the presence of the devil's (or witches') mark. Catalans agreed with their foreign contemporaries on the existence of this, but there were some differences. The practice of washing witches with holy water contrasts with the pricking with needles favoured elsewhere, as does the notion that the mark was shaped like a rooster's foot, and not like a teat.

The existence of trials and confessions of pacts with the devil and having sexual intercourse with him in Valencian trials indicates that these elements of demonological witchcraft by no means necessarily entailed full-fledged witchcraft trails. Indeed, this investigation confirms the old and somewhat trite observation that suspicion of maleficium was the root cause of witchcraft trials. The relative clemency and restraint of inquisitors compared to secular judges is once again confirmed. Another old observation is also strengthened by this work, that of the importance of centralized control over judicial proceedings, or the lack of it. Clearly this had great impact on the different chains of events in Valencia and Catalonia.



## GLOSSARY

*abecedario*: alphabetically ordered guide to legislation and procedures

*alcaide*: jailer

*alguacil*: constable or sheriff

*auto de fé*: the Inquisition's public ceremony of punishment

*audiencia*: hearing, interrogation

*baile*: bailiff

*beata*: religious woman not belonging to any religious order

*calificador*: theological expert consulted by the Inquisition

*cédula real*: royal warrant

*comisario*: local clergyman representing the Inquisition

*concordia*: contract or agreement

*conseller*: member of city council

*consultor*: jurist who voted with the inquisitors when deciding cases

*Cortes*: Parliament

*expediente*: dossier

*familiar*: unsalaried armed servant of the Inquisition

*fiscal*: prosecutor

*galera*: gaol; also women's prison

*herçe*: amulet containing text from the Koran

*junta*: assembly

*jurado*: municipal magistrate

*legajo*: bundle

*libro*: book

*memorial*: petition

*proceso*: trial, or trial documents

*real*: royal; also a unit of coinage

Real Audiencia: Royal Chancery, appellate court

*relaciones de causas*: trial summaries

la Suprema: the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid

*votos*: votation or its transcript or results



## CASE LISTS

The cases used in this study come from original trial documents and fragments, and *relaciones de causas*. What follows are two lists of cases compiled from the *relaciones*. Cases which are only known from other sources have not been included in these lists. See also the section titled ‘The Numbers’, above, pp. 51–54.

The cases are numbered and sorted by tribunal and chronology. Some individuals were prosecuted more than once and are listed more than once. The case numbers given here are the ones referred to in the footnotes.

*Barcelona*

Case	Name	Year	Reference
1	Pere Rialp	1552	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 9 <sup>r</sup>
2	Auiador Pere Azuan	1561–62	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 52 <sup>v</sup>
3	Ana Masona	1565	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 69 <sup>r</sup>
4	Maria Domenjona	1565	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 69 <sup>r</sup>
5	Pere Ju <sup>o</sup>	1569	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 98 <sup>v</sup>
6	Joan Berdier	1575	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 191 <sup>r-v</sup>
7	Joana Salauerda	1575	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 192 <sup>r</sup>
8	Joana Montaña, alias ‘Toneta’	1575	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 192 <sup>r-v</sup>
9	Andreu Beltraneta	1575	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 207 <sup>r-v</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
10	Margarida Boer	1575	AHN, Inq, Lib 730, fol. 194 <sup>v</sup>
11	Ambrosio Maure	1590	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 48 <sup>v</sup> –49 <sup>v</sup>
12	Pedro Girbau	1593	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fol. 166 <sup>r-v</sup>
13	Joana Gotarda	1593	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 168 <sup>v</sup> –169 <sup>f</sup>
14	Ysabel Tixayre	1593	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fol. 173 <sup>f</sup>
15	Catharina de Torres	1593	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 175 <sup>v</sup> –176 <sup>f</sup>
16	Joanna Joffre	1597	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 278 <sup>v</sup> –280 <sup>f</sup>
17	Luysa Domingo	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 418 <sup>v</sup> –422 <sup>v</sup>
18	Serafina Luca	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 418 <sup>v</sup> –422 <sup>v</sup>
19	Jayme Rubio	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 475 <sup>v</sup> –476 <sup>f</sup>
20	Francisco Torres	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 476 <sup>f</sup> –477 <sup>f</sup>
21	Antonio Vidal	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fol. 475 <sup>f</sup>
22	Hieronyma Casaus	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 477 <sup>f</sup> –478 <sup>f</sup>
23	Angela Marsilla	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 478 <sup>f</sup> –480 <sup>f</sup>
24	Catalina Gra, alias 'bussiona'	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 480 <sup>f</sup> –481 <sup>v</sup>
25	Luis Vilar	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 481 <sup>v</sup> –483 <sup>f</sup>
26	Hieronyma Meyaya	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 403 <sup>f</sup> –404 <sup>f</sup>
27	Esperansa Torres	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 484 <sup>f</sup> –485 <sup>f</sup>
28	Yssabel de Villalobos	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 485 <sup>f</sup> –486 <sup>f</sup>
29	Maciana Entradamossa	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 486 <sup>f</sup> –487 <sup>f</sup>
30	Gregorio Mauri	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 538 <sup>v</sup> –539 <sup>v</sup>
31	Estefania Fosalba	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 731, fols 539 <sup>v</sup> –540 <sup>v</sup>
32	Francisco Torres	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 741, fols 58 <sup>v</sup> –59 <sup>f</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
33	Arnau Cortes	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 741, fol. 61 <sup>r</sup>
34	Jaume Rubio	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 741, fol. 64 <sup>r-v</sup>
35	Joseph Daynier	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 741, fols 66 <sup>r</sup> -68 <sup>r</sup>
36	Antonio Moliner, alias 'el barbudo'	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 1 <sup>r-v</sup>
37	Bernardo Costaseca	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 2 <sup>r-v</sup>
38	Joan Arenes	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 3 <sup>r</sup> -4 <sup>r</sup>
39	Christophal Martinos	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 4 <sup>v</sup> -5 <sup>v</sup>
40	Onophrio Oliver	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 5 <sup>v</sup> -7 <sup>r</sup>
41	Anton Sedeño	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 7 <sup>r-v</sup>
42	Aldonça Solera	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 12 <sup>r-v</sup>
43	Joana Ferrera, alias 'Colita Villa'	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 12 <sup>v</sup> -14 <sup>v</sup>
44	Anna Sureda Mossa	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 14 <sup>v</sup> -15 <sup>r</sup>
45	Anton Puig	1606	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 15 <sup>r</sup> -16 <sup>v</sup>
46	Eugenia Axada	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 324 <sup>r</sup> -325 <sup>r</sup>
47	Raphaella Mijavilla	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 326 <sup>r-v</sup>
48	Anton Çabater	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 331 <sup>r-v</sup>
49	Marianna Nauarra	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 331 <sup>v</sup>
50	Joan Miguel Sanouora	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 336 <sup>r-v</sup>
51	Francisco Ribas	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 337 <sup>v</sup> -338 <sup>v</sup>
52	Magdarida Dezissa	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 341 <sup>v</sup> -343 <sup>r</sup>
53	Hieronimo Sijar	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 22 <sup>r</sup> -23 <sup>r</sup>
54	Nouello de Sentelles	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 23 <sup>r</sup> -24 <sup>r</sup>

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55	Joseph Sala	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 24 <sup>r</sup> –25 <sup>r</sup>
56	Miguel Domench	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 25 <sup>r-v</sup>
57	Nicolas Llaneras	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 25 <sup>v</sup> –26 <sup>r</sup>
58	Joeph Llobet	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 26 <sup>r-v</sup>
59	Catharina Martina	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 26 <sup>v</sup>
60	Magdalena Almasellas	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 26 <sup>v</sup> –27 <sup>r</sup>
61	Gratiana Gustamane	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 27 <sup>r</sup>
62	Miguel Massaguer	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 27 <sup>r</sup> –28 <sup>r</sup>
63	Magdalena Ferrera	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 35 <sup>r-v</sup>
64	Joana Hugueta, alias 'vidala'	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 35 <sup>v</sup> –36 <sup>r</sup>
65	Monferrada Figuera	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 36 <sup>r-v</sup>
66	Yannna Murries	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 36 <sup>v</sup> –37 <sup>r</sup>
67	Marianna Poch	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 37 <sup>r</sup> –38 <sup>r</sup>
68	Antonia Fogueta	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 40 <sup>v</sup> –41 <sup>r</sup>
69	Bertran Dufay	1609	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 80 <sup>r</sup> –81 <sup>v</sup>
70	Tecla Saludes	1609	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 81 <sup>v</sup> –82 <sup>v</sup>
71	Domingo Perez	1610	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 101 <sup>r-v</sup>
72	Onofia Cammara	1610	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 101 <sup>v</sup> –102 <sup>r</sup>
73	Pere Nadal	1610	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 102 <sup>r-v</sup>
74	Joanna Ronira	1610	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 102 <sup>v</sup> –103 <sup>r</sup>
75	Philippe Dalfau	1610	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 107 <sup>r</sup> –108 <sup>r</sup>
76	Hieronimo Oller	1611	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 116 <sup>r</sup> –118 <sup>r</sup>
77	Magdalena Duch	1611	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 120 <sup>v</sup> –122 <sup>r</sup>

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78	Joan Ferrer	1611	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 126 <sup>v</sup> -127 <sup>f</sup>
79	Hieronimo Arnal	1612	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 168 <sup>r</sup> -170 <sup>f</sup>
80	Miguel Ralphes	1612	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 179 <sup>v</sup> -183 <sup>v</sup>
81	Leonardo de Parma	1613	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 219 <sup>r</sup> -220 <sup>v</sup>
82	Antonio Segalas	1613	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 220 <sup>v</sup> -221 <sup>v</sup>
83	Catharina Torres	1613	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 222 <sup>v</sup> -223 <sup>f</sup>
84	Bartholome Gilabert	1613	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 223 <sup>f</sup>
85	Andres Luys	1613	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 223 <sup>r</sup> -224 <sup>v</sup>
86	Nicolas Anahat	1613	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 224 <sup>v</sup> -225 <sup>f</sup>
87	Madalena Homs	1614	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 234 <sup>v</sup> -236 <sup>f</sup>
88	Joan Vidal	1614	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 238 <sup>r</sup> -240 <sup>f</sup>
89	Juanna Farres	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 267 <sup>r</sup> -276 <sup>f</sup>
90	Eulalia Tocha	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>r</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
91	Guillerma Fontals Brugas, alias 'la miramunda francesa'	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
92	Blanca Camos	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
93	Peyrona Moles	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
94	Juana Detoy	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
95	Isabel Benaunte	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
96	Juana Detoy	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
97	Miguela Casonoues	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
98	Mado Margarita	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
99	Margarrida Taffanera	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>
100	Juana Juliana	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 276 <sup>v</sup> -277 <sup>f</sup>

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101	Maria del Portal	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 277 <sup>r-v</sup>
102	Juan Arenes	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 281 <sup>v</sup> -283 <sup>v</sup>
103	Joseph Sala	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 283 <sup>v</sup> -285 <sup>v</sup>
104	Onofro Bertran	1616	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 306 <sup>r</sup> -307 <sup>v</sup>
105	Cosme Soler	1617	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 369 <sup>r</sup> -371 <sup>r</sup>
106	Lorenzo Carmell	1619	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 426 <sup>r</sup> -429 <sup>r</sup>
107	Barthelomo Romero	1619	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 429 <sup>r</sup> -431 <sup>v</sup>
108	Cathalina Ribona	1619	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 434 <sup>v</sup> -436 <sup>r</sup>
109	Angela Benaca	1619	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 436 <sup>r</sup> -437 <sup>r</sup>
110	Miguel Roger	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 486 <sup>r</sup> -489 <sup>r</sup>
111	Joan Mollera	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 490 <sup>v</sup> -493 <sup>v</sup>
112	Althanca Rasza	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 508 <sup>r</sup> -509 <sup>v</sup>
113	Rafacla Auentoria	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fol. 510 <sup>r-v</sup>
114	Clemente de Uega	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 510 <sup>v</sup> -512 <sup>r</sup>
115	Madalena Cadeferrer	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 13 <sup>v</sup> -14 <sup>v</sup>
116	Madalena Ferrera	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 29 <sup>r</sup> -32 <sup>v</sup>
117	Madalena Cathalana	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 32 <sup>v</sup> -35 <sup>r</sup>
118	Madrona Porta	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 35 <sup>r</sup> -37 <sup>v</sup>
119	Eulalia Ursola	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 37 <sup>v</sup> -39 <sup>v</sup>
120	Francisco Latrilla	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 120 <sup>v</sup> -121 <sup>v</sup>
121	Joan Vidal	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 126 <sup>r</sup> -127 <sup>v</sup>
122	Saluador Prats, alias 'dorder'	1626	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 473 <sup>v</sup> -475 <sup>r</sup>
123	Marcos Guedo	1626	AHN, Inq, Lib 732, fols 475 <sup>r</sup> -476 <sup>v</sup>

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124	Joana Domingo	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 226 <sup>v</sup> –228 <sup>f</sup>
125	Gabriel Coma	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 228 <sup>r</sup> –230 <sup>v</sup>
126	Margarida Fonestras	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 241 <sup>r</sup> –242 <sup>f</sup>
127	Joana Amadora	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 242 <sup>r</sup> –243 <sup>f</sup>
128	Sabina Plajana	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fol. 243 <sup>r-v</sup>
129	Margarita Ferruz, alias 'la grasseta'	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 243 <sup>v</sup> –244 <sup>v</sup>
130	Madalena	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 244 <sup>v</sup> –246 <sup>f</sup>
131	Isach Bartolomeu	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 265 <sup>v</sup> –266 <sup>v</sup>
132	Andres Galau	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 266 <sup>v</sup> –268 <sup>v</sup>
133	Maria Puig	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 292 <sup>v</sup> –294 <sup>v</sup>
134	Eulalia Motas	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 297 <sup>v</sup> –298 <sup>v</sup>
135	Francisco Peibas	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 298 <sup>v</sup> –299 <sup>f</sup>
136	Sebastian Villagut	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 299 <sup>r</sup> –300 <sup>v</sup>
137	Francisco Latrilla	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 300 <sup>v</sup> –301 <sup>r</sup>
138	Onofre Copons	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 301 <sup>r</sup> –302 <sup>f</sup>
139	Isabel Robustera	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 312 <sup>v</sup> –314 <sup>f</sup>
140	Violante Ferrera	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 314 <sup>v</sup> –315 <sup>v</sup>
141	Madalena Bou	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 315 <sup>v</sup> –316 <sup>v</sup>
142	Madalena Verniola	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 323 <sup>v</sup> –325 <sup>f</sup>
143	Antonio Pujol	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 330 <sup>v</sup> –332 <sup>v</sup>
144	Miguel Paris	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 332 <sup>v</sup> –333 <sup>f</sup>
145	Angela Salvadora	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 333 <sup>r</sup> –334 <sup>f</sup>
146	Catalina Viuas	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 334 <sup>r</sup> –335 <sup>f</sup>

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147	Antonio Pujol, alias 'lo garballer'	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 360 <sup>v</sup> -361 <sup>v</sup>
148	Nicolassa Aguilona	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 361 <sup>v</sup> -367 <sup>v</sup>
149	Susanna UMBER	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 369 <sup>r</sup> -370 <sup>r</sup>
150	Joan Belart	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 373 <sup>r</sup> -376 <sup>v</sup>
151	Pedro Borges	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 393 <sup>r</sup> -394 <sup>v</sup>
152	Joan Serola	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 394 <sup>v</sup> -395 <sup>v</sup>
153	Joan Duran	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 397 <sup>v</sup> -398 <sup>r</sup>
154	Carlos Aleman	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 405 <sup>r</sup> -406 <sup>r</sup>
155	Maria Serrer	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 468 <sup>v</sup> -473 <sup>r</sup>
156	Madalena Formigoria	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 733, fols 473 <sup>r</sup> -474 <sup>r</sup>
157	Madalena Robla y Torrens	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 48 <sup>v</sup> -49 <sup>r</sup>
158	Francisco Latrilla	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 53 <sup>v</sup> -54 <sup>v</sup>
159	Joan Busquets	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 54 <sup>v</sup> -56 <sup>v</sup>
160	Bernardo Pax	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 56 <sup>v</sup> -58 <sup>v</sup>
161	Bernatomo Fresca	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fol. 75 <sup>r-v</sup>
162	Christbal Agustin	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 76 <sup>v</sup> -77 <sup>v</sup>
163	Lorenzo Enrique	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 77 <sup>v</sup> -78 <sup>r</sup>
164	Pedro Puig	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 79 <sup>v</sup> -80 <sup>r</sup>
165	Joan Deuiu	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 83 <sup>v</sup> -85 <sup>r</sup>
166	Sebastian Barata	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 87 <sup>v</sup> -100 <sup>v</sup>
167	Anna Vidreras, alias 'Enqueta'	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 100 <sup>v</sup> -101 <sup>r</sup>
168	Anna Morella, alias 'Micalota'	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 101 <sup>v</sup> -102 <sup>v</sup>
169	Pedro Amich	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 131 <sup>r</sup> -132 <sup>r</sup>



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170	Vicente Soler	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 135 <sup>f</sup> -136 <sup>f</sup>
171	Anna Garau	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 136 <sup>f</sup> -137 <sup>v</sup>
172	Margarita Sala	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 140 <sup>v</sup> -142 <sup>v</sup>
173	Bernardo Rafael	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 168 <sup>v</sup> -169 <sup>v</sup>
174	Maria Calueta	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 172 <sup>v</sup> -173 <sup>v</sup>
175	Antonio Marques	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 188 <sup>f</sup> -190 <sup>f</sup>
176	Juan Segura	1654	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 224 <sup>f</sup> -227 <sup>f</sup>
177	Mariana Giralt	1654	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fol. 228 <sup>f-v</sup>
178	Gabriel Arceda	1654	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 257 <sup>v</sup> -260 <sup>v</sup>
179	Maria Paulena	1654	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 270 <sup>f</sup> -273 <sup>v</sup>
180	Pablo Marlot	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 300 <sup>v</sup> -303 <sup>f</sup>
181	Madrona Risola	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fol. 303 <sup>f-v</sup>
182	Ysabel Gaysas y Torres	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 307 <sup>v</sup> -309 <sup>v</sup>
183	Maria Vidala	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 313 <sup>v</sup> -314 <sup>f</sup>
184	Ana Miro	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 313 <sup>v</sup> -314 <sup>f</sup>
185	Baltasar de Rereyra	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 319 <sup>v</sup> -320 <sup>f</sup>
186	Ysabel Roca	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fol. 320 <sup>f-v</sup>
187	Mateo Tafel	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 320 <sup>v</sup> -321 <sup>v</sup>
188	Maria Texidora, alias 'España'	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 406 <sup>f</sup> -408 <sup>f</sup>
189	Eberisa Martina	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fol. 408 <sup>f-v</sup>
190	Nicolas Soles	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 409 <sup>v</sup> -411 <sup>f</sup>
191	Ramon Terraza	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 415 <sup>v</sup> -416 <sup>f</sup>
192	Margarita Coll	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 417 <sup>f</sup> -418 <sup>f</sup>

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193	Madrona Busaña	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 418 <sup>f</sup> –419 <sup>f</sup>
194	Ana Maria Sala	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 419 <sup>v</sup> –421 <sup>f</sup>
195	Ana Ferrera	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 421 <sup>f</sup> –422 <sup>v</sup>
196	Ysabel Roldoña	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 424 <sup>v</sup> –426 <sup>f</sup>
197	Pedro Lladós	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 442 <sup>v</sup> –443 <sup>v</sup>
198	Baltasar Cuntlera	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 445 <sup>v</sup> –447 <sup>v</sup>
199	Madalena Bordas	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 450 <sup>f</sup> –453 <sup>f</sup>
200	Leona Planes	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 453 <sup>f</sup> –456 <sup>f</sup>
201	Hernando de Olia	1663	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fols 463 <sup>v</sup> –464 <sup>v</sup>
202	Geronima Ramon	1663	AHN, Inq, Lib 734, fol. 466 <sup>r-v</sup>
203	Madrona Tolo	1664	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 30 <sup>v</sup> –31 <sup>f</sup>
204	Sebastian Tolo	1664	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 32 <sup>f</sup>
205	Maria Hispana, alias 'Tepidora'	1664	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 32 <sup>f</sup> –33 <sup>f</sup>
206	Maria Garriga	1664	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 34 <sup>r-v</sup>
207	Diego Marti	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 1 <sup>v</sup> –2 <sup>v</sup>
208	Paula Borcras	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 2 <sup>v</sup> –3 <sup>v</sup>
209	Pedro Sardañes	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 3 <sup>f</sup> –5 <sup>f</sup>
210	Miguel Barcelo	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 5 <sup>f</sup> –6 <sup>v</sup>
211	Jayme Moset	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 6 <sup>v</sup> –7 <sup>f</sup>
212	Pacian Nogueta	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 8 <sup>f</sup> –9 <sup>f</sup>
213	Isabel Aomada	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 16 <sup>v</sup> –17 <sup>f</sup>
214	Marianna Gutierrez	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 18 <sup>v</sup> –19 <sup>v</sup>
215	Geronimo Payeroli	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 21 <sup>r-v</sup>

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216	Tecla Postas	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 21 <sup>v</sup> –22 <sup>v</sup>
217	Mariana Oliuera	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 107 <sup>r</sup> –111 <sup>r</sup>
218	Gabriel Luis	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 111 <sup>r</sup> –112 <sup>r</sup>
219	Paula Hirlos	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 113 <sup>r</sup> –114 <sup>v</sup>
220	Francisco Bonafaci	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 114 <sup>v</sup> –118 <sup>r</sup>
221	Rafael Ferrer	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 128 <sup>v</sup> –129 <sup>r</sup>
222	Maria Brotau	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 130 <sup>v</sup>
223	Madalena Casanovas	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 131 <sup>r</sup> –132 <sup>v</sup>
224	Margarita Pasquals	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 153 <sup>v</sup>
225	Jayme de los Santos	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 154 <sup>v</sup> –155 <sup>v</sup>
226	Isidro Ferrer	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 155 <sup>v</sup>
227	Juan March	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 156 <sup>v</sup>
228	Madalena de Leon	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 157 <sup>r</sup> –158 <sup>r</sup>
229	Fulana Navarra	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 159 <sup>r</sup> –159 <sup>v</sup>
230	Catalina de Terragona, alias 'la xarraire'	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 160 <sup>v</sup>
231	Isabel Mota	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 160 <sup>v</sup> –161 <sup>r</sup>
232	Gaspar Viros	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 161 <sup>r</sup>
233	Joseph Mauri	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 282 <sup>r</sup> –283 <sup>v</sup>
234	Paula Casals	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 289 <sup>r-v</sup>
235	Pedro Ferrer	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 289 <sup>v</sup> –290 <sup>r</sup>
236	Maria Angela Puyola	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 293 <sup>r</sup> –294 <sup>v</sup>
237	N Arera y Serdaña	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 294 <sup>v</sup> –295 <sup>r</sup>
238	N Ruberte	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 296 <sup>r-v</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
239	Joachin Espinase	1672–73	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fols 190 <sup>f</sup> –192 <sup>f</sup>
240	Maria Com	1672–73	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fols 199 <sup>f</sup> –200 <sup>f</sup>
241	Tecla Lluch	1672–73	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fols 200 <sup>f</sup> –201 <sup>f</sup>
242	Catalina Begnares Inabarra	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fol. 218 <sup>f-v</sup>
243	Juachin Espinal	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fols 218 <sup>v</sup> –219 <sup>f</sup>
244	Fulana Barras	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fol. 224 <sup>f</sup>
245	Juan Campi	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fol. 224 <sup>f</sup>
246	Margarita Soler	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fols 224 <sup>v</sup> –225 <sup>v</sup>
247	Juana Tarroxa y Espumi	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 839, fols 225 <sup>v</sup> –226 <sup>f</sup>
248	Joseph Taura	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 302 <sup>v</sup> –303 <sup>f</sup>
249	Isabel Roca	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 303 <sup>f</sup> –304 <sup>f</sup>
250	Leonor Inoncau	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 304 <sup>v</sup> –305 <sup>f</sup>
251	Margarita Himerca, alias 'Margarita uiues' etc.	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 305 <sup>f</sup> –306 <sup>v</sup>
252	Jaime Roix	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 306 <sup>v</sup> –307 <sup>v</sup>
253	Pedro Suhace	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 308 <sup>f-v</sup>
254	Miguel Roix	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 308 <sup>v</sup>
255	Ines Baranca	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 308 <sup>v</sup> –309 <sup>f</sup>
256	Jusepa de Domingo	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 309 <sup>f</sup>
257	Domingo Heste	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 319 <sup>f-v</sup>
258	Joan de Capdevila	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 319 <sup>v</sup> –320 <sup>f</sup>
259	Joseph Marfa	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 320 <sup>f</sup> –321 <sup>v</sup>
260	Joana Bastarda	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 321 <sup>v</sup>
261	Isabel Preses y Coreils	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 321 <sup>v</sup> –322 <sup>f</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
262	Luis Nabarro	1677	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 331 <sup>r</sup> -332 <sup>r</sup>
263	Francisco Borrel	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 337 <sup>v</sup>
264	Joan Ferral	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 338 <sup>r</sup>
265	Joseph Rabescall	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 338 <sup>r-v</sup>
266	Los rectores y beneficiados del termo de Castellbell	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 339 <sup>r-v</sup>
267	Pablo Ferrer	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 399 <sup>v</sup> -400 <sup>r</sup>
268	Maria Torras	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 340 <sup>r-v</sup>
269	Joan Ferral	1681	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 347 <sup>r</sup>
270	Josep Rebesca	1681	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 347 <sup>r-v</sup>
271	Joseph Oller	1681	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 347 <sup>v</sup>
272	Sebastiana Ceruera	1681	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 347 <sup>v</sup>
273	Joseph Petit	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 354 <sup>r-v</sup>
274	Lorenzo Rouera	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 354 <sup>v</sup> -356 <sup>r</sup>
275	Maria Perdiguera	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 356 <sup>r-v</sup>
276	Margarita Altamira	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 356 <sup>v</sup> -357 <sup>r</sup>
277	Emi Pajes	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 357 <sup>r</sup> -358 <sup>r</sup>
278	Domingo Catafal	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 360 <sup>v</sup> -361 <sup>r</sup>
279	Domingo Pujol	1687	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 369 <sup>r</sup> -370 <sup>r</sup>
280	Pedro la Cuba, alias 'Avellanet'	1687	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 370 <sup>r</sup>
281	Juan Fleix	1687	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fol. 370 <sup>r-v</sup>
282	Maria Rasazar, alias 'Maria Francisca Candela'	1689	AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 1
283	Elena Torner	1689	AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 1

Case	Name	Year	Reference
284	Genir Gele	1689	AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 1
285	Ysabel Pressas Monserrada	1689	AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 1
286	Maria Bernada	1689	AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 1
287	Cristoball Carbonel	1690	AHN, Inq, Lib 735, fols 403 <sup>v</sup> -404 <sup>r</sup>

### *Valencia*

Case	Name	Year	Reference
288	Unknown	1554	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fols 8 <sup>r</sup> -9 <sup>r</sup>
289	Unknown	1554	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fols 8 <sup>r</sup> -9 <sup>r</sup>
290	Unknown	1554	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fols 8 <sup>r</sup> -9 <sup>r</sup>
291	Rafaela Perez	1566	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 15 <sup>v</sup>
292	Juan de San Martin	1566	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 15 <sup>v</sup>
293	Pedro Lazaro	1566	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 16 <sup>r</sup>
294	Ana Tapia	1567	AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fol. 749 <sup>v</sup>
295	Elisabet Ana Nauarra	1567	AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fol. 749 <sup>v</sup>
296	Baltasar Canet	1567	AHN, Inq, Lib 911, fols 749 <sup>v</sup> -750 <sup>r</sup>
297	Baptista Arabuet	1569-70	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 52 <sup>v</sup>
298	Joan Montanés	1569-70	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 52 <sup>v</sup>
299	Joan de Gomboa	1569-70	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 53 <sup>r</sup>
300	Angela Placuela	1572	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 64 <sup>r</sup>
301	Anbrosio Costa	1577	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 148 <sup>v</sup>
302	Cathalina Alegre	1578	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fol. 180 <sup>r-v</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
303	Luis Joampiquer	1586	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 46 <sup>r</sup> -47 <sup>r</sup>
304	Blasco Ursino	1586	AHN, Inq, Lib 936, fols 452 <sup>v</sup> -426 <sup>v</sup>
305	Geronima Ruuia	1587	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 7 <sup>r</sup> -8 <sup>r</sup>
306	Francisco Palacios	1587	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fol. 9 <sup>r</sup>
307	Joachin Agramonte	1587	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 11 <sup>v</sup> -12 <sup>v</sup>
308	Petronila Martinez	1587-88	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 111 <sup>v</sup> -112 <sup>r</sup>
309	Hieronima Duga	1587-88	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fol. 115 <sup>r-v</sup>
310	Vicenta Mapel	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 73 <sup>v</sup> -76 <sup>v</sup>
311	Juana Ana	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fol. 78 <sup>r-v</sup>
312	Ana Palomara	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 78 <sup>v</sup> -79 <sup>v</sup>
313	Isabel Joana Navarra	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 79 <sup>v</sup> -80 <sup>v</sup>
314	Juana Anabouparquera	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 84 <sup>v</sup> -85 <sup>v</sup>
315	Margareta Guaytes	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 85 <sup>v</sup> -87 <sup>r</sup>
316	Catalina Sclava	1588	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 100 <sup>v</sup> -106 <sup>v</sup>
317	Mariana Roca	1589	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fol. 166 <sup>r-v</sup>
318	Margarita Guaytes	1590	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fol. 285 <sup>v</sup>
319	Maria Maymon	1591	AHN, Inq, Lib 937, fols 424 <sup>v</sup> -425 <sup>r</sup>
320	Angela Perez	1600	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 139 <sup>r</sup> -140 <sup>r</sup>
321	Isabel Juan	1600	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fol. 140 <sup>r-v</sup>
322	Esperanza Bonfilla	1600	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 140 <sup>v</sup> -141 <sup>r</sup>
323	Vicenta Venabides	1600	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fol. 141 <sup>r-v</sup>
324	Sebastiana Segreda	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 179 <sup>r</sup> -181 <sup>v</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
325	Jayme Ynanyes	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 161 <sup>r</sup> –162 <sup>v</sup>
326	Alonso Berlanga	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 204 <sup>r</sup> –205 <sup>r</sup>
327	Ursola Ximena	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 183 <sup>r</sup> –184 <sup>r</sup>
328	Mariana Esteban	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fol. 184 <sup>r</sup>
329	Miguel Rexaque	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 206 <sup>v</sup> –207 <sup>v</sup>
330	Catalina Ferrera	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 170 <sup>v</sup> –171 <sup>r</sup>
331	Angela Nicolaua Pedrola	1602	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 175 <sup>r</sup> –176 <sup>r</sup>
332	Juana Baptista Navarra	1603	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fol. 196 <sup>v</sup>
333	Jayme Juanez	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 282 <sup>v</sup> –283 <sup>r</sup>
334	Serafina Agueda	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 299 <sup>r</sup> –300 <sup>r</sup>
335	Ana Ximenez	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 300 <sup>r</sup> –301 <sup>v</sup>
336	Vicente Primo	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 286 <sup>v</sup> –289 <sup>r</sup>
337	Francisca Bernauerca	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 301 <sup>v</sup> –302 <sup>v</sup>
338	Luisa Rambla	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 302 <sup>v</sup> –303 <sup>v</sup>
339	Francisco Difor	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 303 <sup>v</sup> –305 <sup>r</sup>
340	Joana Baptista Navarra	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 222 <sup>r</sup> –223 <sup>v</sup>
341	Catalina Viñales	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 223 <sup>v</sup> –225 <sup>r</sup>
342	Frances Juzeria	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fol. 305 <sup>r-v</sup>
343	Jayme Juanes	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 305 <sup>v</sup> –306 <sup>r</sup>
344	Pedro Durban	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 230 <sup>v</sup> –232 <sup>v</sup>
345	Maria de Santana	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 265 <sup>r</sup> –266 <sup>v</sup>
346	Angela Espardañer	1604	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 266 <sup>v</sup> –267 <sup>r</sup>



Case	Name	Year	Reference
347	Catalina Bosiona	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 320 <sup>v</sup> –323 <sup>f</sup>
348	Ysabelina Ximenes	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 386 <sup>v</sup> –387 <sup>f</sup>
349	Maria Ruiz	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 346 <sup>v</sup> –347 <sup>v</sup>
350	Angela Royay de Alvarez	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fol. 387 <sup>r-v</sup>
351	Angela Marzilla	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 354 <sup>f</sup> –355 <sup>v</sup>
352	Francisco Marquina	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 359 <sup>v</sup> –360 <sup>v</sup>
353	Gaspar Caudal	1607	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 360 <sup>v</sup> –361 <sup>f</sup>
354	Nofre Castellon	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 406 <sup>f</sup> –409 <sup>f</sup>
355	Ysabel Juan Luna	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 409 <sup>f</sup> –412 <sup>f</sup>
356	Ysabel Medina	1608	AHN, Inq, Lib 938, fols 412 <sup>f</sup> –414 <sup>f</sup>
357	Jayme Alexandre	1610	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 90 <sup>f</sup> –92 <sup>f</sup>
358	Mariana Lopez	1611	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 135 <sup>f</sup> –137 <sup>f</sup>
359	Mariana Custalba	1611	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 137 <sup>f</sup> –138 <sup>f</sup>
360	Gismundo Talpa	1614	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 198 <sup>f</sup> –200 <sup>f</sup>
361	Miguel Ralfes	1614	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 200 <sup>f</sup> –202 <sup>v</sup>
362	Joana Mata	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 219 <sup>v</sup> –222 <sup>f</sup>
363	Angela Ninerola	1615	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 222 <sup>f</sup> –224 <sup>v</sup>
364	Catalina Ferrer	1618	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 294 <sup>v</sup> –300 <sup>f</sup>
365	Estevan Perez Pareja	1619	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 341 <sup>f</sup> –342 <sup>f</sup>
366	Isabel Juan Lusa y de Reguart	1619	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 343 <sup>v</sup> –344 <sup>v</sup>
367	Violante Martinez	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 352 <sup>v</sup> –353 <sup>v</sup>
368	Anna Ramirez	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 353 <sup>v</sup> –354 <sup>f</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
369	Ambrosio Agramunt	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 354 <sup>r</sup> –355 <sup>r</sup>
370	Maria de la Casta	1620	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 361 <sup>r</sup> –362 <sup>r</sup>
371	Maria Pollo	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 368 <sup>r</sup> –370 <sup>r</sup>
372	Paula Sanz	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 370 <sup>r</sup> –371 <sup>r</sup>
373	Isabel Juan Luca	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 371 <sup>r</sup> –372 <sup>v</sup>
374	Isabel Cancha Franch	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 372 <sup>v</sup> –374 <sup>r</sup>
375	Magdalena Monsenada	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 374 <sup>r</sup> –375 <sup>r</sup>
376	Francisca Bonet Cucona	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 375 <sup>r</sup> –376 <sup>r</sup>
377	Joan Batista	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 379 <sup>v</sup> –380 <sup>v</sup>
378	Joana de Alcalá	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 383 <sup>r</sup> –384 <sup>v</sup>
379	Joan Sobila	1621	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 384 <sup>v</sup> –386 <sup>r</sup>
380	Melchior Agramunt	1622	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 420 <sup>r</sup> –421 <sup>r</sup>
381	Niquiforo	1622	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 442 <sup>r</sup> –443 <sup>v</sup>
382	Claudio Pintor	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 487 <sup>r</sup> –488 <sup>r</sup>
383	Vizente Sola	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 511 <sup>v</sup> –512 <sup>v</sup>
384	Geronimo Carrion	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 512 <sup>v</sup> –513 <sup>v</sup>
385	Francisco Juica	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 513 <sup>v</sup> –514 <sup>v</sup>
386	Juan Adallo	1623	AHN, Inq, Lib 939, fols 515 <sup>v</sup> –516 <sup>r</sup>
387	Francisca Nicolaua Almenara	1624	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 6 <sup>r</sup> –7 <sup>r</sup>
388	Isabel Juan Truxech Morena	1624	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 7 <sup>r</sup> –8 <sup>r</sup>
389	Angela Paula Ximeno	1624	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 8 <sup>v</sup> –10 <sup>r</sup>
390	Miguel Garcia	1624	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 3 <sup>r</sup> –4 <sup>r</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
391	Vicenta Gracia Almenaua	1624	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 10 <sup>r-v</sup>
392	Juana Moneslui	1624	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 5 <sup>r</sup> -6 <sup>r</sup>
393	Vicente Miralles, alias 'Salellas'	1625	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 41 <sup>r-v</sup>
394	Isabel Joan Negra	1625	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 42 <sup>r-v</sup>
395	Jacinto Giner	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 138 <sup>r</sup> -140 <sup>r</sup>
396	Joseph Batalla	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 140 <sup>v</sup> -142 <sup>v</sup>
397	Francisca Monzon	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 142 <sup>v</sup> -144 <sup>r</sup>
398	Vicente Alber	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 147 <sup>r</sup> -149 <sup>r</sup>
399	Geronimo Mouron	1627	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 149 <sup>r</sup> -153 <sup>v</sup>
400	Jusepe Rueda	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 184 <sup>r-v</sup>
401	Ana Luysa	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 185 <sup>r-v</sup>
402	Vicente Miralles, alias 'Salellas'	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 170 <sup>v</sup> -171 <sup>v</sup>
403	Miguel Martinez	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 171 <sup>v</sup> -172 <sup>v</sup>
404	Vicente Matheu Cauaner	1628	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 172 <sup>v</sup> -173 <sup>r</sup>
405	Barbara Esteller	1629	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 200 <sup>r-v</sup>
406	Juana Nicolaua Ortiz	1630	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 226 <sup>r</sup> -227 <sup>r</sup>
407	Ana Balaguer	1631	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 255 <sup>v</sup> -257 <sup>r</sup>
408	Jeronima Climente	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 266 <sup>r-v</sup>
409	Luysa Luesma	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 267 <sup>r-v</sup>
410	Isauel Belmi	1632	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 268 <sup>r</sup> -269 <sup>r</sup>
411	Anna Maria Miguel Bravo	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 308 <sup>v</sup> -309 <sup>v</sup>

Case	Name	Year	Reference
412	Magdalena Terros	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 310 <sup>r</sup> –311 <sup>r</sup>
413	Mensia Oltra	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 311 <sup>r-v</sup>
414	Francisca Pallarols	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 312 <sup>v</sup> –313 <sup>v</sup>
415	Ana Philippa Aliaga	1633	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 316 <sup>v</sup> –317 <sup>v</sup>
416	Francisca Pallasola	1634	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 322 <sup>v</sup> –323 <sup>r</sup>
417	Francisco Pellicer	1634	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 335 <sup>r</sup> –336 <sup>v</sup>
418	Andres Carranca	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 351 <sup>v</sup> –353 <sup>r</sup>
419	Francisca Pallarols	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 353 <sup>v</sup> –354 <sup>v</sup>
420	Miguel Candel	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 356 <sup>v</sup> –357 <sup>r</sup>
421	Francisca Ursinos	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 357 <sup>r</sup> –358 <sup>r</sup>
422	Francisco Ortiz	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 358 <sup>r</sup> –359 <sup>r</sup>
423	Francisca María Casanova	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 362 <sup>v</sup> –363 <sup>r</sup>
424	Joan de Sant Pedro, alias 'Joan Marcos'	1635	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 365 <sup>r</sup> –367 <sup>v</sup>
425	Luisa Chamenota, alias 'Bardaxina'	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 370 <sup>r</sup> –371 <sup>v</sup>
426	Isabel Ana Mestre	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 371 <sup>v</sup> –372 <sup>v</sup>
427	Lucía Lopez	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 378 <sup>r</sup> –380 <sup>v</sup>
428	Jusepe Calvo	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 384 <sup>r</sup> –385 <sup>v</sup>
429	Esperanza Liso	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fol. 386 <sup>r-v</sup>
430	Francisco Ortiz	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 396 <sup>r</sup> –397 <sup>v</sup>
431	Miguel Messeguer	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 400 <sup>v</sup> –401 <sup>v</sup>
432	Joana Lozano	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 402 <sup>v</sup> –403 <sup>r</sup>

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433	Ana Opicia	1636	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 404 <sup>v</sup> –405 <sup>v</sup>
434	Vicenta Serra	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 472 <sup>r</sup> –473 <sup>v</sup>
435	Ursula Gil	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 473 <sup>v</sup> –475 <sup>r</sup>
436	Thomasa Cardaillach	1637	AHN, Inq, Lib 940, fols 480 <sup>v</sup> –481 <sup>r</sup>
437	Jayme Vicente	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 1 <sup>r</sup> –5 <sup>v</sup>
438	Paula Borcras	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 11 <sup>v</sup> –12 <sup>v</sup>
439	Maria de Jares	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 13 <sup>r</sup> –14 <sup>v</sup>
440	Joana Mata	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 16 <sup>r</sup> –18 <sup>r</sup>
441	Magdalena Miguel	1638	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 18 <sup>r</sup> –19 <sup>v</sup>
442	Jusepa Torregrosa	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 63 <sup>r-v</sup>
443	Joana Ana García	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 63 <sup>v</sup> –65 <sup>r</sup>
444	Rafael Serra	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 67 <sup>v</sup> –69 <sup>r</sup>
445	Jusepe Hizquierdo	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 69 <sup>r</sup> –70 <sup>r</sup>
446	Antonio Caix	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 70 <sup>r</sup> –71 <sup>r</sup>
447	Joana Ana Perez	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 71 <sup>v</sup> –73 <sup>r</sup>
448	Antonio Sanchez	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 73 <sup>r</sup> –74 <sup>v</sup>
449	Isabel Joan de Santa María	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 74 <sup>v</sup> –75 <sup>v</sup>
450	Esperança Gozaluo	1639	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 75 <sup>v</sup> –76 <sup>r</sup>
451	Joan Baptista Vives	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 124 <sup>r</sup> –125 <sup>v</sup>
452	Joana Mata	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 129 <sup>r-v</sup>
453	Lorenzo Ortiz	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 129 <sup>v</sup> –132 <sup>r</sup>
454	Rafaela Barber	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 132 <sup>r</sup> –133 <sup>r</sup>

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455	Isabel Joan Alcoy	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 133 <sup>r</sup> -135 <sup>r</sup>
456	Francisca Hernandez	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 135 <sup>r</sup> -136 <sup>r</sup>
457	Miguel Geronimo Llop	1640	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 136 <sup>r</sup> -137 <sup>v</sup>
458	Joan Martinez	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 157 <sup>r-v</sup>
459	Ana Rodriguez	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 157 <sup>v</sup> -158 <sup>v</sup>
460	Joseph Sanz	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 159 <sup>v</sup> -160 <sup>r</sup>
461	Sebastian Noguier	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 160 <sup>v</sup>
462	Geronymo Bercoles	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 166 <sup>v</sup> -167 <sup>v</sup>
463	Ramon Fornes	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 167 <sup>v</sup> -168 <sup>r</sup>
464	Esperança Tener	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 169 <sup>r-v</sup>
465	Joan Cupllet	1641	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 171 <sup>v</sup> -172 <sup>r</sup>
466	Bernardo Comes	1642	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 202 <sup>r-v</sup>
467	Pedro Sabardina, alias 'Mathe Gonzales'	1642	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 204 <sup>v</sup> -205 <sup>v</sup>
468	María Pagan, alias 'la negra'	1642	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 205 <sup>v</sup> -207 <sup>r</sup>
469	Isabel Patus	1642	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 209 <sup>r</sup> -211 <sup>v</sup>
470	Joana Font, alias 'la gauacha'	1642	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 213 <sup>r-v</sup>
471	Pedro Ferrer	1643	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 220 <sup>v</sup> -221 <sup>v</sup>
472	Francisco Albat	1643	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 230 <sup>r-v</sup>
473	Andres Miguel	1643	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 232 <sup>r-v</sup>
474	Blas Olaria	1644	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 249 <sup>r</sup> -251 <sup>r</sup>
475	Maria Pagan, alias 'la negra'	1644	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 251 <sup>r-v</sup>

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476	Isabel Patus, alias 'la Garcha'	1644	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 251 <sup>v</sup>
477	Jusepa Clement, alias 'la Gallinera'	1644	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 254 <sup>r</sup> -255 <sup>r</sup>
478	Isabel Nitches	1645	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 274 <sup>v</sup> -275 <sup>r</sup>
479	Joana Ama Anento	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 322 <sup>r</sup> -324 <sup>v</sup>
480	Anna Rodriguez y de Gonzalez	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 324 <sup>v</sup> -326 <sup>v</sup>
481	Jacinto Jaca	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 326 <sup>v</sup> -329 <sup>v</sup>
482	Clara Pujol, alias 'Roca'	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 329 <sup>v</sup> -334 <sup>v</sup>
483	Anna Maria Angela, alias 'la dama de estopa' etc.	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 334 <sup>v</sup> -336 <sup>v</sup>
484	Antonio Diaz	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 338 <sup>r</sup> -340 <sup>v</sup>
485	Joan Campos	1648	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 340 <sup>v</sup> -342 <sup>v</sup>
486	Blas Olalla	1651	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 346 <sup>r</sup> -350 <sup>r</sup>
487	Francisco Roca	1651	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fol. 350 <sup>v</sup> -358 <sup>r</sup>
488	Elena Ferrandiz y Just	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 404 <sup>r</sup> -405 <sup>r</sup>
489	Angela Forment	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 405 <sup>r</sup> -407 <sup>r</sup>
490	Antonio Giner	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 409 <sup>v</sup> -410 <sup>r</sup>
491	Christobal Llorens	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 410 <sup>r</sup> -411 <sup>v</sup>
492	Maria Colomer	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 411 <sup>v</sup> -412 <sup>v</sup>
493	Victoria Fita	1653	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 412 <sup>v</sup> -413 <sup>r</sup>
494	Anna Maria Viñas y Rosell	1654	AHN, Inq, Lib 941, fols 423 <sup>r</sup> -425 <sup>v</sup>
495	Anna Badia	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 1 <sup>r</sup> -3 <sup>r</sup>

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496	Ines Garcia	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 3 <sup>r</sup> -5 <sup>r</sup>
497	Clara Gomez	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 5 <sup>r</sup> -9 <sup>r</sup>
498	Francisca Candel	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 9 <sup>r</sup> -11 <sup>r</sup>
499	Jusepa Garcia	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 11 <sup>r</sup> - 14 <sup>v</sup>
500	Joana de la Paz	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 14 <sup>v</sup> -19 <sup>v</sup>
501	Esperança Badia	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 19 <sup>v</sup> -22 <sup>r</sup>
502	Maria Bosch la catalana	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 22 <sup>r</sup> -24 <sup>r</sup>
503	Geronima Gonzalez	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 24 <sup>r</sup> -29 <sup>v</sup>
504	Ursola Gil	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 29 <sup>v</sup> -31 <sup>v</sup>
505	Jusepa Climent	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 31 <sup>v</sup> -34 <sup>r</sup>
506	Ursola de la Llanca	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 34 <sup>r</sup> -37 <sup>v</sup>
507	Isabel Peroz y de Martinez	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 37 <sup>v</sup> -40 <sup>r</sup>
508	Juana Ana Perez	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 40 <sup>r</sup> -46 <sup>r</sup>
509	Leonor Marti	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 46 <sup>r</sup> -50 <sup>v</sup>
510	Cicilia Ybañoz	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 50 <sup>v</sup> -53 <sup>v</sup>
511	Laura Garrigues y de Ballester	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 53 <sup>v</sup> -59 <sup>r</sup>
512	Maria Antonia de Voroña	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 59 <sup>r</sup> -66 <sup>v</sup>
513	Isabel Maria de Mendoza	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 66 <sup>v</sup> -82 <sup>v</sup>
514	Ana Sensano y de Simo	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 85 <sup>v</sup> -87 <sup>v</sup>
515	Maria Villa Roya	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 87 <sup>v</sup> -93 <sup>r</sup>
516	Geronima Angel, alias 'la dama de estopa'	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 93 <sup>r</sup> -97 <sup>r</sup>



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517	Jacinta Manuela de Marroquino	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 97 <sup>r</sup> -101 <sup>v</sup>
518	Lorenza Esbri	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 101 <sup>v</sup> -106 <sup>v</sup>
519	Gaudencio de Valencia (Velazquez)	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 111 <sup>r</sup> -113 <sup>v</sup>
520	Benito de Valencia (Eraso)	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 113 <sup>v</sup> -115 <sup>r</sup>
521	Juan Ferrer, alias 'Fernando Ferrer'	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 115 <sup>r</sup> -123 <sup>v</sup>
522	Ana Maria Miguel, alias 'la Verdancha'	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 123 <sup>v</sup> -127 <sup>r</sup>
523	Laura Muñoz	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 127 <sup>v</sup> -133 <sup>r</sup>
524	Clara Marimon	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 133 <sup>v</sup> -135 <sup>v</sup>
525	Catalina Escriba	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 141 <sup>r</sup> -142 <sup>v</sup>
526	Pedro Perez de Viueno	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 142 <sup>v</sup> -144 <sup>v</sup>
527	Jusepa Ramirez	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 144 <sup>v</sup> -147 <sup>r</sup>
528	Jusepa Cerda	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 149 <sup>r</sup> -151 <sup>v</sup>
529	Pedro Tetuan	1655	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 151 <sup>v</sup> -156 <sup>v</sup>
530	Ana Sanz	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 349 <sup>r</sup> -351 <sup>v</sup>
531	Geronima Silbestre	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 351 <sup>v</sup> -353 <sup>r</sup>
532	Pedro Mas	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 353 <sup>r</sup> -355 <sup>v</sup>
533	Joseph Mestre	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 355 <sup>v</sup> -358 <sup>r</sup>
534	Juana Ana Artes	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 359 <sup>v</sup> -362 <sup>v</sup>
535	Josepha Ramon	1658	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 362 <sup>v</sup> -363 <sup>v</sup>
536	Jacinta Manuela de Marroquino	1659	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 364 <sup>r</sup> -367 <sup>r</sup>

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537	Pedro Martinez	1659	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 373 <sup>v</sup> –376 <sup>r</sup>
538	Juana Ana Perez	1659	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 379 <sup>r</sup> –382 <sup>v</sup>
539	Antonia Mendieta	1659	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 383 <sup>r</sup> –395 <sup>r</sup>
540	Juan Miguel Rias	1659	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 395 <sup>r</sup> –401 <sup>r</sup>
541	Bernarda de Albornoz, alias 'la volatinera'	1659	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 402 <sup>r</sup> –409 <sup>r</sup>
542	Vicenta Torres	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 413 <sup>r</sup> –415 <sup>v</sup>
543	Juana Baptista Maniset	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 415 <sup>v</sup> –418 <sup>v</sup>
544	Francisco Ros	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 421 <sup>r</sup> –423 <sup>v</sup>
545	Teresa Montoya	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 423 <sup>v</sup> –427 <sup>v</sup>
546	Mariana Buat	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 427 <sup>v</sup> –431 <sup>v</sup>
547	Pedro Montesinos	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 431 <sup>v</sup> –435 <sup>v</sup>
548	Joseph Tormo	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 435 <sup>v</sup> –438 <sup>v</sup>
549	Pedro Losterra	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 445 <sup>v</sup> –449 <sup>r</sup>
550	Martin Galindo	1660	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 449 <sup>r</sup> –451 <sup>r</sup>
551	Nicolas Guion	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 453 <sup>r</sup> –457 <sup>r</sup>
552	Maria Perez	1661	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 466 <sup>r</sup> –467 <sup>v</sup>
553	Bartholome Esteuan	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 487 <sup>r</sup> –488 <sup>v</sup>
554	Jusepa Montoro	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 489 <sup>v</sup> –491 <sup>r</sup>
555	Joana Maria Soler, alias 'Juana Jusepa Ribera'	1662	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 491 <sup>r</sup> –492 <sup>r</sup>
556	Catalina Amoros	1663	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 496 <sup>v</sup> –500 <sup>r</sup>
557	Nicolas Calafat	1663	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 500 <sup>r</sup> –502 <sup>r</sup>

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558	Catalina Valero	1663	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 506 <sup>v</sup> –508 <sup>v</sup>
559	Vincencio Conti	1664	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fol. 528 <sup>r-v</sup>
560	Jusepe Soler	1664	AHN, Inq, Lib 942, fols 528 <sup>v</sup> –530 <sup>v</sup>
561	Joseph Thomas	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 4 <sup>r</sup> –14 <sup>r</sup>
562	Geronima Damian	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 14 <sup>r</sup> –16 <sup>r</sup>
563	Veronica Marti	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 18 <sup>v</sup> –19 <sup>v</sup>
564	Casirmiro Seguro	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 20 <sup>r-v</sup>
565	Carlos Torres	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 20 <sup>r-v</sup>
566	Thomas Periz	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 20 <sup>r-v</sup>
567	Miguel Piquer	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 20 <sup>r-v</sup>
568	Joan Perez	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 20 <sup>v</sup> –21 <sup>v</sup>
569	Elena Realdeaocho	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 25 <sup>r</sup> –27 <sup>r</sup>
570	Isabel Gisbert	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 27 <sup>v</sup> –31 <sup>v</sup>
571	Marco Antonio Gisbert	1665	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 31 <sup>v</sup>
572	Lufracia Graner	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 34 <sup>r</sup> –37 <sup>r</sup>
573	Luisa Costa	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 37 <sup>r</sup> –38 <sup>v</sup>
574	Geronimo Armengol de fole	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 38 <sup>v</sup> –40 <sup>v</sup>
575	Angela Ginoues	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 40 <sup>r</sup> –41 <sup>r</sup>
576	Teresa Lopez	1666	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 45 <sup>r</sup> –46 <sup>v</sup>
577	Maria Gonzalez	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 65 <sup>v</sup> –75 <sup>r</sup>
578	Sebastian Figuerer	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 75 <sup>r</sup> –82 <sup>v</sup>
579	Gregorio Anglesola	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 88 <sup>r</sup> –92 <sup>r</sup>

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580	Diego Tason	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 97 <sup>v</sup> –99 <sup>v</sup>
581	Vicenta Ten	1667	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 99 <sup>v</sup> –101 <sup>v</sup>
582	Josepha Climent	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 105 <sup>r</sup> –107 <sup>v</sup>
583	Geronimo la Fuente	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 111 <sup>r-v</sup>
584	Joan Martinez	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 111 <sup>v</sup> –112 <sup>f</sup>
585	Joan Palomo, alias 'Dr Palomo'	1668	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 117 <sup>r-v</sup>
586	Beatriz de Rocamora	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 123 <sup>r</sup> –126 <sup>v</sup>
587	Joseph Hernandez	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 135 <sup>v</sup> –136 <sup>f</sup>
588	Antonio Lor	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 136 <sup>f</sup>
589	Isabel Cornejo	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 137 <sup>r-v</sup>
590	Isabel Maria de el Valle	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 137 <sup>v</sup> –139 <sup>v</sup>
591	Catalina Benaxes	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 142 <sup>v</sup>
592	Joana Ana Ximena	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 143 <sup>f</sup>
593	Isabel Ortells	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 143 <sup>r-v</sup>
594	Maria Luisa	1669	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 143 <sup>f</sup> –144 <sup>v</sup>
595	Isabel Joan Montoliu	1670	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 146 <sup>r</sup> –149 <sup>v</sup>
596	Antonia de Robres	1670	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 149 <sup>v</sup> –153 <sup>f</sup>
597	Francisco Pico	1670	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 155 <sup>f</sup> –159 <sup>v</sup>
598	Vicenta Queralt	1670	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 161 <sup>v</sup> –162 <sup>v</sup>
599	Maria Calpe	1670	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 166 <sup>f</sup> –167 <sup>v</sup>
600	Angela Feliciana	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 173 <sup>f</sup> –178 <sup>f</sup>

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602	María Perez	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 184 <sup>r</sup> -187 <sup>r</sup>
603	Francisca Villegas	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 187 <sup>r</sup> -190 <sup>v</sup>
604	Juana Ana Sanchez	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 190 <sup>v</sup> -195 <sup>f</sup>
605	Teresa Pina	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 195 <sup>v</sup> -204 <sup>f</sup>
606	María Viciano	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 216 <sup>r</sup> -217 <sup>v</sup>
607	María de Castellanos	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 217 <sup>v</sup> -221 <sup>v</sup>
608	Antonia de Robres	1671	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 238 <sup>r</sup> -240 <sup>v</sup>
609	Joan Marco	1672	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 299 <sup>v</sup> -300 <sup>v</sup>
610	Feliciano Piquer	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 325 <sup>r</sup> -334 <sup>r</sup>
611	Christoual Vidal	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 356 <sup>v</sup> -357 <sup>v</sup>
612	Joan Pereyra	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 356 <sup>v</sup> -357 <sup>v</sup>
613	Jusepe Sanchiz	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 356 <sup>v</sup> -357 <sup>v</sup>
614	Miguel Sanchiz	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 356 <sup>v</sup> -357 <sup>v</sup>
615	Antonio Alfonso	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fols 357 <sup>v</sup> -358 <sup>r</sup>
616	Josepha Molins	1673	AHN, Inq, Lib 943, fol. 358 <sup>r-v</sup>
617	Juan Girona	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 6 <sup>r</sup> -17 <sup>r</sup>
618	Juan Sarrío	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 17 <sup>r</sup> -21 <sup>r</sup>
619	Vicenta Giberto	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 30 <sup>r</sup> -32 <sup>v</sup>
620	Angela Sinisterra	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 32 <sup>v</sup> -35 <sup>r</sup>
621	Luisa Chora	1674	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 35 <sup>r</sup> -36 <sup>v</sup>
622	Joseph Torres	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 41 <sup>r</sup> -53 <sup>r</sup>

<b>Case</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Reference</b>
623	Remigio Choza	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 53 <sup>r</sup> –59 <sup>v</sup>
624	Josepha Clement	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 59 <sup>v</sup> –64 <sup>r</sup>
625	Gertrudis Tosca	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 64 <sup>r</sup> –68 <sup>r</sup>
626	Esperanza Sanz Yliso	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 69 <sup>r</sup> –73 <sup>v</sup>
627	Juan Bautista Oliver	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 73 <sup>v</sup> –80 <sup>v</sup>
628	Antonio Maragues	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 82 <sup>r</sup> –86 <sup>r</sup>
629	Juan Sastre	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 88 <sup>v</sup> –90 <sup>r</sup>
630	Cathalina Pli	1675	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 90 <sup>r</sup> –92 <sup>r</sup>
631	Esperanza Blasco	1676	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 129 <sup>v</sup> –131 <sup>r</sup>
632	Manuel Conyan	1678	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 161 <sup>r</sup> –168 <sup>v</sup>
633	Jusepa Domenec	1679	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 181 <sup>r</sup> –199 <sup>r</sup>
634	Teresa Lopez	1679	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 199 <sup>r</sup> –207 <sup>r</sup>
635	Jusepe Peña	1680	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 225 <sup>v</sup> –226 <sup>v</sup>
636	Francisco Montaña	1682	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 241 <sup>r</sup> –243 <sup>r</sup>
637	Bernardo Portella	1688	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 257 <sup>v</sup> –261 <sup>v</sup>
638	Vicente Mallol	1689	AHN, Inq, Leg 5327, Exp 6
639	Francisco Albuxech	1692	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 286 <sup>r</sup> –288 <sup>v</sup>
640	Augustin Pardo	1692	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 288 <sup>v</sup> –292 <sup>v</sup>
641	Juan Gonzalez	1692	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 297 <sup>r</sup> –302 <sup>r</sup>
642	Agustin Pastor	1692	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 302 <sup>r</sup> –306 <sup>r</sup>
643	Margarita Caselles	1692	AHN, Inq, Lib 944, fols 306 <sup>r</sup> –312 <sup>r</sup>

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- Leg 501      Various documents from Valencia
- Leg 502      Letters and various documents from Valencia
- Leg 503      Letters from Valencia, registers and indices, 1659–1726
- Leg 505      Letters to and from Valencia and *cartas acordadas*, 1512–1607
- Leg 506      Letters to Valencia, 1608–20
- Leg 507      Letters to Valencia, 1622–28
- Leg 508      Letters to Valencia and *cartas acordadas*, 1627–35
- Leg 509      Letters to Valencia, 1636–52
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- Leg 3721 Accusations (*accusaciones fiscales*) from various tribunals
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<sup>1</sup> Lib 920 was in the process of being restored and therefore unavailable for consultation during work on the present study.

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