THE ROLE OF MAGIC IN THE PAST

LEARNED AND POPULAR MAGIC, POPULAR BELIEFS AND DIVERSITY OF ATTITUDES

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INTRODUCTION

Magic in the past in its various forms, perceptions and definitions has been a popular subject of modern Western scholarship for a long time. In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in contrast, the issue of magic is still a rather neglected area of study. Apart from the study of witchcraft and apart from ethnologists or anthropologists, whose research interests usually include present or recent case studies and phenomena, the subject of magic has not yet received due attention from historians and other scholars of the humanities of the region. This can be partly explained by the fact that while communist policy with its stress on the class struggle preferred certain topics, mainly political, economic and social history, it practically brought other fields and research interests to a standstill.

This book is an outcome of an international interdisciplinary conference held on 25th – 27th October 2004 in the Congress centre of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in the picturesque Smolenice castle. The conference focused on the broader context of popular and learned magic in general, aimed to examine the full range of magical conceptions, beliefs and practices of the past and its relation to medieval and early modern science, medicine and religion. Still, the objective was broad and inclusive, rather than narrow and exclusive and it did not aim to offer one essential definition of magic. Geographically, it intended to cover the area of Central and Eastern Europe, including the territories of the present day Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukraine, Russia and countries of former Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, these countries are represented rather unevenly, the main bulk of contributions coming from Hungarian and Slovak scholars. To some degree it was caused by the fact that coincidentally, shortly after the Smolenice conference there was another one organised in Passau with the same, though more focused theme. [*]

One of the crucial problems when dealing with historical sources is the question of their interpretation and it is not surprising that a couple of contributions are centred on it. Benedek Láng examines medieval magical texts in Central Europe, and tries to find answers to fundamental questions such as who were their authors, scribes, owners and readers; what was the character of their interest in learned magic: primary, accidental or purely academic; to what extent the texts represent an original intellectual production of the region and so on. On the basis of his analyses he comes to the conclusion that in comparison with Western Europe, the milieu of the Central European universities and courts was more tolerant and that readers of magical texts belonged to neither the "intellectual proletariat" nor the "clerical underworld," but rather to a higher and respected intellectual stratum.

The problem of source interpretation is also one of the basic ones that Márton

[*] *Religion und Magie in Ostmitteleuropa (Spätmittelalter und fruhe Neuzeit)* organised by Thomas Wünsch from *Lehrstuhl für Neuere und Neueste Geschichte Osteuropas und seiner Kulturen* at Passau University on 4th – 6th November 2004.

Szentpéteri has to tackle, while questioning the hitherto unpublished commonplace book of Albert Szenci Molnár (1574-1634), a late Renaissance wandering scholar, Protestant theologian and poet, consisting of topoi on magic, alchemy and demonology. Szentpéteri examines the origin of a late 17th century legend presenting Szenci Molnár as a Faustian figure and tries to track down possible influence of his Loci communes in the formation of the legend. Moreover, Szentpéteri points to certain biases and prejudices of scholars of Hungarian Studies towards Szenci Molnár, especially to his interest in Hermeticism, magic and demonology in his youth and questions their portrayal of Szenci Molnár as a Reformed intellectual who was always involved in late humanist issues strictly separated from questions of natural philosophy, magic or demonology. Such a strict distinction between humanism and science dates back only to the 19th century and had no real place in the late Renaissance.

However, it is not only textual written sources that involve the problem of interpretation. As Milena Bartlová shows in her paper dealing with the period of the Middle Ages, images can also be the subject of different interpretations. She comes out with the notion of the magic of the image and examines astrological, alchemical and magical symbolism of the images created at the Court of the King of Bohemia Wenceslas IV.

An excellent summary of the history of the occult sciences in Early Modern Hungary in a Central European context and concise comparison of Hungarian with the Western scholarship in the field is presented in the paper of György Endre Szőnyi. He views the history of intellectual magic in Hungary as a history of reception rather than of original contributions and argues that magic usually became more developed only in the regions where schools and universities provided the sufficient infrastructure for intellectual life. On the whole, although being late and imitating Western Europe, he finds all the important intellectual trends present also in this area. Miloš Jesenský chose a similar, if not identical topic, though in a narrower geographical scale, focusing only on one part of the Kingdom of Hungarian, the region of today's Slovakia. By employing a positivist method he outlines the history of alchemy in this region, challenging the chronology of an older survey. The mysterious transmutation of iron into copper and its explanation by modern chemistry as a natural phenomenon is the subject of another paper dealing with the same region. Miroslav Kamenický describes how various domestic and foreign alchemists were for long intrigued by cementation water in Špania Dolina and Smolník. They believed that the principle of transmutation, by which a lower metal changes into a higher one, could be used analogically for transformation of copper into silver or gold.

Apart from the work of the above-mentioned Albert Szenci Molnár, the works of another scholar with strong influence on the region of Central Europe and connection to the occult sciences are dealt with in more detail. Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638), the universalistic philosopher and the author of the well-known encyclopaedia, who accepted the invitation of the Transylvanian Prince, Gabriel Bethlen, and spent the last eleven years of his life teaching at the College of Alba Iulia. Olga Lukács with her theological approach scrutinizes his work and finds out to what extent magic played a role in his views on the Apocalyptic.

Witchcraft - the most popular subject in this field – has attracted historical and anthropological research for a long time. It has been observed many times that in com-

parison with Western Europe, the region of Central or Eastern Europe lagged behind in the witch craze. Two case studies devoted to witch trials in the period of the 17th and 18th centuries testify to this fact. Milan Majtán portrays the former free royal borough of Krupina, now in Slovakia, which is known for a high number of trials and executions of witches. According to the preserved documents, between the years 1620 and 1740 forty-four people were executed for witchcraft and as late as 1744 a woman accused of witchcraft was questioned there. Another town in the Hungarian kingdom has a similar sad record – Szeged, where twenty-one people died as a result of witchcraft accusations, some during ordeal by water, some in prison and 13 of them were executed on a single day in 1728, let alone 28 another people who were sentenced to non-capital punishments, but whose concrete fate is unknown. István Petrovics tries to find reasons behind this sudden outbreak of witch trials in Szeged and associates them with the specific socio-political situation of the town, recent immigration, drought and subsequent famine.

The minutes of witchcraft trials are the best source when studying some specific forms of magic, such as weather magic. Éva Pócs by analysing witchcraft accusations and depositions comes to an interesting conclusion that there are two stereotypes - one Western of 'packs of witches causing hailstorms' (with the region near the Alps as one of the centres where such notions cluster) and the stereotype of witches stealing the rain frequently found in the drier areas of Central and Eastern Europe.

Medical practice was one of the areas interlaced with magical practices. The diversity of medical practice and methods made historians categorize these groups into learned versus unlearned medicine, elite versus popular knowledge or professional versus lay. However, as several papers demonstrate reality has proved different and did not correspond to these exclusive categories. Though using different approaches, methods or sources, several papers come up with the same conclusion that magic was inseparably embedded in everyday magical knowledge and practice. There were often attempts to solve women's specific conditions and problems such as infertility, abortion, contraception, pregnancy, birth, puerperium, breastfeeding, even marital conflicts not only with rational medical or empirical approach, but rather in way intertwined and combined with magical practices. Tünde Lengyelová gives ample examples of such practice on the basis of various contemporary sources such as manuscript medical recipe books, private correspondence, witchcraft accusations and other judicial records. Belief in magical effects of words was reflected in incantations. In her linguistically oriented contribution Jana Skladaná presents examples of incantations from manuscript medical and other recipe or advice books written in the Slovak language from the 16th to 18th centuries. At the same time she gives a preliminary classification according to the aims they follow, for example securing prosperity, health and wealth (such as treasure hunting), protecting domestic animals and bees, protection against thieves, magic and supernatural powers.

In a case study centred on a single trial record from 1572 from Cluj, Emese Bálint shows how health, illness and healing were understood in the past, how people perceived their own bodies, and how they communicated bad conditions to the others. Analysing the witnesses' depositions in an accusation of poisoning, she demonstrates that understandings of the cause, nature and meaning of illness reflects not only the medical pluralism of the past, but implies complex social rituals of both family and

community. Moreover, she points out that ambiguity of the religious, magical and humoralist explanations of diseases gave the sick the freedom to build their own cultures of healing.

Several papers make use of ethnological or anthropological researches on the presumption that many traditions, beliefs, medicinal and/or magical practices, that are still alive especially in some outlying regions, must have been handed down for centuries and reflect local specific customs and attitudes of the past. Magical-medicinal practice and its place in the traditional folk culture of Slovakia is the subject of the contribution written jointly by Katarína Nádaská and her student Martina Sekulová. They were able to detect several customs, which are no longer emphasized as magic practices and which have become aesthetic parts of celebrations. Nevertheless, having studied practices of bewitchment, unbewitchment and evil eye as well as the position of witches and wizards in the local communities, they produce sufficient examples proving that the folk magic is still alive. Danijela Djurišič chose the ethnically heterogeneous region of Eastern Serbia settled mostly by Orthodox Serbs and Walachs to examine traditional forms of love magic. The area has been known for strong belief in magic, witchcraft, vampirism and fear of the dead. The author tries to put her research findings into an anthropological context and gives some tentative explanation of the phenomena.

A fascinating magic penal system conducted by priests and still in use in the Moldavian Chango villages is presented by Peti Lehel. While formerly the system has been used for a broader scale of conflicts, today it is used almost exclusively for resolution of theft cases. He describes different forms of magic rituals as a part of penal system with Catholic and Orthodox mediation that function as an alternative or additional solution to police investigation. The author argues that due to the economic and social isolation modernization was late in this region and therefore magic rituals have been preserved in the same form since the 19th century, nay, continuity of many magical elements dates back to the medieval period.

As Lehel's paper suggests, there is a strong connection of magical beliefs and deep devoutness and religiosity of the Chango community. The relation of religion and magic has been one of the widely studied aspects of magic since the middle of the 19th century. The legitimacy of certain rituals and practices often depended on the attitude of the Church. If approved, it was not regarded as magic or superstition, nevertheless, a clear boundary between religion and magic is impossible to define in the early modern period. One of the accepted beliefs was in the magical power of bells as a sound barrier against storms, winds, plague or evil spirits. The magical symbolism of bells and bell ringing, as well as a short history of bells, their inscriptions and decoration, apotropaic function, use in necromancy and mystification of foundry handicraft is concisely depicted in the contribution by Juraj Gembický.

Two papers deal specifically with popular piety and its relation to magical practices. First, Ingrid Kušniráková examines Catholic popular piety in Hungary in the 17th century, identifying the major influences as coming from the ruling dynasty, the Catholic Church and the nobility. The Protestants criticized many Catholic rituals as superstitious, but there were attempts even within the Catholic Church to cleanse faith from superstition. The second paper by Markéta Holubová portrays manifestations of popular piety on the basis of manuscript and printed books of miracles from the Jesuit

pilgrimage places and miraculous sites in Bohemia. She presents variety of magical rituals practiced directly at the pilgrimage places with the aim to heal an illness or solve some other pressing problem.

How accusations of magic could be used as an instrument of propaganda is vividly documented in a philologically approached paper by Elisabeth Klecker. Her analyses of works of neo-Latin epics and drama praising the Habsburg emperors illustrate how scenes of "Turkish" magic helped to gain pretexts for political goals and justify wars. Using stereotypes of oriental exoticism the Turks were portrayed as allied with the devil, lacking courage and self-confidence. This picture offered a great contrast when juxtaposed with the honourable image of the Christian or Habsburg hero. Irena Malec looks at perhaps a more artistic use of magic in literature. She explores how general interest in folk oral literature in the period of Romanticism was expressed in Slovak romantic ballads and how differently female and male heroes were portrayed.

Finally, Julia Mannherz using the example of Russian popular culture in the period 1875-1914 narrates how in the age of enthusiasm for science and scientific knowledge spiritualists tried to reconcile the sciences and the supernatural experience. They believed that new physical and chemical discoveries such as x-rays and the hypothetical ether, a substance that allegedly penetrated all things and was thought to be both material and immaterial, could be used to explain spiritualist phenomena.

The book is a very diverse collection of papers, in which alongside authors who are recognized experts in the topic and have published several books on the subject of magic such as Éva Pócs and György Endre Szőnyi are young scholars who have only recently joined the community of "magical" scholarship. Nevertheless, the majority of authors have their primary research interests elsewhere, but were still able to find enough relevant material to present and contribute to the scholarly discussion on the role of magic in the past. Perhaps several renowned names are lacking to call the book a representative selection of present scholarship on the history of magic in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, though given the very short time and means for the publication, we did our best to include all the papers that were submitted in time. The interdisciplinarity being one of the main characteristics of the conference in Smolenice, the book is rich in multiple approaches that can be taken when studying magical practices, beliefs and perceptions. Not only history and ethnology in general, but also historical anthropology, social history, history of science, art history, social psychology, psychology and history of religion, theology, philosophy, linguistics and literary studies can all with their specific approaches and methodology contribute to our better understanding of the magic phenomenon.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS OF MAGICAL TEXTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

BENEDEK LÁNG

In his fundamental article on the diffusion of Arabic magical texts in Western Europe, David Pingree made a remarkable observation. He noticed that copies of magical texts "found an attentive audience only after about (...) 1400 in Central Europe."[1] The research I have been carrying out in the latest years is closely related to Pingree's remark. My investigations focus on Central European sources of learned magic found in 15th century manuscripts. These texts include a wide variety of branches from the relatively innocent practices of natural magic, which operates with the secret correspondences of the world and with the marvellous properties of its objects (to be found in lapidaries, bestiaries, books of marvels, and books of secrets), through the more manipulative methods of image magic or talismanic magic (presented in the famous *Picatrix*, in Thebit ben Corath's *De imaginibus*, in a range of hermetic texts), to arrive finally at the practices of ritual magic, that is the science of acquiring knowledge about unknown, future, and hidden phenomena with the help of the invocation of angels and demons.

My study had a double objective. Firstly I intended to provide a catalogue and an analysis of the texts of learned magic, which have survived in Central Europe, and secondly I attempted to characterize the circle of those persons who can be related to these magical texts. These two objectives can be divided into two sets of questions:

1) A. What texts of magical content (belonging to the fields of natural, image and ritual magic, as well as to those of alchemy and divination) can be found and identified in the manuscript collections of Central Europe?

1) B. What are other texts which have not survived, but which surely existed, since we can conclude their fifteenth-century existence from the extant source material?

1) C. To what extent does this group of magical texts represent an "original" intellectual production of this region? In other words, were these texts written in this region by local authors, or were they simply imported from the West by local scribes?

2) A. Who are those persons who were in one way or another responsible for the emergence of the magical sources, that is, who were their authors, scribes, owners, readers and users? How can we describe the circle of these persons? Were they magicians, outsiders, marginal figures living on the periphery of society, or ordinary monks, average courtiers and everyday university people?

2) B. What was the place of learned magic in their interest: primary or accidental? Why were these sources copied or written? What was the purpose of copying: actual use or mere reading? Did they intend to apply the divinatory procedures, magical formulae and ritual invocations? Or did they just want to learn about them, and did magic simply belong to a pure "academic interest" of the collectors?

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[1] David Pingree, "The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe," in *La diffusione delle scienze Islamiche nel Medio Evo Europeo* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1987), 58-102, esp. 79 and 59.

2) C. Finally, did these scribes, collectors, authors and practitioners form a coherent group, a company of friends? Did they copy the texts from each other's codices, did they discuss the content, did they put this content into practice together, or were they isolated intellectuals with no visible connections?

Let us see systematically what the answers to these questions are, as offered by my research.

1) A. I believe that my study has convincingly shown that Central European manuscript collections offer a smaller amount than, but an equally rich variety of magical texts as, Western European libraries. Polish, Czech and Hungarian scribes and collectors included natural and image magic, alchemy and divination, as well as various types of ritual magic, in their codices not just by chance. This is the region that preserved, *inter alia*, the following works:

- The first long version of the famous handbook of magic, the *Picatrix,* which is also the only illustrated copy.[2]
- Two of the four extant copies of the *Liber runarum,* a short tract combining hermetic talismans with Scandinavian runes.[3]
- In addition, this part of Europe gave birth to the following: a unique version of ritual magic, the prayer book of king Wladislas (from the Jagiello house) that incorporates crystallomancy, and long paragraphs of the *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny.[4]
- The *Bellifortis* of Conrad Kyeser, an important source of technology and military engineering which is rich in magical elements and methods.[5]

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[2] Biblioteka Jagiellonska (henceforth: BJ) MS 793 f. 171r-197r. For the illuminations, see David Pingree, ed., *Picatrix: the Latin Version of the Ghâyat al-hakîm* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986). On the Picatrix, see furthermore: Vittoria Perrone Compagni, "La magia ceremoniale de Picatrix nel Rinascimento," *Atti dell'Accademia di scienze morali e politiche di Napoli* 88 (1977): 279-330; Pingree, "Some of the Sources of the Ghayat al-Hakim," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 1-15; idem, "Between the Ghâya and Picatrix, 1: The Spanish Version," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 27-56.

[3] MS Dresden, N. 100, f. 198r-200v, MS Vatican, Pal. lat. 1439, f. 346r-347v. The Latin text of the *Liber runarum* and an introduction by Lucentini can be found in Paolo Lucentini et alii, eds., *Hermetis Trismegisti Astrologica et divinatoria* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 401-450.

[4] Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson liturg. d. 6. For a published edition of the Latin text and a detailed analysis in Polish, see Ludwik Bernacki and Ryszard Ganszyniec, eds., *Modlitewnik Wladyslawa Warnenczyka w zbiorach Bibljoteki Bodlejanskiej* [Wladislaw Warnenczyk's Prayer Book Kept in the Bodleian Library] (Krakow: Anczyc i Sjólka, 1928), especially the chapter by Ryszard Ganszyniec, "O Modlitewniku Wladyslawa" [On Wladislas' Prayer Book], 25-93. For a description of the content of this and the other Jagiellonian prayer books, see Urszula Borkowska, *Królewskie Modlitewniki* (Royal Prayer Books) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukove Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1999), especially 64-76. On the relationship of the prayer book and the Liber visionum, see in Claire Fanger and Benedek Láng, "John of Morigny's Liber visionum and a Royal Prayer Book from Poland," *Societas Magica Newsletter* 9 (2002): 1-4. For a detailed study on the crystallomancy contained by the prayer book, see Benedek Láng, "Angels around the Crystal: the Prayer Book of King Wladislas and the Treasure Hunts of Henry the Czech," *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 5, no. 1 (2005): 1-32.

[5] For the text, see Conrad Kyeser, *Bellifortis*, ed. Götz Quarg, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf: Verlag des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieurie, 1967). Götz Quarg published the text of Ms Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philos. 63 in a facsimile edition, in a transcription of the Latin text and a German translation, also providing a detailed introduction. For further secondary literature, see the following: the review article by Lynn White, "Kyeser's 'Bellifortis': The First Technological Treatise of the Fifteenth Century," *Technology and Culture* 10 (1969): 436-441; idem, "Medical Astrologers and Late Medieval Technology," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1975): 295-307; William Eamon, "Technology as Magic in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Janus* 70 (1983): 171-212; idem, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets*

- The *Antipocras* of Nicolaus de Polonia, a theoretical work on the borderline of medicine and natural magic, which recommends consuming snake flesh for health reasons.[6]
- And Nicolaus Melchior's alchemical mass, which combines the text of the Christian mass with the alchemical process.[7]

These last four texts were of "local authorship" which inspired wide interest in the Western scholarship, too.

1) B. Some of the extant source materials contain clear indications of the fact that certain further magical works were in use and had been read in late medieval Central Europe. Precise textual borrowings in the *Bellifortis* attest that Conrad Kyeser, when writing and compiling his work, had in front of him a copy of the *Liber vaccae*, and two texts attributed to Albert the Great, the *Experimenta*, or *Secreta Alberti* (also known as *Liber aggregationis*), and *De mirabilibus mundi*. We have every right to suppose that the latter two texts were read with great attention also by the doctor returning from Montpellier, Nicolaus de Polonia, who was obsessed with the application of snake flesh for medical problems. The *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny, a copy of the *Ars notoria*, and some further magical and crystallomantic texts were without doubt on the table of the author of the prayer book of Wladislas, who copied long paragraphs from these sources in his handbook. In addition, two persons from Krakow, Nicolaus, a hangman and tormentor,[8] and Henry the Bohemian, an astrologist,[9] were accused of possessing magical books, and even though these books cannot be identified today, we may suppose that they belonged to the field of ritual magic. Many of these texts have no trace in the extant book collections; however, we can plausibly suppose that they were accessible for a Krakow student at the end of the 15th century.

1) C. It is perhaps naive but certainly reasonable to inquire about the originality of this wide range of magical texts. As a rule, we can see that while in the fields of

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in Medieval and Early Modern Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 68-71. A copy of the Bellifortis was in all probability present in the Corvinian Library of King Matthias of Hungary: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. K 465. Csaba Csapodi, "Az úgynevezett 'Liber de septem signis': Kyeser 'Bellifortis'-ának töredékéről" [The So-Called "Liber de septem signis": About the Fragment of Kyeser's "Bellifortis"], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 82 (1966): 217-236; idem, "Ein Bellifortis Fragment von Budapest," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1974): 18-28.

[6] William Eamon and Gundolf Keil, "Plebs amat empirica: Nicholas of Poland and His Critique of the Medieval Medical Establishment," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 71 (1987): 180-196; Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 76-79.

[7] "Processus Sub Forma Missae a Nicolao Melchiori Cibiensi Transiluano, ad Ladislaum Ungariae et Bohemiae Regem olim missum," in *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 3 (Ursel: Lazarus Zetzner, 1602), 758-761. See also Cristina Neagu, "The Processus sub forma missae: Christian Alchemy, Identity and Identification," *Archaeus* 4 (2000): 105-117. (Archaeus is an English-language periodical published in Romania.) Gábor Farkas Kiss, Benedek Láng and Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "The Alchemical Mass of Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis: Text, Identity and Speculations," forthcoming in Ambix, 2006.

[8] Jerzy Zathey, "Per la storia dell'ambiente magico-astrologico a Cracovia nel Quattrocento," in *Magia, astrologia e religione nel Rinascimento: convegno polacco-italiano, Varsavia, 25-27 settembre 197*2, ed. Lech Szczucki, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1974), 99-109; Hanna Zaremska, *Niegodne rzemiosło: Kat w społeczeństwie Polski 14-16* w [Undignified Craft: Hangmen in Polish Society from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century] (Warsaw: PWN, 1986), 102-103.

[9] Aleksander Birkenmajer, "Sprawa Magistra Henryka Czecha" [The Case of Master Henry the Bohemian], *Collectanea Theologica* 17 (1936): 207-224. For a reconstruction of the process and a critical edition of the Consilia Stanislai de Scarbimiria contra astrologum Henricum Bohemum, based on BJ 2014 f. 120r-129v (ca. 1432) and BJ 2513 f. 261r-269v (1435), see Stanisław Wielgus, "Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria contre l'astrologue Henri Bohemus," *Studia Mediewistyczne* 25 (1988): 145-172.

medicine and astronomy Central European scholars proved to be most fruitful and "original," and their scientific outcome constitutes an important chapter of the history of science, their texts on natural and image magic as well as on divination were mere reproductions of the well-known Western material. We have only a few, albeit striking, examples when a text is not a simple copy of an Italian, French or German codex, such as the four texts listed in point 1) A. Interestingly, alchemy provided the most inspiring topic for the authors of this region as it can be demonstrated through several Latin works by Johannes Ticinensis, by the Czech *Rightful Way* of Johannes Laznioro, and first of all by the alchemical process in the form of a Christian Mass by Nicolaus Melchior. While we have less reason to speak about Central Europe's own group of *magician*-authors, the region certainly had a considerable number of practicing *alchemist*-authors.

2) A. Identifying those persons who can be related to magic, we observe that virtually none of them can be seen as a real outsider, that is, a marginal figure in society. In Polish, Czech and Hungarian territories, we find mainly insiders related to manuscripts of magic: university professors; monastic figures; ecclesiastical and courtly officers; medical doctors and engineers – that is, intellectuals whose activity was not monopolised by the topic of magic. Even Nicolaus de Polonia, whose medical methods and obsession with snake flesh shocked and terrified many, and caused no little scandal around Krakow, was a doctor trained in the best schools of his time, and nobody considered him an obscure magician.

Among the three categories into which readers of magic can be classified (monastic, university, courtly contexts), the monastic milieu yielded the least evidence for a reconstruction of some magical activity or interest. The courtly context was a much more fertile soil for a curiosity in learned magic, and this curiosity was not limited to telling the future. Courtly intellectuals were in the position of being able to read a wide range of magical materials, as is attested by Wladislas' prayer book, by Kyeser's military handbook, and by Henry the Bohemian, who was accused of practicing crystallomancy and of invoking spirits in order to find treasure hidden in the earth. The largest number of tracts, however, appears in the codices of the masters of the newly founded Central European universities, especially in the milieu of the chair of astrology in Krakow. The *Picatrix*, the *Liber runarum* and a variety of other magical works may be found in the late medieval professorial libraries of Krakow and Prague. Compared to other medieval book collections, the masters' libraries enjoyed the best chances of survival, and are consequently the easiest to reconstruct. Modern national libraries (such as the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Krakow and the National Library of Prague), which were the main "suppliers" of this study, were originally based on private and institutional medieval book collections related to the universities.

2) B. The fact that university people frequently owned texts of magic explains the nature of their codicological context, too. Generally speaking, works on natural magic and on talismans became integral constituents of medical and astronomical manuscripts, reflecting the fact that they had an organic place in the scientific interest of the collectors. A close study of cases has shown that certain examples of natural magic fitted perfectly among medical readings without being considered particularly magical or problematic. As for image magic, a close analysis of the library and life of Johannes Virdung de Hassfurt has proved that a clear awareness of the magical character of tal-

ismans did not discourage some masters from including image magic in their books. While we do not know whether he practiced the methods which he copied on the blank folios between the scientific tracts, the great number of these texts, along with his later interest towards the magicians of Europe (for which I could provide ample evidence), indicates that he was an attentive reader of image magic, and that he thus turned to the talismans with deep intellectual interest.[10]

In most cases, there is no definite answer to the most interesting question as to whether the inclusion of magic in the codices indicates actual practices or simple curiosity. The texts of the *Picatrix* or *De imaginibus* contain no indication whether their scribes tried to follow their instructions and fabricated talismans or tried to give birth to artificial monsters. This taciturnity is not surprising: medieval folios usually do not start to talk to us and answer our questions concerning the intentions of their scribes. Fortunately, in a few cases of divination and ritual magic the sources are not so silent. The long list of successive manuscript pages representing geomantic charts in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska 793 (among other examples), the sophistication with which these charts are elaborated, and the indications and cross-references in the margins not only point to a general, theoretical interest in divinatory methods, but also indicate their concrete application. In a word, I am convinced that at least some sections of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska 793 were copied with the definite purpose of fortune telling.

More interestingly perhaps, actual use of ritual magic, crystallomancy and the invocation of angels may also be revealed. On the one hand, we have external evidence proving that Henry the Bohemian not only read in his handbooks how to practice crystallomancy and invoke demons, but also tried these methods in practice. On the other hand, internal evidence left in the magical texts may also show actual application. While in the excerpts of the *Ars notoria*, a crucial text of ritual magic, the operator is usually designated by the letter 'N' in a general way, implying that the actual user has to substitute his name wherever he reads 'N', in the royal prayer book of King Wladislas 'N' is always replaced with the name Wladislas. The source which the prayer book follows here is the *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny, which gives precise instructions according to which each person who wishes to operate with its prayers is to copy his own volume by his own hand, substituting his name for that of John, and finally he is to consecrate the book. Now, the substitution of the name Wladislas in the prayer book implies that the text which has come to us was made for real use, it was consecrated, and its crystallomantic formula and angelic prayers were probably indeed applied by a certain Wladislas. It is not likely, that a king copied the text with his own hands in order to render the prayers effective, but this is not a problem, because John allows that somebody else may copy the book as long as it is under the name of the prospective user.[11] To sum up, we are faced here with an exciting case, when a text in-

[10] Benedek Láng, "The Kraków Readers of Hermes," in *Hermetism from Late Antiquity to Humanism – La tradizione ermetica dal mondo tardo-antico all'umanesimo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli, 20-24 novembre 2001*, eds. Paolo Lucentini, Ilaria Parri and Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 577-600.

[11] See the text of the vow which anyone has to take who wishes to recopy the book in Watson, "John the Monk's Book of Visions," 213-214: "Ego, nomen Christianus, famulus sive famula Yhesu Christi, ex meo libero arbitrio et voluntate propter salutem anime mee promitto omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis et electis Dei quod ego hunc librum volo met rescribere, vel alium fidelem sub nomine meo, et secundum hoc librum et institutiones suas volo facere at agere..."

forms us about the fact that the book containing it was consecrated and used.

2) C. The last issue to be addressed is whether any cooperation, correspondence or intellectual contact of magicians is detectable. If so, it remains to speculate whether we can claim that any of the intellectual centres (courts, cloisters or universities) of the region were of a particularly magical nature. A popular and widely read book of the late sixteenth century, the *Locorum communium collectanea* by Johannes Manlius, stated that Johannes Faust studied magic in Krakow, where this science was publicly instructed.[12] We know today that this statement is not very informative about what actually happened: Faustus' name was in fact Georgius, and although he was truly interested in magic, nothing supports the idea that he ever turned up in Krakow.[13] The reason for not going there may have been not only that magic was not studied publicly in Krakow in the late fifteenth century, but also that the city did not yet have the same magical fame as it was to have one hundred years later. The pieces of evidence collected during my research do not support Manlius' opinion that Krakow was a particularly magical milieu at that time. Still, if not the functioning of a public chair of learned magic in the heart of Krakow University, the presence of some important cooperation related to magic can be pointed out. It can be reconstructed in detail that in the early fifteenth century Henry the Bohemian worked together with other university people (certain Stanislas, the Italian professor Monaldus de Luca and the Polish Nicolaus Hinczonis de Casimiria) on his crystallomantic treasure-finding projects in the royal gardens of Kazimierz. Sixty years later, two students of Krakow University, Johannes Virdung de Hassfurt and Egidius de Corintia, simultaneously prepared surprisingly analogous collections of astrological texts together with a representative selection of image magic and hermetism, and one can easily imagine how they got involved in the discussion of the content of the talismanic and hermetic texts.[14] We know that Virdung upon returning to Germany started a consequent program of becoming acquainted with all those of his contemporaries who were interested in magic on a technical or on a spiritual level. Thus, he was in contact with Abbot Trithemius, the English necromancer Nicolaus de Pulchro Monte Schonberg and the humanist Konrad Celtis (also a former student of Krakow); in all probability he also met Johannes Mercurius and Georgius Faustus, two practicing magicians of the time.[15]

One of the reasons why Central Europe could have seemed an adequate place for a student satisfying his interest in magic, and why especially the University of Krakow could have been an institute where magical texts were frequently copied, might be the relative lack of condemnations of magical activity in the region. I am not suggesting that Central Europe provided the students and courtiers with a particularly magical milieu (compared with the West); however, it is undeniable that it was a relatively calmer place with regard to criminalisation; there were no such severe condemnations on the

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[12] Johannes Manlius, *Locorum communium collectanea* (Basel: Johannes Oporius, 1963), 43: "Hic cum esset scholasticus Cracoviensis, ibi magiam didicerat, sicut ibi olim fuit ejus magnus usus, et ibidem fuerunt publicae ejusdem artis professiones." Interestingly, on the first page of the copy I consulted (British Library, 12209b1), there is a note (probably by a 19th-century hand) guiding the reader exactly to this paragraph: "In this interesting book the first authentic notice of the Magician Dr Faustus is to be found at p. 43."

[13] Frank Baron, *Doctor Faustus: From History to Legend* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978), 11-16, 84.

[14] Láng, "The Kraków Readers of Hermes."

[15] Ibid.

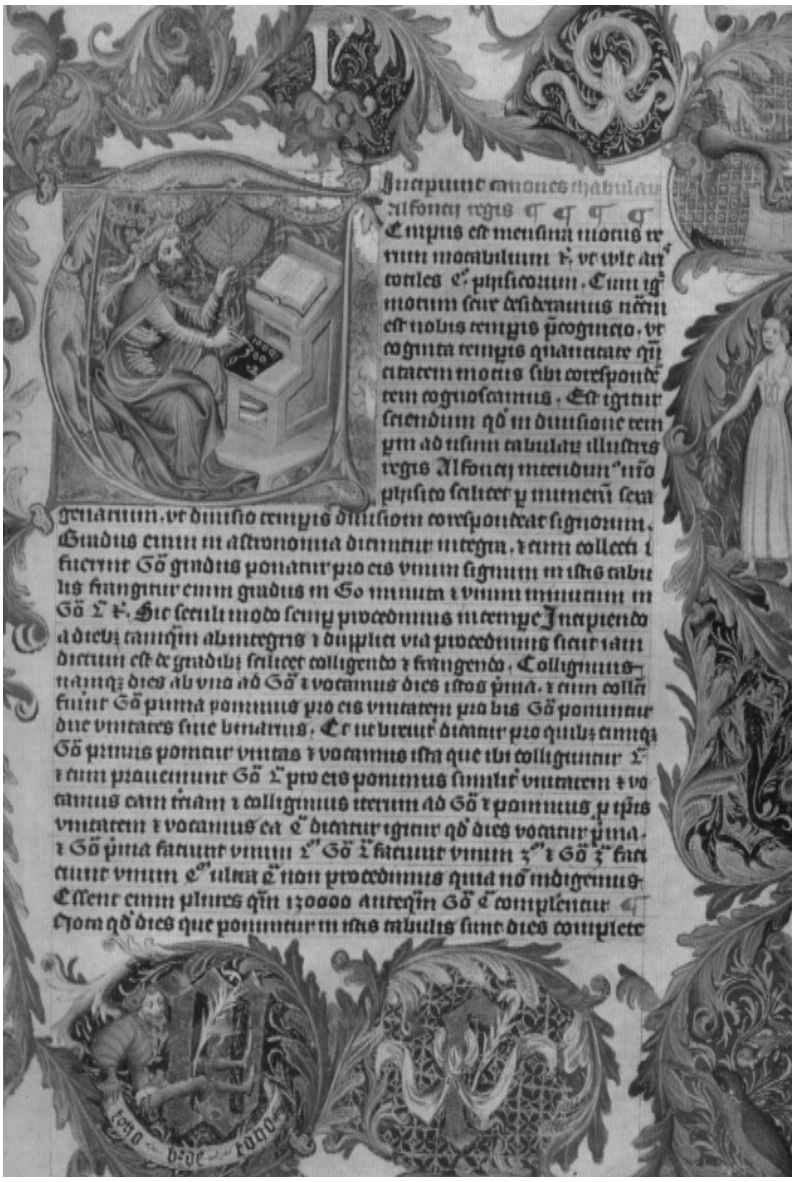
part of the university or other authorities as we can observe in contemporary Paris. A second – rather global – reason for the emergence of magical texts in the fifteenth century might be a general European tendency, namely that from the twelfth century onwards certain forms of magic had more and more chance to cross the borderlines of legitimate science. It seems that the notions of both science and magic were (and are) historically changing, dynamic constructions. It is not a-historically given what counts as scientific knowledge teachable at universities and what is excluded as dangerous and harmful error, what is seen as rational enterprise and what is considered irrational. While arguments against certain practices and ideas related to magic reflect a growing severity, more and more frequently other forms of magic in other sources were labelled as scientific. This tendency called the "positivisation of magic" by Claire Fanger[16] can be well exemplified by such Central European classifications in which alchemy, theurgy and certain forms of natural and image magic appear as respectable elements of science. The authors of such categorizations did not have to be afraid of the consequences of arguing for the benefits of certain branches of magic, and this relative tolerance is probably closely related to the fact that the authors, scribes and collectors of learned magic did not want to preserve their anonymity, but can be identified as members of respectable social strata.

While in the Western European context the social stratum of the readers and the authors of magical texts is described by the terms of an "intellectual proletariat"[17] or a "clerical underworld,"[18] implying a "group composed of university-educated laymen who had failed to find useful or permanent employment," it seems that the readers of magic in Central Europe are neither full-time, semi-literate and self-made magicians, nor anonymous university members whose number "outran the demand" and who remained without a job. As the sporadic traces let us reconstruct the picture, the late medieval collectors and readers of magical manuscripts of the region benefited from the tolerant milieu of the Central European universities and courts, and belonged to a higher and more respected intellectual stratum than that to which the expression "underworld of learning" could refer.

[16] On the gradual "Positivisation" of magic in the later Middle Ages, see Claire Fanger's article on medieval magic, in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*, eds. Wouter J. Hanegraaff, Antoine Faivre, R. Van Den Broek (Brill Academic Publishers, 2005).

[17] R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 178; Eamon, *Science and the Secrets*, 69.

[18] Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 151-175.

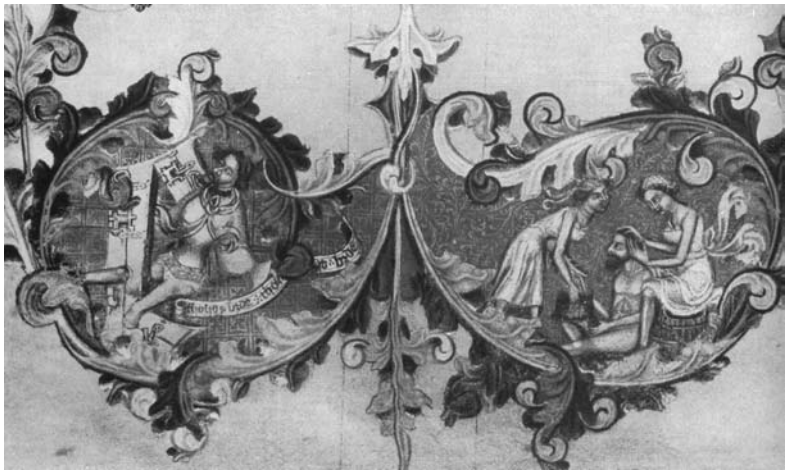


1/ Title page of Alphonsine Tables, fol. 34 r of the Viennese Astrological Codex made for Wenceslas IV (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ÖNB cod. Lat. 2352).

THE MAGIC OF IMAGE: ASTROLOGICAL, ALCHEMICAL AND MAGICAL SYMBOLISM AT THE COURT OF WENCESLAS IV

MILENA BARTLOVÁ

The Czech Renaissance man of letters Václav Hájek of Libočany explained the representations of kingfishers and half naked bathmaidens that he saw painted on some Prague buildings, as records of saucy affairs from the life of the King Bohemia Wenceslas IV. He developed in this way the image of a bad and immoral ruler, coined by the many political and religious enemies acquired by Wenceslas during the almost forty years of his turbulent rule around the year 1400.[1] Three and a half centuries later, Julius Schlosser, the art historian writing in Freud's Vienna in the 80s of the 19th century, recognized an extensive group of similar symbolic images in the margins of Wenceslas' illuminated codices. He called them emblems and explained them as a form of aesthetic sublimation of the erotic relationship between the king and his second wife Sophia of Bavaria.[2] In the 1960s, the Czech art historian Josef Krása recognized the deepest sense of the complex symbolic meanings of these images in a celebration of natural life, as opposed to the fetters of social conventions.[3]



2/ King's bath and the king imprisoned in the letter E. Marginal illumination of the lower part of fol. 10v, first volume of the Bible (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. Lat. 2759).

[1] Petr Čornej, *Tajemství českých kronik*, 2nd ed. (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2003), 67-115.

[2] Julius von Schlosser, "Die Bilderhandschriften Königs Wenzel I," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 14 (1893): 214-248.

[3] Josef Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV* (Praha: Odeon, 1971).

What can we learn about our own times if the current scholarship prefers to interpret the emblems in the context of the king's politics and of his public role? It is, at least, far less romantic: the knotted veil has been recognized as the badge of a court order of the King of Bohemia and the letter E as a symbolical signature for a lawful bond.[4]

The semantic field of the group of images in Wenceslas' manuscripts has, however, more layers of meaning. Already Josef Krása has suggested the presence of alchemical and astrological level of symbolism in them.[5] The "King's Bath," an important stage of the alchemical process, is represented in many places of the margins and it forms, in fact, the dominating context of situations of the images.[6]

3/ King's bath; the king holds the letter E. Marginal illumination of the lower part of fol. 47v, first volume of the Bible (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. Lat. 2759).

The figure present in most of them is a bath maiden, almost naked in some cases, handling a pail and a bough of green branches. While these motives can be described as belonging to the factual situation of the bath, the image of the bath maiden as one of the first female nudes in the medieval West, can be derived from the tradition of visual renderings of the goddess Venus in both her aspects, as known to the medieval learned men from Ovid's texts – concerning love in general and also marital virtues of fidelity and fertility.[7]

[4] Milada Studničková, "Hoforden des Luxemburger," *Umění* 40 (1992): 320-328; Diethelm Gresh, "Das ‚e' in der Wenzelsbibel," *Kunstchronik* 57 (March 2004): 131-137.

[5] Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV*, 89 and 102.

[6] I do not agree with Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stołot that the man sitting in the bathtub is depicted as "black". Cf. Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stołot ",Quid lavis Aethiopem?' Antikes Sprichwort in den Handschriften Wenzels IV," in *Ars graeca – ars latina. Studia dedykowane Prof. Annie Różyckiej-Bryzek* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Universytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2001), 339-351.

[7] Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV*, 78-90.

4/ Bathmaidens, wild men, king imprisoned in the letter W. Marginal illumination of the lower part of the title page of the Quadripartitus of Ptolemy (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, cod. Lat. 2271), codex made for Wenceslas in Prague, last quarter of the 14th century.

The Polish scholar Ewa Snieźinska-Stołot has shown that a wooden pail and a bough of green ears of corn, at the same time, typically accompany the image of the *Virgo* in the illustrations of Arabian - and also of derived western medieval - astronomical and astrological manuscripts.[8] In the astrological context, the knotted veil denotes the constellation of *Velum* or *Sindo*, and the kingfisher represents *Alcion*, the fixed star in the constellation of the *Pleiades*. They both act as the Arabian *paranatellonta* and thus help to concentrate the meaning of the images on the sign of *Taurus*, which provides a home to Venus and thus supports her in the key role that she plays in the relationship between the king of Bohemia and his nation. This role was formulated in the series of political "prophecies" included in the *Celestial Atlas of the Bohemian Kings*, written during the first third of the 14th century: "*Leo significat regem Bohemiae, et Virgo gentem, et Venus est domina gentis, quia coniunctio almamar*" (Lion signifies the king of Bohemia, the Virgin signifies the people, and Venus is the lady of the people, because she feeds the connection). The lion can be also found in the illuminated margins, as an animal or as a heraldic sign, but more often he was hinted at by the letter E, according to the tradition of marginal illuminations of medieval Psalters.

[8] Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stołot, "Christian Interpretation of the Zodiac in Medieval Psalters," *Umění* 37 (1989), 97-109. The interpretations in the ensuing paragraph are based on her text. Unfortunately, I was unable to consult her later, more detailed studies elaborating the topic - idem, *Ikonografia znaków zodiaku i gwiazdozbiorów w śrendniowieczu* (Kraków, 1994); idem, *Ikonografia znaków zodiaku i gwiazdozbiorów w rękopisach Albumasara* (Kraków, 1997); idem, *Ikonografia znaków zodiaku i gwiazdozbiorów w rękopisie monachijskim Abrahama ibn Ezry* (Kraków, 1998). I could use only the author's synopsis of them published as idem, *Quid lavis Aethiopem?*

The kingfisher holding a fish, which seems to have been the personal emblem of the king, might have to do with the fact that Wenceslas was born on February 16th (1361), and so under the sign of the Pisces.[9]

5/ Kingfisher inside the knotted veil, relief from the facade of the Old Town Bridge Tower in Prague, cca 1380 (see also note 1 and picture 7)

It is an established fact that both alchemy and astrology were pursued at the royal court in Prague in the late Middle Ages. Astronomical and astrological interests at the Prague court can be documented already since the rule of Přemysl Ottakar II in the third quarter of the 13th century. The best documented part of the tradition concerns Wenceslas' younger half-brother, the Roman Emperor and Hungarian King Sigismund and especially his second wife and then widow Barbara of Cili: she employed the important alchemist Jan of Laz at her court.[10]

An art historical evidence shows that one of the earliest illuminated manuscripts of *Aurora consurgens* (Zentralbibliothek Zürich Ms. Rh. 172) was decorated in the Bohemian artistic tradition in the first quarter of the 15th century (although there may a be specialist discussion concerning the place of its origin either in Prague or in Vienna).[11] Concerning Wenceslas personally, the written records provide only a rather cheerful story about the king's suggestion that his ailing health could be cured if his body was distilled through the alchemical retort in a process which he imagined to be similar to that producing a rosy water. The royal doctor Albík of Uničov, however, considered this suggestion a nonsense and continued to prescribe the king a cure based on a more balanced and moderate lifestyle, especially less heavy drinking.[12]

Another written record reports that the king was accused of practicing necromancy together with his close ally, the Prague Archbishop Conrad of Vechta. While the accusation clearly fits into the already mentioned framework of slanders intended to denigrate the ruler who had many opponents both in his country and in the Empire, it is not, on the other hand, a common part of such political campaigns and might have a factual core.[13]

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[9] Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV*, 102. I am including in this article astrology in the field of „magic" in coherence with Richard Kieckehefer, *Magie im Mittelater* (München: Beck, 1992).

[10] Petr Vágner, *Theatrum chemicum. Kapitoly z dějin alchymie* (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 1995), 66-69.

[11] The style of the illustrations can be compared to the *Concordantiae caritatis* (1413), Cod CX 2 Central Library of the Piarist Order in Budapest, compare Günter Brucher, ed., *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich II. Gotik* (München – London – New York: Prestel, 2000), 482-484 (Gerhard Schmidt) and 523 (Martin Roland). I am indebted to Milada Studničková for a discussion of the attribution.

[12] František M. Bartoš, *Čechy v době Husově* (Laichter: Praha, 1947), 470 and 484. The whole topic is unfortunately completely omitted in the recent monograph on Albík, compare Milada Říhová, *Dvorní lékař posledních Lucemburků* (Praha: Karolinum, 1999).

[13] Čornej, *Tajemství českých kronik*, 102-103, speaks about "Faustian motives" in the literary image of the king, based on the actual practice at the court.

6/ Astrologers and Geomancers, illustration to the Travels of Sir John Mandeville made for Wenceslas IV, ca 1410-1420 (by permission of The British Library Ms. ADD. 24189).

7/ Wenceslas IV with the Solomon's Seal buckle, as depicted at the facade of the Old Town Bridge Tower in Prague, ca 1380 (see also picture 5).

Astrology, however, was so widespread that it could hardly have been labeled *black magic*,[14] but alchemical experiments were more prone to such branding, as we can see from the numerous slanders reported a few decades later about the queen widow Barbara (in this case, of course, aggravated by the suspicion towards the free spirited woman). The reality of Wenceslas' engagement in magical sciences may be further supported by the treatise on magical warfare *Bellifortis*, which was written by Konrad Kyeser for the king in Prague.[15]

Besides, we can recognize the public use of magical amulets at king Wenceslas' court. First of them, the Solomon's Seal, is not so conspicuous, as the shape formed by inserting four small circles into a square was used quite widely as a decorative element in various kinds of ornament. I am convinced, however, that wearing the Seal as a cloak buckle, that is on a prominent place with a strong symbolic tradition in medieval society might have meant something more. It is interesting, that this specific shape of the buckle is limited to portraits of the young king, of archbishop John of Jenštejn and to a group of the so-called Beautiful Madonnas, all created in the 80s and early 90s of the 14th century. The group of images wearing the Solomon's Seal buckle may suggest the existence of some kind of alliance, perhaps a brotherhood devoted to the Virgin Mary – the name of "*panici*," in German "*Jungherren*," for young men devoted to the Virgin, is reported for some kind of so far unidentified group of a similar kind at the Prague court in Wenceslas' times.[16]

Another, definitely well known brotherhood, complete with a fully drawn foundation letter that came down to us, was the one founded in 1386 by the royal courtiers and strongly supported by the king. It was formed in order to build a chapel (destroyed in the middle of the 19th century) in the Prague New Town, consecrated to the Corpus Christi and intended mainly as the showplace for the holy relics of the Roman Empire, including above all the telltale holy spear. The brotherhood was named one of "hoop with a hammer hanging inside."[17] If we are to imagine a visual rendering of the title, which was most probably materialized in the form of a badge worn by its members, we can arrive at nothing else than the image known as *Hammer of Thor*, a magical amulet of Germanic descent.

However sparse the positive information might seem, what we have here is still one of the better documented cases of varying magical practices among the highest so-

[14] The opinion of Bohumil Ryba, "Nigromancie, černá kniha a černokněžník", *Věstník České akademie věd a umění* 52 (1943): 81-95 shared by František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce II.* (Praha: Karolinum, 1993), 17, that Bohemian writers around the year 1400 still understood the word *nigromantia* as denoting "consulting with the dead", must be considered falsified by ensuing research. I am indebted to Benedek Láng for discussion of this topic.

[15] For an analysis of the Bellifortis from an art historical perspective see Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV*, 50. Also in this case, Benedek Láng's contribution and consequent discussions during the conference The Use of Magic in the Past (25 -27 October 2004 in Smolenice, Slovakia) helped me very much in understanding the theme.

[16] Milena Štefanová-Bartlová, "Die Skulptur des Schönen Stils in Böhmen" in *Prag um 1400. Der Schöne Stil, Exh. Cat.*, ed. Ladislav Kesner (Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien: Wien 1990), 81-86.

[17] Vilém Lorenz, *Nové Město* (Praha 1973), 155; Miroslav Polívka, "K šíření husitství v Praze" *Folia historica bohemica* 5 (1983), 95-118; Klára Benešovská, "Zaniklá kaple Božího těla" in *Umělecké památky Prahy – Nové Město, Vyšehrad* (Praha: Academia, 1998), 87-88.

cial elite in Central European countries during the Middle Ages. What interests me now is the fact, that sources of information from the sphere of visual arts are very important in this case. The intrinsic nature of a visual image, that is its inevitable ambiguousness, makes it necessary to draw on written sources to understand it properly and to diminish as much as possible our tendency to project freely into it our own ideas gained from other sources. But the relationship between the word and image in the cases we have discussed here is quite specific. The astrological system is not illustrated in any direct sense in the margins of Wenceslas' manuscripts. The individual images, or emblems, are intertwined in the decorative ornaments developed into buoyant floral designs. The figures and signs literally inhabit the leafy garlands, or perhaps we might say they play games in and among them. They enter into tens and perhaps hundreds of combinations, playing always new variations on the basic theme of the bathing king. Such a situation makes it impossible for a modern researcher to isolate a unifying rational explanation for singular pages or text units, not to speak of the whole, spread across hundreds of pages in the twelve extant codices.

So far, all the attempts to find any coherence between the contents of the written texts and the system of the emblems came to no results. The texts comprise one of the earliest translations of the Old Testament into German, the Golden Bull for the Empire and the astronomical manuscripts; but, surprisingly, the more private book containing the courtly novel *Willehlam* has only a small number of emblems in its margins. An attempt has been made by Czech art historian Jana Hlaváčková to correlate some of the emblems with the contents of the first page of the book of Genesis and to interpret them in the context of private Wenceslas' concerns for progeny (which never came).[18] Such a correlation, however, remains limited to the single case of the title page and cannot serve as a rule to explain the majority of illuminated texts. The astrological explanation of some basic units of the system of emblems, as presented above, shows that the core of the undoubtedly many-layered meaning does not lie in the private, but rather in the public sphere of Wenceslas' life.

I am convinced that the presence of painted emblems in the margins of Wenceslas' manuscripts was not, however, a nonsense play, or a play just for the sake of fun. I would like to introduce here the concept of a "magic of image," which was developed a few decades after Wenceslas' death by the Neo-Platonist philosopher of the Italian High Renaissance Marsilio Ficino. According to Ficino, the material existence or bodily presence of a painted or sculpted image endows the contents represented by the image with a different level of participation in the reality of the material world than the level accessible to the word, both spoken and written. This idea is based mainly on the hermetic aspect of the Neo-platonic philosophy, as notably developed during the 15th and 16th centuries both in Italy and in Transalpine Europe.[19] To put it clearly, if in a somewhat less sophisticated way: if you represent the astrological and

[18] Hana J. Hlaváčková, "Courtly Body in the Bible of Wenceslas IV," in *Künstlerischer Austausch – Artistic Exchange. Akten des 28. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte,* ed. Thomas Gaethgens (Berlin 1993), 371-381; Hana J. Hlaváčková, "Kdy vznikla Bible Václava IV.?" in *Ars Longa. Sborník k nedožitým sedmdesátinám Josefa Krásy*, eds. Beket Bukovinská and Lubomír Konečný (Praha: Artefactum, 2003), 65-80.

[19] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York etc.: Harper & Row, 1969) 183-188; Otto Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1946).

alchemical symbols visually, by painting or sculpting them, they acquire a new level of existence and may start to act on their own, being able to enact their task more effectively in the long run. Thus if you introduce a space for the "free activity" of visual symbols which encode the tight bond between the ruler and his country in the margins of a sacred text or in the margins of the basic political pronouncement, the hope that such a deep bond will determine the actual social and political life grows enormously. Anyone who is better acquainted with the political problems of Wenceslas' rule will admit that a hope that they might be solved if the king was inseparably, on deeper levels, united to his country and nation, might well have formed a part of the king's world of ideas.[20]

8/ King's bath and wild men with the coats of arms of Bohemia and the Empire. Marginal illumination of the lower part of fol. 94r, second.

Perhaps it might be more accurate to speak about an "alchemy of the image," because the basis of the desired process is a promotion of quality acquired after a passage of time. If my suggestion proves acceptable, we could recognize an existence of activities at Wenceslas' court that we can call magical, but which differed from the contemporary popular magic by being executed in very sophisticated ways. Visual formulation of magic-working images is, of course, a standard part of any magical practice. The point of interest in the case of Wenceslas' marginal illuminations lies in the intimate interconnection of the magical and the artistic qualities, which characterizes this enterprise. I must stress that visual art was not, at that time, a part of intellectual discourse, because it was not considered art in the medieval sense of the word. Painters ranked among handworkers and painted images belonged to the area of practice, not to the realm of learned theory. This would, most probably, make such a magical use of painting possible at all. The intriguing part of the whole case is, however, that there

[20] For a survey of political, economic and social situation during Wenceslas' rule compare Jiří Spěváček, *Václav IV.* (Praha: Svoboda 1984); Lenka Bobková, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české IV b* (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2003) 275-395; Petr Čornej, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české V* (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2000), 29-79; for cultural and spiritual atmosphere compare Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce II*.

clearly appears a question which has not become a topic of scholarly enquiry so far: is there not some kind of relationship between what we call art, on the one hand, and what belonged, on the other hand, into the spheres of magic and of the sacred in the past? If we leave aside the dated concept of art as something "aesthetic," and if we use such category of critical theory as an "engaged gaze" that "constitutes the other," we might come closer to a new understanding of the topic. Further development of these ideas would belong, however, more properly in the specific art historical discourse.

THE OCCULT SCIENCES IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARY IN A CENTRAL EUROPEAN CONTEXT

GYÖRGY ENDRE SZŐNYI

Introduction

Historiography and the Post-communist Perspective

When discussing this topic, it is worth starting with a brief overview of the historiography of the subject. This aspect is especially important because the cultural historical study of Western esotericism took a different course in Western and Eastern (ex-East Bloc) Europe.

The scholarly reassessment of occultism and hermeticism started in the early twentieth century after the recognition that the evolutionary concepts of the Enlightenment and the nineteenth century were obviously mistaken. Although to rationalist philosophers as well as to early anthropologists (such as Engels, Comte, Taylor or Frazer)[1] the paradigm from magic through religion to science was very appealing, positivist examinations of society and culture in the era of modernity disproved these optimistic views (E. M. Butler, Bronislaw Malinowski, Marcel Mauss).[2]

The "serious" studies of early modern occultism and magic can be divided into the following phases: 1/ the gathering of evidence: early positivistic studies backed by "alternative" histories of magic – Thorndike's magisterial *History of Magic and Experimental Sciences* as opposed to Eliphas Lévi's or A. E. Waite's "insider" studies;[3] 2/ integrating magic in cultural history and the concept of period styles (such as "the Renaissance") – the studies of Eugenio Garin, Francois Secret and the "Warburg scholars;" [4] 3/ challenging traditional science history – in this respect, next to the Paracelsus-studies of Walter Pagel, most influential was the Warburg scholar, Frances A. Yates whose "theses" in the 1960s and 1970s triggered an inspired interdisciplinary debate;[5] 4/ postmodern reconsiderations. To understand this last phase, we also have to

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[1] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Religion* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972); August Comte, *Introduction to positive philosophy* (translated by Frederick Ferré, Indianapolis: Hackett, 1988); Edward B. Tylor, *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization* (London: Macmillan, 1881); James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1911).

[2] E. M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948); Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1948); Marcel Mauss, *Théorie de la magie* (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1950).

[4] Eugenio Garin, *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano: Richerche e documenti* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1961); Francois Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1963); D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958); Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London: Faber & Faber).

[5] Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An introduction to philosophical medicine in the era of the Renaissance* (Basel: Karger, 1958); Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: RKP, 1964); "The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science,"in *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance*, ed., Charles S. Singleton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968); *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: RKP, 1972); *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: RKP, 1979). Reactions to the Yates-

look at the previous phases, especially at the "Yates theses." Dame Frances was an extremely imaginative and erudite scholar who became receptive to the new interpretation of the Renaissance and developed it into an attractive and arresting vision that was soon to be known as the “Yates thesis.” If one tries to summarise her thesis in a few sentences, the following model emerges. As Ernst Cassirer had already stated in his groundbreaking study on the Renaissance (*The Individual and the Cosmos*, 1963 [1927]), the most important philosophical innovation of that period had been the redefinition of man’s place in the universe. The basic framework – the Great Chain of Being – remained more or less the same until the late seventeenth century when man’s place was no longer seen as being fixed anymore. Instead he was imagined as capable of moving along the Chain of Being, either ennobling and elevating himself to the level of God, or degrading and associating with the brute beasts. Following the footsteps of Cassirer, Kristeller, and others, Yates came to the conclusion that the neoplatonic philosophers of the Renaissance developed the idea of man’s elevation not only from the works of Plato and the Hellenistic neoplatonists, but also, in fact primarily, from the hermetic texts, attributed to the "thrice great" Hermes Trismegistus. The Yates thesis also implied that the Renaissance magus was a direct predecessor of the modern natural scientist because, as the *Corpus hermeticum* suggested, the magus could regain the ability to rule over nature that the first man had lost with the Fall. While the magi of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were mostly individual researchers, their seventeenth-century followers, as Yates proposed, came to the idea of collective work and formed secret societies, such as the Rosicrucians.

For a while these ideas seemed to revolutionize our understanding of the early modern age and the birth of modern science. In such a context the magical ideas that had previously been discarded by intellectual historians now appeared to be important ingredients of human ambitions to understand and conquer nature. No matter how convincing the Yates thesis appeared and how eloquently its author presented it, by the mid-1970s critical refusals could also be heard. The debate included questions of philological accuracy; for example, scholars could not agree to what extent the hermetic texts influenced the magi of the sixteenth century, or to what extent Frances Yates’ conjectures on humanist and secret political links between certain English intellectuals and the German Rosicrucians could be validated. One should remember that just in those years post-structuralism started proposing serious revisions in the theoretical framework of the study of intellectual history, and perhaps this turn of conceptualisation did the most for a new interpretation of Renaissance magic, too.[6] The post-structuralist historians started reproving intellectual historians for attempting to simplify history into great, overall patterns in which differences and contradictions were neglected and overlooked for the sake of the coherence of the "grand narratives."

theses: Emile Metaxopoulos, "A la suite de F.A. Yates. Débats sur le role de la tradition hermétiste dans la révolution scientifique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles." *Revue de Synthèse* 103 (1982): 53–65; Bernard Tannier, "Une nouvelle interprétation de la 'philosophie occulte' à la Renaissance: L'oeuvre de Frances A. Yates," *Aries* 2 (1984): 15–33; Brian Vickers, "Frances Yates and the Writing of History," *Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979): 287–316; Robert S. Westman, "Magical Reform and Astronomical Reform: The Yates Thesis Reconsidered," in *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution*, ed., Lynn White (Papers read at the Clark Library Seminar, March, 1974, Los Angeles: UCLA, W. A. Clark Memorial Library, 1977).

[6] On the historiography of hermeticism and Renaissance magic see my monograph: *John Dee's Occultism. Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), 7-13.

Yates was also suspected of having reduced those Renaissance magi to unproblematic champions of hermetic Neoplatonism, when in fact more complicated, often contradictory intellectual patterns should have been detected. While Yates made efforts to separate "dark" medieval magic from its "enlightened" Renaissance version, today's research looks at these two periods as interconnected and inseparable, also the time of the Renaissance is interpreted as a reservoir of parallel, fragmented, multifocal intellectual tendencies rather than a coherent intellectual narrative.

The above-sketched historiography should then be contrasted with what happened in the so-called "ex-East Bloc" countries. We can say that until the end of the Second World War Western- and Eastern European research developed hand-in-hand. Testimony to this is the Hungarian László Szathmáry's *Hungarian Alchemists* (1928) or Iván Fónagy's monumental monograph (*Mágia*), which was originally published in 1943 and reflected the trends outlined above.[7] After the war, however, with the advent of communist-Stalinism cultural policy, the study of "the dark side" of early modern intellectual history for a long time came to an end. Since state-promoted Marxism was almost exclusively interested in economic and social history with an emphasis on class struggle and a typological prefiguration of future revolutions, historical research in several fields became cut off from the main trends of Western scholarship during the 1950s and 1960s. It happened particularly in intellectual history, but also in the history of mentality and historical anthropology. The examination of areas that would testify to the inherent role of a “superstitious” misconception such as magic in a “progressive” age like the Renaissance was at best not encouraged in the centres of historical research and the syllabi of higher education listed more important issues on the agenda – such as the fight of the repressed for a better life and for liberation from ideological manipulation – than the investigation of the stubborn persistence of pre-modern ideas. Thus, intellectual history and the analysis of cultural symbolization remained beyond the horizon of our historians.

The elimination of the above mentioned white spots could only start in the mid-1970s, and only with small steps. Scholars such as the late Tibor Klaniczay did a lot to disassociate period styles from the labels “progressive” or “reactionary,” thus enabling, for example, a balance within Baroque research in general, or an examination of the shadowy side of the Renaissance under the banner of Mannerism.[8] In this engagement the propositions of the Yates school came in more than handy and greatly refreshed the research topics as well as the vocabulary of our East-Central European Renaissance scholarship.[9] It should be noted here that the newly discovered intellectual history in East-Central Europe became not only a research tool and a theoretical orientation but also a means of ideological resistance against the grim, official party line.[10]

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[7] László Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták* (1928, second, enlarged edition by István Gazda, with studies of Iván Fónagy and László Móra, Budapest: Könyvértékesítő, 1986); Iván Fónagy, *A mágia és a titkos tudományok története* (Budapest: Bibliotheca, 1943; reprint Budapest: Tinódi, 1989).

[8] Tibor Klaniczay, *Renaissance und Manierismus. Zum Verhältnis von Gesellschafts-struktur, Poetik und Stil* (Berlin: Akademische Verlag, 1977).

[9] Enough to remember the works of Roman Bugaj, e.g. *Nauki tajemne w Polsce w dobie odrodzenia* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1976); *Nauki tajemne w dawnej Polsce: Mistrz Twardowski* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1986).

[10] With this agenda in mind I wrote my first monograph on Renaissance occultism: *Titkos tudományok és*

After the change of the systems in 1989 East-Central European researchers were confronted with new trends of Western neo-Marxism (e.g. New Historicism and Cultural Materialism) and they needed time to accept and absorb these ideas. Fortunately, young researchers from our region, who have no negative experiences from the period of state socialism, are free from such biases and by now the time seems ripe for both parties (i.e. Western and Eastern European scholars) to reconsider older standpoints and reassess the results of the past 50 years. In this context it becomes unavoidable to recontextualise the history of "secret sciences" in East-Central Europe, too.

To sum up once again: in the intellectual historical study of medieval and early modern magic the tendency of the past few decades has been a reorientation from "grand narratives" to ever refined perception of the multiplicity and interaction of ideas (classical, medieval and Renaissance) and registers (elite, popular). This is what we, in East-Central Europe, have to apply in our own studies as well.

Definitions

The term *magic* for the everyday person means a variety of things, phenomena, and practices. The common denominator in all of these may only be the mysterious, the irrational and the notion that this "paranormal" sphere can be influenced and commanded through human effort, or its power can be used to predetermine other people's fate. This can be done in various ways and with various intentions: with piety or in the service of wicked plans; with religious concerns or with scientific interest; with regard to philosophical ideas or on the basis of folk beliefs; connected to theoretical speculations or carrying out ritual practices.

There was a time when people hoped that with the victory of the Enlightenment and with the accumulation of our scientific knowledge superstitions and magic would disappear by themselves. This optimism proved to be false in more than one respects. It seems that because of psychological and intellectual reasons the lure of the occult will not disappear, what is more, our postmodern culture abounds in such phenomena – not only as cultural representations and artworks but as practices, too. Because of this, the study of the occult and magic in their various forms – including historical studies – is valid, important and well justifiable.[11]

babonák. A 15-17. század művelődéstörténetének kérdéseihez [Secret Sciences and Superstitions in 15th -17th Centuries Cultural History] (Budapest: Gyorsuló Idő, 1978). This little book helped to create an intellectual atmosphere in Hungary that made possible the invitation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences extended to Frances Yates who visited and lectured in Hungary for two weeks in summer 1981.

[11] For the definition of Western Magic from the viewpoint of various disciplines, see the following, almost randomly selected works and their further references: Bengt Ankarloo, ed., *The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* (London: Athlone Press, 1999-); Matilde Battistini, *Astrologia, magia e alchimia* (Milano: Electa, 2004); Karl-Heinz Göttert, *Magie: zur Geschichte des Streits um die magischen Künste unter Philosophen, Theologen, Medizinern, Juristen und Naturwissenschaftlern von der Antike bis zur Aufklärung* (München: Fink, 2001); Francis King, *Magic. The Western Tradition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975); Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1959); Alexander Roob, *Alchemy & Mysticism* (Köln: Taschen, 1997); Kurt Seligmann, *The History of Magic* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1948); Lewis Spence, *An Encyclopedia of Occultism* (New York: University Books, 1960); Hutton Webster, *Magic. A Sociological Study* (Stanford University Press, 1948); etc.

Sources of Magical Ideas and Culture

In order to evaluate and reassess the role of esotericism in East-Central European culture, the first step is to map the sources materials concerning magical ideas and practices in the region. While doing this, one has to pay attention to the intellectual infrastructure of the area, the religious contexts, the educational system and the level of scientific investigations. The study of folk-beliefs and popular culture, of course, requires further investigations of historical and cultural anthropology. Since both medieval religion and science were interlaced with elements of magic, I argue that magic became "more developed" and "intellectual" where schools and universities provided a high level infrastructure for intellectual life. This was not characteristic for Hungary where there were no theological faculties and the universities founded here in the Middle Ages were unfortunately short lived. On the contrary, Bohemia with Prague and Poland with Krakow are definitely more promising testing grounds. As for the history of intellectual magic and occult ideas in Hungary, these phenomena are closely connected with foreigners who visited here, or with Hungarians who acquired their knowledge abroad; in other words the history of intellectual magic in Hungary is a history of reception rather than of original contributions.

The above thesis underlines the importance of the fact that research cannot be carried out without wide contextual examinations, concentrating on Western European connections as well as on our neighbouring territories, defining East-Central Europe with the following focal points: the courts and universities of Vienna, Prague, and Krakow; the multi-ethnic regions of Silesia, historical Upper-Hungary (today's Slovakia) and Croatia-Dalmatia. I believe that since the early Middle Ages this huge region constituted a kind of a cultural melting pot which, although it was not homogeneous, provided a theatre for a wide scale of complex, historical, economic, and cultural interaction. This is precisely why I consider the conference in Smolenice extremely important and long overdue.[12]

Of course this region was not separate from other parts of the world, either. One has to complete our imaginary intellectual map with the immediate links to the academic and aristocratic centres of Italy, Austria and Germany, with further links to France and the Low Countries and with occasional connections to distant Spain, England, Scandinavia, or Russia. In view of the history of magic the otherwise vital – and ambiguous – links with Turkey and the Muslim world are marginal, however one should think of the fact that the Arabic intellectual contribution – through medieval Spain – to the history of Western occultism was definitely significant.

After setting the geographical scope, one has to determine the range of source materials to be examined. The dimensions of this article make it impossible to go into details, I only briefly indicate here the areas in which data collection has to progress. The most immediate results are promised by the examination of the old book stock in early modern Hungary. This would include the study of Hungarian prints (published in

[12] It is very characteristic that the study of East-Central European esotericism was started by Western intellectual historians. The pioneering credit should go to Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973); and Robert J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700. An Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979).

Hungarian as well as in other languages; within Hungary as well as abroad);[13] but even more the cataloguing of foreign esoteric publications which found their way to Hungary before 1700.[14]

Another line of research can usefully complement the survey of reading materials in early modern Hungary. It is the examination of the so-called "movement of peregrinations," that is the way Hungarians and other East-Central Europeans visited universities in Western Europe or travelled on various occasions in other countries. Such travels naturally provided acquaintance with intellectual movements (among them magical-occult ideas), but it was equally difficult to resist buying some books and bringing them back to their birthplace.

A travel in the early modern period (just like today) was not restricted to the East–West direction. Foreigners also found their way to our region, among them numerous wandering humanists, heretics, religious dissenters and scholars seeking employment and career. For alchemists and "magi" a natural way of existence was on the move: if they exploited their credit at a place, they proceeded to find new prospective patrons.

In the end the individual humanists and wandering scholars often formed circles of friends and followers. The largest circles became the secret societies that started proliferating all over Europe from the end of the 16th century. The study of the history of occultism in our region will have to include this aspect, too.

Generic Typology of the "Occult Sciences"

After mapping the source materials of our investigation, the next step will be to set up a generic typology of the subject, meaning: what type of phenomena and activities can be accounted under the label "The Occult Sciences." Again, because of the limits of this paper I cannot go into details in this section and provide examples for the items of the typology outlined below. Some of these examples will be mentioned in the last part, the chronological narrative.

Let it be enough here to list only the main branches of the occult sciences, as it is usually done by general "histories of magic."[15] The occult "science" is a mixture of philosophy, theology, natural science and psychology, consequently, first of all, its intellectual basis has to be analysed. There are two main orientations in this respect: according to the intentions of the magus or philosopher, we speak about *white magic*, the pious program of which is to find a direct way to God; and *black magic* which turns instead of God to Satan and should only satisfy the power-thirst of the magician by strictly illicit means.

A topic connected to the intentions of the philosophical program of magic is the

[13] The following catalogues of Hungarian prints are relevant: Károly Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár 1-2* [Old Hungarian Prints] (Budapest, 1879-1885); Árpád Hellebrant, *Régi magyar könyvtár 3* [Old Hungarian Prints Abroad] Budapest, (1896-8); Hiador Sztripszky, *Adalékok*... [Additions to Szabó's work] (Budapest, 1912); *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok* [Old Prints from Hungary] (Budapest, 1971-); Sándor Apponyi, Lajos Dézsi, József Vekerdi, *Hungarikák* (Budapest: Arcanum CD-ROM, 2003).

[14] The monumental research concerning the early modern readings in the Carpathian Basin was carried out by István Monok and his colleagues at the University of Szeged. The materials have been published in three series: 1/ *Könyvtártörténeti füzetek 1-11* (Szeged, 1981-2001); *Adattárak* (general editor Bálint Keserű, Szeged, 1983-2001); *Olvasmánytörténeti dolgozatok 1-8* (Szeged, 1991-1998).

[15] See the reference books listed in Note 11.

story of Doctor Faustus, which is often referred to as an "archetypal Western myth,"[16] and which also has Eastern-European offsprings.[17]

Beyond the general examinations of the philosophy and ideological foundations of magic one has to go to the details of the various branches of the occult sciences, such as alchemy, *magia naturalis*, astrology, fortune telling, physiognomy, as well as ceremonial and ritual magic, incantations, scrying, necromancy and all the various other arts mentioned in Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*.[18]

The complex phenomenon of witchcraft will definitely require a separate chapter, considering its theology and philosophy but even more importantly its horrifying social practice. In this field of research cooperation between historical anthropology, social history, social psychology, the interdisciplinary study of the witches' pact and Sabbath-rituals are indispensable, completed by the achievements of folklore and ethnography.[19]

Chronological Survey

In the following and last section of my paper I am going to offer a concise chronological survey of the up-to-now known and researched phenomena relating to the occult sciences in the territory of early modern Hungary. When evaluating or interpreting the data enlisted below, one should bear in mind what I have said so far about the geographical and typological scope of the material.

The Middle Ages, Including the Renaissance of King Matthias

During the centuries of scholasticism Hungarian clerics reached faraway universities, such as Paris, Bologna or Padova (the first known Hungarian university student registered at Vicenza in 1208).[20] Being at the centres of learning, especially in 14th -

[16] On the Faust legends and its general intellectual implications see Charles Dédéyan, *La thème de Faust dans la littérature européenne* (Paris: Lettres modernes, 1956-1959); Karl-Heinz Hucke, *Figuren der Unruhe. Faustdichtungen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992); Dominique Lecourt, *Prométhée, Faust, Frankenstein: fondements imaginaires de l'éthique* (Le Plessis Robinson: Synthélabo groupe, 1996); Philip M. Palmer and R. P. More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition from Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Haskell, 1965); Roger Shattuck, *Forbidden Knowledge. From Prometheus to Pornography* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996); etc.

[17] See Bugaj, *Nauki tajemne w dawnej Polsce: Mistrz Twardowski* (mentioned in note 9), and for Hungary: Frank Baron, "A Faust-monda és magyar változatai," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 91 (1986): 22-36; György E. Szőnyi, "Molnár Albert és a titkos tudományok," in *Szenci Molnár Albert és a magyar késő reneszánsz*, ed. Keserű Bálint (Szeged: JATE, 1978), 49-59; Judit Vásárhelyi, "Molnár Albert és a Sátán szövetsége," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 81 (1977): 395-403.

[18] Henricus Cornelius[von Nettesheim] Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia Lib. III*, Item, *Spurius Liber de Caeremoniis Magicis qui Quartus Agrippae habetur. Quibus accesserunt, Heptameron Petri de Abano, etc.* (Basel: Godefroy et Beringen, 1533, 1550); *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (translated by James Freake, London: Gregory Moule, 1651); *De occulta philosophia* (Köln, 1533; ed. Karl Anton Nowotny, Graz: Akademia Druck, 1967); *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (translation by James Freake, London, 1651, completely annotated with modern commentary by Donald Tyson, St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1997).

[19] Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen eds., *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Françoise Mallet-Joris, *Trois âges de la nuit: histoires de sercelleries* (Bruxelles: Labor, 1996); Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: the Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-modern Europe* (translated by Susan Singerman, Princeton, H.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990); Gábor Klaniczay et. alii, eds., "Witch Beliefs and Witch Hunting in Central and Eastern Europe," *Acta Ethnographica* 37, no. 1-4 (Budapest, 1991-2 [1993]); Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-hunt in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow: Longman, 2004); etc.

century Paris, they must have become aware of the debates concerning the legitimisation or prohibition of magic and the efforts to establish a reliable typology of the secret sciences as was done by Jean de Gerson.[21] By the way: Gerson was one of the organizers of the synod of Konstanz where among the delegations of European universities the representatives of the University of Old-Buda (established by Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg) also participated.[22]

One of the most important periods in the history of occult sciences in Hungary was the rule of King Matthias. This period witnessed the growth of the famous Corvina Library of the king where many works discussed such topics. The King himself was interested in astrology as well as in learned magic. He had several resident astrologers, his court astronomer, the Polish Martin from Bylica in 1467 even cast the horoscope of Matthias' newly established university in Bratislava. Two horoscopes of Matthias' son also survive. Another of his scholars was the famous mathematician, Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller, 1436-1476).[23]

Many Italian humanists came to Buda, Hungarians were visiting Italy and studied there. The Neoplatonist philosopher and father of Renaissance intellectual magic, Marsilio Ficino dedicated his most outspoken work on talismanic magic, *De vita coelitus comparanda*, to Matthias. We also have ten letters he wrote to Hungarian intellectuals, five directly to the King. Several others were addressed to Italians in Buda: Francesco Bandini, Dominican and Neoplatonist philosopher; Philippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus Experiens), mathematician and envoy of the Polish King in Buda; Bartolomeo della Fonte, librarian of Matthias; Filippo Valori Florentine nobleman who often visited Buda.[24]

Among Hungarian intellectuals it was the neolatin poet, Janus Pannonius who might have been most interested in the Neoplatonist philosophy and astrology; there are many references and astrological-occult allusions in his poetry. Janus took an active role in the organization of the humanist court of Matthias and in 1465 returned to Italy – to the scenery of his college years – as the envoy of the Hungarian king. His elegy written there about his own soul reflect the new neoplatonist learning of the academies of Florence and Ferrara.[25] His acquaintance with the Florentine humanists is testified by the distinction that Ficino dedicated his commentary on Plato's *Symposium* to Janus.

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[21] On Gerson and his views on magic see Benedek Láng's Ph.D. dissertation: "Readers of Magic Texts and Handbooks in Central Europe (15th Century)" (Budapest: Central European University, 2003), Chapter One; and Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Les condamnations de la magie a Paris en 1398," *Revue Mabillon, Nouvelle Série,* 12 (2001): 121-157; Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et a la Renaissance: Speculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe-XVe siecle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

[22] Astrik Gábriel, *The Medieval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony* (Frankfurt / Main: Josef Knecht [Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, The medieval Institute], 1969), 38.

[23] On the courtly culture of King Matthias and on the hermetic interest in this circle see the following works: József Huszti, "Janus Pannonius asztrológiai álláspontja," *Minerva* (1927); and "Magyar királyok horoszkópjai egy vatikáni kódexben," *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1928): 1-10; Péter Kulcsár, "Az újplatonizmus Magyarországon," *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 87 (1983): 41-7.

[24] Valery Rees, "Ad vitam felicitamque.' Marsilio Ficino to His Friends in Hungary," *Budapesti könyvszemle* (English version) 8.2 (1998): 57-64; Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism,* 83.

[25] Huszti, "Janus Pannonius asztrológiai álláspontja,"; Éva Kocziszky, "A csillaghit Janus költészetében," in *Collectanea Tiburtiana. Tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor tiszteletére*, eds. Géza Galavics, János Herner and Bálint Keserű (Szeged: JATE, 1990, Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 10), 53-65.

The real influx of Italian hermetic philosophy to Hungary took place between 1477 and 1490 when Hungary's queen was Beatrice of Aragon who turned the Hungarian court into "Little Italy." From this time on Ficino regularly sent the manuscripts of his new works to Buda and, as we have seen above, engaged even in personal correspondence with Matthias. The dedication of *De coelitus comparanda* even reveals that Lorenzo de' Medici himself supported Ficino's idea to offer this book to Matthias: "*Now among the books of Plotinus destined for the great Lorenzo de' Medici I had recently composed a commentary on the book of Plotinus which discusses drawing favour from the heavens. With all this in mind, I have just decided to extract that one (with the approval of Lorenzo himself) and dedicate it especially to your Majesty.*"[26]

It is difficult to tell to what extent the King personally delved into the philosophy of Ficino, since we also cannot know exactly his plans and practice with his magnificent library. But it is worth noting that Florentine Neoplatonism was not only an abstract and difficult theosophy. One of its purposes was to serve the strengthening of the individual by presupposing the great dignity of man with the possibility of mystical and magical *exaltatio*. It was a new kind of religiousness after the more confined doctrines of the Middle Ages, what is more, it also offered life conduct based on the search for harmony, beauty, health and happiness.

We can only regret that Matthias' projects about establishing a full-fledged university in Hungary were not completed. Without consolidating scientific life by such an institution, his plans to attract Ficino or scholars of that stature to Hungary remained just a dream.

The Reception of Magic in the 16th and 17th Centuries

Courts as Intellectual Centres

After the rule of Matthias the royal court declined. In place of it some aristocratic courts became the intellectual centres. From the mid-16th century, when the Turks occupied most of Hungary, the Royal court functioned in Vienna and many Hungarian aristocrats became residents there. On the other hand, from the mid-16th century, when the Turks occupied Hungary, the independent seat of the Transylvanian princes became the number one Hungarian court.[27]

Travellers, Visitors in Hungary

Hungary, because of her natural resources (gold and copper mines, medicinal wine, spas) attracted a lot of travelling alchemists and magicians throughout the 16th century. The most famous among them was Paracelsus, who visited here more than once. According to László Szathmáry, a particularly interesting natural phenomenon in Hungary was cement water (laitance), which also contained copper sulphate, a material essential in alchemy. Legends about Hungary all over Europe suggested that here even vine trunks were naturally gilded. Paracelsus thus travelled all over Upper Hungary and made a detour to the wine region of Tokaj. During his second visit in 1537 he

[26] Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*. A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes, eds. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 57), 239.

[27] On Hungarian courtly culture see the collection of essays: R. Várkonyi Ágnes ed., *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987).

was entertained at a dinner given by the mayor of Bratislava. His "Hungarian" friend, Wolfgang Talhauser with whom he had got acquainted in Ferrara, may have called Paracelsus' attention to Hungary. Later they became close friends in Augsburg, where Talhauser became a city doctor but always called himself "Pannonicus." He even wrote praise in the famous magus-doctor's work, *Grosse Wundartzney* (1536). [28]

Another famous wandering alchemist-humanist to visit Hungary was Leonhard Thurneysser. He came to Hungary in 1566 and researched the Hungarian mines and metallurgy, also offering his expertise to Emperor Rudolf II. We have several stories similar to that of Thurneysser. In 1585/86, for example, two foreigners turned up in Banská Štiavnica whose arrogant behaviour attracted the attention of the local authorities. As it turned out, the two alchemists, a German from Halle and another from Strasbourg were sent by Georg, Elector of Brandenburg, in order to spy on Hungarian mineral resources. Their mission came to an abrupt end, since they quarrelled in the inn they were staying and the younger one stabbed the older to death.[29]

Perhaps the most famous travelling "magus" in early modern Central Europe was a personal acquaintance of the mentioned Leonhard Thurneysser. John Dee, the English mathematician and occultist visited Hungary for the first time in 1563, when he participated in the coronation of Maximilian II in Bratislava. He had been intrigued by Hungary since not long before when in 1562 he had met a young Hungarian nobleman in Leuven where this Hungarian had helped him to copy Trithemius' *Steganographia*, a magical work of great importance.[30] The coronation on September 8 in 1563 exercised such a deep impression on him that he decided to dedicate his newest and perhaps most important work, the *Monas hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564) to Maximilian and never ceased to dream about the Habsburg lands as a haven for the scholars of esoterica. The occasion to return from England came in 1583 when Dee and his assistant, Edward Kelley (or Kelly) together with their families were invited by the Polish aristocrat, Olbracht Łaski to come to Poland and help the prince with his occult experiments.[31] Łaski himself ran an alchemical laboratory and in his household in Upper Hungary (Kežmarok, today in Slovakia) his resident humanist, Adam Schröter translated Paracelsus' *Archidoxa magica* into Latin (published in Krakow, 1569). [32]

The Central European stay of the Englishmen lasted as long as 1588 and during this period they tried to secure royal patronage in Krakow (Stephen Bathory) and Prague (Rudolf II). Finally they ended up in Třeboň as protegées of the Count Vilém Vok Rožmberk.

About the activities of Dee and Kelley in East-Central Europe we have an amazing amount of documents, on the other hand several legends prevail, too. István Weszprémi, early historiographer of medicine in Hungary wrote in 1774, that *"[In 1584] Laski invited Kelly and Dee to Hungary, who were pleased to accept the offer, espe-*

[29] Richter Ede, "Két német alchymista Selmeczbányán 1585-86-ik évben," *Történelmi Tár* 3 (1905): 418-571.

[30] See Dee's letter of February 1563 to William Cecil, the Lord Burghley, quoted in my *John Dee's Occultism*, 106.

[31] The story is known first of all from Dee's extensive diaries (see *The Diaries of John Dee*, ed. Edward Fenton, Charlbury, Oxfordshire: Day Books, 1998) and several scholarly studies, among others Robert J. W. Evans', *Rudolf II and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973); Deborah Harkness', *John Dee's Conversations with Angels. Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and my *John Dee's Occultism*, passim.

cially Dee who had practised his craft of alchemy in Hungary already earlier in 1563 for a long time and to the great admiration of a number of people."[33] This information is inaccurate; Dee only participated in the coronation of Maximilian and did not perform any transmutations.

It is a pity, however, that we do not know the identity of the young nobleman who had invited Dee to Hungary. Our best guess is Boldizsár Batthyány (1530-90) who developed one of the most brilliant noble courts in the vicinity of the Hungarian capital (Prešporok/Pressburg/Pozsony, today Bratislava in Slovakia) in West Hungary. His career started in the Habsburg court of Vienna, then, in the 1560s, he spent a few years in Italy and France and he seems to have made acquaintances among local Protestant families as well as refugees from the Low Countries. Among those one can mention the printer-publisher family, the Wechels, and the famous botanist Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Ecluse) who escaped from Flanders in 1561. Wechel's son in law, Jean Aubri became Batthyány's bookseller for many subsequent years and Clusius spent an important period of his career at Batthyány's Hungarian court working on his opus on the flora of Hungary.

Batthyány's notable interest in alchemy and the occult arts is well documented.[34] His humanist circle at his court in Németújvár (today's Güssing in Eastern Austria) developed in the 1570s and was centred around his significant library. Similarly to Dee, Batthyány collected books on natural philosophy, the esoteric lore, history, and literature. He had an excellent collection of Hermes Trismegistus, Raymundus Lullus and Paracelsus.

Batthyány also patronized a number of humanists, Hungarians and foreigners alike. One of his main advisors was Elias Corvinus, a humanist from Bratislava and Vienna whose sixty-one letters to his patron survive from the years between 1557 and 1587. From Corvinus' letters we learn that in the 1570s Batthyány ordered more and more books on alchemy and occult philosophy. We also learn from the correspondence that from 1572 there was an alchemical laboratory in Németújvár. This happened at the same time when another Englishman, young Philip Sidney (what is more, John Dee's own disciple), turned up in Bratislava and took a two week journey to Hungary – most probably to Batthyány's nearby estate. One should also know about Batthyány that his brother in law was Vilém Rožmberk, who hosted Dee and Kelley in Třeboň around 1586. The vehement occult activities at the court of Třeboň should also been mentioned. We find there a workshop of Czech translators being busy with Paracelsus; in the castle archives some Hungarians are also mentioned as famous magi (e.g. Johannes Placotomus; and a certain Dr. Gergeli, the beryllisticus). [35] Beryllistica, or crystal gazing, [36] also known as scrying was the main activity of Dr. Dee and Kelley in East-Central Europe. Scrying was a very popular (although punishable) magic activity, usually employed for less high minded philosophical goals than in the practice of Doc-

[33] Stephanus Weszprémi, *Succinta medicorum Hungarié et Transylvanié Biographia* (1774, Centuria prima (new edition), Budapest: Medicina, 1960), 186-87.

[34] Considerable archival material remained and was first studied by Béla Iványi. Further modern studies: Szabolcs Ö. Barlay, "400 éves francia levelek és könyvszámlák. Jean Aubri és Batthyány Boldizsár barátsága," *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1977): 156-66; idem., "Boldizsár Batthyány und sein Humanisten-Kreis," *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1979): 345-53; Robert J. W. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627* (Oxford: The Past and Present Society, 1975, Supplement 2); Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, 243-44.

tor Dee. Many documents from our region prove the use of crystal gazing, for example a 16th-century manuscript from Debrecen has an impressive anthology of magical prayers and invocations for the purpose of treasure hunting.[37]

Hungarian Alchemists and Medical Doctors

The first internationally famous Hungarian alchemist was a priest from Transylvania, Melchior Cibinensis who composed an alchemical treatise in the form of the Catholic mass: *Processus universalis Via Tinkturae [Rubedinis et Albedinis Alchymicae Artis Magistri, Nicolai Melchioris Cibinensis Transylvani] sub forma Missae [feliciter incipit est]*. This text became a real bestseller in 17th-century alchemical literature; among others Michael Maier published it.[38]

One of the great alchemists of the 17th century was archbishop György Lippay (1600-1666) whose beautifully illustrated manuscript treatise, *Mons Magnesiae, Ex Quo Obscurum sed Verum Subjectum Philosophorum effoditur* survives in the National Library of Vienna and is dedicated to Habsburg Emperor Leopold I. The work is a fascinating and unique Hungarian contribution to the subject of spiritual alchemy, interestingly from a Roman Catholic writer.[39]

Although Lippay was an aristocrat, our data prove that from the second half of the 16th century the students of occult art are increasingly commoners, university graduate pastors, late humanists who had the chance to travel and study in Western Europe. In this category, the diary of János Kolozsvári-Cementes is a rare monument of cultural history from the 1570s and 1580s. This is the first summary of the theory and practice of alchemical transmutation in Hungarian. He was a supervisor of the royal mines in Transylvania and ended up as the treasurer of the Transylvanian prince and Polish king, Stephen Batory.[40]

This is the period when the debates over Paracelsus and his occult medicine prevailed in Central-Europe. Although in Hungary no translations were made, in Gergely Frankovich's magical "serapium-ointment" (the recipe was published in his Hungarian medical book in 1588) one can detect Paracelsian overtones.[41]

The debates over Paracelsus spilled over to the seventeenth century: in 1628 István Váradi Vásárhelyi argued against him, while Máté Csanaki in his book on the plague claimed that the disease could be cured by Paracelsian medicine (1634). [42] We can read these remarks in Hungarian, while a Hungarian doctor of Saxon origin, Jo-

[37] A particularly interesting manuscript text from the 17th century was found in Debrecen, containing Hungarian prayers and descriptions of divinatory practices in order to find lost treasures. The material belongs to the family of "Arbatel," or "ars Solomonis," see the modern edition of the text: János Herner and László Szörényi, "A Tudás Könyve. Hasznos útmutató haladó kincsásóknak," in *Collectanea Tiburtiana*, eds. Galavics, Herner, Keserű, 9-35. Other magical manuscripts in the National Library in Budapest (OSZK) are Quart. Lat. 1509 (Arbatel de magia, 16th century – this was copied even in the 18th century!); Fol. Lat. 3499 (Paracelsus, Archidoxis magica, 17th century copy); Oct. Hung 1924 ([Pater Eduardus], Arcanum Jesuiticum, 19th century copy in Hungarian!); etc.

[38] Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták*, 310-25; see also Benedek Láng's PhD thesis, “Readers of Magic Texts and Handbooks in Central Europe (15th Century),” Chapter 4.3, "Alchemy."

[39] Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták*, 213-29; László Móra and Lippay György (1600-1666), accessed 29 March 2005, available from http://www.kfki.hu/chemonet/hun/mvm/arc/lippay.html. A Hungarian translation of Lippay's treatise can be found in Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár, Budapest, MS 09/1417.

[40] Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták*, 111-29.

[41] Mária Szlatky, "Utószó és jegyzetek," in *"Minden doktorságot csak ebből késértek": Szemelvények orvosi kézikönyvekből*, ed. Szlatky (Budapest: Magvető, 1983, Magyar Hírmondó), 397, 427.

hann Puecher praised Paracelsus and van Helmont in his Latin treatise, *Vera relatio de virtute & efficatia pulveris hermetici & aquae lunaris*, (Trencsén, 1646, Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok 3, 2154).

Some Hungarian alchemists even made a career abroad. Two examples: Johannes Banffy Hunyades from Transylvania became the main chemical assistant in London's Gresham College in the 1620s; Márton Szepsi Csombor, a famous Hungarian traveller and travel writer held a public alchemical dispute in Gdansk, 1617.[43]

Hungarians in fact took part in university debates, scholarly disputes all over Europe. One of the local centres for Central-Europe was the University of Wittenberg, where the Hungarian students of the famous Silesian professor, Daniel Sennert, often wrote their theses on occult-hermetic topics.[44] Another outstanding professor of the University of Wittenberg was Jan Jesensky (Johannes Jessenius, 1566-1621) who, although of Slovakian birth, liked to refer to himself as "eques Ungarus," a Hungarian nobleman. He is most famous for his public anatomical dissection in Prague (1600) but his esoteric interests reach back to his youth when he had studied in Padua under the guidance of Francesco Patrizi. While already at the University of Wittenberg, he rewrote Patrizi's main hermetic work, *Nova de universis philosophia* under the title *Zoroaster – Nova, brevis veraque de universo Philosophia* (Wittenberg, 1593). In this he defended Copernicus' heliocentrism, albeit with the vocabulary and rhetoric of the hermetic-organic natural philosophy. Reading this little book one can see how the thought of Ficino and Pico found new expression through the pen of a Central-European humanist, recreating old ideas as well as offering new insights.[45]

Important Foreigners Connecting Hungary to International Late-hermeticism

Since I cannot deliver here a full catalogue, let me conclude the summary of the 17th century by mentioning some famous philosophers and scientists who – while exercising influence all over Central-Europe and even beyond – temporarily settled in Hungary and contributed to the variety of intellectual life here. Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638), the universalistic philosopher and the author of the well-known encyclopaedia accepted the invitation of the Transylvanian Prince, Gabriel Bethlen, and he devoted the last eleven years of his life to teaching and research at the College of Alba Iulia. His Latin grammar was the most popular Hungarian textbook published in the

[43] On Banffy Hunyades [=János Bánfihunyadi] see John H. Appleby, "Arthur Dee and Johannes Banfi Hunyades: Further Information on their Alchemical and Professional Activities," *Ambix* 24 (1977): 96-109; George Gömöri, "New Information on János Bánfihunyadi's Life," *Ambix* 24 (1977): 170-4; on Szepsi Csombor see Sándor Iván Kovács and Péter Kulcsár, "Szepsi Csombor Márton ismeretlen értekezése," *Acta Historia Litteraria Hungariae* 12 (Szeged, JATE, 1972). Szepsi's work was published in Gdansk, 1617 under the title *Disputatio physica de metallis [. . .] sub praesidio clarissimi ac doctissimi viri dn. d. Adriani Pauli phys. ac metaph. p. p. publico disquirentium examini ac placidae ventilationi committit, simulque pro ingenii sui lance defendere conabitur Martinus Czombor Szepsino-Ungarus* (RMK 3, 7547).

[44] These disputations can be found in the "Na Piasku" library of the University of Wrocław. For details see the bibliographies of old Hungarian prints (as mentioned in Note 13, e.g. RMK 3, 950).

[45] On Jessenius see the monograph of László Ruttkay, *Jeszenszky (Jessenius) János és kora: 1566-1621* (Budapest: Semmelweiss Orvostörténeti Múzeum és Könyvtár, 1971) and my paper, "Scientific and Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II," in Eliška Fučíková, James Bradburn et alii, eds., *Rudolf II and Prague. The Court and the City* (London / Prague: Thames & Hudson / Skira, 1997), 223-31.

17th century, but as we know from the recent research of Márton Szentpéteri, his other works produced in Transylvania meant an attempt to revive the occult mnemonics of Ramon Lull in a modernized form.[46]

Alsted's younger colleague was Heinrich Bisterfeld (1605-55), another guest professor at Prince Bethlen's academy in Alba Iulia, who, while also acting as the Prince's diplomat, actively engaged in the mystical and chiliastic speculations of the period.[47] The greatest chiliast of the mid-century was the famous Czech educator and globetrotter, Johann Amos Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský), who had been Alsted's student in Herborn, later travelled all over Europe, mixing an enlightened educational philosophy with esoteric expectations about the end of the world, and the Second Coming. As a member of the Czech Brethren, he not only studied the Bible for proofs about the final victory of Protestantism, but he was also looking for prophets, who "could speak in tongues" about the revelation. This is how he had discovered Christopher Kotter whose prophecies he interpreted as messages about the Thirty Years' War. From 1650 to 1654 he was serving the Rákóczi House (princes of Transylvania) in Hungary and while he organized the College in Sárospatak and wrote his revolutionary schoolbook, the *Orbis sensualium pictus*,[48] he discovered another Czech seer, Mikuláš Drábik, whose prophecies he interpreted in the context of the political program of the Rákóczis. When he had to move on and finally ended up in England, he published these mystical prophecies in a collection titled *Lux in tenebris* (London, 1657).[49]

Late Occultists and Hermeticists in the 18th Century

Historical anthropology reminds the researcher that the ideology of local communities cannot be examined and judged exclusively on the basis of the main and most important trends of a period. If we looked at 18th-century East-Central-Europe with the French Enlightenment in mind, we could easily disregard a number of valuable and intriguing phenomena, for example the works of such Hungarians, as János Wallaszkay, Dávid Gömöry, or János Molnár.

Wallaszkay (1709-1767) was a distinguished physician in Pest who had studied in Germany where he had become a Rosicrucian and a professed alchemist. He had a laboratory in the house of the famous historian, Matthias Bel with whom he discussed "the secrets of Hermes." His surviving manuscript works are fascinating documents of the "shadowy side" of the Age of Reason.[50] Wallaszkay had a friend, Dávid Gömöry, who engaged in alchemical studies in his elderly years and left behind an amazing amount of Latin manuscript material, mostly philosophical and hermetic treatises, such

[46] Márton Szentpéteri, "A grammatika oktatásának kombinatorikus módszere Johann Alsted gyulafehérvári rudimentáiban," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102, no. 3-4 (1998): 437-59.

[47] See Noémi Viskolcz, *Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld (1605-1655) bibliográfia: a Bisterfeld-könyvtár* (Budapest: OSZK; Szeged: Scriptum, 2003).

[49] On Comenius and his chiliastic schemes see Katalin Péter, "Der rosenkreuzerische Patriotismus. Die Verbreitung der Ideen der Rosenkreuzer in Mittel- und Osteuropa," in *Das Ende der Renaissance: Europäische Kultur um 1600* (Vorträge herausgegeben von A. Buck und T. Klaniczay. Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, Band 6, 1987), 125-133; Szőnyi, *Titkos tudományok és babonák*, 134; Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Englightenment*, 158ff and some of the essays in the collection: V. Busek ed., *Comenius* (New York: Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America, 1972).

[50] On Wallaszkay see Stephanus Weszprémi, *Succinta medicorum Hungarié et Transylvanié Biographia*, 46; István Torda, *Magyar aranycsinálók. Írások az alkímiáról a felvilágosodás korából* (Budapest: Magvető, Magyar Hírmondó, 1980) 288; Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták*, 81-88.

as *Chaos confusum occultae Naturae distinguibile problematice definitum* (1775), or *De symbolica Macrocosmi et Microcosmi consideratione Tractatus problematicus [...] secundum Hermetem*. It seems he was the most learned Hungarian hermeticist who ever lived, he extensively used such occult philosophers as Athanasius Kircher and Robert Fludd – it is a pity he did not live a century earlier.[51]

My last 18th-century Hungarian example at least was lucky enough to get his works published. The Jesuit polyhistor, János Molnár (1728-1804) studied theology in Graz and in Trnava but he was also interested in the natural sciences. Thus he became a full professor of "philosophia, theologia, Latin, Greek and physics" at the University of Buda. His main work – *Régi jeles épületekről* [*Of Old and Significant Edifices*] published in Trnava in 1760 – is an antiquarian study of cultural history, fused with a testimony for the hermetic philosophy. He discusses the most famous buildings of Antiquity, the pyramids and the hieroglyphic-decorated obelisks of Egypt, the hanging garden of Semiramis, the Tower of Babel, even Noah's Ark. The argumentation is clearly influenced by Athanasius Kircher's famous works. Molnár refers to Hermes Trismegistus as a real historical person, admires the hieroglyphs as occult symbols (mind you we are still before Champollion!), speculates on the language of Adam in Paradise, etc.

Again, we cannot help wishing that he had lived a century earlier. But even from the 18th century it is exciting to get acquainted with the last polymath, a somewhat anachronistic representative of the great tradition, who at the same time created a fine Hungarian language to express esoteric ideas.[52]

Secret Societies in Early Modern Hungary

The last topic to be mentioned in connection with early modern occultism in East-Central Europe is the history of private academies and secret societies. In Hungary we have few traces of these organizations, probably because of the underdeveloped intellectual infrastructure mentioned at the beginning of my paper.

In the late 15th century we know about the *Sodalitas litteraria Hungarorum* and the *Sodalitas litteraria Danubiana* which were established by the wandering German humanist, Conrad Celtis and – as much as we know – did not restrict its activity to the development of poetry, it also included and attracted natural philosophers and scientists.[53]

In the 16th century the most important effort to create such a society in Hungary seems to be "the Giordanisti," the followers of Giordano Bruno. One should not imagine a coherent organization here either, we only know about some Hungarian magnates and humanists who studied abroad – in Italy and in Germany – and there became acquainted with some representatives of the international "Giordanisti."[54]

In the early 17th century it were the Lutheran Rosicrucians who stirred up the intellectual climate of Europe. It is still uncertain whether an organized Rosicrucian So-

[51] On Gömöry see Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták*, 160-84.
[52] On Molnár see György E. Szőnyi, "An Early Hungarian Hermetist-Semiotician: János Molnár," in *For Vilmos Voigt, special issue of Semiotica*, ed. Jeff Bernard, vol. 128, no. 3-4 (2000): 561-81.
[53] On Celtis and his connections with the secret sciences see Benedek Láng's cited dissertation (Note 21) “Readers of Magic Texts and Handbooks in Central Europe (15th Century)”, Chapter 8 and the Conclusion.
[54] Jenő Koltay-Kastner, "Amici, nemici e studiosi di Giordano Bruno in Ungheria," *Rivista di filosofia* 42, no. .3 (1951): 9-12; and Evans, *Rudolf II*, 230.

ciety existed at all in those days – Comenius as well as Descartes certainly showed great interest in them – we nevertheless have one Hungarian late humanist, András Prágai, who after his student years in Germany returned to Transylvania with a nice little collection of Rosicrucian literature and occult books.[55]

The 18th-century inheritors of the Rosicrucians were the Freemasons, and they formed the first systematically organized Hungarian secret society. Here we again have to acknowledge the belated character of Hungarian intellectual history – I suppose similar conclusions can be drawn about the other East-Central European countries –, however, it should also be noted that although being late and imitating Western Europe, all the most important intellectual trends can be found in our region too – and this includes the phenomena of esotericism and hermeticism.[56]

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After the rather sketchy and definitely incomplete chronological survey we can claim without hesitation that the occult sciences were present in early modern Hungary as well as in contemporary East-Central Europe and their trends and tendencies show close parallels with that of Western Europe. The further study of these phenomena thus will contribute not only to a better understanding of our cultural heritage but also to seeing more clearly the exchange of ideas across the Continent.

[55] See György E. Szőnyi, "Mannerist Imagery and Thinking in the Prose of András Prágai (17th century translator of Guevara's Dial of Princes)," *Acta Litteraria* 26, no. 1-2 (1984): 207-32.
[56] On the 18th-century Hungarian Rosicrucians see Sándor Eckhardt, "Magyar rózsakeresztesek," *Minerva* 1 (1922); Szathmáry, *Magyar alkémisták*, 129-60.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF ALCHEMY IN SLOVAKIA

MILOŠ JESENSKÝ

The theme of the history of alchemy is usually neglected by historians in Slovakia or regarded in the context of the history of science and technology as marginal. However, irrespective of this point of view, it is possible to record the existence of alchemy, regarded in the literature of the time sometimes as an art (*ars*) and sometimes as a science (*scientia*), and its turbulent flourishing in the Renaissance period and later, whether in European or Slovak history. It had an important influence on contemporary society, including science, culture and politics and analysis of this area would require more detailed research. There are various works devoted to aspects of this problem in Slovakia, dealing with alchemy in the context of the history of the natural sciences in Slovakia, but a general work summarizing the partial findings has not been published so far, in contrast to Czech and Polish historiography.

From the beginning, alchemy was shaped by two very closely connected components: technical (laboratory work with various chemical substances, the theory of their mutual interaction) and world-view, connecting it mainly with various mystical and religious currents. Although the relationship between these components substantially changed in the course of development, this paper will focus on alchemy from the factual point of view, mainly giving a historical evaluation in the framework of the development of the natural sciences in the territory of Slovakia, and giving attention to at least some of the epistemological questions connected with the esoteric character of this subject.

The period of alchemy has an essential place in the history of the natural sciences and technology. The study of its history is not only the collection of facts connected with important phenomena in medieval culture, it is also one of the ways of identifying the factors, which influenced the development and function of science in our territory.

Alchemy in Slovakia was not isolated either temporally or geographically. While studying its special character, we must also consider the history of alchemy in Europe. This is necessary both from the point of view of overall development and of geographical location. This approach is still more important because many foreign alchemists visited the territory of Slovakia and their visits cannot be separated from their activities in other regions.

The Chronology of Alchemy in Slovakia

Radoslav Fundárek was one of the first to attempt a periodisation of the history of alchemy in the territory of Slovakia in a work from 1974.[1] This author speaks of two basic stages, but in the case of the first period he left out the dating of its beginning, that is the date from which we can talk about the beginnings of alchemy in Slovakia.

[1] Radoslav Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku," in *Z dejín vied a techniky na Slovensku VII*. (Bratislava: Veda, 1974), 19-20.

The second period, from the end of the 16th to the end of the 18th century, is excessively simplified considering the very different characteristics in the development of alchemy during this period in the territory of Slovakia. It is the period of naturalistic alchemy, the closest to domestic conditions and practical demands, as well as being already the period of revivalist tendencies, which strengthened the symbolic-practical aspects of alchemy as a starting point for the directions of illusory practice: astrology, magic and Hermetism in general. Both these aspects are placed along side each other in one time period.

A decade later, Ivan Ponduša proposed a chronology of the development of alchemy in the Spiš region, but with some adjustments we can use it for the whole territory of Slovakia in the following way:[2] The first stage can be dated from the beginning of the 14th century to the middle of the 16th century. The activity of aquarers developed, and activities were undertaken in which the adepts of alchemy could show real results, as in the fields of dyes, glass making and metalurgy. There were efforts to combine alchemy with „craft," as in the cases of Bartholomes Alchimista from Kežmarok before 1440 and the alchemical experiments of the Carthusian monks from the monastery of *Lapis refugii* (*Skala útočišťa*) as an example of laboratory work in the context of a monastic community. These efforts mostly had an anonymous character. Usually it was a matter of activity with a pragmatic aim, behind which especially the efforts of foreigners were hidden. The secretive atmosphere often gave real or supposed adepts of alchemy an often justified reputation of being counterfeiters or wandering charlatans.

The second stage, lasting from the second half of the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century, is characterized above all by the increased interest of foreign alchemists in the territory of Slovakia, the re-discovery of the alleged "cementation waters" at Smolník, intensive extraction of ore and precious metals, study by people from Slovakia/Hungary at universities in Western Europe, especially in Germany and their activity in Slovakia, the journeys of Paracelsus to Bratislava and central Slovakia and of the English alchemists Dee and Kelley to Kežmarok, the appearance of the first town physicians and apothecaries and alchemical interests supposed among goldsmiths. This stage is characteristic by an interest in the use of practical aspects of alchemy, drawing it out of anonymity and adapting it to the needs of the time.

The third stage, lasting from the beginning of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century brought revitalising tendencies to the conception of alchemy as a Hermetic science, which gradually lost its justification as a practical science and found enthusiastic supporters in the ranks of the secret societies, especially the mystical brotherhood of the Rose and Cross – the Rosicrucians. This stage in the development of Slovak alchemy is unique in that it continues into the period of the birth of the phlogiston, oxidation and atomic theories. This last stage led to the Hermetic philosophy of the 18th and 19th centuries and the preference for the mystical component among the last Slovak adepts in alchemy during the 18th and 19th centuries.

[2] Ivan Ponduša, "Príspevok k dejinám alchýmie v Kežmarku," *Historica Carpatica,* no. 15 (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1984): 235-253.

The Beginnings of Alchemy in the Monasteries and Towns

The earliest so-far known beginnings of alchemy in Slovakia are recorded in documents from the 15th and 16th centuries, according to which it was cultivated in the Carthusian monasteries in the Spiš region. In 1475, a monk in the Carthusian monastery founded in 1299 on the *Skala útočišťa* (*Lapis refugii*) near Letanovce, wrote a record of the activity of the prior John from Transylvania, who was intensively concerned with alchemy.[3] The motive of his experiments with transforming base metals into precious metals was, above all, poverty and the severe economic depression of the monastery after the raids of the Hussite armies, especially in 1433 and 1453. These experiments were very expensive. According to a Spiš chronicle that evaluates the activity of prior John: *"He wasted the whole property of his brother monks, melted the gold, changed silver into smoke, impoverished the monastery and so he had to be removed from office."* [4]

In the 16th century, the monk Martin Kasperborovič carried out alchemical experiments in the monastery of Červený Kláštor in the Pieniny mountains. After the dissolution of the monastery, he fled to Olomouc because of fear of persecution, taking his laboratory equipment and vessels from his workshop, which was located in the bottom of an old tower. Before leaving, he passed on his knowledge and rich practical experience to Andreas Smoczki, who will be mentioned again below.[5]

Apart from the closed environment of monastic communities, inhabitants of Slovak towns also concerned themselves with alchemy in this period. The first mention of the existence of a laboratory comes from Bratislava in 1310. Bratislava, the social and cultural centre of Upper Hungary, was later the home of several alchemical groups and workshops.[6] In eastern Slovakia, written records survive of the activities of alchemists in Kežmarok and Bardejov.[7]

The Tax Register (*Steuerregister*) of the royal borough of Kežmarok from 1434-1444 mentions Bartholomes, called Acialus, an inhabitant of the seventh ward of the

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[3] *Post hunc praesuit D. Johannes de Transilvania, Monachus Professus in Maurtacho, qui per alchymiam, et quintam essentiam consumpsint omnem substantiam, conflavit aurum, et dissipavit argentum...*, Carolus Wagner, *Analecta scepusii Sacri et Profani. Pars II.* (Viennae: typis Joann. Thomae nob. de Trattnern, 1774), 77.

[4] Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster and Arné Kauffmann, eds., *Hain Gáspár Lőcsei krónikája* (Lőcse: Reiss, 1910-1913), 90-91.

[5] Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku," 22. From Smoczki manuscript *Vade mecum et ego tecum*: "Monachi in monasterio Lechnic´wnie dzeczy hoc laborarunt tempore Matthiae rege ibitum modernis temporibus in loco abstruso a Martino Kasperborovič haec practica inuenta, cum suis instrumentis atque Olomucium ab ipso translata propter tempestates Regni Ungariae." (fol. 229).

[6] One of them was located under Michael´s gate (*Michalská brána*) in the rooms of the historic „Red Crayfish" (*U červeného raka*) pharmacy, where some of its parts are still preserved in the exhibition of the pharmacy museum. Other workshops were located at Michalská street no. 17 in the so-called Segner kúria, at Dlhá street no.15, on Zámocká street and the area below the castle (*Podhradie*).

[7] According to Ivan Ponduša, "Príspevok k dejinám alchýmie v Kežmarku," 235-253, there are rather unclear mentions of alchemical workshops in the Upper Spiš region from the end of the 15th century, but above all from the 16th-18th centuries and even from the beginning of the 19th century, as in the case of the mansion house of the Doleviczényi family in Slovenská Ves. In the surroundings of Kežmarok, alchemical workshops could be found in Ľubica, Huncovce, Spišská Bela and Lomnička (J. S. Kriebel). There were also alchemists in Spišská Nová Ves (Andreas Smoczki, 16th century) and Levoča (the rector of the Lyceum Eliáš Chrastina, 18th century).

town, in 1435. Five years later he is already recorded in a list as *Bartholomes Alchimista*. He appears for the last time in the list of taxpayers from 1448, and then disappears without trace.[8] According to archive records from 1442, the town council of Bardejov rewarded the citizen of the town John the Apothecary with two florins for concerning himself with the secret art that is with alchemy.[9]

The experts in alchemy of the time gradually concentrated at the court of Matthias Corvinus (1443-1490), crowned King of Hungary in 1458. Corvinus intensively corresponded with the Italian alchemist Marsilio Ficino, who dedicated one of his works to the king. During the reign of Corvinus, Professor Johannes Müller Regiomontanus (1436-1476) worked at the Academia Istropolitana. As a polyhistor, he also concerned himself with research into alchemy.

The book *Vade mecum et ego tecum* is regarded as the oldest manuscript documenting the activity of alchemists in the territory of Slovakia. Its author is Andreas Smoczki ("*Andreas Smoczki Syraconiensis organista, polonus*"), who is known to have come to Spišská Nová Ves about 1563 and to have worked there as an organist.[10] Smoczki is thought to have been concerned with alchemy already before he came to the territory of eastern Slovakia. In the Spiš region, he deliberately sought a place with a tradition of alchemy. He discovered hematite south of Spišská Nová Ves and wrote that it stopped bleeding. He also took an interest in the mines at Smolník.[11] A noteworthy part of the text consists of old recipes, according to Smoczki used by monks in a monastery during the reign of King Matthias (1458-1490). They intensively sought a way to produce the "philosophers' stone," and even claimed that they knew how to produce better gold with higher purity than the Hungarian standard.

A further important alchemical manuscript is the fragment of an alchemical miscellany of Franciscan origin, deposited in the Literary Archive of Matica Slovenská. Three folios of the codex are written in a humanist cursive hand from the 16th century. The text written in Czech on folio 3 enables us to suppose their origin in the domestic environment.[12] The Szirmay library of the Evangelical College in Prešov has a further important manuscript *Alchidemia magistri Friderici ae de ferrea porta* from 1573, but with texts from other years included. According to the title page, the author is the al-

[8] Regional archive in Poprad, Tax Register (*Daňová kniha*) of free royal town Kežmarok from years 1434-1444 (no. IB-13), fol. 116b, 173b and 174a.

[9] János Baradlai and Elemér Bársony, *A magyarországi gyógyszerészet története az ősidőktől a mai napig* (Budapest: Magyarországi Gyógyszerész Egyesület, 1930), 60; László Szathmáry, *Magyar alkemisták* (Budapest: K. M. Természettudományi Társulat, 1928), 17.

[10] *Vade mecum et ego tecum*, 1563-1568, no. 186, 237 ff., Lycealarchiv Kesmark, on f. 1: *Hunc librum habeo a Andrea Smochio organista.*

[11] Smoczki wrote his manuscript after 1563, as is shown by his record on fol. 86r, where he writes about the work of Gianbattista de la Porta *Magia naturalis*, published in Antwerp in 1567. He bought it in Krakow because he needed it for his experiments. Smoczki's Vademecum is a compilation of older authors, as was usual in those times. Apart from de la Porta, he mentions Avicenna, Albertus Magnus (c. 1193-1280), Roger Bacon (1214-1294), Raymund Lull (1232/35-1315), Arnaldo de Villanova (1235/48-1313/14), Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and Bernard of Trevisano (1406-1490).

[12] Július Sopko, *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1986).

chemist Joannes Sobieslavensis,[13] on whom no biographical details have been discovered up to now.[14]

The Visits of Paracelsus to Slovakia

In the 16th century, the territory of Slovakia attracted the interest of various foreign alchemists, who came here during their study tours or offered to work at aristocratic courts. Reports about the discovery of the Smolník "cement water" (*Zementwasser*) with allegedly miraculous powers connected with the transmutation of metals excited the scholarly public in the whole of Europe. The "cement water" from Smolník contained copper sulphate, which broke up in the presence of iron to produce metallic copper. Various authors wrote about the wonderful properties of the Smolník mineral water, including Basilius Valentinus, Georgius Agricola (1494-1555), Jacobus Tollius, Andreas Baccius, physician Daniel Geyer-Waldmann from Bratislava and Andreas Smoczki.[15]

In 1557, the German spagyric physician and alchemist Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim (1493-1541) was the guest of Bratislava town council. His visit is also recorded in the town account book, since he was entertained at the expense of the town. According to contemporary sources, we know that the famous physician was welcomed outside the town gate by delegates from the town council and accommodated in the house of the most honoured citizen Blasius Beheim on the town hall square.[16] Perhaps they were not honouring Paracelsus the physician so much as Paracelsus the alchemist. The wealth-seeking town councillors were expecting him to make gold or betray the secret of transmutation.[17]

Paracelsus made another less famous journey in 1521, to the mining towns of central and eastern Slovakia. He mentioned the transmutation powers of the Smolník water in a short account "De Tinctura Physicorum," in which he wrote: *"In Hungary there are farmers, who change iron in the local water, which they call the Spiš*

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[13] *"Anno Domini 1573 Joannes Sobieslavensis scripsit."* Joannes Sobieslavensis may have come from the Czech town of Soběslav, to which the most frequently used form Sobieslavský would correspond, or from the Slovak village of Sebeslavce, today part of Blatnica. The manuscript is not an original work, but a compilation of existing alchemical recipes and mining exploration records from the 16th century.

[14] The work also mentions another alchemist of Slovak origin Mikuláš Kremnický from 1545 on page 70. E. Lazar, "Alchidemia 1573. Slovenská alchymistická pamiatka," in *Z dejín vied a techniky na Slovensku V.* (Bratislava: Veda, 1969), 475, 481-513.

[15] Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (Basel: J. Froben and N. Episopius, 1556), Jacobus Tollius, *Epistolae itinerariae itenerariae* (Amsterdam: F. Halma, veneunt in officina Joannis ab Oosterwyk, 1700), Andreas Baccius, *De Thermis* (Venice, 1571), Georgius Wernher, *De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation* (Basel, 1549), David Fröhlich, *Medulla geographiae practicae* (Bardejov: J. Klöss junior, 1639).

[16] Municipal archive in Bratislava, *Kammerbuch 1437-1438*, f. 106: "Item Freitag vor Michaelis haben die Hern Doctor Theophrastum pei Her Blaszy Beham zu gast gehalten. Zu zwaien Tischen pei ainander gewesen vnd Chamerer kaufft Visch zum sieden, bachen, praten per II taler II Schilling umb Semeln, Wein, Gries, Milch, Air, Kreussen, Kraut, Peterszil, der Frawen vmb Essich X taler, III lib. Schmaltz, Ops, Käs vnd der Kochin zu Lon XXIIII den., pracht alles IIII taler VII Schilling XVIII Denar."

[17] This aspect of the activity of the burghers is accurately revealed by the legend that Paracelsus carried out an illusory experiment with the palingenesis of flowers in the ceremonial hall of the town hall. Allegedly he burnt a red rose, which changed into ash, on which he worked with various tinctures until a rose appeared again in the experimental vessel. This arose from the ash of the one burnt earlier. His exhibition of alchemy ended effectively with his disappearance. His figure dissolved into the air. Allegedly he did this to avoid the greed of the Bratislava burghers, who wanted him to make gold.

wells."[18] The Englishman John Merin mentioned the circumstances of Paracelsus' visit to Central Slovakia in his account of travels. He stated that: "*The famous Paracelsus also spent some time in Banská Bystrica,"* where he stopped on the way to Transylvania. He established a laboratory in the town and did experiments with sulphuric acid, antimony, mercury, copper, silver and gold. He lived in the house of a local goldsmith.[19]

Dee and Kelley in Kežmarok

Information about the visit of the two famous English alchemists Dr. John Dee (1527-1607), court astrologer to the Emperor Rudolf II and Edward Kelley must be considered noteworthy. They visited Kežmarok during their journey to the court of the nobleman Olbracht Łaski.[20] Ponduša dates the coming of the English scholars to Kežmarok to the second half of 1583, but does not exclude a date in the period 22nd-25th April 1584. However, as Ponduša observes, this information is inaccurate, since it was concerned with Albert and not Hieronymus, and these findings are only a very weak indication on the stay of the two Elizabethan alchemists. Information has also appeared about an earlier visit by Doctor John Dee to the territory of Slovakia, when the Lord Chancellor Francis Walsingham (1532-1590) entrusted him with participating in the coronation celebrations of Maximilian II in Bratislava on 8th September 1563. As he wrote in his travel diary in a supplementary record from 10th October 1563: "Therefore, I found myself in Bratislava for the coronation of the Austrian Emperor Maximilian II."[21]

Peter Rosenauer and His Contemporaries

Sometime in this period, the Bratislava gentleman Stephen de Liszty from the family of the Palatine Thurzo took up the secret art of alchemy. After studying at Italian and German universities, Liszty was in close contact with the Prague alchemists and he very often travelled to that city of a hundred towers. On one of these visits, he also got to know Edward Kelley and endeavoured to learn much from him. Liszty lived at Laurinská Street 15 in Bratislava, where he established a laboratory regarded by many superstitious citizens as an "infernal kitchen." The Palatine of Hungary later had Liszty imprisoned on the basis of an accusation that he had counterfeited coins. Liszty spent several years in prison and spent his old age in seclusion with his relations in their mansion at Kopčany.[22]

Kremnica and Banská Štiavnica in central Slovakia were frequently visited by domestic and foreign alchemists, above all, as places where precious metals were mined. For example, in 1585, the Margrave of Brandenburg Johann Georg sent two

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[18] ..*Rustici quidem in Hungaria, cum ferrum suo tempore prouciemt in fontem quendam vulgari nomine Zippser brunnen,* quoted according to Ivan Ponduša, *Príspevok k dejinácm alchýmie v Kežmarku*, 241, who quotes Paracelsus, *De tinctura Physicorum I.: Archidoxorum libri* (in Lyceum Library in Kežmarok, no. 21121).

[19] Ján Tibenský, *Dejiny vedy a techniky na Slovensku* (Martin: Osveta, 1979), 52.

[20] Ponduša, "Príspevok k dejinám alchýmie v Kežmarku," 240-245.

[21] Claude Postel, *John Dee: Mág ze Zlaté uličky* (Czech translation of *John Dee: Le Mage de la ruelle d´or, Les Belles Lettres,* Paris, 1995 by Anna Hánová, Praha: Lidové noviny, 1996), 49.

[22] *Pyramída, encyklopedický časopis moderného človeka*, no. 4 (1970): 97-98 (entry Alchýmia).

adepts in alchemy, Alexander Blinking from Strasbourg and Vincent Reuss from Halle, to investigate the mineral wealth of the central Slovak mines. They came to Banská Štiavnica on 25th November 1585. While under the influence of alcohol, they quarrelled and Blinking killed Reuss. Blinking was arrested and executed with the agreement of the ruler of Brandenburg. Analysis of the historical circumstances has shown that the alchemist Leonard Thurneysser was responsible for initiating this unfortunate study visit. He worked at the court of the ruler of Brandenburg and had also visited the central Slovak mining towns.[23]

Peter Rosenauer worked as a goldsmith at Kremnica in the 16th century. He also concerned himself with experimental alchemy in connection with his profession.[24] He became the author of the alchemical text published under the name *Pandora*, which is a typical example of the difficulty of ascertaining the authorship of this type of work.[25] In the literature, we can encounter the view that Rosenauer "in 1599 copied the anonymous alchemical work published in 1582 in Basel under the name Pandora."[26] Without regard for the disputes around the origin of Rosenauer's work, his "Pandora" text remains a text from this region presenting the views of Paracelsus on the composition of matter, Aristotle's teaching on the four basic principles of the existence of matter and the approaches of Alexandrian and Arab alchemy. Apart from alchemical symbolism and mystical theories, the work also contains Paracelsus' recommendations for the preparations of medicines from mineral materials and the use of chemical preparations in medicinal practice.

Alchemy in the Period of the Estates Uprisings

The 17th century is often regarded as the period of the culmination of "classical" alchemy and so it is natural that many more manuscripts testifying to the presence of domestic adepts of alchemy have survived in the studied territory. They included especially the Archbishop of Esztergom Count George Lippay. He was born in Bratislava in 1600, studied in Vienna and in Graz he gained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the basis of a dissertation with the title *Theatrum philosophy*. He became Archbishop of Esztergom in 1642 with his seat in Trnava, where he died on 30th January in 1666. He was the author of an original alchemical work with the title *Mons magnesiae ex quo obscurur sed verum subjectum philosophorum effoditur et expresse denominatur*, which originated after 1657 and was dedicated to the Emperor Leopold I (1657-1705). This work richly drew on his own practical experience and many years of contact with J. J. Becher (1625-1682) and the alchemists working at the imperial court in Vienna, which he frequently visited because of his office.[27]

Ján Čúzi was another important alchemist. He was born at Lučenec about 1665,

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[23] Radoslav Fundárek, "Alchýmia a alchymisti na Slovensku," *Svet vedy*, no. 16 (1969), 417.

[24] *Slovenský biografický slovník* 5 (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1992), 116.

[25] Jozef Kuzmík, *Slovník autorov slovenských a so slovenskými vzťahmi* za *humanizmu 2. N-Ž* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1976), 636.

[26] Hieronymus Reusner, *Pandora, das ist Gab Gottes, oder der werde und heilsame Stein der Weysen, mit welchem die alten Philosophi, auch Theophrastus Paracelsus, die unvollkommene Metallen durch gewalt des Fewrs verbessert:.*. (Getruckt zu Basel, Durch Sebastianum Henricpetri, Anno MDLXXXII).

[27] Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku," 34-36, Lippay's manuscript is in the National library in Vienna (Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek), no. Codex MS MEDICS.N CCX.

and travelled through almost all of Europe, where he exhibited various curiosities including Siamese twins. He wrote several scientific works and two alchemical texts. The physician and alchemist Dr. Weickhardt Scultetus known as *Caesar Paticarius* worked at the court of Prince Gabriel Bethlen. Bethlen himself took an interest in alchemy and his majordomo Stephen Csáky produced a manuscript at his request – *Gabriel Bethlen's Handbook on Natural Science*. Count Nicholas Bercsényi, a high official of Francis Rákoczi II (1676-1735), also cultivated alchemy. He had a laboratory and a stock of 484 different medicines.

The English alchemist John Merin visited central Slovakia in 1615. He travelled from Vienna to Bratislava and then to Banská Bystrica. He visited the Banská Bystrica, Bocany and Banská Štiavnica mines. At Banská Štiavnica he was an honoured guest of a local alchemy enthusiast, the physician J.D. Ruhland, who sympathized with the doctrines of Paracelsus. Merin stayed at Kremnica from July to December 1615. The account of his travels, published in 1732, states that his friend John Beguin had visited the region three years before him. The Dutch scholar Jakub Tollius came to central Slovakia during a study tour in the 1680s. His findings collected in the form of *Epistulae itinerariae* (Travel Letters), published four years after his death in 1700, were significantly influenced by interest in alchemy.[28] Johann Konrad Richthausen (died 1663) held the office of the count of the chamber in Banská Štiavnica from the middle of the 17th century. He contributed to the development of mining in the territory of today´s Central Slovakia by introducing new technology for the processing of ore. Richthausen became known in alchemical circles by allegedly changing three pounds of mercury into two pounds and eleven lots of gold[29] according to the formula of the French alchemist La Busardier, on 15th January 1648, in Prague Castle, in the presence of the Emperor Ferdinand III. The Emperor had a commemorative 300 ducat coin struck from the gold. In 1653, he granted Richthausen the noble title of *"free lord of Chaos."*[30]

The native of the town of Kežmarok Christian Augustini ab Hortis (1598-1650) worked in Spiš in the first half of the 17th century. After his return to Kežmarok in 1622, he became town physicus. His interest in alchemy is also documented by the manuscript on his research *Medicinae et Chemicae Observationes in Confuso*, preserved in the Kežmarok Lyceum archives.[31] Among other adepts of alchemy we can mention two Evangelical pastors. First was Šimon Bielek from Huncovce, who escaped from the Counter Reformation after 1673 to the High Tatras (*Vysoké Tatry*) mountains, where he established a secret workshop to help his family in conditions of poverty. The second was a teacher and pastor Izaiáš Warmusius, whose fate was de-

[28] Tibenský, *Dejiny vedy a techniky na Slovensku*, 7.

[29] Old measure, 1 lót/lot = 1.5 gram.

[30] Alchemical coins were made from special metals not normally used for coinage, such as paladium or unusual „miraculous" alloys as in this case. No example of Richthausen's commemorative coin has survived, and there is only an illustration of it showing Apollo holding a lyre with seven strings in his right hand and a caduceus with two snakes in his left. Karel Pejml, *Dějiny české alchymie* (Praha: Svaz československého lékárnictva, 1933), 75.

[31] Ponduša, "Príspevok k dejinám alchýmie v Kežmarku," 245; Johann Liptak, *Alchimisten, Goldsucher und Schatzgräber in der Zips* (Kežmarok, 1938), 33.

scribed in detail by Johann Samuel Klein in his book from 1789.[32] In the mid 18th century, especially miners undertook alchemical experiments, and to such an extent that the assembly of the Upper Hungarian mining society in Spišská Nová Ves had to ban experiments by its members in 1768.[33]

Matthias Bel and Vegetable Gold

The development of alchemy in the territory of Slovakia continued in the 18th century and was concentrated mainly in the towns of western and eastern parts. One of the centres of alchemical activity was Bratislava, where Matthias (Matej/Matyás) Bel, Ján Tomka Sásky, János Wallaszkay and Dávid Dávid Gömöri were active. Bel concerned himself with alchemy during his stay in Banská Bystrica and in Bratislava he worked with the physician János Wallaszkay.[34]

The interest of the polyhistor Matthias Bel in alchemy can also be traced in his text *De vino sanctogeorgensi* (On Svätý Jur vine), dated to 1723-1725, where he mentions the problem of so-called vegetable gold (aurum vegetabile). We can recognize in his views a reminiscence of Aristotle's ideas on how metals are formed in the depths of the earth from *"dry and damp water vapours."* From this point of view only gold was regarded as the perfect metal, since it was believed that all others were contaminated by mixing with earth and condensation without a sufficient amount of water. For example, the alchemist Bavor Rodovský of Hustiřan (1526-1599) was a zealous propagator of this bizarre theory, according to which there was a spontaneous process of transformation of base metals into gold in the depths of the earth over a thousand years. In this context it is also possible to mention the view of Chinese alchemists from the 1st century BC that the transformation of minerals into gold took about 2000 years. They believed that if they sealed the entrance of worked out mines and left them for 10 – 15 years, the deposits would be renewed. Even in the time of Matthias Bel there was a wide-spread idea that metals, especially gold, grow like plants and they were compared to vines and cereals. Bel himself wrote: *"something miraculous happens in Hungarian vineyards. They grow amazingly and gold grows with them."*[35] He also cites the older humanist and chronicler Petrus Ransanus (1420-1492), the Neapolitan ambassador to Hungary and author of the *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* (A Concise History of Hungary), according to which they collect in the vineyards gold rods as long as a finger or half a foot and allegedly use them for healing warts. The Italian humanist Marzio Galeotti gives testimony in a similar spirit.[36]

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[32] Johann Samuel Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen und Schriften evangelischer Prediger in allen Gemeinendes Königreichs Ungarn* (Leipzig und Ofen: Diepold und Lindauer, 1789), 514 – 520.

[33] A. Munnich, *Geschichte der oberungarischen Waldburgerschaft* (Igló, 1895).

[34] Bel´s manuscript is deposited in the collection of manuscripts in the National Széchenyi library (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár or OSzK in short) in Budapest, no. Oct. lat.92. It contains records of experiments done by Wallaszkay from January 1746. Apart from the procedures, much space is devoted to accounts inspired by the authorities: J.F. Buddeus, J. Philalet, J.B. Grosschedel, Martin Ruhland and others. Lippay´s manuscript is part of the collection in the National library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna, no. Codex MS MEDICS.N CCX. Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku," 34-36, 47.

[35] J. Ging, "Aurum vegetabile," *Spravodaj vlastivedného krúžku pri Vlastivednom múzeu vo Zvolene* 2, no. 3 (1962).

[36] Marzio Galeotti, *De homini libri du*o. There is a mention about his treatise *De egregie, sapienter et iocose dictis ac factis Matthiae regis*.

One of the most interesting cases concerns the alleged finding in 1718 of a bunch of grapes with grains of gold the size of millet in the Tokaj district, since Bel appears as an eyewitness. Bel attempts to explain the phenomenon of vegetable gold in §8 of his work by adapting the view of Caspar Ens that *"natural gold occurs underground in a solid state. It is mysteriously sucked up into the roots of the vines and when they bud, thanks to the miraculous laws of nature and the constellation of the stars, the gold bursts out and so shoots and leaves of gold appear."* However, Bel cautiously leaves the whole matter for judgement *"by those, who do not want to wonder at anything, but are accustomed to more deeply study the causes of everything."*[37] Bel mentions further finds of vegetable gold while describing the counties of Turiec and Zvolen. Finds of gold wire and rings during the harvest were already recorded in 1723. The last find from 1857 had the form of twenty-four carat gold wire. Similar gold artefacts were also found on hills and in fields between Sliač, Zvolen and Lieskovec.[38] During the harvesting of grain at Kežmarok in 1718, they found a piece of gold, which was reported by contemporary sources as having grown naturally. Two further pieces of alleged vegetable gold were found in the Kežmarok area in the 1770s. The farmers presented one piece to the Empress Maria Theresa. In 1760, a shepherd found a gold wire in the form of a caterpillar on Ostrá hôrka [Sharp Hill] near town Sabinov. It was also thought to be vegetable gold.

How can we explain these mysterious finds, which made contemporary authors resort to alchemical terminology? Most were probably archaeological finds – fragments of ornaments or jewellery made from gold of high purity, often without deliberate alloying with other metals. Alloying of gold was already known in ancient Egypt in the time of the 7^{th} – 8^{th} dynasties, about 2270-2070 BC. In Central Europe, alloying of gold began to appear in the Late Bronze Age, but it did not appear everywhere or continually. However, belief in vegetable gold could have some real justification.[39]

The Final Phase of Development of Alchemy

The physician Dávid Gömöri (1708-1759) from Rožňava, a friend of Wallaszkay and Bel with the mediation of Professor Wedel learned about alchemy during his study at the University of Jena. He began to practice medicine in Bratislava, where he established an alchemical laboratory. He continued his experiments after moving to Györ. He summarized his experiences in various texts, including *Concordantia philosophorum*, *Repetitio et supplementum operis de chaote confuso distinguibili adnexum*, and *Chaos confusum occultae naturae distinguibile problematicae definitem*.

The Trenčín gentleman István Pál (Štefan Pavol) Bácsmegyi, who studied medicine in Gdansk, Wittenberg and Jena, can also be assigned to this generation of alchemists. After returning to his homeland, he worked as county physician in the County

[37] Caspar Ens, *Rerum Hungaricarum Rerum Hungaricarum Historia novem libris comprehensa: In Qua Praeter Regionis Situm, caeteraque quae eo pertinent, ea quae a primis regni incunabulis acciderunt breuiter; nostri vero et superioris temporis res gestae ad annum usque MDCIV. Fus* (Köln: Coloniae Agrippinae, 1604).

[38] Ging, "Aurum vegetabile."

[39] Some New Zealand scientists recently developed a method using reagents to obtain gold from soil incorporated in mustard plants. From one kilogram of dried mustard plant, they allegedly obtained 57 micrograms of aurum vegetabile – vegetable gold.

of Gemer. From 1720, he held the position of army physician in Transylvania and from 1728 he led a practice in Trnava. He tragically died in 1735 during one of his alchemical experiments. From 1742 a copy appears of the practical "Laborir-Buch," written by another alchemist of Slovak origin, František Lukašovský from Svätý Jur near Bratislava.[40] At the end of the book is a statement that it is a copy of a manuscript discovered in a wall of the Zuckermantl house in Bratislava, where it was hidden for 145 years. The collection of laboratory procedures includes an interesting introductory liturgy for alchemists before starting the transmutation of metals.[41]

In the Spiš region many scholars took an interest in alchemical research, especially professors and graduates of the Kežmarok Lyceum such as the teacher and botanist David Praetorius, the physician Daniel Fischer (1695-1746), the pharmacist Bartholomeus Bertram, lyceum professor Georg Buchholz junior (1688-1737), the native of Wrocław (Breslau) and town physicus Amand Wilhelm Smith (1760-1834), the sub-rector of the Kežmarok Lyceum Samuel Augustini ab Hortis junior (1729-1792, Jozef Bencúr, Ján Adam Moesz, Ján Karlovský and the Prešov and Levoča rector Eliaš Chrastina. The last named wrote the following about his first contact with alchemy in Levoča: "*That with which some Levoča gentlemen entertained themselves after dinner, was vulgar occultism. I felt rather uncomfortable when I heard their outpouring about the secret sciences. I saw so much stupidity and limitation. As a joke, somebody asked me to say something about alchemy and magic. At first, I hesitated, but then I was able to capture the unusually pleasant atmosphere*."[42]

The assessor of the mining office in Levoča Paul von Ketskés became a passionate collector of alchemical books and manuscripts. This was also the case in central Slovakia with Vavrinec Čaplovič (1778-1853), secretary to the director of the Lordship of Orava Ferenc Zichy and founder of the Čaplovič Library in Dolný Kubín. The native of Kežmarok and preacher at Veľký Slavkov near Poprad Tomáš/Tamás Mauksch (1749-1832), who took a lively interest in natural science research, mentions in his diary meeting other alchemists: the Zemplín physicus János Weisz and associate the Abbé Arnold at the home of the Csákys at Sans-Souc. Weisz, ecclesiastical ordinary from Spišské Podhradie was mainly concerned with spagyric medicine and is regarded as the author of an interesting alchemical recipe supposed to cure epilepsy.

The native of the Liptov region Daniel Cornides-Vranka (born 1732), Ján Samuel Kriebel (1747-1811) founder of the Banská Štiavnica Rosecrucian lodge, native of Kežmarok and preacher at Lomnička, and Pavol/Pál Doleviczényi (1743-1823) a nobleman from Slovenská Ves with an especially important place among them, were among the last adepts of the *ars alchymisticae.*

Doleviczenyi originally came from a Croatian family, members of which moved from Croatia to the Spiš region in the 17th century. He was born and lived his whole life at Slovenská Ves, where the greater part of the family property was situated. He studied at the Evangelical Lyceum in Kežmarok and gratefully mentioned his teachers, most of whom respected the hermetic sciences: Jakob Solkový, Johann Adam Moesz,

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[40] Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku," 13-52.

[41] Lukašovský's manuscript is part of the collection of manuscripts in the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest (ÖSzK), no. Quart. Germ. 239.

[42] Ivan Ponduša, "Romantici, rojkovia, nadšenci," *Spišské hlasy* 32, no. 49 (1982): 3.

Jozef Bencúr, Johann Karlovský and others.[43] Precisely the book of Samuel Kriebel interested Doleviczényi so much that he decided to gain deeper knowledge of the works of so-called Hermetic philosophy. Therefore, he began to complete a collection of works of this character and he did not regret the time, effort or finance. He bought a great collection of books and manuscripts from the assessor of the mining court in Levoča Paul von Ketskés. The works he could not buy, copied in whole or in part.[44]

As he dedicated more time to Hermetic study, he realized that the world is full of mysteries, which need to be explained and he sacrificed all his free time to this aim *"in horis ab officiis vacuis."* He also zealously devoted his attention to experimental activity, starting from the views of Eliaš Chrastina. His collections contain a great number of recipes and ingredients, but for knowledge of his practical activities it is necessary to mention his own manuscript with its descriptive title *Mein Buchel ab Anno 1800 allwo verschiedene chymische Prozesse* containing 53 recipes for various tinctures and other instructions for laboratory work.

Doleviczényi made a catalogue of the books, manuscripts and objects in his private collection. In his will from 25th January 1821, he left his collection of 287 alchemical works to the library of the Evangelical Lyceum in Kežmarok. The collection includes a large number of recipes, chemical instructions and practical advice on the production of various tinctures, aqua vitae and the transmutation of metals under titles such as *Theatri Chymici, Novi experimenti chymici, Turba philosophorum and Processus*. In copies and extracts, Doleviczényi directed his attention mainly to the practical aspect of alchemical work, as shown by the supplements *Varia* and *Diversa excepta* in his catalogue. According to the catalogue, the rarities section included astronomical and astrological aids, old coins, hourglasses and optical glasses.[45]

The outline of the development of alchemy in Slovakia would not be complete without mention of the activity of the mystical order of the "Rose and Cross" (Rosicrucians), whose lodges developed their activities in Prešov and Banská Štiavnica. The Prešov lodge was founded by Polish immigrants in 1769 and included local noblemen and scholars, who developed alchemical activities. Martin Hanzéli, employed as a tutor by Count Pottornay, and the pharmacist Ján Samuel/János Sámuel Gertinger excelled among them. Gertinger continued his experiments after the break up of the lodge. The second lodge, with members especially among local physicians and phar-

[43] In his will from 1821, he explains how he became a lover of alchemy: *"a singulari olim amico meo A R.D. Samuele Kriebel, in Possessione Kis. Lomnicz Verbi Divini Ministro... occasionem obtinuissem solum eumdem Librum Chimici legendi, accesiorialiter incaeperim adeo... non solum eumdem Librum cum voluptate quadem legerimi, ed et Successivis temporibus, ubi seu Libros impressos, seu Manuscripta conspexeram... aquisitioni studuerim.…"* The testament is in the Lyceal Archive in Kežmarok, no. 154, f. 2.

[44] J. Agnet, "Alchymistická knižnica Pavla Doleviczényiho," *Kniha* 78. *Zborník pre problémy a dejiny knižnej kultúry na Slovensku* (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1980).

[45] The most interesting object was undoubtedly a ducat from 1634, struck during the Thirty Years War from so-called philosophical gold and bearing two alchemical symbols. According to tradition it was struck by Mercurius Sulphur for King Gustavus Adolfus of Sweden, when he did not have enough gold for waging war. The ducat was brought from Germany by the rector of the Evangelical Lyceum in Levoča Eliaš Chrastina. Doleviczényi obtained it from his widow Katarína Chrastinová from the Singenthal family. However, the Lyceum Library has preserved nothing from this part of the collection.

macists, was founded in 1774 at Banská Štiavnica, on the initiative of Martin Hanzéli. It cultivated practical alchemy until the beginning of the 19th century.[46]

Conclusion

On the basis of the brief outline of the history of alchemy in the territory of present Slovakia, it is possible to state that we can most probably trace its beginnings to the period of the development of classical alchemy in the European region, when the centre of gravity of laboratory practice lay in transmutation experiments. With regard for this fact, the research in this stage brought only minimal results, since the alchemists working in Slovakia did not come into direct contact with Arab science and culture, as happened in some countries of Western and Southern Europe.

Analysis of the stages in the development of alchemy in the proposed chronology from the beginning of the 14th to the beginning of the 19th centuries should involve systematic visits to archives and historical libraries for the purpose of documenting the primary sources on the personalities and works of the alchemists, who worked in the territory of Slovakia, the visits of foreign alchemists to this region, and identification of the circle of users of alchemical literature in the period from the 14th to 19th centuries according to the provenance records of library units or their *ex libris*. These data should be further chronologically compared and used as a basis for analysis of the contribution of the regional alchemy in the context of the development of science and technology in the Central European cultural environment.

[46] Apart from ceremonial and social functions, the activity of the Rosicrucian lodges fulfilled the function of education in the occult sciences, especially alchemy and related fields. The most important lodges operated in Prešov under the name "Virtuous Pilgrim," in Banská Štiavnica ("Virtuous Friend of Man") and Košice ("Burning Bush"). The members included important personalities from public life, apart from the already mentioned Martin Hanzéli, a physician and priest born in 1735 at Banská Bystrica, there were Andreas Pottornay a landowner from Giraltovce, who wasted a considerable part of the property of his wealthy wife in his alchemical laboratory and many others. See Baradlai and Bársony, *A magyarországi gyógyszerészet tortenéte*, 92-95.

THE MYSTERY OF THE TRANSMUTATION OF IRON INTO COPPER IN THE 16TH - 18TH CENTURIES

MIROSLAV KAMENICKÝ

Alchemy is a special branch of learned magic. In Central Europe it was cultivated more than all the other offshoots of learned occultism. Alchemy, like the mentality supporting it, relied on Aristotelian principles. From the point of view of formal logic, the transmutation of metals was close to Catholic transubstantiation. It was close to the thinking of the early modern person whether from the Catholic or the Protestant environments.[1] Experimental activity was cultivated in alchemy. It combined real and practical metallurgy with speculative metaphysics. There were extraordinarily many real stimuli for alchemy in the Habsburg Monarchy. For example, there were gold, silver and copper mines in the territory of present day Slovakia. These were notable for strange mysteries, for which the scientific knowledge of the time could give only speculative explanations.

The alchemists were divided into many camps representing various views. Many critics also attacked alchemy as a united science. However, where the transmutation of metals is concerned, it can be stated that the multitude of critics also really believed in the transmutation of metals. One of the important proofs of the possibility of transmutation was the real transformation of iron into copper in the cementation waters at Smolník and Špania Dolina [Špania valley]. The history of the mystery of the cementation waters[2] in Špania Dolina and Smolník is a good example of an old mystery of alchemy, which was simply solved by modern chemistry as a natural phenomenon. In the 16th – 18th centuries, this mystery attracted the attention of many alchemists, both domestic and foreign. It apparently involved the transmutation of a lower metal into a higher metal, specifically iron into copper. It was enough to immerse the iron in a liquid, so-called vitriol, and after some time the iron changed into copper.

However, we now know that this happened essentially because the water accumulated in the mines contained compounds of copper, especially copper sulphate, also called blue vitriol and in the alchemist's terminology of the time – vitriolum. Copper sulphate $CuSO_4$ was actually a product of the breakdown of chalkopyrites, which occur in copper mines. When an iron object is immersed in a solution of copper sulphate, the iron dissolves, iron sulphate ($FeSO_4$) forms and copper is precipitated. Thus, iron is optically and really transformed into copper. The following chemical reactions occurred: $Fe + CuSO_4 = Cu + FeSO_4$ (1, $Fe + Fe_2(SO_4)_3 = 3\,FeSO_4$ (2), $Fe + H_4SO_4 = H_2 + FeSO_4$ (3). The alchemists regarded this process, which is chemically explainable

[1] Robert J. W. Evans, *Vznik habsburské monarchie, 1550-1700* (Prague: Argo, 2003, Czech translation of Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700: An Interpretation), 410-411; Jean Baptiste Morin, *Nova mundi sublunaris anatomia* (Paris: N. Du Fossé, 1619), 116-144.

[2] The waters were described as cementation because their properties included strong cementing effect.

today, as clear proof of their teaching about the transformation or transmutation of metals.

The properties of the cementation water at Smolník were allegedly already known at the end of the 13th century.[3] The first mention of the production of cementation copper dates from 1346.[4] A contract was concluded in 1497 between Martin Thurzo and the count of the chamber in Smolník Johannes Donel for the delivery of iron for cementation. About 400 cents of copper was obtained from cementation water in 1528.[5]

Since it was a clear case of the transmutation of a lower metal into a higher metal that is of iron into copper, this cementation water was the subject of research by various domestic and foreign alchemists from early times. They were especially concerned to research the principle of transmutation, so that, for example, they could transform copper into silver or gold in a similar way. In his study *Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku* Radoslav Fundárek states that the first alchemist to directly write about the mystery of the cementation waters of Smolník was the little known alchemist Basilius Valentinus, whose writings originated in the mid 15th century.[6] An unknown alchemist "well acquainted with alchemy and medicine"[7] is hidden behind the name Basilius Valentinus, but his identity is not clear.[8]

The first clearly identified foreign alchemist to personally come to central Slovakia and research this mystery was nobody less than the famous Phillipp Aureol Theophrast Bombast von Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus. He first came to Slovakia in 1521 and again in 1537. In lived in Banská Bystrica for a time and established a laboratory there. He especially researched the cementation water from Smolník, which he called "*spišská studňa*" (the Spiš well) in his work *De tinctura physicorum*. However, it is well known in this context that according to Paracelsus, alchemy should aim not at the transmutation of ordinary into precious metals, but at the preparation of medicine and treatment of illness. He placed alchemy alongside philosophy and astronomy as one of the important pillars on which the new science of medicine had to be built.[9]

Further reports about this interesting matter are found in the work of George Agricola *De natura eorum quae effluunt ex terra*, which originated in 1545 and was printed in 1546.[10] Agricola literally writes here: "*The composition of water from the river Styx on the Thessalian plain can also be ascertained from entirely different ef-*

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[3] Ján Bartalský and others, *Smolník, mesto medenorudných baní* (Bratislava: Geocomplex, 1993; In the series: Mineralia slovaca), 217.

[4] Ibid., 218

[5] Ibid.

[6] Radoslav Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku[The historical development of alchemy in Slovakia]," *Z dejín vied a techniky na Slovensku VII* (Bratislava: Veda, 1974), 40-41.

[7] Ibid., 41.

[8] He is also mentioned in the Encyclopaedia of Slovakia as the first to write about the mystery of the cementation waters of Smolník: *Encyklopédia Slovenska I.* (Bratislava: Veda, publisher of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1977), 306.

[9] Karl Sudhoff, ed., *Paracelsus sämtliche Werke I-XIV* (Munich-Berlin, 1922-1933): cited according to Radoslav Fundárek, "Historický vývoj alchýmie na Slovensku," 40.

[10] Georgius Agricola, *De natura eorum quae effluunt ex terra* (1546; Slovak translation by Augustín Rebro: O vlastnostiach látok vystupujúcich zo země, Bratislava: The Slovak National Museum and Museum of the Culture of the Carpathian Germans, 1996).

fects, especially from the fact that it corrodes copper and iron vessals. This can be caused by vitriol water, as seen in Smolník, where water of this type is drawn from wells and released into channels, through which it flows and corrodes the iron the local miners put in the channels. It changes colour in the channels and the iron changes into copper."[11] Thus, the water at Smolník was drawn from the mines to the surface and made to flow through long wooded channels divided crosswise into small reservoirs. About 1,500 cents of iron bars were placed in the reservoirs and copper precipitated onto them. The iron for this purpose was made in the iron works at Štós.[12]

Ten years after the publication of Agricola's work, the famous humanist George Wernher from Hungary published the work *De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation* at Basel in 1556.[13] The author George Wernher was captain of Spiš Castle, sheriff of the County of Spiš and later captain of Šariš Castle and administrator of the Chamber of the County of Spiš, but let us allow Wernher to speak for himself: "*Under these great rocky mountains* [he means the High Tatras mountains (*Vysoké Tatry*), note M. K.] *is the Spiš region, which has water, which corrodes iron, deposits stone and kills animals, which want to drink. I offer you an explanation of these, as I already mentioned in another text addressed to you. I start from that, which has the ability to consume iron. Such water is found at Smolník. This town is part of the property of Spiš Castle. It lies among mountains, where various metals are mined. The water is pumped by a pump, about which we spoke in Esztergom. It is driven by falling water rotating a wheel, on which are many leather bags, which fill pipes with water.*"[14] *From them a stream of water flows into connected channels, which take it and release it into pits in an open space. Raw iron ore, either old or new, is placed in them. The smaller the pieces, the quicker the ore is broken down. Some iron is already broken down in 24 hours. Coarser pieces and those prepared for this purpose in the neighbouring iron ore hills are placed in the water for several days. During this period, the pieces of iron are coated with mud. After some time, the iron is washed and cleaned, to enable more rapid break down of the pure metal and pieces of rock by the action of the water. What remains after the removal of the iron, popularly called cement, is copper.*

This metal is heated in a furnace to form a rigid material, which is refined by melting in a second furnace, so that it becomes purer. It is suitable for general use, just like that obtained directly from the ore, which is abundantly found here.

The water undoubtedly gains these properties from the ore veins, especially from pyrite, popularly called markezite). There is a great quantity of this here. This also derives from the fact that if rain water or other moisture penetrates through the ground, vitriol drips out from it."[15]

The work of George Wernher was not an alchemical tract, but more an expert scientific treatise. From the point of view of alchemy, its significance is that it was a

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[11] Ibid., 47.

[12] Peter Zámora, *Dejiny baníctva na Slovensku I.* (Košice: Banská agentúra, 2003), 36.

[13] Georgius Wernher, *De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation* (Basel, 1555; Slovak translation by Ján Košecký, notes by Augustín Rebro: O podivuhodných vodách Uhorska, Bratislava: Osveta, 1974).

[14] "…quod ab auaq superne illabente impulsum circuactu & raptu funis, cui implicati sunt crebri nodi coriacei, implet fistulas, per quas funi meatus est." Wernher, *De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation*, 18.

[15] Ibid., 47-48.

source of information on the transformation of iron into copper for many alchemists.

The work of Andreas Smoczki *Vade mecum et ego tecum* from 1563 can be mentioned as an example of an alchemical tract. The work remained in manuscript form. Smoczki lived at Spišská Nová Ves in eastern Slovakia. In the chapter: *Ferrum in eas commutare* (fol. 168), he writes that in the Carpathians, a mountain range in Pannonia, there is a spring in the town of Smolník, from which water flows in three channels. Pieces of iron placed in this water are changed into copper. If they are thinner, they produce a covering of copper, and the copper is obtained from them by melting in a fire.

The large number of different foreign travellers, who took an interest in the vitriol water of Špania Dolina and Smolník in the 16th and 17th centuries, are mentioned in the recently published work: "Slovakia through the Eyes of Europe 900-1850" by Ján Tibenský and Viera Urbancová.[16] For example, in the 1560s the German alchemists Gaspar Neumann and Leonhard Thurneysen personally visited central and eastern Slovakia. Thurneysen described the Špania Dolina and Smolník cementation waters in the text "*On Mineral Springs.*"[17] The Englishman John Merin was here in 1615.[18] In his well-known questionnaires or recommendations on what should be seen on a journey through Europe, Isaac Newton also explicitly mentions the cementation waters of Smolník.[19]

The first person to explicitly doubt the transmutation of iron into copper was J. F. Becher, who visited Špania Dolina in 1670.[20] The year after Becher's visit, that is in 1671, the young English doctor Edward Brown went there. His account: *A brief report of journeys to various parts of Europe, namely Hungary, Austria, Serbia, Styria, Bulgaria, Carinthia, Macedonia, Carniola, Thessaly and Friuli, as well as through extensive parts of Germany and the neighbouring countries ... with observations on the gold, silver, copper and mercury mines, and on the mineral water spas* was first published in English in 1673 in London and later also in many other editions in various languages. He writes in extraordinary detail about the Špania Dolina cementation waters.[21]

"*There are* [in Špania Dolina, note M. K.] *also two springs of vitriol water, which transform iron into copper. They are called the old and new cement. The springs arise deep in the mines and iron usually remains in their waters for 14 days. These waters are very profitable, because even the worst kind of iron and old unusuable iron is transformed into the purest kind of copper, which has the advantage over other kinds, that it is more malleable, more shapable and easy to melt. I melted it myself without difficulty, without adding other materials, while copper ore must be roasted and melted several times before it can be used. I selected a larger quantity of this type of*

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[16] Ján Tibenský and Viera Urbancová, *Slovensko očami Európy. 900-1850* (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 2003).

[17] Ibid., 36.

[18] Ibid., 78-82.

[19] Ibid., 86-87.

[20] Ibid., 110.

[21] Parts of Brown's account of travel concerning Slovakia have been published in Slovak translation: Eduard Brown, *Cesta z Komárna do banských miest v Uhorsku a odtiaľ do Viedne* (Martin: Osveta, without year).

copper from the old cement and also chose a heart-shaped piece of copper, which had lain in the water for eleven or twelve days. It had kept its original form, but while it was previously of perfect iron, now it is copper. However, some do not want to admit that this is the transformation of one metal into another. They claim that when cementation water containing vitriolum Veneris encounters a body like Mars, that is iron, which is willing to accept it, the water gives up Venus to it and this immediately penetrates so deeply into Mars, that "divide et imperare [sic!]*" happens. The Mars is thrown out and replaced with the body of Venus.*

When iron changes into copper in these springs, it is often divided into many particles, which settle on the bottom in the form of powder, but it is already not iron, but copper. I took some of this powder from the water and fused it into excellent copper. If iron was not transformed into copper, I do not know where it could have gone. I saw an attempt to artificially imitate the process, which occurs naturally in the mines, and in my view this attempt was successful.

When I had seen many of the most interesting places in the mines, I returned to the house of the administrator of the mines at Špania Dolina... When I admired the cementation waters and their interesting effect on iron, he gave me various fine examples and a copper chain transformed in these waters. Fine vessels and goblets are made from this kind of copper. We drank from one of them. It was gilded, decorated with inserted silver ore and bore an engraved inscription: Eisen ware ich, Kupfer bin ich, Silber trag ich, Goldt bedeckt mich.[22] *... However, if they find deeper or richer veins and gradually discover more sources of vitriol water, income increases. It is more than probable that time will bring to light even more, since various such sources are already used in Smolník and other places near the Carpathians...*"[23]

The extract shows that the mystery of the cementation waters at Špania Dolina was actually a tourist attraction in the 17th century. They made objects as souvenirs of this mystery. Although the reality of the transmutation of iron into copper was already seriously doubted, Brown still believed it.

People still variously speculated about this matter in the second half of the 18th century. A lay view is interesting. Prince Leopold, second son of the Queen of Hungary and of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles of Loraine, was such a layman, who saw the whole thing in 1764 and left us personal testimony about it. He visited the central Slovak mining region with his brother Joseph. Leopold precisely recorded everything in a diary, which still survives.[24] Leopold wrote the following in it: "*On Monday 30th July 1764 in the morning after Mass we left for Špania Dolina... First we visited the place, where green paint is made... Then we went to a house to see samples of iron, changed into copper with the help of water, which flows from the mines and is called cementation water (Cimentwasser). If they leave immersed in this water for six weeks pieces of iron of any shape, the original shapes are preserved, although a little less smooth, but we find there only copper. It is also possible to see pieces, which are both*

[22] Translation: I was iron, I became copper, I contain silver, gold covers me.

[23] Ibid., 45-46.

[24] Leopold's diary is found in the manuscript department of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. (Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung), Cod. S. n. 12 178. A book was published in Slovakia in the original languages with a Slovak translation: Jozef Vozár, ed., *Denník princa Leopolda z cesty do stredoslovenských banských miest roku 1764* (Martin: Osveta, 1990).

copper and iron, because they were not in this water long enough. Many people believed and many are still convinced that this water has the ability to transform iron into copper. However, I think that the water flowing from the mines, since it is very sulphurous, gradually dissolves particles of iron with its acid effect, and replaces them with the same quantity of particles of copper, until the iron entirely disappears. Therefore, the objects made from this mineral water are always very uneven, covered with small bumps and sponginess, although the pieces of iron were entirely smooth when they were put in the water."[25]

In the second half of the 18th century, various scientists made discoveries, which had an extraordinarily important role in the origin of scientific chemistry and its further development. On the basis of experimental works, so many facts and observations accumulated that they began to oppose the generally recognized views held until then, especially the convictions, ideas and theories of alchemy and phlogiston chemistry. In contrast to other scientific disciplines, such as astronomy, mathematics and physics, the long historical development of the accumulation of findings on materials and their transformations, knowledge of nature, of chemical substances and chemical events was much more complicated. The whole problem was connected with recognition of the composition and structure of matter.

Up to the 18th century, chemistry essentially developed in three basic directions – alchemy, chemiatry and metallurgy. With its search for the philosopher's stone, elixir of life, universal solvents – alkahest, energetic medicine – *aurum potabile* and methods of transmutation of metals, alchemy did not succeed. In the 18th century, alchemy already concerned only isolated enthusiasts for this art. From its beginning chemiatry essentially retained a special position and purpose in the lives of people. Medicines and medicinal preparations for health or cosmetic use were prepared in pharmacies and pharmaceutical laboratories from early times. In both these disciplines, techniques were used and perfected to isolate products from natural materials by distillation, sublimation, extraction, crystallization and other basic procedures of experimental work. Constant refining gradually perfected many of them, until they were brilliantly mastered.[26] Especially metallurgy - the third direction of the initial evolutionary basis for the development of chemistry - played the decisive role in development, and especially in its inseparable part – experimentation.[27]

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[25] Ibid., 97-99.

[26] Otto Tomeček, "Príspevok k dejinám výučby chémie na Baníckej a lesníckej akadémii v Banskej Štiavnici," in *Zborník Slovenského banského múzea* XVIII (1997): 67.

[27] Miroslav Kamenický, "Prispevok k dejinám skúšobníctva v 18. storočí," in *4. sympózium o dejinách hutníctva na Slovensku: Výroba zlata a striebra, skúšobníctvo* (Košice: Technická univerzita Košice, 1996), 4-14.

MAGIC AND DEMONOLOGY IN ALBERT SZENCI MOLNÁR'S PERSONAL COMMONPLACE BOOK

MÁRTON SZENTPÉTERI

Albert Szenci Molnár (1574-1634) is one of the most popular and frequently researched 17th century Reformed intellectuals for contemporary scholars of Hungarian studies.[1] No doubt, this eminent position in early modern intellectual history has a lot to do with Szenci Molnár's own techniques of self-fashioning especially present in his often autobiographically inspired forewords to his works or in his diary kept in a personal manuscript-book together with his hitherto unpublished *Loci communes* among others.[2] One of the most important aspects of this self-fashioning could be regarded as a Johannes Piscator-type project of reducing the intellectual interest to 'universal Bible studies' consisting of the preparation of dictionaries, grammars, revised Bible editions, psalm-paraphrases and catechisms in the vernacular instead of dealing with philosophy in general including 'philosophia naturalis' as well.[3]

As for this personal reduction, in his foreword to the Reformed church in Hungary and Transylvania in his *Psalterium Ungaricum* (Herborn, 1607) Szenci Molnár made it clear for his readership that he had turned away from 'sciences that make one rich' in favour of those arts which could support the actual intellectual needs of his compatriots at home. As is also evident from this passage and from his diary and correspondence as well, Szenci Molnár was well acquainted with several professors and intellectuals of different branches of early modern encyclopaedic learning in Central Europe from Johannes Hartmann to Johann Heinrich Alsted or even Kepler.[4] The fact that to a certain extent Szenci Molnár was familiar with philosophical issues in the encyclopaedic sense of his age could be also supported by reading his hitherto unpublished *Loci communes* of his formative years, in which one finds topoi from such influential early modern scholars as Girolamo Cardano or Gregorius Tholosanus to mention but a few.

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[1] On Szenci Molnár in general see Lajos Dézsi, *Szenci Molnár Albert* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1897), Judit Vásárhelyi, *Eszmei áramlatok és politika Szenci Molnár Albert életművében* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), Iván Kovács Sándor, *Szenci Molnár redivivus. Filológiai esszék* (Budapest: Ister Kiadó, 2000), András Szabó, ed., *Szenci Molnár Albert naplója* (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2003).

[2] See the original manuscripts in the Teleki-Bolyai Library, in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely, today in Romania): To–3619b Ms. 37. Ferenc Pápai Páriz entitled this collection of manuscripts as *Tamieídion sive Scriptiolum* on fol. 3^{r}, thus hereafter I will refer to the collection with this title.

[3] On this intellectual reduction, see Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638. Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 20-21.

[4] On the reconstruction of the exchange of letters between Szenci Molnár and Alsted see Márton Szentpéteri, "Kálvinista zsoltár és az egyetemes reformáció. Alsted és Szenci Molnár levélváltása 1609-ben," in *Miscellanea. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalomról*, ed. Márton Szentpéteri (Budapest: József Attila Kör–Kijárat Kiadó, 2001), 277-301. Márton Szentpéteri, "Az egyetemes tudomány eszméje Johann Heinrich Alsted erdélyi írásaiban 1629-1638," (Ph. D. diss., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Budapest, 2004), 120-138.

Nevertheless, among scholars of Hungarian studies it is still common to regard Albert Szenci Molnár as a typical figure of late humanism essentially lacking the knowledge of philosophy beyond the discursive arts such as grammar, logic, rhetoric or poetics. This assumption could be particularly misleading when one has to understand the role in early modern intellectual history of such works as the *Lusus poetici* edited by Szenci Molnár (Hanau, 1614) or Caspar Dornau's *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae* (Hanau, 1619) which republished almost all pieces of Molnár's anthology, since these collections of 'poetical jokes' are virtually unintelligible without the understanding of the importance of the 'jokes of nature' (*lusus naturae*) and 'scientific jokes' (*lusus scientiae*) in the early modern discourses of natural philosophy, especially in the case of early forms of Museums.[5]

There is another tantalising source for the intellectual reconstruction of a Szenci Molnár-portrait quite different from those that have been acknowledged by scholars of Hungarian studies still touched by prejudices due to the lasting Reformed traditions, which regards Szenci Molnár as a 'quasi saint' of Calvinism. This is the legend of Molnár as a young and poor student entering into a pact with the devil. My basic aim here is to shed light on the fact that Szenci Molnár's hitherto unpublished commonplace book in manuscript consisting of topoi on magic, alchemy and demonology among others must have exercised some influence on the development of a late 17th century legend presenting Szenci Molnár as a Faustian figure.[6]

As it is now well known to scholars of Hungarian studies, there are two extant written versions of this legend: István Szilágyi discovered the first one in verse in the middle of the 19th century, whereas Judit Vásárhelyi found the second one in prose in the second half of the 1970's.[7] György Kézdivásárhelyi Jancsó wrote down the Hungarian version in verse in 1745, whereas a certain Franciscus Bagaly penned the Latin version in prose in 1695. Judit Vásárhelyi and Frank Baron with respect to the contemporary Faust-versions and to the historical nuclei of the legend have already carefully investigated these sources.[8]

One detail has escaped the attention of the above-mentioned distinct scholars, however. In the prose version, the act of forgiveness - when divine intervention cancels the validity of the demonic pact - takes place '*in templo Sanctorum.*' Although the Bagaly-story begins with a scene showing us the young, poor and therefore very sad Szenci Molnár walking on the seaside - which scene has, by the way, nothing to do

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[5] On Dornau see Robert Seidel, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien. Caspar Dornau (1577–1631) Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994). On poetic jokes taken from Molnár's Lusus poetici see Robert Seidel, ed., *Caspar Dornavius (Dornau) Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae. Schauplatz scherz- und enrnsthafter Weisheiten* (Hanau: Wechel, 1619; reprint, Goldbach: Keip Verlag, 1995), 2, 28, 181, 725–730, 734–735, 757–759. On the jokes of nature and scientific jokes see Paula Findlen, "Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance Quaterly* 43, no. 2 (Summer, 1990): 292-331.

[6] This lecture stems from my Hungarian paper "Boszorkányos Szenci Molnár Albert," *Café Bábel*, no. 32 (Summer, 1999): 37-45.

[7] István Szilágyi, "Románc Molnár Albertről," *Új Magyar Múzeum*, (1853): 568-573. Judit Vásárhelyi, "Molnár Albert és a sátán szövetsége," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* no. 3 (1977): 395–403. Vásárhelyi, *Eszmei áramlatok*, 76-83.

[8] Vásárhelyi, "Molnár Albert és a sátán szövetsége," Vásárhelyi, *Eszmei áramlatok*, Frank Baron, "A Faust-monda és magyar változatai. Bornemissza Péter és Szenci Molnár Albert," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, no. 1-2 (1986): 22-31.

with any possible historical nucleus of the legend, since Molnár never studied in any city close to the sea - the Latin name of '*templum Sanctorum*' could be regarded as a corrupted allusion to the Heiliggeistkirche at Heidelberg, where Szenci Molnár spent a crucial period in his formative years, just like the historical Georgius Faustus in the 16th century.[9] Furthermore, that famous and highly debated psychotic scene in Szenci Molnár's diary, when the young student saw the devil in his visions and was put in irons for almost a week following the precepts of the contemporary 'psychology,' also took place in Heidelberg.[10]

Judit Vásárhelyi has already established that the entries in Szenci Molnár's diary from the period between the 17th and the 22nd of June, 1599 - namely the passages describing Molnár's 'psychotic event' in Heidelberg - must have had a crucial influence on the development of the rumour introducing Albert Szenci Molnár as a devilish person. Up to my paper published in 1999, in the Hungarian periodical entitled *Café Bábel* nobody has emphasised, however, that Molnár's knowledge in magic and demonology, if its clues are available only in partial form in his *Loci communes*, should have been regarded as another potential source for the development of the legend that is in our focus now.

In other words, when investigating the sources of the metamorphosis of the historical Szenci Molnár into a even legendary figure of the devilish Molnár Albert, one has to reconsider the image suggested by scholars of Hungarian studies of a Reformed intellectual who was always involved in late humanist issues strictly separated from questions of natural philosophy, natural magic or even demonology. To begin with, such rigid distinction between humanism and science that lies behind these assumptions and became especially popular in the 19th century had no real place in the intellectual history of the late Renaissance, as we know it from such sound contributions as Anthony Grafton's *Defenders of the Text* for example.[11]

At present, besides the *Dictionarium Latino-Ungaricum* (Nürnberg, 1604) the best source of partially reconstructing Szenci Molnár's knowledge of magic and demonology is his *Loci communes* preserved in the same manuscript-book in which Molnár kept his above-mentioned diary among others. Due to the characteristics of the genre of the *loci communes*, one is able to detect in it different commonplaces borrowed from different books, but in most cases without commentaries which could show the attitude of the author towards his topic. Since a commonplace ranked in a commonplace book could have been applied both in pro or contra cases, it is extremely difficult to establish the demonological standpoint of a given author solely from his commonplace book. Nevertheless, a set of magical and demonological commonplaces could at least help us to estimate to which extent a given author was erudite in such issues.

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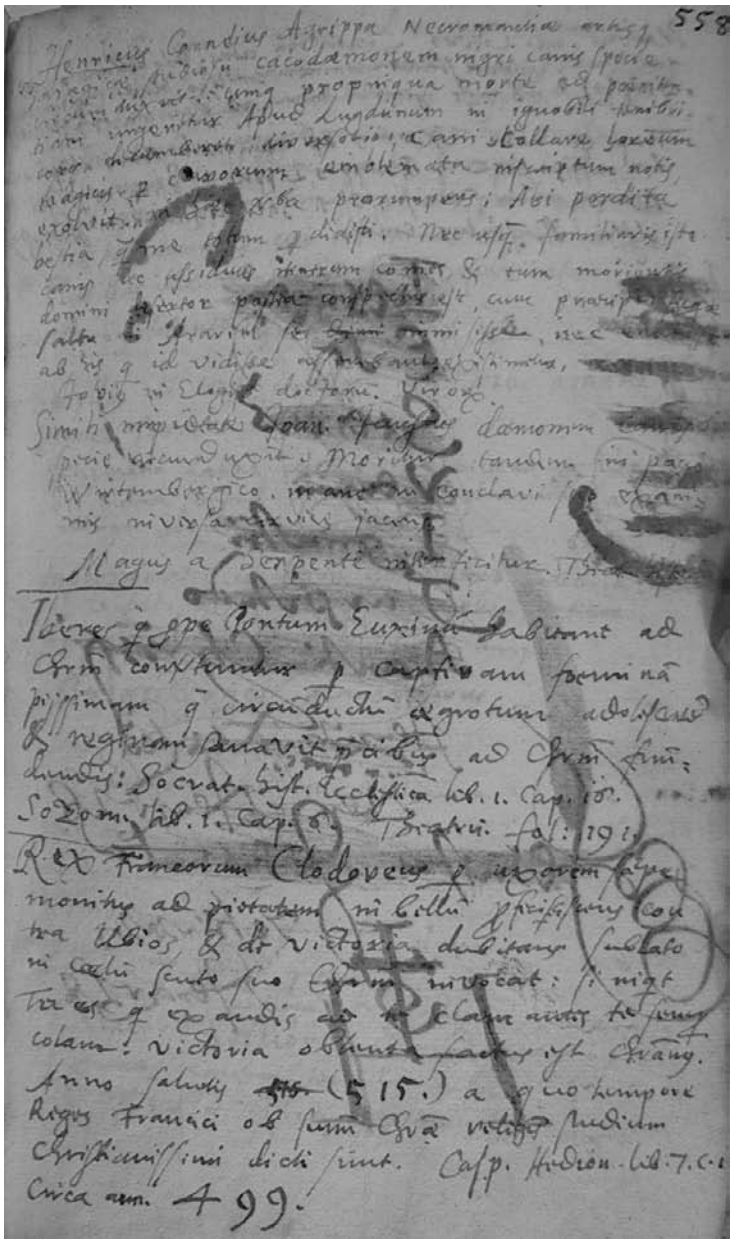
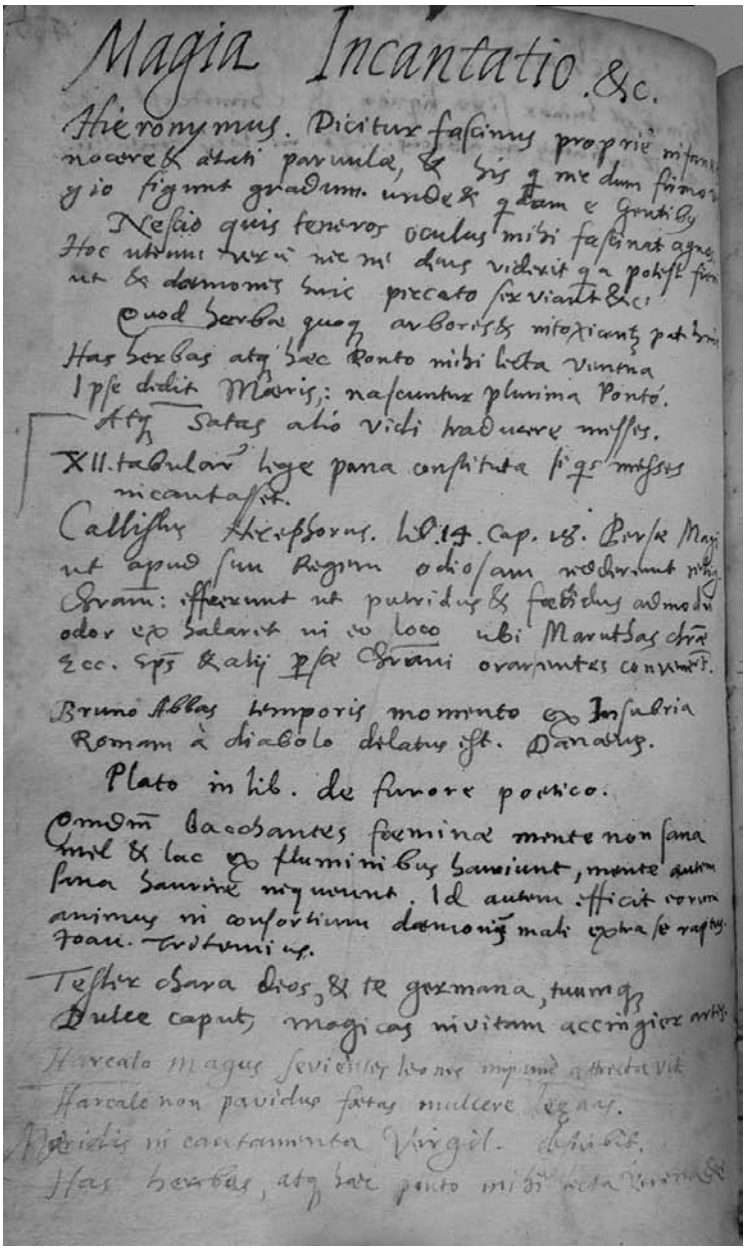
[9] See the chapter entitled ´At the University of Heidelberg´ in Frank Baron, *Doctor Faustus. From History to Legend* (München: Fink, 1978), 17-22.

[10] Márton Szentpéteri, "Szenci Molnár megőrül. Előzetes egy jövőbeli pszichohistóriai tanulmányhoz," in *Az olvasó – az olvasás. Irodalmi tanulmányok*, eds. László L. Simon and Attila Thimár (Budapest: Fiatal Írók Szövetsége, 1999), 131-148. Szabó, *Szenci Molnár naplója*, 69. 127-128.

[11] Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Ma–London: Harvard University Press, 1991).



9/ A page from Albert Szenci Molnár Commonplace Book


Magia Incantatio &c.

Hieronymus. Dicitur fascinus proprie mi[nus]
nocere & dici parvula, & his q me dum fimo
gio figunt gradum. unde & q[uam] e Gentib[us]

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.
Hoc ultimum dixit me mi deus vicerit q a pobis fier
ut & damnos huic precato sive viant &c.

Quod herbe quoq arboribus nitoxiantq pat hui
Has herbas atq hec Ponto mihi lecta venena
Ipse dedit Mevius: nascuntur plurima Ponto.
atq Satas alio vidi trad[uc]ere messes.

XII. tabular[um] hoc pana constituta fuer[unt] mag[os] mag[os]
incantasse.

Callistus Hierosolym. lib. 14. Cap. 18. Persæ Magi
ut apud sum Regem odiosam redderent pau
Gram: effecerunt ut putridus & foetidus admodu
odor ex Salaria ni in loco ubi Marutas dæm
&c. eps & alij pfæ Gram oraverunt cessavit.

Bruno Abbas temporis momento ex Insubria
Romam à diabolo dilatus fuit. Damasus.

Plato in lib. de furore poetico.

Omnes Bacchantes fœminæ mente non sana
mel & lac ex fluminibus hauriunt, mente autem
sana hauriri nequeunt. Id autem efficit eorum
animus ni consortium dæmonum mali ejectus se rapuit.
Joan. Trithemius.

Testor tua Dios, & te germana, tuumq
Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes.
Harcalo magus sevientis hominis impune attractavit
Harcale non pavidus fatas mutavere Thessalæ.
Mevius ni cantamina Virgil. divitis.
Has herbas, atq hæc ponto mihi lecta venena

10/ Another page from Albert Szenci Molnár´s Commonplace book

As for Szenci Molnár, one finds in his *Loci communes* commonplaces copied from almost all of the highly important early modern books devoted to demonology and witchcraft. Molnár copied passages among others from Nicolas Jacquier's *Flagellum haereticorum*, from Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's *Strix*, from Lambert Daneau's *De veneficis* and from Trithemius' *De reprobis atque maleficiis quaestiones*. He knew the famous debate between Jean Bodin and Johann Weier on witchcraft, since he read Bodin's *De magorum daemonomania* to which the refutation of Weier's *De praestigiis daemonum* was generally attached.[12] Molnár copied out Tommaso d'Aquino's famous places on '*incubui*' and '*succubui*' from the *Summa Theologica* (Pars I., LI. quest., III. art.).[13]

In a list of important authors and books (*Authores insignes et libri praeclari*) Molnár lists the famous *Malleus Maleficarum* or Sinesius' *De somniorum interpretatione liber* as well.[14] Further, one finds several notes on 'demons living in water' (*aquaticum genus Daemonum*), 'demons living underground' (*subterraneum*), on 'soothsayers' (*sortilegi*), on the four type of divination according to the four elements, that is, on '*hydromantia*', '*geomantia*', '*aeromantia*' and '*pyromantia*'. There are further remarks on 'women fortune-tellers' (*sagae*), on 'screech-owls' (*strigae*), or on two different types of magic used in love affairs (*philtrum*) applying poisonous medicines and drinks on the one hand, characters, words, images and various ceremonies on the other.[15]

No doubt, one of the most important examples in Szenci Molnár's oeuvre to which the knowledge presented in the early *Loci communes* turned out to form an intellectual background is the *Dictionarium Latino-Ungaricum* from 1604 and its succeeding later editions from 1611 and 1621. Its entries provide us a concise form of encyclopaedic learning including, of course, short definitions of terms of natural philosophy, magic and demonology as well. For instance, one finds among them virtually all type of witches from *Lamia*, *Lemur* and *Malefica* to *Praestigiatrix*, *Saga*, *Strix* and *Venefica* as well.

As mentioned above, having read Molnár's commonplace book it is fairly diffi-

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[12] Nicolas Jacquier, *Flagellum haereticorum fascinarium... His accesserunt L. Danaei de veneficiis... dialogi. J. Camerarii in Plutarchi de oraculorum defectu epistola. Martini de Arles... de superstitionibus tractatus. J. Trithemii de Reprobis atque Maleficiis quaestiones. T. Erasti de Strigibus liber* (Frankfurt, 1581). Szenci Molnár refers to most of the works available in this collection, hence it is highly possible that Szenci Molnár read these works in this colligatum. Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, *Dialogus in tres libros divisus: Titulus est Strix, sive de Ludificatione Daemonum...* (Bologna, 1523). Lambert Danaeu, *De veneficis, quos olim sortilegos, nunc autem vulgo Sortiarios vocant...* (Geneva, 1581). As for Trithemius it is also highly probable that Szenci Molnár refers to the abbot's work incorporated into the above Jacquier-collection. *Io. Bodini Andegavensis De magorum daemonomania, seu detestando Lamiarum ac Magorum cum Satana commercio, Libri IV. (...) Accessit Eiusdem Opinionum Ioan. Vvieri confutatio, non minus docta quam pia* (Frankfurt a. M.: Nicolaus Bassaeus, 1590.) [Ed. pr.: De la démonomanie des sorciers (Paris, 1580).] *Ioannis Wieri de Praestigiis daemonum, et incantationibus ac veneficiis Libri sex* (Basel, 1568). On Bodin, Weier and Pico see S. Anglo, ed., *The Damned Art, Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft* (London, 1977). Christopher Baxter, "Jean Bodin's De la démonomanie des sorciers," Ibid. 76–105. Baxter, "Johann Weyer's De praestigiis daemonum," Ibid. 53–75. Peter Burke, "Witchcraft and Magic in Renaissance Italy: Gianfrancesco Pico and his Strix," Ibid. 32–52.

[13] Scriptiolum, fol. 92^{r}.

[14] Ibid., ff. 485^{r}–486^{r}.

[15] Ibid. ff. 476^{r}–478^{r}. Topoi under the headings *Magia. Incantatio. Etc. and Superstitio*.

cult to clarify in which way he intended to use his sources. It is quite suggestive, however, that Molnár arranged the topics of *magia-incantatio* and *superstitio* under the heading of 'Jokes and vain arts' (*Ludicrae et vanae artes*) in the encyclopaedic taxonomy of his commonplace book. At the same time, however, it would be an illusory hope to find passages against natural philosophy or natural magic, as it is also clear that commonplaces in connection with these fields of interest are available under headings that are not hostile at all.[16] It is also worth mentioning that according to his *Dictionarium* Molnár knew the distinction between demonic and natural types of magic common to the literate elite in Western Europe. To my knowledge, in Molnár's oeuvre one finds no traces of hostility against the latter.

Szenci Molnár's personal commonplace book	**Andreas Hondorff** ***Theatrum historicum***	**Paolo Giovio** ***Elogia doctorum virorum***	**Manlius** ***Locorum communium collectanea***	**Jean Bodin** ***De magorum daemonomania***
"Henricus Cornelius Agrippa Necromantiae artisque magicae studiosus cacodaemonem nigri canis specie circum duxit: cumque propinqua morte ad poenitentiam urgeretur Apud Lugdunum in ignobili tenebricosoque decumberet diversorio, cani collare loreum magicis per clavorum emblemata inscriptum notis exolvit in haec verba prorumpens: Abi perdita bestia quae me totum perdidisti, nec usque familiaris iste canis ac assiduus itinerum comes et tum morientis domini desertor postea conspectus est, cum praecipiti fugae saltu in Ararim se immersisse, nec ena-	"13. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa Necromantiae, artiumque Magicarum studiosus, cacodaemonem nigri canis specie circumduxit. Cumque propinqua morte ad poenitentiam urgeretur, apud Lugdunum in ignobili et tenebricoso decumbens diversorio, cani collare loreum magicis per clavorum emblemata inscriptum notis, exolvit, in haec verba prorumpens: Abi perdita bestia, quae me totum perdidisti: Nec usquam familiaris ille canis, ac assiduus itinerum omnium comes, et tum morientis domini desertor, postea conspectus est, cum praecipiti fugae saltu in Ararim se immersisse, nec enatasse, ab his, qui id vidisse asserebant, existemetur. Iovius in Elogiis doctorum virorum. [Faustus Magus] 14. Simili impietate Iohannes Faustus, turpissima bestia et cloaca multorum Diabolorum, cacodaemonem canis specie circumduxit. Vvittenberga, cum edictum Principis, de capiendo	"CI. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa / (...) Excessit e vita nondum senex apud Lugdunum ignobili et tenebroso in diversorio multis cum tanquam Necromantiae suspicione infamem execrantibus, quod Cacodaemonem nigri canis specie circumduceret, ita ut quum propinqua morte ad poenitentiam urgeretur, cani collare loreum magicis per clavorum emblemata inscriptum notis exolverit, in haec suprema verba irate prorumpens, Abi perdita bestia, quae me totum perdidisti: nec usquam familiaris ille canis, ac assiduus itinerum omnium comes, et tum morientis domini desertor, postea conspectus	"(...) sic a diabolo interfectus [scil. Faustus]. Vivens, adhuc habebat secum canem, qui erat diabolus, sicut iste nebulo qui [scil. Agrippa] scripsit *De vanitate artium* etiam habebat canem, secum currentem, qui erat diabolus." *Locorum communium collectanea: a Ioanne Manlio per multos annos, tum ex lectionibus D. Philippi Melanchtonis, tum ex aliorum doctissimorum*	"Quod autem Paulus Iovius *c* [*c* In Elogiis] et alii scripserunt nigrum Agrippae canem, quem vocabat Dominum, postquam ille Xenodochio Gratianopoli vita defunctus est, se coram omnibus in fluvium dedisse praecipitem, nec fuisse canis specie Satanas, sed verum canem quem ipse loro post Agrippam duxerit, eumque; medium inter Agrippam te ipsum cubuisse." Bodin, *De magorum daemonomania*, 693-694.

[16] The inscriptions against alchemy in the *Loci communes* are written by a hand differing from that of Molnár. See e. g.: "Sicut Deus fecit ex nihilo omnia, ita Alchymista ex omnibus nihil facit." Ibid., fol. 2^{v}.

tasse ab eis qui id vidisse afferebant, existemetur. Jovius in Elogiis doctorum virorum. / Simile impietate Joannes Faustus daemonum canis specie circumduxit. Moritur tandem in pago Wirtembergico mane in conclavi suo exanimis inversa cervici jacuit. / Magus a serpente interficitur. Theat. hist."

Scriptiolum, fol. 558[r].

ipso, promulgatum esset, evasit. Sic Norinbergae, cum pransurus accubuisset, aestuare coepit, statimque solvens hospiti quod debebat, abiit. Vix portis egressus erat, adsunt lictores, et de eo inquirunt. Fatis tandem urgentibus, cum in pago Vvirtenbergis ducatus moestus admodum sederet, quaesivit ex eo hospes, quae moeroris esset, respondit: Ne hac nocte terrearis, etiamsi ingentem strepitum, totiusque domus quassationem audias. Mane in conclavi suo exanimis, inversa cervice, iacuit. Talia nimirum praemia Satanas suis cultoribus solet reddere. [Magus a serpente interficitur.]15. (...)"

Andreas Hondorff, *Theatrum historicum sive promptuarium illustrium exemplorum ad honeste, pie, beateque vivendum cuiusvis generis*, trad. Philipp Lonicer, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt: Sigis. Fayerabend, 1590), 172.

Copy read in the Hungarian National Library: OSzK Ant. 4295.

est, quum praecipiti fugae saltu in Ararim se immersisse, nec enatasse, ab his qui id vidisse asserebant, existemetur."

Elogia doctorum virorum ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrium. Authore Paulo Iovio Novocomense, Episcopo Nucerino (Basel: H. Petri–P. Perna, 1571), 237. First published in Venezia, 1546.

Copy read in the Hungarian National Library: OSzK Ant. 5704.

virorum relationibus excerpta, et nuper in ordinem ab eodem redacta, iamque postremum recognita... (Frankfurt: P. Fabricius–S. Feyrabend–S. Hutter, 1566), 38-39. First published in 1562.

Copy read in the Hungarian National Library: OSzK Ant. 7362.

With respect to the legend of Szenci Molnár as a devilish figure two commonplaces copied out with the same pen, from the same book, at the same time have particular importance. The first one tells us a brief story about a certain Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, whereas the second is about Johannes Faustus.[17] Both of them show us examples of how the intriguing devil could overcame men in the shape of a dog. What is strikingly important here is that Szenci Molnár copied out these two commonplaces from the very same book, that is, from Andreas Hondorff's *Theatrum historicum*, which played a highly important role in the development of the legendary Faust-image, since Hondorff relied on Johannes Manlius' *Locorum commonium collectanea*, which was worked out from Philip Melanchton's lectures. It is well known at the same time, that nobody was more responsible for creating an infernal figure out of the historic Faustus than Melanchton and Martin Luther.[18] It is also far-reaching that

[17] Ibid., fol. 558[r].

[18] Baron, *Doctor Faustus*, 73.

Judit Vásárhelyi found the story of Molnár entering into pact with the devil written down by Franciscus Bagaly in a 1633 copy of the same *Theatrum historicum*, in Debrecen.[19] Frank Baron has already established that it was not an accident that Franciscus Bagaly wrote his story into this book, since it is full of stories about the devil.[20] Nevertheless, he has not mentioned the commonplaces on Agrippa and Faust, and had no knowledge about the fact that Molnár himself turned the leaves of another copy of *Theatrum historicum* as well.

We have fairly limited knowledge of Franciscus Bagaly to presume that he knew Molnár's commonplace book; we could not deny it, nevertheless. It would not be too far-reaching to suppose on the other hand that Molnár's personal commonplace book played a substantial role in the formation of the legend after the death of its author, especially, if we take into account that the story of the manuscripts is unknown between Molnár's death in 1634 and the date of Ferenc Pápai Páriz' note of possession from 1671. The distinction between the legitimate and illegitimate types of magic was a difficult issue even for the intellectuals of Western countries of Europe where several well-established theories were available for this purpose, whereas in the popular register this dichotomy was more or less unknown even in this part of the world.

On the periphery of Europe, the case was pretty much the same, especially in early modern Transylvania, where the scientific forms of demonology were virtually unknown until the mid-17th century.[21] Those who had a chance to have a look at Molnár's personalia comprising his diary as well as the *Loci communes*, should not have been by all means so uneducated to consider Molnár in that way which could make more fruitful the legend around Molnár already emerging from his Heidelberg times. Not even Molnár's relatives and friends possessed such competence in demonology that could have preserved them from misunderstanding the Heidelberg scene of the diary together with the above topoi on both type of magic, witchcraft or on Agrippa and Faustus.

[19] Vásárhelyi, "Molnár Albert".

[20] Baron, "A Faust-monda," 30-31.

[21] Gábor Klaniczay, "Hungary: The Accusations and the Universe of Popular Magic," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centres and Peripheries*, eds. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 232-234.

MAGIC FEATURES IN JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED´S APOCALYPTICS[1]

OLGA LUKÁCS

Chiliasm as One of the Manifestations of White Occultism

Chiliasm or millenarianism is nothing else but eschatology contemplated on the Earth, a doctrine about final things, which includes also the Last Judgement. We can find several allusions to this event in the Scriptures. A number of people have declared the nearness of that terrible hour; we think of the Last Day, of Heaven and Hell. These issues are connected with the return of Jesus, the resurrection of the dead, the end of the World, eternity and with the forthcoming Kingdom of God. Several theologians interpret Christ's return (resurrection) as the age of perfect welfare and peace within the framework of a given empire on Earth. As the Apocrypha (e.g. the Letter of Barnabas, Book of Enoch etc.) says, this Heavenly state is just a period of transition between the existing time and eternity.

Originally Jewish religious ideas entered Christianity through John's Book of Revelations.[2] In the 20th chapter of this book, the apostle predicts that the angel of God will tie up Satan for a thousand years. Those with real faith will rise from death and will live on Earth for a thousand years. The name of the doctrine (chiliasm, millenarianism) itself also goes back to this one thousand year.[3] In many of the chiliastic philosophers' opinions it is connected with a classless society, called a "third country, empire". This name was first given by Joachim of Fiore (1130-1202). Even the first century of Christianity was characterized by the fever of expecting Jesus' return. This

[1] Alsted (Alstedius) was born in 1588 in Cologne, where his father, Jacob Alstedius worked as a pastor of a reformed congregation. His scholarly career took off early. At the age of 13 he was accepted into the Academy of Pedagogy in Herborn. He attended the lectures of famous professors, such as J. Althusius, Johannes Piscator, and Wielhelm Zipper. From 1605 he also studied at several other famous universities at this time such as Marburg, Heidelberg and Basel. From 1608 he worked in Herborn, and he was appointed an inspector of scholarship holders. In 1610 he received the title of exquisite professor. Between 1611 and 1613 he was a teacher of the later well-known J.A. Comenius. In 1615 he married Anna Katharina Raabal, who was the daughter of the owner of the Corvinus Publishing House. They had four children together. In acknowledgement of his greatness he was appointed to represent the Nassau region on the synod in Dodrecht in 1618. In 1619 he was appointed an ordinary professor of Theology in Herborn. From the beginning of 1620 the region was afflicted by plagues, fires and wars so it became poorer and poorer due to the migration of its inhabitants. In 1627 the Theology department in Herborn had only five students. As a result of these circumstances, the Transylvanian duke, Gábor Bethlen accepted the invitation of the Collegium Academicara, founded in Gyulafehérvár in 1622. Though at the same time he was also invited to teach at the University in Hardwijk, he nevertheless accepted the invitation from Transylvania. Thanks to his activities this Transylvanian university of science became one of the most famous in Europe.

[2] Normann Cohn, *Das Ringen um das Tausendjährige Reich. Revolutionärer Messianismus im Mittelalter und sein Fortleben in den modernen totalitären Bewegungen* (Bern, 1961), 11-21.

[3] This term, later superceded by millenarianism in Western theology, was first used by Augustinus

[5] Normann Cohn, *Das Ringen um das Tausendjährige Reich*, 21-28.

issue was a topic of discussion also during the following centuries; several remarkable church dignitaries such as Justinus (died in 165), Ireneus (died in 202) and Augustinus (354-430) dealt with it. It occurred several times that those who propagated Christ's Kingdom on Earth were declared heretics and magicians. [5]

Chiliasm forms the basis not only of a field of research of theologians, but we can also meet representatives of this doctrine in the literature and history of education and philosophy as well. Chiliasm could be seen throughout the whole period of the Middle Ages, sometimes with stronger and sometimes with weaker influence. During the 17th century chiliasm was in its prime, for this period gave birth to a huge thus far unknown literature on this doctrine.[6] However, we cannot leave out of consideration the fact that at the beginning of this period the whole of Europe had to face a political, economic and social crisis. These circumstances naturally attracted people towards a way of thinking connected with the end of the world.

The Christian has to deal with John's Revelations, but he has to eliminate unnecessary speculations, which often exceed the limits of human intellect. The principles of chiliasm can be connected specifically with white occultism based on speculative astrology and mystical calculations. It is not just a mere coincidence that chiliasm, because of its principles addresses scholarly society, which deals with the explanation of the Holy Scripture, but on the other hand this scholarly society is familiar with astrology as a branch of general science.[7]

If we review the history of chiliasm, we can recognize that each denomination of the Church has its own radical disciples. As there are theological tendencies towards negative directions, for example, the group of Anabaptists from Munster, who thought they were characters from the Bible, so there is also a negative misinterpretation of chiliasm, which strings followers along with blind expectations.

In the Early Modern period revolutions and revolutionary ideals, chiliasm was precisely one of the stimulating, motivational forces. For instance, in English revolutionary movements and conflicts during the 17th century chiliasm was a strengthening source because its intention was in harmony with the announced, soon to ensue Kingdom of God on Earth. On the other hand, the way of thinking urged by Cromwell also gave a boost to chiliastic expectations.[8] This example is even more obvious, because Alsted, the teacher from Herborn, himself had an impact on the conception of the English revolution with his chiliastic doctrines.

Alsted's work the *Diatribe de Mille Annis Apocalypticis, non illis chiliastarum et Phantastarum sed BB Danielis et Johannis* was published in 1627 in Frankfurt. The author in the title of his work mentions at the outset that his explanation of the thousand years swerves from the explanations of chiliasts and people believing in phantasm. His approach is deduced from the Holy Scripture and the Book of Daniel. He wanted to emphasize with this expression, that they are supported scientifically. The doctrine of chiliasm aims at the future, simply because this feature is closely con-

[6] Several important names should be mentioned here: Jacob Böhme (1572-1624), Ludwig Giffteil (1575-1661), Johann Wilhelm (1649-1727), Johanna Eleonora Petersen (1644-1724), Daniel Cramer (1568-1637)

[7] For exact description and wording see *Theologische Real-Encyklopädie* (1991), 21. vol. 686-691; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchengeschichte* (Herder, 1961), 6. vol. 1274-1280.

[8] Alfred Doren, "Wunschräume und Wunschzeiten," in *Utopie, Begriff und Phänomen des Utopischen*, ed. Arnhelm Neusüss (Neuwied-Berlin, 1968), 154.

nected with hope, the hope of the future development and on several occasions it calculates the future and the end of the world according to astrological speculations and the position of planets.[9]

Hope is the guiding principle of all chiliasm[10] and apocalyptics as well. This doctrine puts the "God of hope" according to Romans 15, 13. above all. The same Hope-God correlation is emphasized also by mysticism, Spinosa's and Herder's pantheism. At the same time, Ernst Bloch's (1885-1977) hope-philosophy is also partially based on this fundamental idea.[11] Despite the present misery, any form of chiliasm also means the activation of the individual and it can be called optimism in some way. It gives hope and faith to man, that he could be a part of the happy Kingdom of Christ. So, chiliasm is based on faith and hope. Chiliasm, pantheism and mystique as social and revolutionary ideas are not divisible, just as chiliasm and utopia, chiliasm and apocalyptics or chiliasm and prophetics and occultism cannot be separated.

Regarding the doctrines of Chiliasm the following issue arises: what is the official attitude of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches to this teaching? The *II. Helvetian Confession* unambiguously rejects the idea of chiliasm.[12] John Calvin himself, in his *Daniel's Commentary* rejected each speculative calculation. Calvin directly calls it childish to limit Christ's reign to a thousand years: *"a bit later, the followers of chiliasm determined the Kingdom of Christ for a period of a thousand years. The fiction of these disciples is much more childish than it would be worth to deny. Their opinion is not even supported by the Book of Revelations (though it is sure they got a certain inspiration from it to support some of their false doctrines) because the number 1,000 does not mean the eternal happiness of the church, only those different trials, which are waiting for the Holy Church on Earth."*[13] Luther, Zwingli and Melanchton also rejected the "*error chiliastarum*".

The Conception of Alsted

If we take into consideration the Thirty Years' War and natural disasters (floods, plague, fires, appearance of many false prophets, decrease of population growth), we cannot be surprised or consider it unusual, that even Alsted himself dealt with the idea of the end of the world. The issue can arise, of how it is possible to harmonize the scholar and professor, Johann Heinrich Alsted's chiliasm with his general system in

[9] Hope, as a starting point is present in "secularised" chiliasm. The principle of hope has a moral meaning for historians and philosophers of the modern period. This thought is reflected in the works of Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Thoughts about Human History and Philosophy*, Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, *What does Universal History mean and why is it studied*, or Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of World History*.

[10] There are scholars who classify chiliasm into several categories. For example there are pre-millenarists and post-millenarists. Alsted is considered to be a pre-millenarist. See Robert Clouse, *Das Tausendjährige Reich: Bedeutung und Wirklichket* (Marburg, 1983).

[11] In his opinion, self-anxiety and World fear are the basic forms of fear. This feeling opens up the revelation of the future. On the other hand, the future appears to us as the possible place of freedom and relief, so it can be related to hope, which attracts faith.

[12] XI. Chapter 12. section: „We condemn those Jewish visions that there will be a golden age on the Earth before doomsday comes and merciful people, after their godless enemies are tied up, will occupy the countries of the world. The evangelical truth (the gospel according to Mathew, 24-25, and Luke, 18) and apostolic preaching (2 Thes. 2 and Tim. 3-4) declares something completely different.

[13] *Institutio III*, 25 head, 25.

the field of science. First of all, it is possible, because his millenarianism, or chiliasm is connected with a historical dimension. Since Alsted himself accepted chiliasm we have to fit this doctrine into his general, encyclopaedic system of science. In his case, this doctrine can be interpreted as part of redemption defined by Alsted himself, which is closely related to his explanation according to the age he lived in and is considered to be a changing period. In this context, Alsted's calculation becomes reasonable. In that way it is possible to search for relations between his encyclopaedia, chronology and millenarianism.

Alsted's chiliasm can be explained with the help of studying the chronology set by himself. In 1624 his work, *Thesaurus Chronologiae* was published, where he dealt with apocalyptic calculations for the first time. Alsted's work had already determined that the one thousand year reign would begin in 1694.[14] He strengthened his opinion manifested in the *Thesaurus* in his *Encyclopaedia* issued in Transylvania and Weißburg in 1630, and he remained loyal to this conviction until the end of his life.[15] Through an apocalyptic, speculative calculation he determined that the final fight against Antichrist would start in 1625 and it would be the omen of the millennium. His statement about Antichrist was repeated and made much clearer in his work *Triumphus bibliorum*, issued the next year.[16]

We have already referred to this fact that the appearance of false prophets and antichrists belongs among the signs of the beginning of the thousand years. It is not fully clear for posterity whether Alsted had in his mind Gustav Adolf or the Danish King Christian IV or rather the Winter king Frederick of the Pfalz or an Eastern king to

[14] "Hoc tempore Johannes scribit Apocalypsin, Quae completitur septem visiones. Prima visio est historica, qua septem ecclesiae figurantur per septem candelabra, & ecclesiarum istarum pastores per septem stellas, C.1.2.3. Seconda visio est septem sigillorum:ubi cap. 4 &5.praemittitur descriptio majestatis Dei et agni. Illa sigilla c. 6 & 7 insinuant statum ecclesiae N.T. inde a Cristo in Coelos evento usque ad an. 606, Tempore Bonifaz III. Termia visio est septem tubarum c. 8.9. 10.11. Sex tubae figurant statum ecclesiae ab antichristo liberatae:& periodus mensium 42 incipit anno Chr. 362. Quarta visio certaminis inter mulierem et draconem, itemque inter bestiam & agnum c. 12.13.14. est explicatio sigillorum et tubarum, adeoque complectitur statum ecclesiae ab an. Chr. 1 ad 1517. Quinta visio septem phialarum c. 6. insinuat statum ecclesiae, inde ab anno 1517 ad hunc currentem & seqq. aliquot annos. Sexta visio poenarum meretricis c. 17.18.19 & felicitatis ecclesiae in his terris figurt statum ecclesiae, forte ab anno 1625 ad finem usque speculi. Septima visio Coelestis Hieresolymae c. 21,22. ponit ob oculos statum ecclesiae trimphantis post hanc vitam." Thesaurus Chronologiae (Herborn, 1624), 47.

[15] *"Trifolium Propheticum, id est canticorum Salamonis, prophetia Danielis, Apocalypsis Johannis sic explicata, ut series textus, & series temporis prophetici se religione posiate lucem menti, & consolationem cordi ingerant."* (Herborn, 1635, geschriben in Weißburg in 1633), 167. die Apocalypse-Berechnungen.

[16] *Triumphus bibliorum* (Frankfurt, 1625), 494. 1359: Nonum intervallum, inde ab anno Christi 1359 ad annum 1694. Septima tuba sonuit tempore Petrachae, Wiclefi, Hussi & aliorum, qui bestiae contradixerunt, ab an. 1359 ad an. 1517. 1517. Septem philalae effunduntur: e quib. Prima, circa annum Chr. 1517 super terram effudit necus_malum & noxium; praedicatione evangelii excitando pessima animorum necera, iram, odium, livorem, furorem, in antichristi ministris, adversus evangelium, eique confessores, qui variis ulceribus, h. e. plagis sunt affecti ab constantem suam confessionem. 1545: secunda phiala effudit super mare, h. e. doctrinam evangelii colluvium conc. Trid. Ab anno 1625 ad annum 1694: Termia phiala effundet in fulmina & fontes aquarum, h. e. primi pilares antichristi ministros, sanguine sive bellum. Quarta phiala effundet super solem, h. e. evangelium Christi, clariorem lucem, qua fiet, ut etiam Judaei convertantur. Sexta phiala excciccabit aquas Euphratis, h. e. animabit reges orientis, ut destruant Babylonem occidentis. Decimum intervallum ab anno Christi 1694 usque ad bellum Gogicum 2694: Postquam sexta Phiala erit effusa, incipient mille anni Apoc. 20 v. 2 & seqq. Elapsis mille annis incipiet bellum Gog & Magog Apoc. 20 v. 7,8. Septima phiala effundetur in aerem, descendetque ignis e coelo qui consumat Gog & Magog: & tunc (runc) erit acta mundi fabula. Apocal. 20 vers 9, 10 & secc. »

drive the Roman dragon as an Antichrist out. Alsted repeats himself, because we can find the same calculation theory and suppositions in several of his works, such as *Diatribe de mille annis*, *Thesaurus Chronologiae* and *Encyklopediae*.

Since Alsted's teaching on chiliasm is stated in detail in his work entitled *Diatribe de mille annis*, henceforth we will deal with this work in detail underlining the most characteristic parts referring to magic features of his chiliasm. The argumentation of *Diatribe* can be summarized in the following way: whatever was ordered by God will come true in the Old and New Testaments, so the happiness of the forthcoming thousand year reign of Christ on the Earth will occur.

Alsted's work is not fully original. The author himself also mentions it several times. His works were influenced by the following authors: Johannes Piscator, who was a chiliastic teacher of Alsted in Herborn; Alfonso Corrado from Mantuá; Matthieu Cottiere, his book about the Last Judgement; Lucas Osiander, his book about Daniel's prophetical figures. According to his calculations, Alsted starts out from the statement that the millennium started with the reign of the emperor Constantine and he executes his further calculations according to Daniel's prophecy. Besides the above-mentioned book, naturally he lists another biblical passage to support his arguments.

Alsted's work addresses first of all the Christian reader, "*Cristiano Lectori*." He underlines: The one who makes up his mind to explain what prophecies declared by the Holy Spirit mean, needs to know three essential things. First of all, the light and mercy of the Holy Spirit is what is really needed. If the prophecy comes from the Holy Spirit, its explanation has also to be made by Him. Secondly, the pious and diligent reading of prophecies as well as their mutual comparison could be very useful. Finally, the fulfilment of any prophecy and being familiar with it to some extent is like a key to be used for unlocking it."[17] He thinks the time has come: "*nevertheless, these days by means of throwing light on the gospel, on the strength of a predictable huge order of God we are facing a disaster in many things.*"[18] The fulfilment of the prophecies became unambiguous and the obscurity of predictions became clear for him. For Alsted this "prospective disaster" was connected with the misery caused by the Thirty Years' War.

After the general salutation, the "*Prolegomena*," or the introduction follows, which introduces the author and the topics of certain chapters in detail. The second chapter of the Prolegomena deals with the eternal salvation of the Church in terms of its fight and victory as well. Despite the fight the Church's "happiness" is secured in three respects: 1. A thousand years' security against the invasion of evil; 2. The resurrection of martyrs before the general resurrection; 3. The wonderful liberation of good spirits from the harassment of evil, which will occur after the thousand years.[19] The

[17] "Tria sunt opus ei, qui velit vaticinia a Spiritu S. edita esplicare. Ac primo quidem reqiuritur lumen & gratia Spiritus S. Nam quia prophetia proficiscuntur a Spiritu S. necesse est ut ab eodem explicetur. Deinde pia et sollers vaticiniorum lectio & collatio inter sese multum prodest hanc ad rem. Denique impletio vaticinij, atque adeo experientia, est veluti clavis, qua resratur prophetia." Johann Heinrich Alsted: *Alsted, Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis, non illis Chiliastarum* (Frankfurt, 1630), 2.

[18] "Hodierne die, ubi ad lucem avangelij accedit magna multarum rerum divinitus praedicta catastrophe, conjungi possunt, nisi forte praeconcepta opinio aliquem fascinet." Alsted, *Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis*, 3.

[19] Hoc caput disserit de singulari felicitate Ecclesiarum militantis, tum triumphantis. Singularis felicitas Ecclesia militantis circumscribitur tribus partibus: videl, securitate ab hostili incursu impiorum per mille

happiness of the victorious Church appears as the beginning of victory in the Final Judgement. The third part of the Prolegomena deals with relations in the twentieth chapter of John's Book of Revelations. Alsted in this chapter also deals with links between other chapters of Revelations. Moreover, this chapter covers the visions and their analysis. The intertwining of seven visions following one after the other means the forthcoming expectations and the chapter shows the 1,000 years of the "peace empire" as part of the sixth vision.

Alsted, to confirm his thoughts, "recapitulates" the Church's status on the Earth since the beginning. "*The outer situation of the Church or its status on the Earth is determined by the cross and the persecution as lightness and solace or refreshment. The Church lives through these two changes on Earth in succession - sometimes deeper, sometimes less - both in the Old and New Testament. Adam and Eve, after their ruin were raised again by "the sweetest promise of the gospel…*"[20] Alsted tracks the life of the Church analysing its situation in different historical ages, and through his analysis he comes to the Church of the New Testament. Alsted divides this time into four periods:

1st period: the Judaistic Church of true Jewish people from John the Baptist to the ruin of Jerusalem. [21]
2nd period: the spread of the Church on Earth. [22]
3rd period: the era of the Church of the New Testament, which lasts from the beginning of the 1,000 years until its end. The conversion of remaining pagans will occur in this era, including the conversion of Jewish people. [23]
4th period: the congregation of the New Testament will get rid of harassment by the gospel's enemies because they will defeat them and an eternal peace will begin. Parallel to this period, the glory of God will appear still in life on Earth and it will result in perfect and true pleasure.[24] The appearance of this glory ensures the beginning of the one thousand year empire, which will result in the following satisfactions according to *Diatribe*:

- The resurrection of martyrs and their reign on Earth
- The congregation enlargement due to the conversion of Jews and pagans
- The liberation of the congregation from the persecution of its enemies
- Eternal and long lasting peace
- Reformation of the doctrine's tenets and life as well
- The gift of divine sublimity and glory

annos; resurrectione martyrum ante universalem resurrectionem, et miraculosa liberatione piorum a persecutione impiorum ultima, quae cotinget post mille istos annos. Felicitas Ecclesiae triumphantie hic describitur quantum adinitium triumphi in judicio ultimo.' Alsted, *Alsted, Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis*, 12.

[20] Quae quidem duo Ecclesia in his terris experitur alternis, sive per vices, tum in V. tum in N.T. idque secundum magis & minus. Nam Adam & Eva post lapsam Tristissumus fuerent erecti dulcissima Evangelii promissione. »Ibid., 13.

[21] Ibid., 14-16.

[22] Ibid., 17-18.

[23] Ibid., 19

[24] Ibid., 22.

- True and sincere pleasure.[25]

It is worth underlining the characteristic line of the second argument about the Kingdom of Peace, that is the conversion of pagans and Jews. The conversion of Jews as the most emphatic omen of the end of the world was borrowed by Alsted from the work of Justus Heurnius and Johannes Kepler *De Stella nova in pede Serpentarii* [On the New Star in Ophiuchus's Foot]: "*omnes hodiernas inter Christianos usitatas contentiones, cultusqve differentiam eo vergere, ut ex mutua ruina, occasio sit convertendorum hinc Indorum, inde Iudaeorum &Turcarum*."[26] The most emphatic argument for Alsted regarding the end of the world remains the conversion of Jews.[27]

The next chapter, the "*Analysis*" explains the earlier mentioned twentieth chapter of John's Book of Revelations in detail. It is an individual explanation, because Alsted mixes the biblical features with his own ideas and philological and theological points of view. He summarizes his statements in the chapters "*Paraphrasis*" and "*Questiones*" and also supports his arguments with several figures. Alsted's magic interpretation becomes the most visible in these chapters. As a result of this analysis, the emphasis is put on the connection of the whole chapter and the word for word interpretation of the "thousand years." [28]

In his work, the author himself determines the occurring issues in the chapter - in connection with the end of the world - in the most suggestive way: "1. *What is this 1,000 years we talked about several times and the interpretation of the Scriptures like? 2. Have they already occurred? 3. What should be the date of the beginning of the 1,000 years? 4. How should we understand the resurrection of the first? 5. What should we understand by the names of Gog and Magog? 6. When will martyrs, together with Christ take over the ruling of the world?"*[29] *Alsted, to answer the six questions, poses a question too: "Will the Church on Earth have a hand in happiness before the last days? And what is this happiness like?*"[30] Alsted does not pose only well defined questions, but also tries to answer them in a proper way. In order to confirm his opinion he puts forth disapprovals and arguments. He organizes his own arguments and compares them with counter-arguments.

To defend his opinion Alsted divides the listed arguments into three groups: in order to answer the six questions, the first group consists of six arguments connected

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[25] « 1. ex resurrectione martyrium,& ipsorum regno in his terris. 2. ex incremento Ecclesiae seu multitutine per conversionem gentilium & Judaeorum. 3. ex liberatione Ecclesiae a persecuzione hostium per illorum deletionem. 4. ex pace ipsius diuturna. 5. ex reformatione doctrinae & vitae. 6. ex majestate, seu gloria Ecclesia. 7. ex gaudio ejus sincero." Alsted, *Diatribe*, 24-25.

[26] Alsted, *Diatribe*, 23.

[27] Ibid., Nota. 30. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Apokalyptische Universalwissenschaft*.

[28] Ibid. Beate Griesing, "Funktionen puritanischer Apokalypsen im Revolutionsprogramm des frühen Civil War," in *J.H. Alsted, Herborns calvinistische Theologie und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der evangelischen Kulturreform des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu engl.-dt. Geistesbeziehungen d. frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Jürgen Klein and Johannes Kramer (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 147-165.

[29] „An mille isti anni, quorum ibi aliqvoties sit mentio, secundum literam semper sint intelligendi: Ustrum jam sint elapsi: in quo anno initium istorum milé annorum sit ponendum: quid intellegendum sit per resurrectionem primam: qui nam sit intelligendi per Gog & Magog; deniq, an martyres cum Christo sint regnaturi; in his terris?" Alsted, *Diatribe*, 65.

[30] „An sit futura aliqua felicitas Ecclesia in bis terris ante ultimum diem; & qualis illa sit futura?" Alsted, *Diatribe*, 66.

with Chapter 20, while the second group consists of 66 Words chosen from the Scriptures to support his arguments. The third group consists of interesting arguments in order to convince readers of the reality of the forthcoming Kingdom of Peace.

The next part deals with the presenting of the second and third year categories all the more so, because they contain magic features. Alsted in the second year category enumerates different analogous biblical passages from the Holy Scripture, which were considered to be prior arrangements for the already discussed twentieth chapter. Among these Words, mention must be made of the Book of Daniel, all the more so, because Alsted made several of his calculations regarding the end of the world according to this book. Verse 11-12 of the Book of Daniel's 12th chapter states this: "*And since that time daily sacrifice has been taken away and destructive hatefulness is presumable, it will be one thousand two hundred and ninety days.*" Happy are those who wait for these one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days and live to see them.

The words "*a tempore autem*" [and since that time] refer to the devastation of the Holy City by Titus, likewise the grabbing of the daily sacrifice, but the rebuilding will be done,[31] though it will be only temporary. The prophet Daniel speaks about the expected redevastation of the Holy City in his verse 26-27 of the 9th chapter: After sixty-seven days the Messiah will be annihilated and he will have nobody. People of the next prince will damage the city and the holy place; and its end will be caused by a flood, and the war will continue until the end, devastation is expected. He will strengthen his union with many of them, but in the middle of the week he stops the bloody offering and the sacrifice for food and devastates with hatefulness until death falls on the destroyer." The days and years found in the verses are prophetical messages. According to Alsted's interpretation, Daniel speaks about the last days of the world and according to it the New Testament's time also has to be divided into two sections: **1.** The first refers to the 70 weeks, which actually means the destruction of Jerusalem; this time is dated to 69 A.D. It means the beginning of "those days," which are 1,290 years altogether. **2.** With the addition of these years we get to the year 1359 and to the number 1,335, which is foretold by Daniel. The 1,000 years is evidently added to it, so that it is 2,694 altogether. The Gog's fight begins and the Final Judgement follows after that. According to these calculations Alsted gets to the already mentioned year of 1694 that we have already talked about. [32]

The seven arguments, which are the prerequisites of the Kingdom of God's forthcoming existence, belong to the third category. There are also magic features:

I. God will punish those who persecuted his Holy Church. In this way also the Antichrist's followers will receive their deserved punishment in order to set a precedent.

II. After a long persecution, the Church can enjoy earthly peace again. It can have a good rest after the persecution of the Antichrist. The scene of this will be the Earth, for God fulfils his promises.

III. As it was formulated by the Jewish sage and believer Philo, "*Where the*

[31] „Know and understand this: From the issuing of the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the Anointed One, the ruler, comes, there will be seven ´sevens´, and sixty-two ´sevens´. It will be rebuilt with streets and a trench, but in times of trouble." Daniel 9: 25.

[32] Alsted, *Diatribe*, 29. A 7. In connection with the vision he gives a detailed calculation.

help of man fails, God's help begins". The parables revealed by God give full evidence to this declaration for God relieved the old Church of its burden by them: the wonderful liberation of Jews from Egyptian slavery, (Exodus 12-14), Sannacherib's siege of Jerusalem (2. King, 19), the Invasion of Ethiopia under King Asa (2. Chronicle, 14), Moabites and Ammonites attacks under the rule of Jehoshaphat (2. Chronicle, 20), the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes (Macabees, 1) and so on. The enumerated parables assure us that God will defend his Church in each difficult situation also in the New Testament and he will save it according to his will: απο μενανης . To support this it is worth looking up the church's historical events. Of course, the Church experienced critical situations several times and the outcomes were sometimes uncertain, but God's will always helped through those critical situations, even if Antichrists seemed to win for a while. The destruction of Antichrist and Satan's being tied up for a thousand years are directly connected. It also proves that the beginning of the millennium is very near. The reign of Antichrist will take place parallel with the destruction of Satan. (The Revelation to John, 18, verse 7-8).

IV. Different phenomena of nature and astrology, such as the appearance of new stars and comets, earthquakes and similar manifestations undoubtedly mean omens of change.

V. The era of Antichrist, which forms part of the apocalyptics and history, has already occurred.

VI. Calculations indicated in the already mentioned book of Daniel, part 12, are in Alsted's opinion unambiguous calculations referring to the year 1694. [33]

VII. Beyond calculations, Alsted forms his theory – that the time he lives in is the final time - in his Encyclopaedia issued in 1630. To confirm his theory he indicated three bases: "*In Sacra Scriptura, characteres temporis, Consensus classicorum Authorum.*"[34] In his opinion phenomena of astrology determine every chronological change. The "objective" astrological measure is nothing else but the result of 3 huge planets' meeting in every 800 year on the Earth and they have an impact on human beings, but they also fundamentally influence the history of God's redemption.[35]

[33] Alsted, *Diatribe*, 110-112.

[34] *Encyclopediae*, 1630, 2070. A.

[35] „Atque ut hoc obiter inseramus, magna coniuncio trium superiorum planetarum est charakter temporis inter maiores non postremus. Hujusmodi coniunciones nonnisi intra annum octogentesimus (olochores) contingere possunt: ut supra ther. plan. cap. 5. diputatum est. Fidissimae igitur sunt custodes temporis hoc modo." *Encyclopaedia*, 1630, 2070. B.

The 8 events mentioned below followed the meeting of planets:

Revolutio planetarum	Annus mundi	Res coincidentes
I.	000	Creatio
II.	795	Artes, Urbes, Latrocinia
III.	1590	Diluvium, prima Monarchia
IV.	2385	Abraham, Exitus ex Aegypto
V.	3178	Destructio regni Israeli & Judae
VI.	3974	Christus & Ecclesia NT nascens
VII.	4768	Ecclesia Christi Pressura
VIII.	5563	Ecclesia Christi Libertas[36]

Events indicated in Alsted's work *Teoria planetarum* are surprisingly similar to data determined in the work of the astronomer, Johannes Dobricius κρονομηνυττοϖρ, issued in 1612. Alsted admits that Dobricius[37] had a great influence on him. Besides taking into consideration the astrological phenomenon, Alsted considers the above-mentioned Scriptures to be competent in the chronology of the end of the world.[38] In his work *Chronology* he is convinced that: The Scriptures contain the whole chronology, from the beginning of the world until its end ("*Sacram Scripturam tradere perfectam chronologiam, inde a conditi mundi usque ad ipsius finem*").[39]

The Scriptures distinguish six eras regarding the epoch of the universe and the period determined by planets, instead of eight. Alsted interprets it in the following way: "*The first is from the beginning of the world until the general Flood, which is altogether 1,656 years. Gen. 5. The second is from the Flood until the Exodus of Jews from Egypt, 797 years. Gen. 12,1. Exod. 12,41.It will be thus from the beginning of the world until the Exodus, 2,453 years. The third is from the Exodus until the Temple of Solomon, which means 480 years. 1. King 4. Altogether that is 2,933. The fourth is from the Temple of Solomon until the Temple of Zorobabel. This period is 594 years, which is altogether 3,528 years. The fifth is from the second temple until its destruction, which means 490 years. Dan. 9. This makes 4,018 years altogether. The sixth period is the final one, from the temple's destruction until the end of the world, which means 2,625 years, Dan. 12,11-12. Revelation 20, verses 6, 7, 8. That results in 6,643 years, which is from the beginning of the world until the end of the world.*"[40]

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[36] Ibid., 2070.

[37] Johannes Dobricius doctor and astronomer. He is supposed to have belonged to the group of Silesian spiritualists who to a large degree contributed to the astronomic explication of the 1603 events. There is no definite evidence that Dobricius became a chiliast. For further details see Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588-1638. Between, Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 190-191.

[38] Alsted, *Diatribe*, 22.

[39] *Encyklopediae*, 2071.

[40] „Primum est ab initatio mundi usque ad diluvium universale annorum absolutorum 1656, Gen. 5. Secundum, a diluvio ad Exodum Israelis ex Aegypto, annorum 797, Gen. 12, 1, Exod. 12,41. Iatque a conditu mundi ad exodum sunt anni 2453. Tertium, ab Exodo ad templum Salamonis, quod & primum dicitura n. 480,1 Reg, 4. Summa, 2933. Quartum, a templo Salamonis ad templum Zorobabelis, quod & secundum dicitur, an. 595. Summa 3528. Quintum, a templo secondo instaurato ad ejus desolationem, an. 490, Dan.9

These arguments are based on the interpretation of the Book of Daniel. They lead to a more detailed analysis of the above-mentioned sixth biblical world period. By the way, Alsted sets out from this point of view in his work, *Diatribe de mille annis*. If we consider only the destruction of the second temple, dated 69 A. D. (according to Alsted's calculation) and we add 2,625 years to it, then we can calculate the end of the world, and the end of the one thousand year empire is the year 2694, which means the year of the last judgement according to Alsted's Diatribe.[41]

After the presentation of these theories and arguments it can be declared, that in Alsted's works a premillenial, magic interpretation is expressed, which is based on confidence in the Kingdom of God. Its prerequisite can be felt also in existing signs, such as the distribution of the Gospel among the world's nations, the appearance of Antichrist, and the fact that Gog and Magog persecutes the Empire of God on Earth (references in the 20th chapter of John's Book of Revelation), then the victory of Christ and the Last Judgement as well. Alsted, to prove his declarations, elaborated an epoch-making teaching. With his strict chiliastic approach Alsted diametrically opposed Calvin's doctrine. In his theory he determined the exact year of the end of the world.

Practical Aspects of Alsted's Work

Alsted's concept influenced several remarkable personalities, among others J. A. Comenius. He studied in Herborn and also dealt with calculations. He determined the date of the end of the world as 1672. In 1629 Alsted accepted the invitation of the Transylvanian duke, Gábor Bethlen to the Calvinist College in Gyulafehérvár. He was requested to aid its advancement to a European level based on a German model. After his move to Transylvania, he kept his chiliastic concept; moreover his approach had an influence even on prince György Rákóczi. [42] Besides the external historical events, the beginning of the Pagan and Jewish mission initiated by Protestants in order to support the Jews' social progress was also favourable to chiliasm.[43] The declaration that Christ's return starts in 1694 meant that the beginning of the thousand year happy empire provided more certain expectations not only for Germany, which struggled with consequences of the Thirty Years' War, but also for other countries suffering internal unrest such as England. It is noteworthy that Cromwell settled Jews in England in order to "direct" them into the Church to accelerate the fulfilment of the prophecy about the forthcoming one thousand year empire. [44]

Alsted's work, the *Diatribe* got into the hands of William Burton, a professor in Oxford,[45] who translated the Latin text into English. Burton dedicated his English

Summa annorum mundi 4018**.** Sextum, & ultimum intervallum, est a desolatione templi ad finem fere mundi (cuius illa desolatio fuit tyus) annorum 2625. Dan.12. Vers 11,12. Apoc 20. Vers 6, 7, 8. Summa annorum 6643, a principio mundi usque ad ipsius finem." *Encyklopediae*, 2071.

[41] *Encyklopediae*, 1634.

[42] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind* (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1954), 111.

[43] Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Apokalyptische Universalwissenschaft," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 14 (Göttingen, 1988), 59.

[44] Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588-1638*, 172-182.

[45] In the preface to the English translation W. Burton refers to Alsted in the following sentences: "*The Author is of as general repute among us for learning, as any late Writer we have received from beyond the Seas these many yeares.…*" Johannes Kramer, J. H. Alsted´s „Alsted, Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis" and W. Burtons translation "The Beloved City," in *J.H. Alsted, Herborns calvinistische Theologie und Wis-*

translation to Sir John Cordwell, knight and Alderman, the master of the textile trade association. The translation was published in London in 1643 under the illustrative title of *The Beloved City*.[46]

The quick spread of Alsted's thoughts in England can be linked to the fact that the Parliament and intellectual society urged a general cleansing of the Church and institutionalized education and started to deal with Protestant philosophy in detail. The ideological framework of the programme urged by the Parliament was identical with that of Francis Bacon.[47] While some Puritan Members of Parliament like Thomas Hayne and Robert Baillie were sceptical about Alsted's approach, Mede in his work, *Key of the Revelation* directly took some opinions from Alsted. Dr. Joseph Mede (1586-1638) had a close relationship with Puritanism's apocalyptics.[48] He was the teacher of John Milton in Cambridge. Mede was already familiar with Alsted's work. In his work *Key of the Revelation* he does not imitate Alsted in a slavish way, but he knows the main points of his approach and his prechiliastic attitude was identical to Alsted's way of thinking on many points. Even in 1624, in the year of publishing the *Chronology*, he had a heated debate about the years predicted by Alsted.

Thoughts formed in the *Diatribe* made their way to England in different ways. Probably, J. A. Comenius' activity was the most important. He referred to his master, Alsted, who was famous in England thanks to his Encyclopaedia, which appeared some time earlier. The English Parliament invited the famous teacher because of his knowledge in the field of organization of the education system. During his stay in England, Comenius became familiar with thoughts on chiliasm, whose main principle can also be connected with hope and light. [49] Comenius was a school organizer during his stay in England between the years 1641 (spring) and 1642 (summer).[50] After he left

senschaft im Spiegel der evangelischen Kulturreform des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu engl.-dt. Geistesbeziehungen d. frühen Neuzeit, eds. Jürgen Klein and Johannes Kramer (Frankfurt am Main -Bern-New York-Paris, 1988), 22.

[46] Johannes Kramer, "J. H. Alsted´s „Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis," 9-11.

[47] This programme is described in detail in his works *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* published in 1623, and *Novum Organum* published in 1620. The programme had a positive impact on the Puritan English revolution, because Bacon's educational and scientific reform can be executed within the framework of a „godhood empire". Alsted' chiliastic concept fits into this idea.

[48] Work of Mede: „Clavis Apocalyptica", written in 1627, but it was published only after his death in 1643. Richard More translated it under the title „The Key of the Revelation".

[49] These tenets could be found in the work *Via Lucis* written in London, but published much later. Comenius links „Apocalypse of the light "to the manifestation of God and social ethics to the principle of hope.

[50] Comenius' task was the realization of the cultural revolution in England. The Parliament gave Comenius all theits support to execute this programme. He got in touch with the Eastern Prussian emigrant, Samuel Hartlib, who otherwise had wide scholarly connections all over Europe, among others with Scotchman, John Dury (teacher at Graham College). Johannes Kvacala made Comenius' Diary public in Saint Petersburg in 1913. According to this he had already been in contact with Hartlib since 1634. Moreover, he published his work: *Praeludia Conatum Pansophicorum Comenii* in Oxford in 1637. We also know from his diary that he did not accept the prolongation of his stay in England because of English disturbances in 1642. Comenius and Hartlib jointly elaborated the educational programme based on Calvinist religiousness and principles of Bacon. Their programme's general goal can be defined thus: The transformation and education of society can be realized in the following three ways: 1. Through science, 2. Education through social reforms and 3. Through the utopian model of liberty, peace and welfare. This program clearly reflects the fact that during the 17th century there was no strict separation between apocaliptics,apocalyptics, utopia, reformer theology and the new science in England. In the background of the plan's conception, Alsted's encyclopaedical ap-

England, two works of Alsted were issued in English: *The World's Proceeding Woes and Succeeding Joys* (London, 1642) and the already mentioned, *The Beloved City Or, The Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Years* (London, 1643). The time was not favourable to Alsted's ideas but his ideology is noticeable also later with famous thinkers such as Leibnitz, who used Alsted's plan in his encyclopaedic struggle; moreover Cotton Mather at Harvard University proved North America appreciated Alsted's work. [51]

The question of whether Alsted stayed true to his chiliasm until the very last can be answered only with a yes. During his stay in Transylvania in 1635, he wrote his work entitled, *Prodromus religionis triumphantis*. The work was finished by his chiliastic colleague, Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld.[52] The work obviously gives evidence of his persistence in his line of thought. In the 28th chapter of *Prodromus* he deals with the millennial reign of Christ (pages 1033-1040). Alsted in this chapter takes action against those who do not accept the return of Christ as a physically observable, earthly phenomenon. Besides this, he also takes action against those who interpret Christ's return and reign in a heavenly sense.[53]

proach was also present. But the times that would have been necessary to execute the pansophizmpansophism were unfavourable and restless. After all, the straightening of faith and science should be accomplished in the kingdom of peace, which would mean the sign of the highest worship. Comenius' stay and activity in England was later favourable for the Invisible College established by Theodore Haar in 1645, which was the predecessor of the Royal Society with its high standard and quality.

[51] The question to what extent Alsted influenced Leibnitz is dealt with by Maria Rosa Antognazza and Howard Hotson, *Alsted and Leibnitz, on God The Magistrate and the Millenium* (Wiesbaden, 1999).

[52] Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld, a German theologian from Nassau arrived together with Alsted in Alba Iulia. In the years 1638-1655 he was the senior professor and the head of Academy. His wide knowledge and scholarly authority were guarantee of the high standard of the institution.

[53] Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Apokalyptische Universalwissenschaft*, 66-67.

WEATHER MAGIC IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD AS REFLECTED IN THE MINUTES OF WITCHCRAFT TRIALS[1]

ÉVA PÓCS

In the past few decades I have begun to examine the role that magic played in the lives of village and small town societies in the early modern period, in their mentality, religiosity and belief system. The examination was based on sources related to witchcraft.[2] It is commonly known that the minutes of the witchcraft trials which took place throughout the 16th to 18th centuries are valuable sources with regard to the rural communities of the early modern period, in fact they constitute the only early modern source, which gives a detailed account of the communal role and social background of magic. The witness accounts of these trials reflect almost directly the 'rural witchcraft', which took place in the background of the official events and preceded these trials. Contrary to the accused, who may even have been forced by the expectations of elite demonology to make a false statement, the witnesses reconstructed the goings on of their village in the context of traditional witchcraft belief. They relate those of their memories, which can be interpreted as malefactions of a witch in the light of their beliefs.[3] This allows us to gain what might near enough be called direct evidence regarding *bewitchment* ('*maleficium'*) or black magic (or, in fact, its absence, as we shall see in what follows).

The problem is that although the general assumption is that *witchcraft* and *black magic* is one and the same thing, the witchcraft that was actually practised in early modern rural communities, even in terms of *maleficium*, goes far beyond the sphere of witchcraft as a mental system. As we are talking here about witchcraft accusations, magic and its specialists, the magicians, are only likely to be talked about in terms of witchcraft; while we have hardly any data regarding the activities that are outside this

[1] About a similar topic see my earlier study based on a smaller database: Éva Pócs, "Southeast-European Weather Magicians: Indoeuropean Agrarian Shamanism," in *Entre ciel et terre. Climat et sociétés,* eds. E. Katz, A. Lammel and M. Golobinoff (Paris: Ibis Press–IRD, 2002), 355–387.

[2] For the most important published records of witch trials used as sources for my research see: János Reizner, *Szeged története IV.* [The History of Szeged] Szeged, 1900; Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára* [Source-book of Hungarian witchcraft trials] (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910); Ferenc Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529-1768, I-II* [Witchcraft Trials in Hungary 1529-1768, I–II.] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1970); Ferenc Schram, Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529-1768 III. [Witchcraft Trials in Hungary 1529-1768, III.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982); Gábor Klaniczay, Éva Pócs and Ildikó Kristóf eds., *Magyarországi boszorkányperek. Kisebb forráskiadványok gyűjteménye 1–2.* [Witchcraft Trials in Hungary. A compilation of smaller source publications 1-2] (Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatócsoport, 1989); Bessenyei József ed., *A magyarországi boszorkányság forrásai I-II* [Source-book of Witchcraft in Hungary I–II.] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1997–2000).

[3] As Christina Larner writes about the sources for Scottish witchcraft trials, the majority of the documents are witness accounts in which we hear "the direct voice of the peasant": Christina Larner, *Enemies of God. The Witch-hunt in Scotland.* (London, 1981), 7.

sphere. We can only draw conclusions as to the role of magic in the age if we first take into consideration all of these limitations. I am convinced that we can work with confidence with the positive data of these trials, but negative data must not be taken to mean that a particular type of magician did not exist just because they never came to be involved in a witchcraft trial. Thus, for example, I have several reasons to believe, although I cannot go into those reasons here, that there were far more magicians involved in treasure searching, weather magic, 'seeing' the dead or lost things and creatures in early modern communities than the sources reveal. And then we have not even mentioned the benedictions and exorcisms which were practised by the priests, but several elements of which can be classified closely enough as magic. The important role that this latter practise played in the everyday life of the village people is testified to by only a few fragments of text, holy objects and clerical spells that the village healers and magicians came by. As far as the 'lay' practise of elite magicians is concerned, there is a surprising number of divination procedures used by witchdoctors, which probably come from these people and this certainly allows us to draw some restricted conclusions regarding the trickle-down effect of elite magic into village communities and the hands of rural specialists.

I use the concept of witchcraft in the social anthropological sense, according to which it is more than the simple practise of black magic. It acts as an ideology of justifying disasters and a practice of averting disaster, an institution which regulates certain individual and communal conflicts and which functioned in its contemporary society in the network of contact between *malefactor – victim – identifier of witch – healer*.[4] According to the world view which can be inferred to exist in the background of this institution, the disasters come from human malefactors, from 'enemies within the community', who are assumed to have supernatural powers which enable them to harm, to put spells on, man and his belongings. Witches as belief figures also have mythical features, which are attributed to them traditionally or are ascribed to them occasionally in the case of *maleficium* accusations. It has varied demonic appearance forms, including some supernatural forms, which are rooted in the local traditional belief system. The supernatural abilities attributed to the witch, as well as the actions attributed to them, in other words the imagined and narrated techniques of the supposed bewitchment go beyond the methods of contemporary local magic. They contain several quasi techniques which exist only on the level of beliefs and narratives, such as the malefactions effected by witches who appear in a demonic form, in a dream, a vision, as a ghost, in animal form or otherwise. Besides all this, the techniques of *maleficium* ascribed to the witch can also reflect the local methods of the magic of the times. This is even truer of the practice of people who identified malefactors and remedied the harm that was done. If we include in a broad interpretation of magic the divination techniques mainly used by witchdoctors (where we are not talking of pure magic influencing, but about the decision of the deity), we can say that the minutes of witchcraft trials demonstrate a whole arsenal of the popular magic of contemporary rural

[4] In reference to this, see first of all Alan D. J. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England. A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), 205-206, who applied the findings of social anthropology, primarily the findings of Evans-Pritchard about African witchcraft to early modern witchcraft in Essex, see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937).

and urban communities, provided that we handle and evaluate the data with due care. We must not forget that in the case of witchcraft and magic we are talking of two different mental systems, which connect or overlap at several points, but which must not be taken as identical.[5] This situation is made more complicated by the impact of Church demonology, the ideology on which the persecution of witches was based, the doctrine whereby magic was assisted and *maleficium* was inspired by the devil. Naturally, this doctrine was also the point of departure for witchcraft cases in Hungary. Nor did the views on magic remain uninfluenced by this doctrine, as revealed by the texts of the trials, even though it is still true that witchcraft cases in Hungary were mainly based on *maleficium* accusations, while accusations of a devil's pact or of Witches' Sabbath remained negligible in importance.[6] Narratives of witnesses testifying against the witch support accusations of *maleficium*. They relate the events directly before the harm was done, the conflicts in the community, which may have motivated *maleficium* and its consequences too: the solution of the conflict and the remedy of the *maleficium*. In my paper on witchcraft trials in the Sopron County[7] I typified these *maleficium* narratives and used these typologies to draw conclusions as to the types of witches and witchcraft that probably existed (in this I also used the attempts at typifying made by Christina Larner and Richard Kieckhefer).[8] In the case of the various types, magic, its devices, procedures, lay practitioners and specialists, the magicians, all appear in varying contexts. One of the main differences between different types of witch is precisely whether the witch as a fictitious agent of *maleficium* actually 'does anything' or not, whether they practice magical procedures or not. If they do, the next question is whether this is indeed black magic (this is by far the rarest case) or if not, what did the person do that could be interpreted as black magic and be used against them as an accusation of *maleficium*.

In the recent past I reviewed the data on magic and wizardry that could be found in identified trial records in Hungary. The richest material accreted around l*ove magic, milk magic* and *weather magic* (as well as around the divinatory procedures, which served to identify *maleficium* and the witches, which does not come strictly under the category of magic). Finally, there was a considerable amount of material to do with *treasure seeing* which was mainly important in 18th century magical practice,

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[5] Evans-Pritchard applies the term *sorcery* to magical techniques, whereas witchcraft is an occult activity and those practicing it rely upon inner psychological energies: E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Witchcraft," *Africa* 8 (1935): 417–422.

[6] See Gábor Klaniczay, "Hungary: The accusations and the universe of popular magic," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centres and Peripheries*, eds. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 219–255; Éva Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches` Sabbath and the Devil`s Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe," *Acta Ethnographica* 37, special issue: *Witch Beliefs and Witch-hunting in Central and Eastern Europe (Conference in Budapest, Sept 6-9, 1988*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs (Budapest, 1994): 305–370.

[7] Éva Pócs, "Maleficium-narratívok – konfliktusok – boszorkánytípusok. Sopron vármegye 1529-1768," [Maleficium narratives – conflicts – witch types, Sopron County, 1529-1768.] *Népi kultúra – népi társadalom* 18 (1995): 9–66.

[8] Richar Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500* (London: Routledge, 1976), 42; Larner, *Enemies of God*, 111. From Larner's three types, one draws together two of Kieckhefer's types, thus she has three types as opposed to Kieckhefer's four. Three types of the course of "processing a witch" are as follows: cursing and quarrels; sorcery, healing and fortune-telling; and associations with a reputed witch.

while less apparent in the magic of everyday life. No matter which area we examine, we will be able to acquire a kind of cross-section regarding the magic of the times, through the role it plays in systems of witchcraft. I decided to carry out detailed examinations on cases of weather magic which is known to be the most uniquely characteristic element of popular village magic. I supplemented my material with other, chiefly Hungarian sources, which gave me an idea of the situation 'outside of' the systems of witchcraft. It is the results of this research that I am going to discuss in the following section. By interpreting the data I would like to highlight the role that manipulating the weather played in the rural communities of early modern Hungary, who were its agents and what means they relied on. I assume that more or less all types of weather magic came to be included in the spread, but I am aware that my data give a very random reflection of what actually went on in the early modern period in terms of weather magic, as we never find out what practices the other members of the community, who did not come to be accused of witchcraft, carried out and we find out little about the role and proportions of the described practices in the lives of these people. Documents on the persecution of witches reveal practices of weather magic as functioning in the tripartite system of everyday magic, the practice of weather magicians and the magic of the priests. We also have a fictitious group, that of accusations of weather manipulation on a demonological basis. Contrary to the procedures, which could be and indeed were carried out as parts of everyday magic, these actions could only be carried out in the minds of the demonologists. Nonetheless they allow us to draw some inferences regarding local magical practices, as well as one or two elements of weather magic.

1. First, let us examine the demonological fictions of sending hail and taking away rain. Sources on the European witch persecution contain accusations of manipulating the weather from the earliest stages on: 'making' hailstorms, causing droughts ('stealing the rain'). Even the heresy accusations of the early Middle Ages and the 11th century heresy trials contain hailstorm accusations.[9] Witches of Switzerland who make hail and lightening also appear in witchcraft trials in the 1400's and there are several allusions to them later on, too. In the Alps it was commonplace by the 15th and 16th century for trial texts to speak of bad weather caused with the help of the devil.[10] In some areas (e.g. the canton Lucerne or Styria), the most frequent charge against witches was actually the negative manipulation of the weather with black magic.[11] In

[9] W. G. Soldan and Henriette Soldan-Heppe, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse I.*, ed. Max Bauer (Hanau/Main: Müller & Kiepenhauer, 1912), 130; Monica Blöcker, "Wetterzauber. Zu einem Glaubenskomplex des frühen Mittelalters," *Francia* 9 (1981): 117–131.

[10] Soldan and Heppe, Geschichte, II. 210, 217, 219; Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons. An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York: Meridian Books, 1975), 240–242; E. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland. The Borderlands during the Reformation* (Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 1976); Heide Dienst, "Hexenprozesse auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Bundesländer Vorarlberg, Tirol (mit Südtirol), Salzburg, Nieder- und Oberösterreich sowie des Burgenlandes," in *Hexen und Zauberer. Die große Verfolgung – ein europäisches Phänomen in der Steiermark*, ed. Helfried Valentinitsch (Graz: Leykam-Verlag, 1987), 265–291 (p. 276); Vinko Rajšp, "Hexenprozesse in Slowenien," *Acta Ethnographica* 37, special issue: *Witch Beliefs and Witchhunting in Central and Eastern Europe (Conference in Budapest, Sept 6-9, 1988*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs (Budapest, 1994): 143–170; Maja Bošković-Stulli, "Hexenprozesse und Hexensagen in Kroatien", *Ibidem*; Ivan Tkalčić, "Izprave o progonu vještica u Hrvatskoj", *Starine* XXV (1892): 1–102 (p. 25).

[11] J. Sacher, "Das Hexenwesen in Kanton Luzern nach den Prozessen von Luzern und Sursee 1400-1675"

17th -18th century Austrian trials a vast number of witnesses claimed that the witches caused avalanches, floods, droughts, and hail which destroyed their orchards and vineyards.[12] In Hungary the situation is fundamentally different, which is chiefly due to the fact that manuals used for conducting the trials and formulating the accusation, and generally the demonological ideology of witchcraft purges, had a far lesser influence in this country.[13] It is only in the trials conducted near the Western borders, in Vas, Sopron, Bratislava counties, that we find data of witches creating rain with the help of the devil – clearly under the influence of demonologically motivated accusations coming in from the West. Examples of hailstorm accusation known from the Western edges of Hungary are very similar in their contents to the specific cases described in Western demonological works (*Formicarius*, *Malleus maleficarum*, etc.).[14] Accusations of making hailstorms, combined with preconceptions of the devil's pact introduced by demonology, appear here in the questions of the court as well as in the statements of the witches who were tortured. They usually refer to creating hailstorms in groups, or with several partners. This is hardly likely to have ever occurred in reality.

As an example I would like to quote the torture statement of C*atarina Augustin Filghin* in a trial held in Schlaining, in 1647[15] and spoke of a regular 'witch society' containing 13 members. They fly in the image of rooks when they are out to make bad weather. On Christmas night they take a toad, they collect stones in a basket on St. George's day, they make a chicken sit on the stones, the stones turn into eggs and these become the hailstones that beat the neighbourhood of Szombathely.[16] The accusations regarding a hail of stones are here combined with the local belief motifs of stones laid by the witches and a group of witches flying in the image of rooks. The demonological fiction of a pack of witches creating a hail of stones appears, enriched with other local elements, in three other trials in Vas county in the 1650's and 1660's and in a trial held at Trausdorf (then Darázsfalva in Sopron county, now in Austria) in 1665.[17] Besides these, it is in a major trial at Szeged in 1728 that we encounter demonologically inspired weather accusations, namely of stealing and selling the rain.[18]

(Dissertation, Freiburg, Luzern, 1947), 25; F. Ilwolf, "Hexenwesen und Aberglaube in Steiermark. Ehedem und jetzt," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 7 (1897): 184–196 (p. 187).

[12] Helfried Valentinitsch, "Die Verfolgung von Hexen und Zauberern im Herzogtum Steiermark – eine Zwischenbilanz", in *Hexen und Zauberer. Die Große Verfolgung – ein europäisches Phänomen in der Steiermark*, ed. H. Valentinitsch (Graz – Wien: Leykam-Verlag, 1987), 297–316 (p. 314).

[13] See e.g. Gábor Klaniczay, "Hungary: The accusations"; Ildikó Kristóf, "»Bűvös-bájos varázslók«, vagy a »Sátán sáskafarkú katonái«: Demonológiai elemek a 16-17. századi debreceni református irodalomban" ["Charmful sorcerers" or "locust-tailed soldiers of the Satan": Elements of demonology in Calvinist literature printed in Debrecen in the 16th and 17th centuries] in *Demonológia és boszorkányság Európában*, ed. Éva Pócs, Studia Ethnologia Hungarica 1. (Budapest: L'Harmattan—PTE Néprajz tanszék, 2001), 107–136; Éva Pócs, "The Popular foundations".

[14] Johannes Nider, *Formicarius* (About 1435–1437) [Reprint in Malleus maleficarum, 1969 I. vol. 1, 305–354.], Lib. V. cap. 4, 717; Ulrich Molitor, *De lamiis et phitonicis mulieribus*, 1489 [Reprint in Malleus maleficarum 1969 I. vol. 2, chapter 1, 17–45.]; Heinrich Krämer (Institoris) and Jakob Sprenger, *Malleus maleficarum* (Paris, 1510 [?]), I. question, chapter 15, 147–149.

[15] Schram, *Magyarországi II*., 710–712.

[16] Ibid., 711–712.

[17] Ibid., 721, 14.

[18] Reizner, *Szeged*, 380, 390–392 (statement of Borbála Hisen), 375 (statement of Pál Kovács), 392–393

Both this case and those in Western Hungary are characterised by the total absence of data showing genuine rural practice of negative magic, even though each of the statements is coloured by several elements of the local popular belief. (We know that the lawyers and theologians who wrote the demonological tracts created negative accusations from elements of an already existing rural practise of weather magic, in other words the local magical practice of the village was also reflected in them. However, in these cases too, we are always talking only about positive weather magic. In the mirror of these data, the practise of black magic, at least in terms of weather, proves to have been a pure fiction of the courts.

2. Among the accusations levelled against witches witnesses always included numerous procedures of everyday magic, which are all intended to prove that the woman (or sometimes man) under accusation carried out activities harmful to the community. This was usually related to some event of the weather in the recent past: the person took away the rain and caused a drought to the village, or caused a hailstorm to destroy the harvest of her enemy or even that of the entire village. However, these accusations, contained in the witness accounts, can almost always be deciphered as an everyday village practice of rain magic or of magical practices intended to protect against hailstorms, in other words not as harmful but as positive actions. The most commonly used methods were: pouring or spilling water, submerging in water which, as practices of homeopathic magic, are common methods of rain magic all over the world. The numerous versions of these activities form the most numerous group of data from these trials. Let me list a few examples of the most important types:

The witch accused in a trial at Šintava (Sempte) in 1730, Katalin Tomán, Mrs. György Varga by her married name, regulated rain by using an analogous procedure involving pouring out water. One witness stated that when the rain was about to come, Mrs. Varga, holding water in a pan, 'stopped the rain with the power of the water' and then poured the water out of the pan, thus starting the rain.[19]

In Mátyás Forintos's trial at Kőszeg the man accused of causing a hailstorm had been caught *bathing naked*, on the days of St. Philip and St. Jakob (1st May) and of St. George[20] (We know of a similar demonological accusation from a trial held in Styria in 1545).[21] The accusation and other similar data regarding bathing are rather transparent in the knowledge of our modern data. The practice of bathing naked is only known of with aims of positive magic. In the Abov (Abaúj) county trial of Mrs János Perei Kis, in 1718, they talk of the use of witch bathing as a magical practice against drought.[22] This increases the likelihood of the suspicions whereby the practice of the water trial was in some way related, at least in Eastern Europe, with the collective submerging fertility rites. One representative of this ritual is the Kupala-day bathing

(Borbála Hisen).

[19] Schram, *Magyarországi I.*, 526–528.

[20] István Bariska, "Egy 16. századi kőszegi boszorkányper és tanulságai" [A 16th Century Witch Trial in Kőszeg and the Lessons it Teaches], *Vasi Szemle* XLII (1988): 247–258 (p. 249).

[21] The accused witch had bathed in the stream. If she had poured the water around her, everything would have been beaten by hail, but out of the goodness of her heart she poured it elsewhere: Ferdinand Andrian, "Über Wetterzauberei," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XXIV (1894): 3–39 (p. 35).

[22] Bessenyei, *A magyarországi* I, 45.

custom of East or South Slavic peoples.[23] We suspect that we are also talking about a case when rain was stolen through homeopathic magic to protect the agent's own household in the trial which was conducted at Šintava in 1730 against Katalin Tomán, Mrs. György Varga. According to one witness she kept her water pan in her attic to prevent the rain falling.[24] In another trial held at Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat) in 1728, the accused, Rehu Suska Rehu supposedly threatened to stop the rain. Witnesses also saw these activities as malevolent weather magic, whereas in fact the accused was evidently carrying out positive rain magic when stirring water in a pan outside the house and watering the house door with a pot full of water.[25] It is true to say that these are procedures which, turned against the neighbouring household, can also have a negative outcome. (The *Malleus Maleficarum* also describes a similar practise of rain magic that was observed in Schwab villages: maidens stirring water in a saucepan bring rain to their own land while diverting it from other people.)[26] Evidently, it is very easy to coin a demonic accusation of *maleficium* from this kind of ambivalent 'neighbourhood magic.'

Milk and rain rituals of 'picking the dew' also carry a similar ambivalence, which are testified to by a great number of data in all three centuries of witch hunting. (The connection of milk and rain magic is based on the semantic identity of the mythological origins of milk and precipitations, which is known from a number of beliefs in our region. The essence of this is to take the milk of the cows (or the rain) away from the next-door neighbour or the next village in order to increase the agent's own yield. This rite is typical of many others based on the idea of limited goods: one's own profits can only be increased at the cost of damaging others (and vice versa); thus positive magic can only be negative from the other's point of view.[27] Let us quote one example from the 1711 trial in Senec in Bratislava County where the strong metaphoric link between milk magic and rain magic is evident. A witness claims that Mrs Molnár, when seeing an approaching rain cloud, used the following spell to drive it away, 'I eat half, I drink half, I put half in my bag.'[28]

In a wider sense, picking dew is one of the numerous rites in Central, South Eastern Europe that express the symbolic ties between water, dew, milk, grain and fertility. These include the 'submerging' fertility rites associated with St. John's day and known to several Eastern European peoples, such as the bathing custom of Kupala day among Russians and South Slavic peoples. This is often done with the express aim of prevent-

[23] See about this Péter G. Tóth, "Folyampróba – liturgikus vízpróba – boszorkányfürösztés" [River Ordeal – Liturgical Trial by Water – Swimming of Witches. Procedures of Ordeal in Witchcraft Trials], in *Demonológia és boszorkányság Európában*, ed. Éva Pócs, Studia Ethnologia Hungarica I. (Budapest: L'Harmattan – PTE Néprajz Tanszék, 2001), 249–291.

[24] Schram, *Magyarországi I.*, 526–528.

[25] Bessenyei, *A magyarországi I*., 264–265.

[26] *Malleus Maleficarum II*. question, chapter I, 13; quoted by Alfonso Di Nola, *Der Teufel: Wesen, Wirkung,Geschichte* (München, 1990, translation of *Il diavolo. Le forme, la storia, le vicende di satana e la sua universale e malefica presenza presso tutti i popoli, dall'antichità ai nostri giorni*, Roma: Newton Compton editori, 1987), 364.

[27] See George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good," *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 293–215.

[28] Šintava/Sempte in Pozsony/Bratislava County, Schram, *Magyarországi I*., 490.

ing drought in the summer.[29] While in collective rites it is more common for two neighbouring communities to compete for the 'limited goods,' witchcraft tends to be rather the personal rivalry of two neighbours in which the kidnapping of magic proceeds comes into the foreground. The data on dew picking which emerge from witchcraft trials can be seen as a variety of these rites applied to individual or neighbourhood conflicts, in other words to village witchcraft.

The means and rites used for rain magic that can be discovered in the minutes of further witchcraft trials of everyday magic can be mentioned only in passing. One of these is the use of a 'rain stone' which is dipped in water or has water poured over it.[30] This is a device of weather magic that is known and used widely all over Eurasia.[31] To protect themselves against storms with iron objects, firing into the cloud, making obscene gestures at the cloud or, most commonly, by sacramental objects (willow buds, holy water) also seems to have been common practice. The use of holy objects as a general means of averting the demonic is also very common in this context as characteristic devices of religious magic (this may well be related to the similarly general views regarding storm demons).[32] However, the processions led by priests to forestall hailstorms, which were again extremely wide-spread rites all over Central Europe both in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period,[33] only appear in the form of some vague allusions in the minutes of Hungarian witchcraft trials. The reason for this must be that these as rites protecting the entire community did not fit very well into the framework of witchcraft as defined by neighbourhood conflicts.

3. The third type of data is related to the activity of magicians. Among the magicians (*táltos*) who were taken to court in the 17th and 18th centuries, there were a few people who were expressly engaged in weather magic or who were accused (but never as the main accusation) of being engaged in stealing or sending rain.[34] In most cases, however, the tissue of *maleficium* accusations allows us to infer, even in these cases, the positive role, which they actually played in the community. The relatively small numbers of weather magicians who appear in Hungarian trials represent a rich European tradition.[35] Naturally, these traditions were associated everywhere with the rural

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[29] Elizabeth Warner, *Russian Myths* (London: The British Museum press, 2002), 59, 58; Andrian, *Wetterzauberei*, 33.

[30] Schram, *Magyarországi II*., 458; Arnold Ipolyi, *Magyar mythologia* [Hungarian Mythology], (Budapest, 1929 [1854]), 434.

[31] Ádám Molnár, *Időjárás-varázslás Belső-Ázsiában* [Weather Magic in Inner Asia], Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 21 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993).

[32] See e.g. Sacher, *Hexenwesen*, 72–73; Andrian, *Wetterzauber*, 30–32; Adolph Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter* I. (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1960 [Freiburg i. Breisgau 1900]), II, 17, 69.

[33] Heide Dienst, "Magische Vorstellungen und Hexenverfolgungen in den österreichischen Ländern (15. bis 18. Jahrhundert)," in *Wellen der Verfolgung in der österreichischen Geschichte*, ed. Erich Zöllner (Wien, 1986): 70–94 (pp. 72, 73); Sacher, *Hexenwesen*, 72, 73; Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter* II. , 110–113, Warner, *Russian*, 64.

[34] See the *táltos* of the Hungarian witchcraft trials: Éva Pócs, "Shamanism, Witchcraft and Christianity in Early Modern Europe," in *Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion 3*, ed. Ulo Valk (Tartu, 1999), 111–135; 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), chapter 7.

[35] We have quite a detailed picture of the elite and popular magicians in early modern England and France; see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 264–265; Kieckhe-

population. Reference to weather magicians is a consistent thread throughout the centuries of the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period from the Greek and Byzantine *nephodioktai* (cloud drivers) to the *tempestatum ductores*, *tempestarii* mentioned in 6th and 7th century church sources. These included paid 'field guard' types as well as travelling magicians who charged fees for their services. The clerical regulations, prohibitions and sanctions of the Middle Ages refer partly to a demonic, anti-Christian practise. On the other hand, they also talk about the 'tempestarius' who took advantage of gullible village people and forced money out of them by threatening them with hailstorms.[36] It is against these magicians that demonological accusations were fashioned in the Early Modern ages, talking about persons entering into pact with the devil. Legends about the travelling student-magician in the modern period known in variants all over Europe (*fahrende Schüler, şolomonar* etc.)[37] are also reminiscent of this last type of magician. The supposed 'original' variants of this type of rain magician also lived on in the modern period in the cloud magician type among the shamanic magicians of Central and Eastern Europe (*zmej, zmaj, stuha, zduhač, vetrovnjak*, Hungarian *táltos*).[38] Wherever the documents allow us to draw a detailed knowledge regarding the activity and mythology of weather magicians, all the different types seem to be characterised by maintaining a mediating contact with a type of storm cloud other-world of weather demons, through soul journeys they experience in a trance.

With respect to Hungary we have relatively little data regarding the weather magicians of the early modern period – only a few such figures crop up in the documentation of the trials. The cases refer to almost 30 *táltos*, but only three or four allow us to conclude that the person can be classified as doing weather magic. One reason for this may be that these were mainly men who were solitary in their actions - let us think

fer, *European Witch Trials*; Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 165; but weather-magic as a popular, rural practice, was probably typical in the whole of Europe, this is shown by the data about weather magicians in the records of witch-trials.

[36] On medieval weather magicians and church sources (laws, decrees and punitive sanctions) about them: Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter I.*, 27–33; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* 264–265; Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgungen im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1901); Dieter Harmening, *Superstitio. Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1979), 247–250; Henry Charles Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft I–III.* (Philadelphia, 1939); Soldan – Heppe, *Geschichte* I. 1–144, II. 176–177; Fritz Byloff, *Das Verbrechen der Zauberei (Crimen magiae). Ein Beitrag zum Geschichte der Strafrechtspflege in Steiermark* (Graz: Leuschner und Lubensky, 1902), 325; Blöcker, "Wetterzauber", 117–131; W. F. Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight. An historical survey of magic and divination in Russia* (Thrupp–Stroud–Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 409; Julio Caro Baroja, *Las brujas y su mundo* (Madrid: Revista de Ociodente, S. A., 1961), chapter 1-1.

[37] About this type of magician see footnote 47.

[38] The first general data about such magicians is in work of Kazimierz Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slowian II. Kultura duchowa I.* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1967, 1. ed. (Kraków: Polska Akademija, 1929), 651–654, he presents data from Southern and Western Slav regions. Carlo Ginzburg, *Storia notturna. Una decifrazione del Sabba,* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1989) was the first to open a rich source of relevant data from early modern historical sources about the Italian magicians called *benandanti*. For other types of magicians in the Balkans, and a Hungarian type, the *táltos*, see: Gábor Klaniczay, "Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft," in *Shamanism in Eurasia*, ed. Mihály Hoppál (Göttingen: Herodot, 1984), 404–422; Éva Pócs, "Hungarian Táltos and His European Parallels," in *Uralic Mythology and Folklore*, eds. M. Hoppál and J. Pentikäinen (Budapest–Helsinki, 1989), 215–276; Éva Pócs, "Shamanism, Witchcraft..," Éva Pócs, *The living and the dead*, chapter 7.

here of the demonological stereotypes of 'a group of female witches causing hailstorms.' As far as I know the situation in Austria, it is similar to the Hungarian scene: Heide Dienst found that magical activity related to the weather is mainly associated with men in the Alps, while the witchcraft accusation of hail-making is commonly levelled against women.[39] This was the result of Kramer's research on his material from 16th - 17th century Holstein: here the *Töwersche* or female sorcerer always becomes part of the witchcraft-system, while the *Töwener* or male sorcerer very seldom does - he is able to remain a sorcerer throughout the period of witchcraft persecutions, he is not accused of witchcraft.[40] We have similar experiences from Sweden, Austria and Hungary (on the latter see e.g. Ildikó Kristóf's research on Debrecen and mine on Sopron).[41] It is probably true of the whole of Europe that the number of female magicians was no higher than that of male magicians, but the female witches, who were involved in personal, family and neighbourhood affairs (childbirth, love, healing, death, personal fortune-telling etc.), came under witchcraft accusations far more frequently everywhere where statistics of this kind were made.

The following are a few examples of Hungarian weather magicians appearing in the trials. A *táltos* woman from Jászberény, Erzsében Tóth carried on a soul battle with a few of her helping spirits against the demons who bring hailstorms.[42] A *táltos* woman from Debrecen, engaged in similar activity, also had a dragon helping spirit.[43]A few of our magicians were referred to as field guards and seem to have had the distinguishing characteristic that they are hired by their community for a fee to guard the grain fields, vineyards and orchards against hailstorms.[44] The person fulfils this expectation by using several techniques: by shamanistic methods (i.e. fighting while in a trance), by using church benedictions, or by saying spells or using methods of everyday magic. Another type of weather magician, of the travelling student type and thus related to the *tempestarius* of the Middle Ages, is the travelling weather magician who is paid for his services. Such a character was the táltos Mihály Szvetics who is known from a trial held at Pécs in 1752.[45] Similarly to the *táltos* of the Tiszántúl area known from 18th century trials, he was engaged in searching for treasure, as well as in healing and divination. He was also willing to drive away the hail-

[39] Dienst, "Zur Rolle," 191–192.

[40] Karl-S. Kramer, "Schaden- und Gegenzauber im Alltagsleben des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts nach archivalischen Quellen aus Holstein", in *Hexenprozesse. Deutsche und skandinavische Beiträge*, ed. Christian Degn , Hartmut Lehman and Dagmar Unverhau (Neumünster, 1983), 222–239.

[41] Birgitta Lagerlöf-Génetay, *De svenska häxprocessernas utbrottsskede 1668–1671. Bakgrund i Övre Dalarna. Social och ecklesiastik kontext.* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 219 (Stockholm, 1990); Helfried Valentinitsch, "Hexenwahn und Hexenprozesse im untersteirischen Markt Tüffer/Laško im ausgehenden XVII. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichte und ihre Quellen. Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1987), 367–378; Ildikó Kristóf, "Boszorkányok, "Orvos Asszonyok" és "Parázna Személyek" a XVI-XVIII. századi Debrecenben," [Witches, "Doctor Women" and "Lecherous Persons" in Debrecen in the 16th to 18th Centuries] *Ethnographia* CI (1990): 438–466; Kristóf, "Bűvös-bájos varázslók"; Pócs, "Maleficium".

[42] Bessenyei, *A magyarországi*. I. 465, 464.

[43] Bessenyei, *A magyarországi*, I. 461, 466.

[44] The trial of János Borsos, 1739, Hódmezővásárhely, Schram, *Magyarországi*, I., 258; II. 722–724; Komáromy, *Magyarországi*, 88, 91.

[45] István Szentkirályi, "Garabonciás-per Pécsett" [A *Garabonciás*-trial in Pécs], *A "Pécs-Baranyamegyei Múzeum Egyesület" Értesítője* IX (1917): 1–7.

storms in return for a fee. The witness accounts also contain from time to time the demonological motif of the travelling student who had been apprenticed to the devil. If there was a hail cloud coming, he would go out into the open and lay the spell, 'Be gone, you have nothing to find here!' This rite is an imitation of the priestly benediction blessing the cloud. He claims he uses his spell against 'magicians who send lightening.' This refers to the soul battles of the above-mentioned magicians who challenge the cloud demons. Some variants of the *garabonciás* (*travelling student*) legends talk of fictitious black magic, and thus contain *tempestarius* and travelling magician types. These legendary figures hardly ever appear in connection with the weather magicians of our trials. Naturally, the stereotype of the witch accused of a pact with the devil is a continuous thread throughout the later stages of witchcraft in Hungary, as well as of the whole of Central and Western Europe. Even today's folklore is full of the figures of black magicians who are friendly with the devil and bring hailstorms to their village.[46]

It is no chance occurrence that the weather magicians became the main characters of this group of legends: for in relation to their key figure, the fiction of the alliance with the devil was formulated in a rather natural manner. In the European past, demons ruling over clouds and the weather provided the mythological framework for man regulating the weather. Among several peoples of Europe another creature regulating the weather is the storm dragon, which is also related in many ways to the storm demons, and can play a similar role in the beliefs of magicians.[47] The ideas that storms and bad weather are caused by demons, and that weather magicians manipulate demons, and are in contact with demons helping or provoking them, were absolutely general from the philosophers of antiquity through the church fathers all the way to the clerical demonology of the late Middle Ages. The cloud driving demons of popular belief were often replaced by the common European church notions of storm demons, turned into half a Devil, both as a helping spirit and as an opponent of magicians.[48]

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[46] For a fuller discussion of the legendary figures of this type of magicians see: Éva Pócs, "Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében," [Dragon, Devils and their Alliances in the Reflection of Southern Slavic and Hungarian Relationships] *Folklór és tradíció* VI (1988): 145–170; V. Jagić, "Die südslavischen Volkssagen von dem Grabancijas dijak und ihre Erklärung," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* II (1877): 437–481; Sándor Erdész, *Kígyókultusz a magyar néphagyományban*, [Snake Cult in Hungarian Tradition] Studia Folkloristica et Ethnologica 12 (Debrecen, 1984): 114–138. About the various types of "garabonciás"-legends: M. Gaster, "Scholomonar, d. i. der Grabancijas dijak nach der Volksüberlieferung der Rumänen," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* VII (1883): 281–290; Erdész, *Kígyókultusz*, 114–138.

[47] For the identification of Satan with a dragon – thus with a nature demon bringing storms and stealing rain – see: Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter II.* , 19–37.

[48] Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter I.*, 17–25, 119–127, *II.*, 27–28; Clive Hart, *Images of Flight* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 1988), 89–135. For discussion of cloud directing spirits and demons see: Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa II. I,* 651–653; Erwin Rohde, *Psyche. Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1925). [1. ed.: 1893.], I. 248–249; John Cuthbert Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion. A Study of Survivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910). [Reprint: New York: University Books, 1964.], 283; Dimitar Marinov, "Narodna viara i religiosni narodni obichai," *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia i narodopis* XXVIII (1914), 213–214; Jakob Kelemina, *Bajke in pripovedke slovenskego ljudstva, z mitološkim uvodom* (Celje, 1930), 40–41; Arne Runeberg, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiae Fennorum, 1947), 118–119; Ion Muşlea and Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din raspunsurile la chestionarele lui B.P. Hasdeu* (Bucureşti: Minerva, 1970), 182–184; Slobodan Zeče-

The magicians manipulated the weather with the help of the Devil but no longer in the interest of the well-being of their community but – inspired by Satan – at the expense and to detriment of their community: they brought hail, drought, devastating weather to their village. According to this new fiction created by the Church, the popular magician (originally – and in reality continually – engaged in benevolent magic) was transported to the side of the Devil.[49] The views of canonical demonology resulted in the development of the image of the "magician bringing on bad weather with the help of infernal powers" in most parts of early modern Europe, both in the elite and the popular cultures.[50]

In the *garabonciás/travelling student* legends the soul animals, alter ego spirits of the above-mentioned shamanistic magicians, appeared as the helping Devil or Devil forging an alliance. The main motif of the legends is to generate storms with the assistance of the Devil. In this context the storm and the hail represent the attack by the magician against his own community for he is performing magic as a result of the Devil's inspiration. The magician of the Hungarian *garabonciás* legends learnt black magic in the devil's school and if he is not granted the milk or savoury doughnut he demands, he will bring a hailstorm to beat the fields. The fact that these motifs hardly figure among the witchcraft accusations of our trials may be due to what we said about genuine weather magicians. Male magicians acting for their wider community hardly ever came under accusation. One of the few pieces of *garabonciás* data comes a trial held in Iharosberény (Somogy county) in 1737 against Erzsébet Hampa. She is accused of the pact with the devil, laying evil spells and causing hailstorms. The motif of creating a hailstorm with the devil's powers obviously came from above, from the usually demonological hailstorm accusations.[51]

4. Although the sources of witchcraft trials only indirectly refer to this, we know that in the period we are examining even priests played a considerable part in trying to avert hailstorms. Weather magicians continued to use several rites, texts or fragments from church benedictions, and a considerable part of the procedures of everyday weather magic also came into the hands of the peasantry from clerical sacred objects, blessings and exorcisms.[52] In addition to healing, the richest field of the benediction

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vić, *Mitska bića srpskih predanja* (Beograd: Iro "Vuk Karadžić," 1981), 123–125, 149; Andrian, "Über Wetterzauberei," 26–27, 31.

[49] On the gradual development of a "divine–diabolical" polarization and the ranking of popular sorcery and magic to the "diabolical" side in early modern Europe see: Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, chapter "Magic and Religion". On Central-Eastern European popular demonology becoming diabolical within this process, see: Pócs, *Popular foundations*.

[50] For accounts of the doubts and debates in the Church, the changes in demonological views, the prohibitions and synod decrees (from the 4th century to early modern times) concerning the question of whether humans are capable of influencing the weather with or without devil's help: Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter II*., 28–34, 110–115; Soldan-Heppe, Geschichte, I, 87, 111, 131, 176–182, 217–219, 237. At the time of the great German wave of persecution the spiritual leaders of the witch hunt, Lutheran and Catholic demonologists alike, had long debates about the question whether humans could cause storms and hailstorms to destroy the crops with the help of devils, or whether hailstorms were divine punishment, or maybe merely tricks of Satan: H. C. Eric Midelfort, *Witch-hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562-1684. The Social and Intellectual Foundations* (Stanford, 1972), 36-58.

[51] Schram, *Magyarországi I*., 542.

[52] The most complete general description of the rites of the medieval Church performed to influence the weather: Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter I*., 38–39, 105–111, *II.*, 1–123. Further data

rituals of the medieval church was begging for rain as well as fending off bad weather and hail. This ecclesiastical practice played a role identical with that of lay, popular magic: both were active in identical spheres of private and public lives, that is rendering assistance in the crisis situations of human life. The treasure house of benedictions (objects, gestures, texts) was mostly inherited from pre-Christian "pagan" magic and there was constant interaction with popular magic during the whole period of the Middle Ages. The only difference is that those magical rituals lived in the hands of the priests tolerated by the church. At times the rites of the church replaced the popular activities at times it was carried out in parallel with the popular methods of magicians. Franz[53] lists a number of "pagan" elements in the Church rites related to the weather (e.g. processions begging for heavenly blessings on the crops), and many movements of the lay practice co-existing beside official rites (e.g. throwing water on the icons of patrons of the weather, using relics for rain magic, etc.). This meant that church magic also came into the sphere of early modern rural weather magic. A text used for driving away hailstorms noted down in Lausanne in 1500, sent away the demons but also spoke against the bad magicians who invited the demons for assistance (*incantatores malorum*):

> Adiuro vos, angelos tenebrarum
> et omnes incantatores malorum
> et omnes ministros sathane,
> quibus aquas coadunare ventis permittitur,
> ut tempestates mitigentur,
> ne nocentes sint in finibus istis et in illis,
> quas superius diximus,
> et ite in diversis montibus et locis desertis,
> ubi nullus homom habitat
> nec aratur nec seminatur ...[54]

Hungarian variants of the text, which lived on in the practice of 20th century village magicians and healers, also illustrate the interaction of priestly benediction and popular magic.[55] A 'negative' example of this interaction can be found in the trial of Mária Oláh, Mrs. István Kozma held at Hódmezővásárhely in 1758. During the torture of her forced interrogation she admitted to all types of devilish malefactions, she is supposed to have committed with the help of her fellow-witches and with the devil's help. Obviously these were prompted by demonological accusations. She recalls a probably made-up inverse 'benediction' that she now claims to have used to drive away not the hailstorm but the rain, which could have brought fertility – in other words she brought drought to her village.

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about the benedictions of weather: Blöcker, "Wetterzauber", 119; Claude Lecouteux, "Les maîtres du temps: tempestaires, obligateurs, défenseurs et autres", in *Le temps qu'il fait au Moyen Age*, ed. C. Thomasset (Paris, 1998), 151–169.

53 Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter I.,* 38–70.

54 Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter II.,* 117.

55 This is a variant of an incantation type called by Ferdinand Ohrt "Begegnungssegen", which was widely known in the whole of Europe: Ferdinand Ohrt, "Über Alter und Ursprung der Begegnunssegen", *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 35 (1936): 49–58. In a witchcraft trial in Ober-Voitsberg (Styria) in 1647: Byloff, *Das Verbrechen der Zauberei,* 398; Dienst, "Magische Vorstellungen," 86; and Blöcker, "Wetterzauber," 121 - report similar syncretic practices evoking rain or dispelling storm from 16th-17th century Austria.

'Tear away Clouds,
let there be no rain for Christian Man,
let no wheat or grass grow in the fields,
so that the Christians should have nothing.'[56]

In the Middle Ages, clerical and popular rites of weather magic lived in parallel and mutually beneficial interaction with each other. The new concepts of the Early Modern period stamped rural magicians with the demonological stigma and turned the two areas against each other. Due to the archaic opposition whereby what is our own is good and what is other is bad, each party became an enemy from the viewpoint of the other. The priest became their own good magician and the village magician became the bad and hostile magician who carries on with the 'pagan' tradition. It is no accident that in the eyes of the village people, who viewed the scene 'from below,' the inverse of this fiction also came into existence: According to Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian belief legends of today, the priest performs a "counter-magic" in opposition to the beneficial operation of the weather magicians and he is the one to bring hail to the village.[57]

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Perhaps the few examples I have provided were sufficient to demonstrate that the data of Hungarian trials of weather magicians contain, in parallel and intertwined with each other, several levels of profane and religious thinking used in witchcraft persecution. For me one of the most important lessons to be learnt from this piece of research was that black magic aiming to influence the weather in a negative direction could not be identified. It seems that this was absent among everyday techniques as well as in the practise of professional magicians. This is in line with the results of research findings of different orientation into early modern or present day witchcraft. Wherever actual, practiced witchcraft can be identified and examination is possible regarding the frameworks and roles through which it is practiced, as in the Balkans today or in Transylvania in the Easternmost sections of the Hungarian speaking area, the case in hand is always connected with very personal matters.[58] These include matters of love and marriage, causing illness or death because of conflicts within the family or between neighbours, out of personal hostility, envy or revenge.

Causing bad weather, as a crime against the entire community, or rather the neighbouring community cannot be fitted into the framework of personal magic based on conflict between family members or neighbours. Sending bad weather to the neighbouring village did not figure as a demonological accusation, except, perhaps, in the world of belief legends, attributed to mythical or legendary magicians, or as a fictitious demonological accusation. Some part of the questions that remain open after the survey provided here concern precisely these demonological fictions. In order to see the processes of interaction between elite and popular magic, we need to conduct more

[56] Schram, *Magyarországi I.*, 343.

[57] Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Teufelsbündner und Faustgestalten im Abendlande* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 1968).

[58] See: Éva Pócs, "Curse, Maleficium, Divination: Witchcraft on the Borderline of Religion and Magic," in *Beyond the Witch Trials 2. Popular Magic in Modern Europe*, ed. Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies (Manchester: University Press, 2004), 174–190.

detailed research into the theological works and the manuals of the witch-hunt, particularly those that probably mediated these accusations to the trials conducted in Hungary. A further question to examine is the weather itself. It is evident that one of the centres where notions of witches making hailstorms cluster is near the Alps, while notions of witches stealing the rain abound in the drier areas of Central and Eastern Europe. We need to get better acquainted with the weather conditions of these territorial focus points (together with their maps of plant cultivation, cereals, fruit, vines) and their meteorological history, if we wish to get a clearer view of the reality behind the stereotypes of 'packs of witches causing hailstorms' coming from the West and the stereotype of 'a witch who steals the rain', which seems to be more clearly Central and Eastern European.

SERVANTS OF THE DEVIL IN KRUPINA

MILAN MAJTÁN

The flames of the Holy Inquisition illuminated the Christian Middle Ages. Faith in God could not exist without belief in the infernal powers. An irreconcilable and cruel battle with the devil and with people accused of making a pact with him and recognizing him as their supreme lord in place of God had to support faith and obedience. Flames and stakes with heretics, witches and other servants of the devil blazed across Europe. The ecclesiastical and secular authorities used them to get rid of inconvenient people, but especially they evoked fear and terror towards their power. Anybody could be accused. Torture easily forced confessions of such acts that human reason cannot believe. The former Kingdom of Hungary was no exception, although the witch-hunts here were organized later and did not reach the same dimensions as in Western Europe. In the region of present Slovakia, they tried, tortured, beheaded and burnt witches in Bratislava, Komárno, Šamorín, Trenčín, Trnava, Štítnik and other towns. The former free royal borough of Krupina in Slovakia holds the sad record for the number of trials, convictions and executions of victims. Witches were still burnt there in 1741 and inquisitors appointed by the magistrates in 1744 questioned a woman accused of witchcraft.

The free royal borough of Krupina was one of the oldest and most important towns in Slovakia. It had strategic importance as a frontier fortress defending a route to the rich central Slovak mining towns against the Turks. In contrast to various other Slovak towns, Krupina has an unusually rich and well-preserved town archive, containing medieval documents, town books, statutes and guild articles, economic and account diaries, property and tax records, judicial records, wills and inheritance records, reverses, obligations, quittances and other documents forming a varied range and an unusually interesting and eloquent mosaic of data about life in the town and its surroundings from the 13th century to the present. The town books are not completely preserved. Some of them were damaged about the end of the 18th century, when somebody cut pages out of the town books from 1660-1750, selected the records of witchcraft trials and compiled a separate 340 page volume from them. However, this is not fully preserved, and the compiler did not always select whole records and did not organize them according to years.[1]

In 1620, the burgher Andrej Kramer accused Zuzana Semelínová before the magistrates, of bewitching his child, so that the child "*went blind, became lame and could not eat or live*." The accused confessed under torture that she had learnt to bewitch

[1] The paper was written on the basis of the book by Marie Majtánová and Milan Majtán, *Krupinské prísno právo* [Krupina´s Strict Law] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1979), 277 pages. Source materials are to be found in the District State archives in Zvolen, in the records of the Krupina magistrate - the book of witch trials from the years 1620-1744 and account books from 1716 and 1740.

twenty years before from her former mistress, that from hatred she got a woman to drink quicksilver (mercury) mixed with water, that she poured out water in the street after washing a large frog with it, so that whoever came there first would shrivel and die, that she would torment people [press them lying on top of them], that she and her assistants Sucha Nešta and Veronika changed themselves into cats, that they promoted storms, wind and frost, that they destroyed vineyards and fruit, and committed the sin of Sodom with the devil. The betrayed associates also confessed that they had changed themselves into birds and cats. The kind and merciful magistrates did not have them burnt alive, as was the custom in Europe at the time, but decided that all three would be beheaded with a sword on the *Krkavčia pažiť* (Raven's sward) downwards by the lower gate of the town and the executioner also buried their bodies there, so that divine and general justice was effectively satisfied.

This first known Krupina witchcraft trial is written in German in the town book. More are recorded in the register. Six witches were burnt at the stake. From 1667, we have the Slovak language testimony of the magic practices of Žofia Kohútka, wife of Michal Kúty alias Mesároš. Witnesses testified that Kohútka had taken away a cow's milk and the cow went to moo in front of her house. When the owner complained to Kohútka, she gave her mugwort and other unknown plants, showed her how to prepare them and splash the cow with this concoction. From that time, the cow produced milk again. Another farm woman advised the woman to milk the cow, pour the milk into a trough on Sunday, whip it with a rose branch bearing thorns saying: "I am not beating the milk, but the soul and body of whoever took the sweet milk of my cow." When the housewife did this on Easter Sunday, Kohútka immediately sent her son to the housewife to ask for fire, and when she did not get fire, on the next day she took it herself in a flowerpot, while the members of the household were in church. They also testified about how this Žofia tormented (pressed) another housewife "until blood came" and how changed into a cat she scratched another below the breast. On the basis of these testimonies, they had Žofia Kohútka tortured.

Only brief testimony survives from 1672 about a conversation overheard between two witches. The witness stated that when she went to *Šibeničný vrch* (Gallow´s hill) two days before, she saw Gergeľka and Raška, as they stood together talking. Raška said to Gergeľka: "*We gathered profit on this land, and such good grain still grows. If I remained healthy on St. George, everyone would wonder what happened*." Then Raška said that she was afraid when they tortured Halgaška, she would inform on them, because she often drank with them. Gergeľka asked Raška for the ointment, so that they could do what faced them and they encouraged each other to stand up to the interrogation well. Ondrej Braxatoris, father of the poet Andrej Sládkovič, was a teacher in Krupina. In his book Krupina Chronicle (*Letopisové krupinští*), he mentioned that according to the verdicts of the town council, three witches were burnt at the stake in 1672. They were very probably Gergeľka, Halgaška and Mečiarka. The Raška mentioned in the testimony was burnt three years later.

Krupina was in the shadow of fire in 1675. The town itself burnt in the spring, and there were three burnings of witches later. Never before or after were so many women burnt in the town in one year. We know four testimonies of the accused from the first trial in July. Žofia Krištofíčka confessed during torture that Krivá Katruša taught her witchcraft and gave her green ointment, so that she could anoint herself

with it and torment people. Katruša has the ointment. When she applied it, she thought the wind moved her. Bábaľa and Marína Igalička are witches (*strigy*), they went together, they also applied the ointment to themselves, and Krivá Katruša had two fingers from a hanged man buried under the threshold and medicinal herbs in a glass tied up in a bundle. During torture, Bábeľa confessed that a devil had promised them wealth and she had seen this devil many times in the form of a black goat. Krivá Katruša also taught her witchcraft and gave her ointment, but she threw it away when drunk. Marína, widow of Vavrinec Igali, voluntarily testified before being tortured, that she is the same sort of witch as Katruša, Bábeľa and Krištofíčka. Once when they were drinking with Pavol Baráni, a devil came among them in the form of a well-dressed young man and drank with them.

She also confessed: *"At that time, Bábeľa, Katruša, Krištofíčka and I gathered feed from Ďurko's grain beyond the gardens, and Bábeľa collected a rose into a small jug. She baked bread with that water*." In pain she then betrayed that Bábeľa was their standard-bearer and chief, and the devil changed Krištofička into whatever she wanted. They called this devil their lord. Even before torture, Krivá Katruša confessed: "*Bábeľa led us astray and invited us to a banquet. Then a devil came to her and asked whether we want to be among them. He promised us money and gave for wine. He made us swear to deny Lord God Almighty and believe only in him. This devil made Bábeľa the main witch and he sent me to milk the cow in the form of a white cat, Igalička in the form of a grey cat. Krištofíčka in the form of a cat of varied colour went to torment people. Then I ran about and I left some wood beside my husband, and he thought I was there. We also caused cold, when the vineyards froze. We milked the cows in every house in the evening. The devil lived with Krištofíčka in the form of a young man and when we drank wine, this devil always sat beside Igalička.*" After torture all of them – Žofia Krištofíčka, Bábeľa, Marína Igalička and Krivá Katruša – ended up at the stake.

In a second trial in September, more than four hundred witnesses testified before an inquisition. After hearing the testimony of the witnesses, the inquisition demanded confessions from a further eight accused women. Raška, Katruša Oravská, Marína Kováčka or Končočka, Pampúška, Piatkova Doriš and Bohuš Ďuríčka testified under torture. The accused Ráchel or Raška testified among other things: *"What do I have to hide, I'm a witch and the devil came to me near the birchwood at Babiná. He had eyes like fists and stone feet. He showed himself to me in male form as a young man and I promised him that I would serve him, and he promised me much money and had an intercourse with me. When he gave us money, we called him a noble lord. Then, when I married and moved from Babiná to Krupina, he came to me again at Bábeľa's house and branded me there below the shoulde, as if he pinched me. Then in Kelečéni István's barn, we applied ointment to ourselves and I turned into a grey cat. Yes, and the devil in my form went to torment Líška's wife, because I sent him. Every witch has one lord and some devils have three witches. When Igalička had a wedding with the devil, I was there and he had an intercourse mostly with her, and when he had nobody, he also had an intercourse with me – and his name was Tartareus. The fiend and the devil himself made the ointment the witches apply to themselves and gave it to the chief witch. Yes, and we made the storm from that leather bag, left with Bábeľa."* Under torture, she confessed that the witches met three times a year, at Christmas, on Sts. Philip

and James' day (1st May) and on the feast day of the birth of the Mother of God (8th September).

Katarína Pliešovská, widow of Martin Oravský, testified during torture that when she went to the vineyard, that the devil panted like a dog and led her to *Červená hora* (Red Hill). In the form of her husband Martin, he did a bad deed with her. When the bad deed was finished, she recognized that it was the fiend. That fiend gave her wine to drink, and then gave her coal in the mine instead of money. Katarína, widow of Juraj Bohuš (Bohuš Ďuríčka), confessed that she had already been a witch for ten years. They had met three times a years, and when they had applied ointment to themselves, they also flew with bodies and where they fell they remained. Raška and Bábeľa let the wind out of a black leather bag, and if they did not fulfill the orders of the devil, he beat their heels. He allegedly showed himself to her during torture. Marína Kováčka and Pampúška gave similar testimony. Another two, Marína Matajzka and Korytárka confessed to nothing under torture, but the testimony from the other torture victims satisfied the law. As it says in the Latin verdict, Katruša Oravská, Bohuš Ďuríčka, Marína Kováčka, Pampúška, Matajzka and Korytárka were convicted as proven witches, and they would be put alive in cages and burnt, although Matajzka and Korytárka were willing to admit nothing because of their obstinacy and anger. After the appeal of some respected men, the magistrates had Raška and Piatkova Doriša beheaded as an act of mercy. Their bodies were burnt with the others at the beginning of October.

In the second half of October, the magistrates again questioned more than two hundred people, but only some of them testified against Katarína Korčočka and Šimúnik´s wife. The testimony of the accused and the verdicts are unknown up to now. However, twenty years later, when Korčočka's younger son Michael was mayor of Krupina, he was said to be a witch's son, whose mother was burnt. The accusation against Šimúnik´s wife was also enough to get her burnt.

The second Katruša Kohútka, wife of Ján Kohút, was sixty years old, when seventeen witnesses against her were questioned. They accused her of freezing vineyards, bewitching cows that she would give black looks and two of them swore on the top of her head, that she had caused their unhappiness. The verdict of the magistrates is written in Latin. It states that according to her own confession and the testimony of witnesses, Katruša Kohútka holding two fingers on her head, ventured to torment the human body and harm cattle. She was condemned to more torture to gain confessions to further accusations, and to burning alive at the stake. Therefore, they brought an executioner from Banská Bystrica on 16th June, on 17th June they tortured her, and on 18th June she was burnt in public. On the next day, they gave a second accused, Šimúnka to the executioner for torture. As the town expenditure shows, they also burnt her immediately on 20th June, although witnesses had not mentioned or accused her before. I guess that Kohútka testified against her under torture.

The magistrates sought more victims in the following years. In 1697, they questioned thirteen witnesses, who accused Mrs. Korčočka, wife of the former mayor Michal Korčok, whose mother had been burnt as a witch twenty-two years before. In the same year, the magistrates at the request of Katarína, wife of Gabriel Kolomažník, also questioned fifteen witnesses about gossip that allegedly she, Katrena Očkajka, went to a fire among shepherds, and at night, at a time when witches fly in the hills.

Two years later in 1699, the town authorities attempted to ascertain by inquisition, who knew what against whom. They questioned 90 people, especially inhabitants of the suburbs, but they did not learn much from this. The question presented to those questioned was: "*Do you know, did you see or hear evidence against others, either against your father, mother, sister, brother, neighbour, godfather or against anybody concerned with witchcraft or sorcery. Let your evidence be heard under oath!*"

The magistrates prepared another fiery theatre only in 1716. In May, they imprisoned the widow Vozárka in the town prison, situated in the cellars of the town hall. Within a month she confessed and gave evidence against another three: Mesároška, Mišiačka and Pavol Slama. They all confessed under torture.

Alžbeta, widow of Ján Vozár, confessed that she was a witch, that Mesároška and Mišiačka introduced her to it, that they had entertained together and that she had made an agreement with a devil, who wore red clothes and she often had intercourse with him. She also confessed that they had frozen vineyards, on which they poured out dew. Under torture she allegedly testified only later, because her devil lover was present there, at whom she looked during torture. Mária, the widow of Ján Mesároš, confessed that three years before, Vozárka induced her to this, that she has a young devil in bright blue Hungarian costume, who marked her with an iron seal and promised that they would have enough of everything, and other people nothing, and that he had intercourse with her in various places. Among other things, she confessed that Paľo Slama was also a wizard (*strigáč*) and their captain. He was in Bystrica with them when they were tormenting the executioner, then he and Mesároška were cats. Judita Mišiačka also had an agreement with a devil, who had the form of an old bachelor in black clothes. Apart from Slama, she also accused Rozina Koziarka and Sviatková Rebeka of witchcraft. The latter had a lord – a devil in red clothes. Apart from freezing vineyards, they gathered rye yield and dew on Sts. Philip and James' day. Slama testified similarly that he had been a wizard for ten years and that Vozárka, Mesároška, Mišiačka, the shepherdess Zoša, Kanča Miklóška, Katruša Kohútka, Rozína Koziarka, Rebeka Sviatkova and Petríčka Ďurova were witches. He also had an agreement with a devil, his lord was Lucifer. All four were burnt alive in July.

This was not enough for the magistrates. Although some burghers vouched for the other women accused during torture, immediately in July they questioned 320 people from the town and suburbs in the town hall, to obtain further accusations. People testified especially against Rozína Koziarka, the shepherdess Zoša, Barcháčka and Rebeka Sviatkova. Koziarka and Barcháčka were put in prison in August. They were sentenced to torture and to death by burning, but Barcháčka was beheaded first as an act of mercy. However, Rebeka, widow of Adam Sviatko, did not suffer imprisonment or execution. At the time the magistrates obtained accusations against her, she died and so escaped torture and a fiery death. The executions cost the magistrates 140 Rhine guldens this time. Burning witches was not cheap.

A year later, in 1717, the councillors had 188 people questioned to obtain evidence of witchcraft by Gábor Kolomažník, on his association with the burnt Slama, that he feared nobody because he had a servant with him. The testimony of the witnesses was not sufficient, so a year later, in June 1718, they questioned 29 witnesses. The inquisitors asked about 16 specific people, suspected of witchcraft, especially for Kolomažník and Eva Poľka. However, they again failed to get enough accusations. As

we learn from the Latin record, in July they condemned to torture and beheading only the beggar Eva Poľka for witchcraft and causing wind.

Then in 1722 they assembled accusations against Beta Spišiačka, Bobríčka and Juda Adamka, the last of whom was tortured in 1729. The witnesses also mentioned names of Kanča Miklóška, Zimánka and wife of Nepýtajmesa. We know little about the trial. The surviving records of the torture of Spišiačka and Zimánka are very fragmentary. Spišiačka confessed that her devil wore red clothes and they called him Ďuro, Zimánka that he was a young man in red clothes and she called him Jano. Beta Spišiačka further confessed that the devil marked her with his seal between her legs at Bobríčka's house, and the executioner cut this mark away. Both froze vineyards. The verdicts have not been found, but the above-mentioned confessions were enough for conviction and burning. The evidence shows that Beta Spišiačka, Zimánka, Bobríčka and Nepýtajmesová were burnt in that year.

In autumn 1723, 18 citizens testified about the witchcraft of Martin Koziar and his wife Doriša. However, they were not successfully convicted. In spite of this, both Koziars ended up in flames. Martin Koziar died a natural death, but in 1741, the magistrates had his remains dug up and he was burnt as a wizard at least after his death. Doriša, who remarried after her husband's death, with Maco Šimovič, was burnt alive in the same year.

The senators continued to endeavour to free the town from witches. At the end of August and beginning of September 1728, they had 118 citizens questioned. They testified to everything possible and impossible about the people close to them. On the basis of this inquisition, as is recorded in the town records, Judita Adamová (Adamka) and Marína Koziarka were accused. The document mentions that the records from the trial are recorded in the Black Book. They are also written in Latin. Both the accused were sentenced to be tortured. However, then they were not burnt, but left in prison. Various people testified that Adamka was mad. However, in March 1729, the magistrates had 13 people questioned about how Adamka, then already the wife of Daniel Rusnák, behaved in prison after torture by the executioner, what she did, whether she said anything about witchcraft, whether she threatens the magistrates. All the witnesses praised her, saying that she only prayed, sang religious songs and wept. On the next day, the confused Juda was released from prison, and as the diary of expenditure records, received a gulden from the magistrates – perhaps as compensation. The poor woman survived a little longer. She wrote her will a week later, and a year and a half later, in October 1730, she changed it.

Another Judita, Judita Baranová, wife of the wheelwright Pauliny, was already accused in 1728, when she was aged 30. In August 1739, witnesses were questioned only about her. The records are incomplete, but statements from 22 witnesses are preserved. We do not have a record of what the wheelwright's wife said under torture or the text of the verdict. However, the diary of town expenditure shows that in April 1740, the executioner took her on a horse from the town to the place of execution and there took her from the world.

It is known that the last witch in Central Europe was burnt at Krupina in 1741. Three women were burnt here at that time: Anna Štibicka, Judita Pelioniska and Doriša Koziarka. In the same year, the town magistrates had the body of Martin Koziar, former husband of Doriša Koziarka, dug up and burnt, probably with the three

women. The inquiries had made clear that he had been a dangerous wizard. The magistrates had 41 witnesses questioned at first. The inquisitors asked the witnesses whether they knew anything about people practicing witchcraft and sorcery (*vražby*), whether their witchcraft harmed anybody and whether they associated with each other. Also, detailed records of all the interrogations of the accused women, voluntary and under torture has been preserved. The scribe also recorded in Latin the degree of torture: crushing of fingers, movement of the forearm with rope, torture with Spanish boots, torture on the wooden horse, burning with a candle and bundles of straw. Let us give here a text recited for help in cases of bewitchment: *"Lord Jesus Christ, let me start with a good hour and finish with a better one. As it is not proper and likely for me to invoke in this way, so it is not proper and likely to invoke from this moment, from this hour. Thou nine-formed cold morning, noon, evening frog, if thou art in the bone be gone, if in meat be gone, if in the veins be gone, and the named, blessed and christened Janko, let his bones get better and prepare, not by my power, but by asking for the help of Christ the Lord."*

Reproducing the whole records of the torture and confession of this Juda Pelioniska would go beyond the framework of this paper. They interrogated Štibicka in a similar way. The testimony of Dorota Koziarka has not survived, the Latin record only states the degree of torture. However, a year later, when they caught and questioned her last husband Maco Šimovič, who was suspected of theft, he said that he had fled from Krupina the year before, when they burnt his wife.

The last records of witches date from 1744, when they obtained testimony from five witnesses and then questioned Anča Papuľka, who was accused of witchcraft. The Latin verdict is entirely crossed out. The magistrates condemned Anča only to twelve lashes in the stocks. They only beat men with whips.

The overall balance is terrible. In the period 1620 – 1741, the inquisition at Krupina had six women beheaded after accusations of witchcraft and after torture. Thirty-four women and one man were burnt alive, while three women were beheaded as an act of mercy before being burnt. One man was even dug up after death and his remains were burnt at the stake. This was in only one central Slovak town, the free royal borough of Krupina, and are the records fully preserved?

WITCH-HUNT IN SZEGED IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ISTVÁN PETROVICS

At the very beginning I would like to make two remarks. Firstly, the paper is rather a case study than a theoretical or a typological approach to witchcraft. Secondly: I am deeply convinced that the witch trials at Szeged can only be understood properly if their discussion is placed into the context of the history of the town. Therefore in the first part of my paper I am going to deal with the urban development of Szeged.

Szeged was one of the most important towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages. It emerged at the confluence of the Rivers Tisza and Maros. Though a watch-tower stood here in Roman times, and different nomadic peoples (*e.g.* Huns, Avars) also preferred this region, no urban-type settlement existed here before the arrival of the Magyars in the late 9th century. Both archaeological findings and documentary evidence support the contention that Szeged evolved in the 11th and 12th centuries as a Hungarian town. Due to its favourable geographical location all regions of the kingdom could be reached easily from Szeged. While the River Maros connected Szeged with Transylvania, the River Tisza created a link with the southern and northern parts of the realm. Moreover, from Szeged, with its very busy ford, important land routes led to the western and northwestern localities of the kingdom.[1]

The name of Szeged appeared in written sources as early as 1183, but mention was for the first time made of the *hospites (guests)* of Szeged only in 1247. The appearance of the *hospites* who, in all probability were ethnic Hungarians, demonstrated that the transformation of pre-urban Szeged into a real town took place after the Mongol invasion. In contrast with other parts of the kingdom no foreign ethnic groups seemed to have played a role in this process. The influx of the Romance speaking Latin guests to Hungary took place mainly prior to the 13th century and even then they avoided settling down in the localities of the Great Plain. The situation was the same with the Germans who succeeded the Latin guests. Depending on their occupation both the Latin and the German settlers preferred administrative centres, primarily royal and ecclesiastical seats, and the mountainous regions of the kingdom to the Great Plain. The lack of toponyms such as Olaszi, Szászi, Németi etc. in the territory of the Great Plain confirms the above statement.[2]

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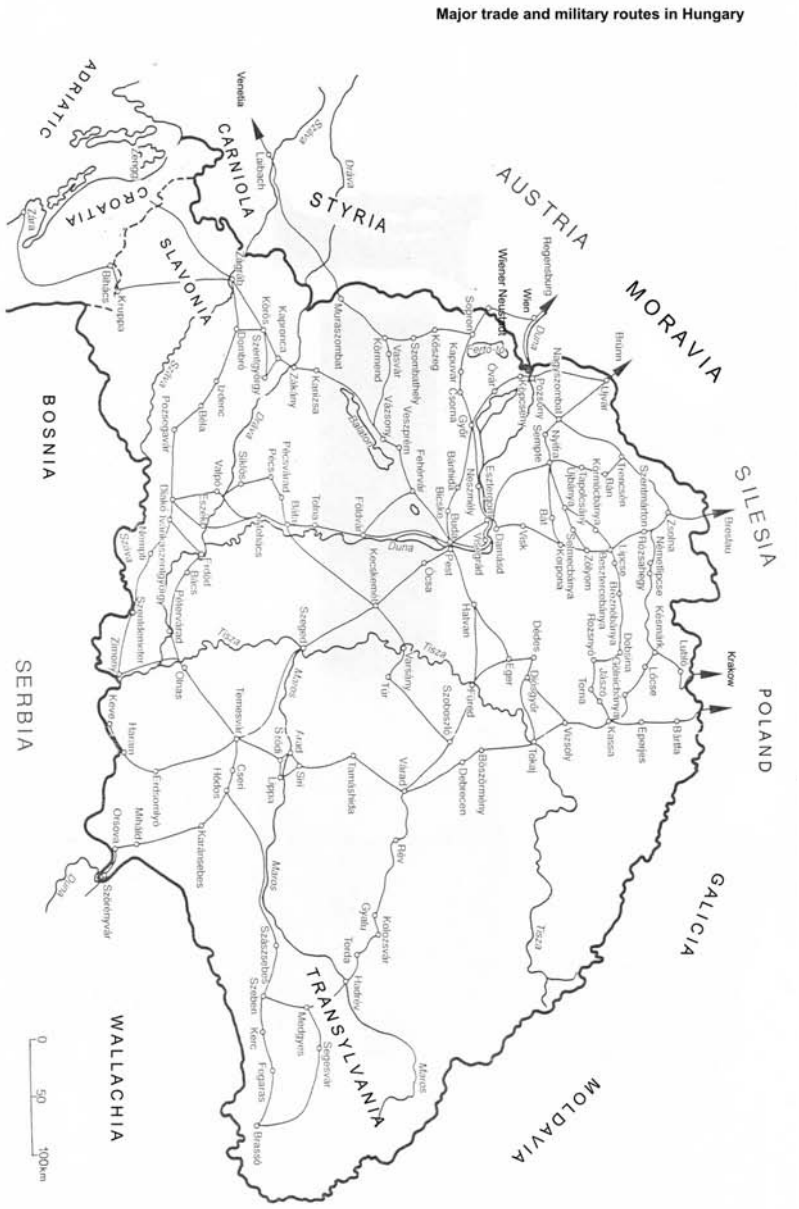
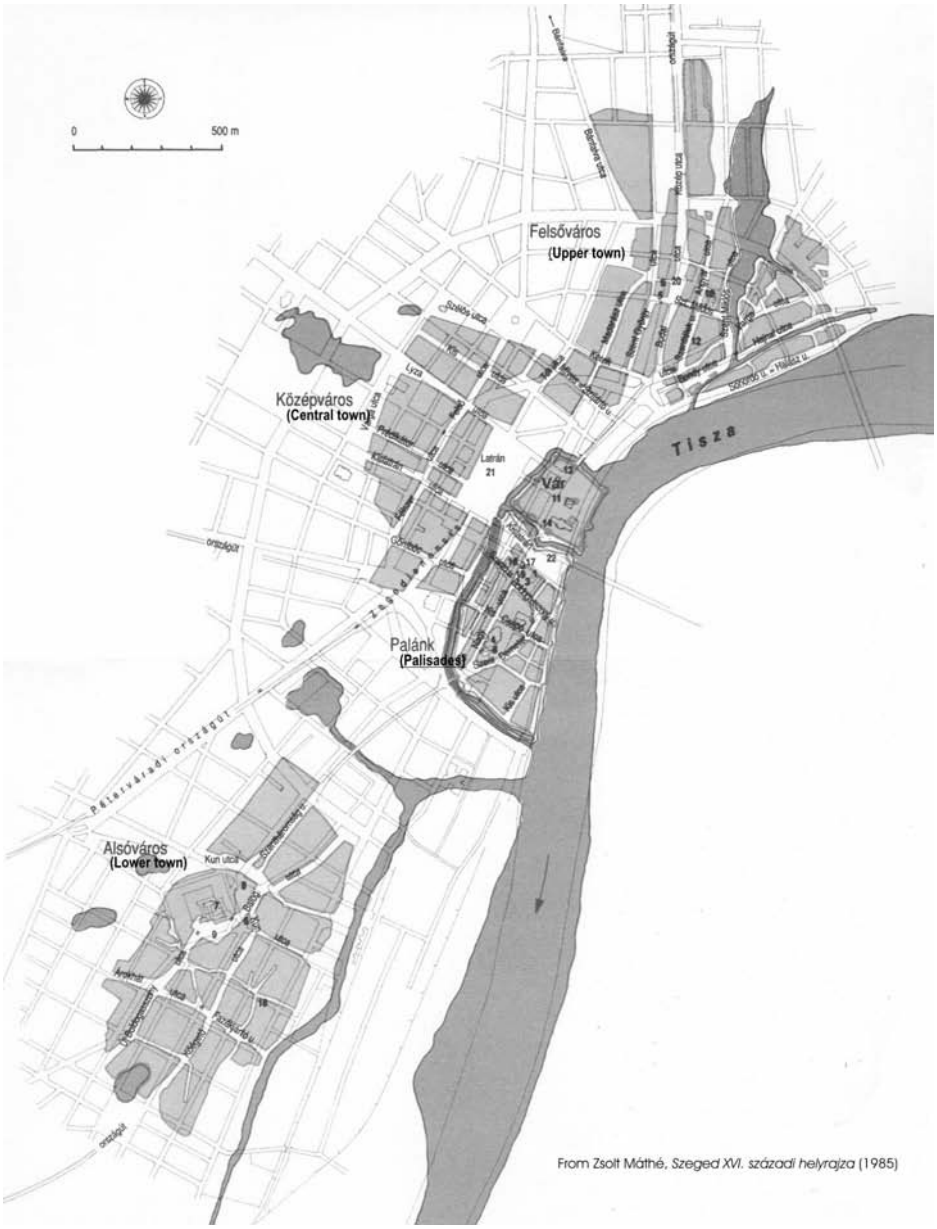
[1] Gyula Kristó, ed., *Szeged története 1. A kezdetektől 1686-ig* [History of Szeged. Vol. 1, From the Beginnings to 1686] (Szeged: Somogyi Könyvtár, 1983). The relevant parts were written by László Szekfű, István Petrovics, Péter Kulcsár and Ferenc Szakály. Also see Béla Kürti and István Petrovics, "Szeged," in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* [Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon, 9th to 15th Centuries], ed. in chief Gyula Kristó, eds. Ferenc Makk and Pál Engel (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1994), 621-622.

[2] 1183 = Richard Marsina, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. I.* (Bratislava: SAV, 1970), 90; 1247 = János Reizner, *Szeged története. IV.* [History of Szeged. Vol. 4] (Szeged: Szeged szabad királyi város közönsége, 1900), 3; Such Hungarian toponyms as Olaszi, Szászi, Németi etc. referred to localities which had Latin, Saxon and German inhabitants. Also confer: István Petrovics, *Foreign Ethnic Groups in*



11/ Map of Hungary

the Towns of Southern Hungary, forthcoming.



12/ Map of Szeged

The first mention of Szeged in the sources that can be analysed from a demographic and ethnic point of view, was in the tithe-list from the year 1522. This important document enumerated 1,644 mostly independent families in Szeged and, according to scholars who made their estimation on the basis of this tithe-list, the number of inhabitants of the town might have reached 8000 at that time.[3] This shows that Szeged was one of the most populous towns of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the Late Middle Ages. For the sake of comparison let me mention that Buda, the medieval "capital" of the realm had 12-15 000, while Pest, the second largest town had 10 000 inhabitants at the end of the 15th century.[4] The other conclusion of great significance that can be drawn from the data of the tithe-list is that Szeged could preserve its Hungarian character even in the first half of the 16th century.

It is equally important to stress that Szeged was not only a town with a large number of inhabitants, but also was a thriving commercial centre, the bases of which were provided by the large-scale cattle- and horse-breeding, and the wine-production in the Szerémség, a region located between the Danube and the Sava rivers. Also from the earliest times a royal salt deposit was operated in the town of Szeged, which served as another factor of its development. In accordance with the general Hungarian situation, commerce played a more important role than craft industry in the economic life of the town. Consequently, Szeged had the privilege of holding three weekly markets in the 15th century, and from 1499 an annual fair.

From an ecclesiastical point of view Szeged was the centre of an archdeaconry, whence the *archidiaconus Segediensis* moved, probably in the 13th century, to Bács (today Bač in Serbia) where the archbishops of Kalocsa had one of their seats. Two parish churches, one dedicated to St. George, the other to St. Demetrius, two hospitals, and four monasteries (two belonging to the Franciscan order, one Dominican and one Premonstratensian) stood in the town in the Late Middle Ages. These church institutions did not threaten or restrict the autonomy of Szeged, which pertained to the king for nearly the whole of the Middle Ages. This favourable legal position and the economic level the town had reached by the late 15th century led to King Wladislas II declaring Szeged to be a royal free town in 1498. It should be remembered, however, that the new legal status of Szeged was enacted only in 1514.[5]

The category of royal free towns comprised approximately 30 localities from the whole territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Among them were the 8 tavernical towns: Buda, Sopron, Bratislava, Trnava, Košice, Bardejov, Prešov and Pest and those which

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[3] Reizner, *Szeged*, 97-128. Sándor Bálint, *Az 1522. évi tizedlajstrom szegedi vezetéknevei* [Surnames of People Living in Szeged Aaccording to the Tithe-list from the Year 1522], in *A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság kiadványai* [Proceedings of the Hungarian Association of Linguists] no. 105 (Budapest, 1963). Confer Kristó, *Szeged*, 448-460, Péter Kulcsár, *Az 1522-es szegedi tizedjegyzék mint történeti forrás* [The Tithe-list of Szeged from the Year 1522 as a Historical Source], in *Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből* [Essays from the History of the County of Csongrád] Vol. VIII. (Szeged, 1984), 5-27. According to András Kubinyi the number of the inhabitants of Szeged in 1522 might have reached 9500. Confer András Kubinyi, "A Magyar Királyság népessége a 15. század végén,"[The Population of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Late 15th Century] *Történelmi Szemle* 38, no. 2-3 (1996): 149-150.

[4] György Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város* [The Medieval Hungarian Town], (Budapest: Gondolat, 1980), 157.

[5] Kristó, *Szeged*, 278-476; László Blazovich, *Városok az Alföldön a 14-16. században* [Towns on the Great Hungarian Plain in the 14-16th Centuries] (Szeged: Dél-alföldi Évszázadok 17., 2002), 117-144.

could appeal to the judicial bench of the personalis e.g. Székesfehérvár, Esztergom, Levoča, Szeged, as well as the mining towns, and finally the Saxon towns of Transylvania.[6] The fact that Szeged occupied such a distinguished place in the urban network of Hungary is also confirmed by its cultural achievement. From this point of view it should be remembered that between 1444 and 1526 Szeged "sent" more than 100 students (i.e. nearly three dozens less than Buda) to the universities of Vienna and Krakow.[7]

Soon after the battle of Mohács in 1526 this flourishing town was ravaged by the Ottomans who finally occupied it in 1543. Though the Ottoman rule blocked further development, and was very brutal for the inhabitants of Szeged, most of the burghers remained in the town after its fall. In this respect 1552 proved to be the real turning point, when it became evident that the Hungarians who were supported by the troops of King Ferdinand, could not liberate Szeged. After 1552 the richest burghers left Szeged and moved to the towns of Upper Hungary, where especially Košice and Trnava received refugees from Szeged. After its fall, Szeged gradually became a Moslem town. This process accelerated particularly after 1552, paralleled by its economic decline, especially for foreign trade and the forced relocation of the burghers who lived in the Palánk, that is in the central part of the town, which was surrounded by palisades. Their place was taken by Moslems and Serbians. Upper Szeged (Felsőváros) also lost nearly the whole of its population, but Lower Szeged (Alsóváros) survived as the dwelling place of the Hungarians. The inhabitants of Lower Szeged dealt mostly with agriculture and animal husbandry.[8]

Ottoman rule lasted for nearly a century and a half in Szeged. Though the town was liberated in late October in 1686, Szeged remained a "frontier town" until 1718, when the peace of Passarovitz freed the whole of Southeast Hungary from Turkish hands. As a frontier town Szeged was placed under the direct military control of the Viennese court that prevented the restoration of the town's former autonomy. Parallel with the change in its legal position, urban society also went through a profound alteration. As a result of military administration the number of Germans and Serbs increased significantly in the town. While the Germans were mostly state officials, soldiers and artisans, the Serbs acted as merchants and frontier guards. Both the Germans and the Serbs settled down in the Palánk. The native Hungarian population lived mostly in Lower-Szeged and consistently strove to get rid of the military administration and to regain the lost autonomy of the town. According to estimations the number of inhabitants of the town had reached 14 000 in the 1720s, among whom we can find 1300 South Slavs, mostly Serbs. Neither the Germans nor the Serbs supported the

[6] Tavernical – from the Latin *tavernicus*, a high royal dignitary, who presided over their common court of appeal. Similarly *personalis*, another high royal dignitary.

[7] Kristó, *Szeged*, 419-420, 476-480; András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Urban Development and the Network of Markets on the Great Hungarian Plain and its Fringes in the Middle Ages] (Szeged: Dél-alföldi Évszázadok 14., 2000), 7.

[8] Kristó, *Szeged*, 508-534, 552-570; also confer István Petrovics, *Dél-dunántúli és dél-alföldi városok kapcsolata Felső-Magyarországgal a középkorban* [Contacts of Towns Lying in the Southern Parts of Transdanubia/Dunántúl and the Great Hungarian Plain/ Nagy Alföld with Upper Hungary in the Middle Ages], in *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13-17. században* [From Bardejov to Bratislava. Towns in the 13-17th Centuries], eds. Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyel (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 35), 133-135, 144-148.

Hungarians in their struggle that aimed at regaining the status of a free royal town. On top of that the way of life and the religion of the Serbs totally differed from those of the Hungarians. This created a great tension within urban society.

The native Hungarian inhabitants of Szeged were finally successful and King Charles III issued a solemn charter on 21 May 1719, which declared Szeged to be a free royal town.[9] The new magistracy consisted of a *iudex* (judge) and 12 *iurati cives*, and had the right to administer justice in the town. The town council even had the privilege of passing death sentences, which from our special point of view was the most important privilege of Szeged. The gaining of the status of a free royal town, naturally, did not put an end to hostilities between the native people and the newcomers, Hungarians and foreigners, but rather increased factious strife within the urban elite. Parallel with the growth of social tension, problems of a different nature also appeared. Among them bad weather-conditions and consequent famine and misery in the late 1720s deserve special attention. Priests and monks preached that it was a heavenly punishment since people had turned away from God and had not practised their religion. Due to the pressure of the clergy, especially active after the expulsion of the Turks in the southern region of the realm, even those people who were not convinced Catholics started going to church. Rumour soon had it that they spat out, and, by doing so, desecrated the holy wafer. No wonder that these people were supposed to collaborate with the Devil, and consequently it was believed that the drought in Szeged was caused not by God, but by witches through the malice of the Devil. It seemed that everything was ready for witch-trials in Szeged.[10]

Modern research has located witch-trials only in the countries of Latin Christianity and concentrated in Germany, Switzerland and eastern France. The first mass trials were held in the 15th century. In the early 16th century, as the Reformation made its appearance, the number of witch trials dropped, then around the mid-16th century persecution sky-rocketed. The height of the persecution occurred during the Reformation when the formerly unified Christian Church split into two opposing sects and the rival Catholics and Protestants fought to impose their religious views on each other. In other words: witch-hunts became an organic part of religious contests.[11]

In contrast with the western part of Europe, the number of witch-trials was not so high in Hungary. According to scholars 430 trials were held in the period between 1565 and 1728, which were followed by another 124 cases with the last trial occurring in 1756. It should be noted that half of the 124 cases were associated with Szeged, where altogether 21 people fell victim to the witch-hunt. Undoubtedly, the trial at

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[9] József Farkas, ed., *Szeged története 2. 1686-1849.* [History of Szeged.Vol. 2, 1686-1849] (Szeged: SomogyiKönyvtár, 1985), the relevant parts were written by Előd Vass; István Petrovics, "Fortély és állhatatosság. Küzdelem a szabad királyi városi rang elnyeréséért," [Tricks and Persistence. Struggle for Regaining the Status of a Free Royal Town], *Szeged. A város folyóirata* 14, no. 5 (May 2002): 16-21.

[10] Farkas, *Szeged*, 555-557.

[11] Elemér Balogh, "Aki az ördöggel szerződést köt…tűzhalállal lakoljon. A nagy szegedi boszorkányper-1728/29," [Who Makes a Contract with the Devil …Should be Sent to the Stake. The Great Witch-hunt in Szeged in 1728/29] *Szeged. A város folyóirata* 13, no. 8 (August 2001): 16; Jenny Gibbons, *Recent Develoopments in the Study of the Great European Witch Hunt* (accessed 14 October 2004); available from http://www.cog.org/witch_hunt.html; Internet. For witchcraft in general see 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).

Szeged was a case without parallel, considering the number of people who were tried and the number of witches who were burnt at the stake on a single day (13). From the court records we can gain detailed information about the cases. We know the name, the occupation and the social status of the accused, together with the rank he or she had in the witches' organization, and, of course, the verdict. It turns out that most of them were poor and elderly people, midwives and wise-women who were not native inhabitants of Szeged and consequently lacked wealthy relatives in the town who could have helped them.[12]

The court was secular and constituted by the *iudex et iurati cives* of Szeged, i.e. by the town council. The main charge against the accused was that they had sold off the rain along with the crops to witches from the Ottoman Empire. The legal procedure of the trials followed partly the German and Austrian model, partly Hungarian customary law. The inquisition consisted of two parts: in the first phase ordeal by water was applied while in the second different methods of torture were used. Three women could not survive the ordeal by water, which meant in practice that the accused were thrown on a rope into the Tisza river with their hands and legs bound up. The aforesaid three women sank immediately and got drowned. Their deaths were interpreted as the sign of their innocence. Three other persons died in jail. They passed away evidently as a consequence of the torture they had gone through, but the court accused Rózsa Dániel, captain of the witches, of killing them. Finally on 23 July 1728 thirteen persons, seven women and six men were burnt at the stakes. To tell the truth, one of them, Légrádiné Malmos Katalin, was first beheaded and only her corpse was thrown onto the stake. The execution of Végné Koncz Sára was postponed, since she was expecting a baby. She and Bogadussáné Örzse were burnt in the spring of the next year. The place where they were executed was originally an island of the Tisza river. This explains why a certain part of the riverbank is still named Boszorkánysziget, *i.e.*, Witches' Island. The sources also reveal that beside the above mentioned persons another 28 people were tried. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their later fate, but we have good reason to suppose that their lives were spared.[13]

If we want to understand the high number of death sentences passed in the witch-trials of Szeged, then we should bear in mind the special situation of the town. Szeged regained its autonomy nearly a decade before the trials, and in 1728 the town council wanted to demonstrate that it had, in fact, the power to exercise the privileges granted them by the king. Urban society at that time was far from being unified, and following from the power contest Szeged had two judges in 1728, who were in office simultaneously. It is also important to note that one of them, György Podhradszky, a talented

[12] Farkas, *Szeged*, 555-562. Recent research may modify the number of trials held in Hungary.

[13] Farkas, *Szeged*, 557-560; Balogh, *Aki az ördöggel*, 17. The court records are published in Reizner, *Szeged*, 373-535. In the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times the *Malleus Maleficarum* [The Hammer of Witches], completed in 1486, provided a code of procedure for the detection and punishment of witches. Undoubtedly, the most notorious figure of 17th -century German Inquisitors was Benedict Carpzow, professor of law at the university of Leipzig. His books, *Practica nova Imperialis Saxonica rerum criminalium* (1635) and *Peinlicher sachsischer Inquisitions- und Achtprozeß* (1638) provided, even two centuries after their publication, a code of procedure for witch trials on territories where German law was applied. There is high probability of the contention that one book – or even both – written by Carpzow served as a legal „guide-line" in the trials at Szeged. It is also probable that the Austrian Ferdinandea, i.e. the *Peinliche Landtgerichtsordnung in Oesterreich unter der Enns* was used in Szeged.

man but an intriguer was appointed to office with the help of a royal commissioner and against the will of the Hungarian burghers.[14] By the witch-trials the magistracy could intimidate the whole of the town community and push the "Hungarian party" into the background. Moreover, by executing the witches the town council could demonstrate that religious life was no longer infected by heretics. Doing so, the magistracy could successfully repel the attempts of László Nádasdy who, as bishop of Csanád, wanted to get control over the parish churches of the town and to establish his new episcopal see at Szeged.[15] It is another but equally important question that the idea of a witch-hunt and the condemnation of the witches was vigorously supported by the Church in general, and even the monarch and the royal officials agreed with it.[16]

The trials at Szeged stirred up a storm in the realm. Nevertheless, it took several decades before Queen Maria Theresa put an end to witch-trials in Hungary. It also belonged to the story that after a century the members of the town magistracy of Szeged were ashamed of themselves and put the records of the trials into the Secret Archives of the town in 1830. Nevertheless, the memory of the witch trials is kept alive in Szeged, among others, by the toponym Boszorkánysziget and a song in which the beautiful girls of Szeged are referred to as witches.

[14] Hostilities between „foreigners" and Hungarians culminated in spring 1728, in connection with the election of the iudex civitatis. The „foreigners" elected György Podhradszky, who had come to Szeged from Upper-Hungary, and who was also supported by the royal commissioner. In contrast, the Hungarians elected János Müller as judge. Consequently, Szeged, at least for a while, had two judges simultaneously. Of them György Podhradszky proved to be smarter and could reach that János Müller was regarded only as „iudex substitutus". To crown all, György Podhradszky, as the deputy of the town of Szeged, stayed at Pozsony and participated in the work of the Diet, when the witch trials began.

[15] The ecclesiastical situation of Szeged was very peculiar. Though the nearest episcopal see was Csanád, founded in 1030 and lying about 40 kilometres from Szeged, our town belonged to the archdiocese of Bács-Kalocsa throughout the Middle Ages. The Ottoman Turks occupied and destroyed Csanád in 1552. During Ottoman rule the bishops of Csanád resided outside their original see and their dignity became titular. After the expulsion of the Turks the episcopal residence at Csanád was not rebuilt, and bishop László Nádasdy, who made serious attempts in order to reorganize the episcopacy of Csanád, wanted to establish a new see somewhere else. Though in 1702 Szeged was assigned as the new residence of the bishops of Csanád, the burghers of Szeged rejected this decision. On the other hand, Nádasdy also had conflicts with the Habsburg administration that was reluctant to restore the diocese of Csanád within its mediaeval boundaries. Due to Nádasdy's efforts, the Habsburgs at last agreed to revive the historical diocese of Csanád, which in this way, covered again the whole territory lying between the Rivers Danube, Tisza and Maros, but the new episcopal see was established finally at Temesvár (today Timişoara, Romania) in 1738. From that time on the bishops of Csanád resided at Temesvár until the peace treaty of Trianon in 1920, and shortly afterwards they moved to Szeged.

[16] Soon after that the witches had been sent to the stake an article appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung reporting about the trials and executions at Szeged. It is highly probable, that King Charles III was informed about the events at Szeged by this article. The monarch acted immediately: he requested that the documents of the trial should be sent to the Hungarian Chancellery. The royal inquiry, however, did not put an end to the trials and the executions. The „only" change was that from that time on the witches were beheaded., before being sent to the stakes.

Witches sentenced to death in Szeged (June 26th, 1728)

Name*	**Profession**	**Place of birth, Age**	**Office**
Rózsa Dániel	Ex-judge; burgher	Martonos; 82	Captain
Rózsáné Széll Zsuzsanna	Wife of Rózsa Dániel	50	Cup-bearer
Katona Ferenc	?	Martonos; 60	Flag-bearer
Borbola Ferenc	Coachman of Rózsa Dániel	Kecskemét; 56	Second-lieutenant
Kovács Pál	Judge of the beggars	Pétervásár; 67	
Kökényné Nagy Anna	Midwife	Ölved; 65	
Dancsóné Szanda Kata	Midwife	Heves county; 50	-
Danyiné Tóth Örzse	Poor	Buják; 70	-
Dancsó János	Beggar	Ipolykeszi; 70	-
Dancsóné Hisen Borbála	Former midwife, poor of the church	Árokszállás; 65	-
Szántó Mihály	Heyduck of Rózsa Dániel	? ; 65	-
Dugonicsné Barak Margit	Poor	Szeged; 55	-
Légrádiné Malmos Katalin	Poor	Szeged; 40	-
Végné Koncz Sára	Wise-woman, poor	Tura; 29	
Horváthné (Bogadussáné) Örzse	Poor	Transylvania; 66	-
Tóthné Korcsek Zsuzsa	Poor	Nagykáta; 60	-
Pálfiné Köre Ilona	Midwife, wise-woman	?	-
Csikósné Emre Örzse	Poor	? ; 50	-

**Names are given according to the Hungarian way of writing*

THE MYSTERY OF BIRTH: MAGIC, EMPIRICAL AND RATIONAL APPROACHES TO WOMEN'S MEDICINE IN THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PERIODS

TÜNDE LENGYELOVÁ

Women's Medicine in the Middle Ages and on the Threshold of Modern Times

"Be gone Satan from the body of this woman and make room for the Holy Spirit!" commanded Hildegard of Bingen, and on her words "an unclean spirit left the woman in a disgusting way through her sexual organs and with excretion. She was free."[1] Although this event occurred sometime in the 12th century, it faithfully catches the level of women's medicine in the Middle Ages and several later centuries. It is not surprising, since the protection of human health was generally on a very low level in this period. This unfavourable situation was further affected by the fact that women's medicine and obstetrics were not only not regarded as a separate branch of medicine, it was also undervalued.[2] This is not contradicted by the fact that the medical school at Salerno probably also educated women during the period of its flourishing from 1150 to 1180. The most important female graduate was a certain Trotta or Trotula, a famous obstetrician, to whom the work *On the pains of women before, during and after childbirth* is attributed. At the end of the 13th century, many woman doctors also worked in Paris, but the members of the faculty of medicine there opposed them, and excommunicated them for illegal practices.[3] All the actions around the birth of a new person were an exclusively female affair, with the presence of men wanted only at the beginning – for conception. This is also shown by the case of the Hamburg doctor Veit,

[1] Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) was abbess of the Benedictine monastery at Rupertsberg near Bingen. She wrote natural science and medical texts, based on observation and experience of folk medicine, Antique medicine and the Benedictine tradition. The religious and magic medicine she applied, using prayer, holy water, amulets and exorcism, was revived in the 20th century. *Kronika medicíny* (Bratislava: Fortuna print, 1994), 92-93.

[2] It would be difficult to give full references to the rich foreign literature on women's medicine and obstetrics and their criminalization. We will give only a selection of those used in producing this study. Antonín Doležal, *Od babictví k porodnictví* (Praha: Karolinum, 2001); György Seregély and István Szentgyörgyi, "Gyógyszerésztörténeti és néprajzi adatok az bortivumok és antikoncipiensek köréből Magyarországon," *Gyógyszerészet* (1969): 184-189; Gyula Magyary-Kossa, "Régi magyar bábákról," (offprint) *Orvosok és Gyógyszerészek Lapja* 2, no. 10 (1938); Gyula Magyary–Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek. Értekezések az orvostörténelem köréből*, III., adattár 1000-1700 (Budapest: Magyar orvosi könyvkiadó társulat, 1931); Ferenc Schram, "Népi nőgyógyászati tanácsok a XVII-XVIII. századból," *Orvostörténeti közlemények* 69-70 (1973): 253-277; Balázs Gémes, "A népi születésszabályozás (magzatelhajtás) Magyarországon a XIX-XX. században," *Documentatio ethnographica* 12 (Budapest: MTA NKCs, 1987); Alena Šubrtová, "Kontracepce, aborty a infanticida v pramenech k předstatistickému období," *Historická demografie* 15 (1991): 9-46. Sibylla Flügge, "Die gute Ordnung der Geburtshilfe. Recht und Realität am Beispiel des Hebammenrechts der Frühneuzeit," *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts. Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ute Gerhard (München, 1997), 140-150; Günter Jerouschek, "Die juristische Konstruktion des Abtreibungsverbots," *Ibidem*, 248-261.

[3] *Kronika medicíny*, 103.

condemned to death by burning in 1522, because he had dressed in the clothes of a midwife and wanted to assist at childbirths.[4] It was only possible to help women theoretically, as the Worms town doctor Eucharius Roesslin did. In 1513, he published the book *Der Swangeren Frawen und hebammen Rosengarten* [The Rose Garden for Pregnant Women and Midwives]. In spite of the fact that the author did not draw from his own experience, but from ancient authors, it became one of the most frequently published books of the 16th century.[5]

Male doctors of medicine gradually began to deal with childbirth in the 17th century, but almost without exception only in the highest social classes. Even at the beginning of the 18th century, male doctors in Western Europe unanimously held the view that obstetrics is a female matter and it was useless to waste words on it.[6] One of the first relatively well-documented cases of the treatment of women's problems by male doctors in the Kingdom of Hungary is the case of Ursula Kanizsay, wife of the Palatine of Hungary Thomas Nádasdy from the mid 16th century. The main problem of the couple was that after two decades they had no children. The surviving correspondence documents in detail the effort both partners made to change this unsatisfactory situation for the family. Both of them, especially Ursula, were willing to undergo very unpleasant medicinal methods. In the end they were successful and a son was born.[7] However, we can unambiguously say that this case was more exceptional than usual, and only a few privileged women received medical care. About the middle of the 16th century, anatomists undertook more thorough study of the human body, including the female body. Description of the internal organs and embryological development meant a great step forward in scientific research,[8] but this could not penetrate to wider groups of people. They continued to use the old empirical knowledge mixed with superstitions and life threatening practices.

The fact that obstetrics long remained inaccessible to the male half of creation, in combination with the dogma of original sin in human reproduction, evoked much unjustified hatred towards those involved in this area. In the case of midwives, such notable "opinion formers" as Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Institoris multiplied general misogyny. The two monks in the best seller *Malleus maleficarum* [The Hammer of Witches] gave many arguments against midwives, for example: "*... the truth is supposed concerning four terrible crimes, which devils commit on children, both in their mothers' wombs and after. Since the devils commit these acts by means of women and not men, this method of murder is connected more with women than with men. ... Certain witches, against the instinct of human nature and against the natural instinct of all animals, except perhaps the wolf, have the custom of killing and eating small chil-*

[4] Gyula Magyary-Kossa, *Régi magyar bábákról, w*ithout page numbers.

[5] *Kronika medicíny*, 134. There was 100 editions of the book, it was also translated into Czech (in 1519).

[6] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 291.

[7] See Katalin Péter, "Kanizsay Orsolya (1521-1569)," in *Nők a magyar történelemben*, ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1997), 47-63; Sándor Payr, *Kanizsai Orsolya* (Budapest, 1908). Correspondence between the doctor (famous precisely for treating infertility) and the palatine: Nándor Szmollény, *Caspar Fraxinus de Zegedinus és Nádasdy Tamás levelezése* (Szeged, 1910).

[8] Gabrielle Fallopio (1523-1562) described the Fallopian tubes. Giulio Cesare Aranzi (1530-1589) described the uterus during pregnancy together with the foetus. Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente (1537-1619) and Girolamo Fabrizzi published copperplate engravings of the pregnant uterus. Charles Estienne (1545) depicted the female reproductive organs very precisely. *Kronika medicíny*, 146.

dren. ... A certain person lost a child from his or her cradle and in the night an assembly of women appeared, and he saw that they killed his child, drank his or her blood and ate his or her flesh. ... Nobody harms the Catholic faith more than midwives. When they do not kill a child, they take him or her from the room, throw him or her into the air and so sacrifice the child to the devils."[9]

The ambivalent position of midwives in society – without regard for the views of the two witch hunters – was based on their activities standing on the boundary between life and death. The polarization of the "good" and "evil or malicious" midwife derived especially from often-unavoidable circumstances, such as a difficult birth, where a tragic end could be the cause of rejection and accusation of the midwife. On the one hand, they were valued for their knowledge, but on the other hand, they were feared and rejected because of precisely the same knowledge. Considering the reasons indicating accusations of witchcraft, which we have from the environment of the villages or small towns of Early Modern Hungary, it is entirely understandable that negative characteristics were often attributed to midwives: They were essential at childbirth, and so they ruled over life and death. With about a thirtieth of the accusations, the witchcraft trials so far documented do not include many cases, but in the consciousness of the people, midwifery and witchcraft were often considered very close, with a rather undefined boundary.[10] Sometimes their work was combined with the function of the "Fates," who foretold the future of the newborn baby. They were the first to identify anomalies in a baby, such as teeth, hair, an excessive number of fingers or a tail, and from these an ability to predict the future of the child was attributed to them. They could also predict and perform magic acts with the foetal membrane, umbilical cord or placenta. If the midwife judged that the life of the baby was in danger, she attempted to save it by assisting breathing or massage... If a monster was born, she discretely killed it. It was her task to inform the parents if something connected with the baby was not in order, and perhaps also to perform acts of divination according to local tradition.[11]

Forms of Assistance

Childbirth as a physiological process was already inherently surrounded by mystery, and the uncertainty was significantly deepened by various religious acts intended to assist parents in difficult moments and protect the newborn baby from various unfavourable influences. In the ideas of medieval and early modern people, magic, folk medicine and the methods of the learned doctors were probably equally effective or ineffective. Many of the practices used centuries ago survived in changed or unchanged form until the recent past. Various incantations, objects attributed magic power or healing by washing, bathing, fumigation and contact are even having a renaissance today.

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[9] *Kladivo na čarodejnice* (Prague: Otakar II, 2000, facsimile according to the Lyons edition of 1669, Czech translation by Jitka Lenková), 161.

[10] Éva Pócs, "Sors, bábák, boszorkányok. Archaikus sorsképzetek Közép- és Kelet-Európa hiedelemrendszerieben," *Magyar néphit Közép- és Kelet-Európa határán. Válogatott tanulmányok I.* ed. Éva Pócs (Budapest: L´Harmattan, 2002), 85-86.

[11] Ibid., 95-96.

Incantation was one of the oldest forms of healing, going back to pagan times. After the spread of Christianity, it continued, but with the difference that the Christian saints replaced the pagan demons and gods. Healing by incantation is based on the idea that the word has irresistible power and religious teaching confirmed it: God created the world from nothing with the word and Christ healed the sick with the word. Incantation usually had a versed form, since it was believed that words bound by verse were more powerful.[12]

Healing by washing and bathing was among the very widespread and clearly also most effective methods of healing. Water of a different type and concoctions of different herbs were used. Washing had a mainly purifying character, and rational elements, based on the knowledge and use of the healing properties of some herbs, were added to this originally magic method. Other ingredients such as salt, dissolved lead or wax were added to water, often pure river, rain or well water, occasionally also blessed.[13] The effect could be increased by a combination of the rational and the magic. The magic usually had a numerical form: the use of nine different waters or herbs, or three, seven or twelve drops or additives. Time could also be used: The effect was stronger, if the washing was done at dawn, at midnight or the herbs were collected on a certain day, especially on the feast day of a certain patron saint. Washing and bathing was usually accompanied by various magic acts, which were expected to strengthen the effect, but in the end also contributed to the importance of the person, who mastered such practices.

Fumigation, a very old and mainly magic way of driving out illnesses, was also used quite often. Especially charcoal was used, and herbs or seeds, bread or textile were sprinkled on it.[14] However, we also find other objects in the recipes including various parts of animals – dried eyes, hair, horns, hooves, but also human secretions or hair. Healing by *contact* was also widespread. It is also a very old form. Many other practices, dependent on the "knowledge" and experience of the healer, were used more rarely. All the above-mentioned methods could be combined.

Manuscript Recipe Books and Printed Books on Female Problems

Every pregnancy and childbirth was an extraordinary event for a woman and a burden, since even the simplest women were aware of the risks they faced. Lack of hygiene, but also of knowledge and effective methods, combined with the very often pilloried alcoholism of midwives, meant danger of failure and a tragic end, even for less complicated childbirths. This is clearly shown by the large number of recipes in manuscript recipe books[15] and in official medical books,[16] and by the constantly re-

[12] Emília Horváthová-Čajánková, "Liečebné praktiky čarodejníc na severozápadnom Slovensku v prvej polovici 18. storočia," *Slovenský národopis* VII, no. 3 (1959): 435.

[13] Ibid., 438.

[14] Ibid., 441.

[15] While writing this study, I used the following collections of recipes: from the National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könnyvtár) in Budapest, Department of Manuscripts and Early Prints; published collections: Gizella Hoffman, ed., *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség* (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 1989), 675 pages; set of 15 recipes collected by Baron B. Radvánszky, *Minden doktorságot csak ebből késértek* Szemelvények orvosi kézikönyvekből (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1983), 455 pages; Anna Zay, *Herbárium*, Folia Rakocziana 2 (Nyíregyháza, 1979), 151 pages. Marie Majtánová, ed., *Trifolium sanitatis medicum aneb o zdravi zprava lekarska* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1987), 136 pages; Jozef Watzka,

peated theme in correspondence of childbirth, the resulting complications and final tragedies. It is also reflected in wills, which women often wrote before giving birth.[17]

The recipes in the manuscript collections give much interesting information. Obviously, they reflect the state of knowledge and beliefs at the time about the possibilities to treat the illnesses, which afflicted people. However, on the other hand, many also testify to the diagnostic and anatomical knowledge of the user. Sometimes these findings are surprising, as is the origin of some of the recipes. With many entries, we find the name of the author as well as the obligatory remarks that the recipe is tested and so also effective. Apart from the well-known medical authorities such as Hippokrates, Avicenna, Paracelsus, Galen or Pliny, we also find medicines from Cardinal of Hungary Peter Pázmány, the Emperor Rudolf II or King Stephen Báthory of Poland. The real authorship may be doubtful, but in these cases it may have significantly contributed to healing as a sort of "placebo effect." If it helped the Emperor, it must also help ordinary sick people. The Hungarian aristocracy also included many men notable for their medical experience, but women took the lead in this area.

It is important to observe that the recipe books did not respect frontiers. If we compare such texts from Hungary, for example, with those from Germany, we find similar and often repeated procedures and prescriptions.[18] Healers worked with the same medicinal substances, whether of vegetable, animal or chemical origin. The question arises: how was knowledge of the effects of individual medicinal substances spread across practically the whole of Europe? How did knowledge of the official medical texts penetrate into the consciousness of the people in conditions of illiteracy? Apart from long-term empirical experience, passed on from generation to generation, the penetration of information from official medical and pharmaceutical circles also comes into account. This intensified especially after the invention of printing. Although the great majority of herbalists and midwives could not read, they received the information indirectly. We have various indications that one such way to gain medicinal knowledge was from the books on medicine and herbs in aristocratic libraries, the content of which was mostly passed on by the owner of the books or more frequently by his wife. In correspondence, we find innumerable examples of the sending of medicine from a well-known doctor, who had already helped somebody and was expected to be able to help somebody else.

A wide range of illnesses appears in the recipe books. However, if we have the possibility to compare some of them, a certain disproportion appears. The older recipe books, from the 16th – 17th centuries, are very frequently devoted to infectious diseases, especially plague and various others, often generally called plague. We already

"Zbierka ľudových lekárskych receptov z prvej polovice 18. storočia," *Slovenský národopis* XIX, no. 2 (1971): 309-320.

[16] While writing this study, I used the following publications: Juraj Fándly, *Zelinkár*, eds. J. Junas and J. Považan (Martin: Osveta, 1990, 3rd ed.), 376 pages. Péter Melius, *Herbárium* (Bukurest: Kriterion, 1979), 517 pages. Ferenc Pápai Páriz, *Pax corporis* (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1984), 490 pages.

[17] Compare Ildikó Horn, "Testamenty aristokratických žien v Sedmohradskom kniežatstve" in *Žena a právo*, ed. Tünde Lengyelová (Bratislava: AEP, 2004), 128.

[18] Compare e.g. Larissa Leibrock-Plehn, *Hexenkräuter oder Arznei. Die Abtreibungsmittel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992), 238 pages.

encounter plague less in collections from the second half of the 18th century and mostly in copies of older texts, since in this century plague was replaced by cholera. The healers reacted "promptly" and sought new medicines, but in reality they were frequently the same as those used against plague.[19] However, in some collections, we find very many recipes and ways of treating one illness. Various medicines were recorded, probably according to the difficulties tormenting the owner of the recipe book. This produced "specialized" sets of recipes devoted to one illness or several illnesses with similar symptoms, which hindered unambiguous diagnosis. This shows that when a particular problem occurred, they tried various methods of healing, a multitude of medicines from different doctors, healers and acquaintances, with all carefully recorded, so that if they were effective, they could be used again when needed. Therefore, the collections naturally contain a multitude of different prescriptions concerning pregnancy, childbirth, breast-feeding and most frequently continuing with childhood illnesses. Since the collections were passed on, the following users again noted the recipes expected to help with problems or difficulties in the family. The handwriting of the texts also confirms this.

The Role and Mission of Women – Offspring

The child was regarded as a gift from God and so the medieval or early modern person should theoretically rejoice over a birth. This was usually the case, although there is much evidence that pregnancy was not always welcome. In families with more children, where each extra child brought further problems with upbringing and especially feeding, and among single women or widows, a supposed pregnancy could evoke serious fears and problems. The state of a woman's health could also evoke doubts about the advantages of further pregnancy and childbirth. However, it is impossible to entirely exclude the distaste of a woman for again becoming pregnant, overcoming all the suffering of childbirth and care for the newborn baby. Barbara Thurzo, daughter of the Palatine of Hungary, wrote to her mother: "I believe that the Lord God will have mercy on me and direct my state otherwise." She hoped that the signs suggesting a new pregnancy were deceptive. In her case, it was not a matter of health, but of promising development of her social life with frequent visits to the imperial court.[20] Regardless of whether it was from joy or fear, not only the woman herself, but also those immediately around her, reacted with expectation to a missed period. More experienced women also knew several sure ways of ascertaining conception: A woman, who drinks mint water and gets a bad stomach or bellyache from it, is pregnant. Another way of verifying pregnancy was done at the time when there should be menstruation. The woman had to urinate on sage leaves in a small bowl. If the leaves turned black, became dirty or acquired different colours, she was pregnant.[21]

Perhaps the greatest misfortune was when no child was born in a marriage. As in the above-mentioned case of the Palatine Nádasdy, it is probable that everybody used all possible means to avoid this unfortunate fate. There were many methods. Ursula

[19] Compare Jozef Ľudovít Holuby, *Národopisné práce* VIII. Ľudové liečenie. 1. Domáce lieky ľudu slovenského (Bratislava: SAV, 1993), 170-185 (also in *Letopis Matice slovenskej* IX-X (1872): 41-55).

[20] Regional archive in Bytča (MV SR, Štátny archív v Bytči), Oravský komposesorát – Thurzovská korešpondencia (OK-TK) III-T/8, Nitra, 12.10.1620.

[21] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 296-297.

Kanizsay, wife of the palatine, had to put up with various experiments, including the insertion of various "pessaria." She allowed only the doctor, her husband or lastly a close relation to do this.[22] Magic objects also played an important role. They were most frequently various parts of animals, preferably exotic, stones, semi-precious stones or relics. A small bone from the heart of a deer was thought to have miraculous power. It was ground, the woman drank it, and as soon as she was with her husband, she would get pregnant.[23] Ivory powder mixed with a little camphor and given in honey had a similar effect, and if it did not work, fumigation with hedgehog skin would help.[24] Juraj Fándly recommended that milk from a young hare should be boiled or fried, powdered and given to the woman in a drink before the beginning of the physical marital act. This milk is found in the stomach of the young hare, it looks like a nut and it has been found that the woman will certainly conceive.[25]

Bathing was a frequent method for achieving conception. Water, especially from some springs, was thought to have magic power. However, usually herbs were added to the water or an essence was prepared from them, for example, oil from *Momordica charantia* or *M. balsamina*, a type of pumpkin growing in our country.[26] Fumigation with smoke from the corn-cockle (*Agrostemma hortensis*) and garden thyme (*Thymus vulgaris*)[27] or saltbush (*Atriplex hortensis*) was thought to have similar effects. Fándly also knew of fumigation with corn-cockle, incense, myrrh and saffron, and considered them effective.[28] Use of a fish found in another fish, preferably a pike was recorded as a tried and tested method at the end of the 18th century.[29] The ceder (*Cedrus*) or rue (*Ruta graveolens*) had the opposite effect. Their use would cause infertility of the woman.[30] Other texts state that hemp seed (*Canabus*) also causes infertility.[31]

However, a way of finding out which partner was infertile was also known. The original prescription from the mid 17th century advised: "*Take two new pots and put urine from the two (partners) separately into these two new pots. Then add peeled barley and mix well. After several days look: If an insect attacked the pearl barley in one pot, the partner, who produced the urine in that pot, can be considered infertile*."[32] However, if these and similar tests were inconclusive and both partners "have healthy sexual organs, but they have no fertile ability, they will gain it with the help of strong soups, spiced food and good old wine. They should also eat *halušky* (a sort of gnocchi or pasta) with good old *bryndza* (soft white cheese made from sheep's milk) and drink

[22] Péter, "Kanizsay Orsolya (1521-1569)," 57.

[23] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 40.

[24] Zay, *Herbárium*, no. 281 and 284.

[25] Fándly, *Zelinkár*, 206.

[26] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 488.

[27] Ibid., 120.

[28] Fándly, *Zelinkár*, 206.

[29] The National Széchenyi Library (OSzK) in Budapest, collection of manuscripts, no. Oct. Hung. 412: Csenálossi Ravazdj András: Méh Tolmáts..., 1788, f. 250 - „Házi Orvossagok es Füvekről való különös Jegyzesek."

[30] Zay, *Herbárium*, 163, 275.

[31] Ibid., 309.

[32] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 153.

their good old wine" as Juraj Fándly advised.[33] It is interesting to note a recipe for ensuring that a woman went naked before her husband: It was enough to smear the wick of a candle with rabbit bile and light it.[34] Evidently nakedness had to be a "means" of stimulation for cases in which the cause of infertility was not a physiological cause, but only shyness or ignorance.

In earlier times they also cast spells on men. Such a man was not able to fulfil his marital obligations and so no babies were conceived. This accusation appears in the trials of witches relatively frequently. The situation could usually be solved very simply. The person who cast the spell could also remove the "curse." The many possible starting points include the following: The "afflicted" man had to steal the shirt of the woman, who bewitched him and urinate through its right sleeve, and he would be healed.[35] However, if it was not clear, who caused this unpleasantness, the generally accessible spearmint (*Mentha piperita*) or a similar species helped, and "he will go after his wife Katka." [36]

Spells and magic were also used in the case of bewitched women. In 1759, the lordship court of the Rákócsis in the County of Zemplín considered the case of the wife of Michael Kalán from Černochov. She had been "bewitched" perhaps six years before and could not bear a child. According to the testimony she had given birth to dead children three times, although previously, she had produced three healthy children. Suspicion fell on three women from the village, who obviously also had to confront other accusations. The case was probably solved by "unbewitching," but we do not know the result.[37] If a bridegroom was "unadapted to marriage because of magic, he should drink (a concoction) from columbine (aquilegia) seed, perhaps also with spices" as was recommended elsewhere.[38] However, if mint, columbine seed and even magic did not help, they solved the problem in an entirely prosaic way especially among Protestants: by dissolving the marriage.[39]

The sex of the baby was often not a subject for indifference. Securing male offspring was vitally important for many families, since Hungarian law gave priority to inheritance by men and a family continued only in the male line. A family was usually dissolved by dying out of its male line, and its property went back to the royal domain. Men clearly found the lack of a male heir very painful – although they did not admit fault, since they preferred to attribute the blame for this unfortunate situation to their wives. It is understandable that they could not know the laws of genetics, so they endeavoured to produce male offspring according to more or less tried and tested recipes. Although correspondence usually avoided intimate themes, they clearly discussed various family secrets – especially during long nights in military camps – including the methods and possibilities of married life. This is shown by a comment in a letter from

[33] Fándly, *Zelinkár*, 208.

[34] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 207.

[35] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 12.

[36] Zay, *Herbárium* 248.

[37] Ferenc Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529-1768. III.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 322-333.

[38] Watzka, "Zbierka ľudových lekárskych receptov z prvej polovice 18. storočia," 318.

[39] Compare Tünde Lengyelová, "Násilie páchané na ženách a možnosti obrany v období raného novoveku," in *Žena a právo* (Bratislava: AEP, 2004), 205-217.

George Thurzo informing his wife that their neighbour and friend Nicholas Dersffy had again become the father of a girl. He also mentioned that "we must both think of some new form, since we have only daughters." [40] In the manuscript recipe books, we find guaranteed instructions for ways of favourably influencing the birth of a male heir. One of the few recipes for ensuring the birth of a girl, recommended that certain acts be performed with the umbilical cord and placenta immediately after the birth.[41] However, we also find here ways of answering the question: which will be born? A very simple method was to place opium on the head of the pregnant woman, so that she would not notice. If she first spoke to a man she would have a son, but if she addressed a woman first a daughter would be born. Digging two pits in the ground was also a tested method. They put barley in one and wheat in the other, and the pregnant woman urinated on both. If the barley sprouted first, a girl would be born, but if it was the wheat, there would be a boy.[42] Milk also reacted differently to a pregnant woman. If she poured it into water and it sank to the bottom, she would have a son, but if it remained on the surface, she would have a daughter.[43]

When a pregnancy was confirmed, it usually meant no relief for the woman. She performed her duties to exactly the same extent as before, since pregnancy was regarded as a natural state. However, if complications occurred, a whole range of means for preserving pregnancy was available. The medicinal power of plants was also used here, but also a great number of magic objects. Vulture stone was thought to prevent premature birth. The woman had to wear it wrapped in red velvet and tied to her left arm. Dried river crab, ground into powder and drank on a Friday in warm wine also had a positive effect. A woman was advised to drink this mixture several times.[44] She could also try hair pulled from a hare between the eyes and used in liquid or food.[45]

Pregnancy, Childbirth and Prevention

In expectation of difficult times, they sought various forms of help, intended not only to ease childbirth, but especially to preserve the life of the mother and child. This is also shown by the multitude of saints – 70 to 80 – to whom they turned in prayer.[46] Amulets – various stones, semi-precious stones or other rare objects were considered very effective. Even at the beginning of the 19th century, a certain doctor expressed his indignation against the practices midwives inflict on women giving birth. Apart from the many drastic and life threatening actions, we can mention the hanging of various slips of paper or parts of animals around the neck of a mother as harmless and considerate approaches. Similarly, they also dressed her in a man's shirt or put her husband's

[40] Edmund Zichy, *Bethlenfalvi gróf Thurzó György levelei nejéhez Czobor - Szent - Mihályi Czobor Erzsébethez.* (Budapest, 1876), I. part, letter no. 244, 16th October 1597.

[41] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 104, but the description is so confused that the result could not be guaranteed.

[42] Ibid., 117.

[43] Ibid., 465.

[44] Ibid., 223.

[45] Zay, *Herbárium*, no. 286.

[46] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 291.

underpants on her neck, in the hope of an easier birth.[47]

The tradition of amulets and relics had deep roots in the Kingdom of Hungary. For example, the belt of St. Margaret, daughter of King Bela IV, circulated among aristocratic women from an early date. It was supposed to guarantee that everything would be in order at the time of childbirth. Various relics and other saints, which also had great popularity in the higher social strata, also fulfilled a similar function. It was believed that they could guarantee the desired, male, sex of the awaited child. According to some reports, in 1371, King Louis the Great of Hungary stayed with his pregnant wife Elizabeth in Zara, where a little finger of St. Simeon was preserved as a relic. Elizabeth stole this relic, hoping that it would help her to produce a male heir. However, her effort came to naught, since still in the church she felt ill and she had to return the little finger. She later gave birth to a daughter Hedviga, who later became Queen of Poland.[48] The snakeskin Christina Nyáry wrote about to Eve Popel-Lobkowitz, widow of Francis Batthyány, probably had the same purpose. Twenty-nine year old Christina, at that time married to the Palatine Nicholas Esterházy, was expecting her eighth child. Two months before the birth, Eve Popel asked not only for a midwife, who was verified with her daughter, but also for the snakeskin, which had a positive effect on that occasion.[49]

Hungarian aristocrats usually received better care than ordinary women. The surviving correspondence often mentions that they called on doctors during pregnancy and sometimes also for childbirth. During the fifth pregnancy of his wife Elizabeth Czobor, George Thurzo wrote: "As soon as parliament ends, I will hurry home, and if necessary, which Lord God forbid, I will also bring a doctor, but I already want to bring him, since – as he says – he knows a method and medicines, which will make the birth very easy, if you use them. I also asked about a midwife, who will be the best, we shall sent for her."[50] This doctor must have been a real expert, because perhaps thanks to the medicaments he offered, everything proceeded without greater complications. However, it is typical that they prepared for the birth almost immediately after the pregnancy was securely confirmed: in this case already at the end of February, while the Thurzos only son was born on 21st September. However, a sharp contrast is provided by an event at the birth of the 16th of the 18 children of Paul and Ursula Esterházy. As the father himself wrote, between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning, his wife was walking around the house alone, when the baby suddenly fell out of her onto the floor. She picked the infant up with her own hands and carried it to her bedroom, where she separated the umbilical cord herself. In spite of these unfavourable circumstances at birth, the little girl survived.[51]

Since there are no statistics, it is not possible to even guess the number of prematurely ended pregnancies. We can be certain that premature births or miscarriages were much more frequent than today, when we have a multitude of medicines and effective procedures. However, it was also entirely clear in the 16th and 17th centuries, what

[47] Ibid., 296-7: quoted from Peterka, *Bábamesteréget tárgyazó katechizmus* (Pest, 1814).

[48] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 65.

[49] Katalin Kincses, ed., "*Im küttem én orvosságot*" *Lobkowitz Poppel Éva levelezése 1622-1644* (Budapest, 1933), 149.

[50] Zichy, *Bethlenfalvi gróf Thurzó György levelei nejéhez* I., letter no. 249, 26th February 1598.

[51] "Az Esterházyak családi naplója," *Történelmi Tár* (1888): 209-224.

dangers flowed from this state, and they also knew ways to deal with this life-threatening situation. The well-known and recognized doctor Ferenc Pápai Páriz devoted a whole chapter of his work *Pax corporis* to premature births. He mentioned as signs: rapid drying up of the breasts, lack of movement of the foetus, if when turning while lying down, the "burden" falls in the direction of movement like a stone, if the woman has fallen eyes, her face turns brown, her nose is cold and lips cracked, if she has problems with excretion. He considered it very dangerous if the woman fainted while making an effort, did not control her extremities, did not communicate, forgot and got cramps in her extremities. In his view, a woman, who had never given birth, faced greater danger. He gave a greater chance to more experienced mothers at the beginning of pregnancy. As preventive measures, he recommended that women restrict themselves, avoid physically demanding activities such as lifting and jumping and prepare medicines in advance. Ribwort (*Plantago*) seed could help as a medicine. Water with *Tormentilla* or with ash from deer antler was appropriate as a drink. He had also heard much praise of eagle stone (*Lapis Aetites* or *Aquilinus*) – whether already as a pendant round the neck or in the area of the navel. A magnet could also be placed on the navel.[52] Bleeding during pregnancy could be prevented or stopped if it had already happened by grinding a live green frog (a so-called queen's frog) into powder and drinking it in red wine.[53]

If the time was complete and the birth was coming, some preparations were necessary. It certainly also depended on the social group to which the woman belonged: Ordinary peasant women sometimes gave birth in the fields. Women in difficulties, especially in the case of an unwanted and secret pregnancy, sometimes gave birth secretly in extraordinarily undignified conditions, which threatened their lives, although usually they only wanted to be rid of their babies. In spite of their efforts at secrecy, many of these cases were discovered and extraordinarily cruel punishment followed.[54] However, if it was a matter of an ordinary, publicly known and expected birth, they arranged in advance the presence not only of a midwife, but usually also of other women, most frequently neighbours or immediate family. Their presence was desired not only for assistance, but also as witnesses in the event of problems. These could occur at any time and in any form, so it was good if more people were present, so that they could give advice, but they could also have a bad effect. The case of the wife of Stephen Pográny can serve as an example. She died in childbirth in 1627. The midwife saw that the child was still alive in spite of this, and with other assistants recommended taking it from the mother. The sister-in-law of the deceased, who did not want her brother to have an heir, prevented this.[55] On the other hand, the presence of several people did not prevent fatal mistakes. This happened when the wife of Paul Nyáry died in childbirth. The midwife thought that the child was dead, so they put the mother in a coffin, closed it and placed it in church. However, according to witnesses, after three

[52] Páriz, *Pax corporis*, 284-286.

[53] Schram, "Népi nőgyógyászati tanácsok a XVII-XVIII. századból," 267.

[54] Compare Blanka Szeghyová, "Žena a zločin vo východoslovenských mestách v 16. storočí," in *Žena a právo*, ed. Tünde Lengyelová (Bratislava: AEP, 2004), 77-79.

[55] Katalin Péter, "A gyermekek első tíz esztendeje," in *Gyermek a kora újkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1996), 25.

days the dead woman gave birth to a girl, who was found lying on her face in the coffin, but already also dead.[56] In this case it was a matter of only the apparent death of the mother, since a dead woman could not spontaneously have given birth. Neither the midwife not anybody else had checked whether the baby showed signs of life or movement. Perhaps her expertise did not extend that far.

Apart from the necessary and practical things for the birth itself, such as ointment on the hands and warm water, they also usually prepared means to help the mother, to ease difficult moments. According to the ideas of the time, childbirth was inevitably painful, indeed it said in the Bible that women have to give birth in blood and pain. In spite of this, many ways of relieving the pain and if possible shortening it were known. It was considered obvious that "those who assist a woman during childbirth and fear for the life of the mother, have to sigh to the Lord God, recite prayers for her needs, comfort her that the heavenly doctor will help her and bring a happy end."[57] Girding with an altar stole, but only weakly, could be added to the prayers. They could put a magnet in her hand, or coral if they did not have it. However, if they did not have this either, they could have the mother drink powder from a "stone of ebony wood." Goldsmiths and barbers had such stones. In conclusion, after several more practical pieces of advice about materials of vegetable origin, the author commented that this is actually a mystery, a serious matter, which should not be known to all, but only communicated in the event of real necessity and only to highly placed persons.[58] Less pleasant approaches included giving the husband's urine. Drinking it would ease a difficult birth.[59] Similarly, it would help if the woman held in her hand, a feather from a swallow together with a peony root (*Paeonia officinalis*) and lilly (*Lilium*). However, the house of the woman giving birth should certainly not contain any quince (*Cydonia*), since even the smell of it would extraordinarily prolong and complicate the birth, but during pregnancy consumption of quince contributed to the birth of a very wise child.[60] An easy and rapid birth could also be achieved by giving the milk of another woman, or by crossing a stone, which they had thrown at a dog, which began to bite it and this is allegedly a recipe from Galen![61]

Various animal products with no real influence also belonged to the extraordinarily wide collection of guaranteed procedures during childbirth. However, they had a certain magic power: for example, spreading the navel of the mother with bile from a black hen or girding the tummy with the skin shed by a snake (a widely known superstition), the dried eyes of a rabbit caught in March and so on.[62] The following recipe probably only served the richer women, since its ingredients were certainly not cheap and easily accessible: "Take three red corals, nine good pearls, one gold measure of unicorn horn, then three small rabbit bones, nine pikes' eyes, five crabs' eyes, two trout's teeth, one and a half gold measures of deer antler from a deer caught around a

[56] The National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Országos Levéltár) in Budapest, Archivum familiae Thurzó, E 196, 31. cs., fasc. 9., 465 (letter of Catherine Bánffy to Elisabeth Czobor).
[57] Majtánová, *Trifolium sanitatis medicum aneb o zdravi zprava lekarska*, 47-48.
[58] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 224.
[59] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 291.
[60] Zay, *Herbárium*, no. 288-289.
[61] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 120.
[62] Ibid., 414-415.

feast day of the Virgin Mary, then a selection of three white corals and a piece of skull. All this should be ground to powder. If the women is given to drink about a gold measure or a little more, she will easily give birth to her child".[63]

Formulae written on slips of paper and hung round the neck have an unambiguously magic character. They had to write the words: *"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"* with chalk on a wooden plate, then wash it with wine and give it to the woman to drink.[64] Another formula was: "*+ staga + egla + ogle + glat + against illness + for enchantment + according to custom + in the name + of the Father + of the Son + of the Holy Spirit"*, which was written on a slip of paper tied around the neck and it worked. If somebody doubted the effectiveness, he could verify it in the following way: hang the slip of paper on a tree, which did not bear fruit until then, and it will bear fruit.[65] Wearing of the green stones, found in young swallows, can also be placed among the frequently used amulets.[66]

13/ Woman in labour. From Eucharius Rösslin, Der swangern frawen und hebammen roßgarten 1513.

[63] Ibid., 314.
[64] Schram, "Népi nőgyógyászati tanácsok a XVII-XVIII. századból," 262.
[65] Ibid., 264.
[66] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 468.

Last but not least, we must mention alcohol. A large number of recipes prescribe giving an effective substance, especially of vegetable but sometimes of animal origin, in wine or sometimes in spirits. Many reports survive of alcohol being used explicitly to relieve pain. A collection of recipes from 1737 unambiguously states: "When her hour comes, if she is given one good drink, it will help so much she will not even feel the pain".[67] Archive sources, but also literature, contain cases of women who drank literally until they were unconscious for every birth, so that they would bear the pain more easily.[68] All regulations for midwives strictly ordered abstinence, since it was very common that while waiting for a birth, they were entertained so much, that when the time eventually came they were already not in a state to help.[69] Juraj Fándly writes quite unambiguously: "(Midwives) are obliged to live purely and soberly, so that during a birth they are not drunk and sozzled, so that they bring children not to the world and baptism, but because of drunkenness they are thrown into the infernal fire".[70]

After Childbirth – the Period of Puerperium and Care for the New-born

After the suffering of childbirth, when the child was already in the world, it was immediately necessary to think about its protection against all the illnesses of the world. "Hypocrates' secret medicine" was relatively simple: "*Take the powder alchemists call Saccharum Saturni, perhaps an amount half the size of a pea. Have the baby swallow it with its mother's milk, let it be the first time the baby tastes its mother's milk after coming into the world*."[71] However, the woman needed equal protection, since she was much more vulnerable to evil and unfavourable influences and forces, than at other times. The custom of separating the place where the mother lay with a sheet survived until recently in many places. In some places, they tied garlic to the corners of the sheet to stop witches,[72] who were extraordinarily dangerous to newborn babies and their mothers. They often exchanged or stole the child, they caused lifelong harm or even killed. Therefore, it was very important for the child to be baptized as soon as possible and protected with various amulets, pictures, formulae and other actions.[73] The Bratislava doctor and botanist Karl Rayger noted at the end of the 17th century, that women from the surroundings of Bratislava carefully preserved the foetal membrane, if the child was born with it. It was an extraordinarily favourable sign, since such a child would have happiness in life. They usually called the foetal membrane the royal cap (*pileus regius*). If it covered the whole body of the newborn baby, they said: "*das Kind is mit ganzen Kleid gekommen."* They carefully stretched the membrane on the father's hat, dried it and then hung it round the child's neck in a

[67] Schram, "Népi nőgyógyászati tanácsok a XVII-XVIII. századból," 261.

[68] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 292.

[69] Compare e. g. Lilla Krász, "„Jánus-arcú" nők „Jánus-arcú" hivatásban," in *Áldás és átok, csoda és boszorkányság*, ed. Éva Pócs (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2004), 607 – decree of Johannes Justus Torkos from 1745 and others.

[70] Fándly, *Zelinkár*, 223.

[71] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 216.

[72] E. g. István Virt, „Boszorkányság a Nyitra környéki magyaroknál," in *Áldás és átok, csoda és boszorkányság*, ed. Éva Pócs (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2004), 485.

[73] Various superstitions and magic actions connected with newborn babies are extraordinarily widespread and show great variability. It is not possible to devote attention to them here, it is a problem for ethnology.

small box.[74] Elsewhere, it is stated that such a preserved membrane prevents wounds from swords and guns.[75] Dried and ground into powder and given in wine three times at the new moon, it protects against serious illnesses such as heart attacks.[76] The foetal membrane had similar magic importance in other countries, where it also played a positive role.[77]

The recipe and medical books devote extraordinary attention to the period after birth and the puerperium, with a wide range of different medicinal methods. However, first of all, they applied experience with medicinal plans. Magic procedures seem to have been applied as supplementary treatment. We find dozens, perhaps hundreds of recipes for expelling the placenta, cleaning the womb, against pains in the womb, excessive bleeding and further problems. Many are repeated and use the same effective materials. The most frequent plants are the mugwort (*Artemisia*), rue (*Ruta graceolens*), parsley (*Petroselinum crispum*) peppermint (*Mentha*), rosemary (*Rosmarinus officinalis*), marjoram (*Majorana hortensis*) and many others. Some of these plants have abortive effects in larger quantities, which were specially noted: "You, who read this and use it beneficially or otherwise, must remember and carefully observe that all, who drive out urine, stone and female liquid, also expel the foetus, alive or dead and the placenta as well. Therefore, if you want to use this plant, well and wisely consider this, so that you will not have on your conscience the soul of an innocent child and you will not destroy your own soul."[78] However, desperate experiments were done in spite of the well-intentioned advice.

The Regulation of Fertility

It is more than probable that women endeavoured to limit the blessing given to them in the form of children and their birth. This often resulted from fears about the ability to feed and bring up more children in unsatisfactory conditions. It could also be about property matters or the state of health of the woman. According to research up to now, it appears that members of the high nobility, who had record numbers of children, gave this the least attention. The extraordinarily fertile included the Esterházys, with the record held by Daniel Esterházy, who had 20 children with Judit Rumy. Closely behind come Paul and Ursula, who had 18 children together, but the wife unexpectedly died and so Paul had a further 7 children with a second wife, Eva Thököly. However, the truth is that even in well-situated aristocratic families, it was not guaranteed that all children would reach maturity. The rate of child mortality reached 30 – 60%.[79] The situation with the number of children was diametrically different in the towns – the average number of children in the family was very low: only 1 to 2 chil-

[74] Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, 342.

[75] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 241.

[76] Ibid., 419.

[77] Compare Carlo Ginzburg, *Benandanti* (Praha: Argo, 2002, Czech translation of *I benandanti*), 226 pages.

[78] Fándly, *Zelinkár*, 220.

[79] Compare Tünde Lengyelová, "Rodinná politika v aristokratických a panovníckych dvoroch v období novoveku," in *Súčasný populačný vývoj na Slovensku v európskom kontexte* (Bratislava: Slovenská štatistická a demografická spoločnosť, 2000), 103 – 107.

dren.[80] In landlords' towns and villages, the average family had 2 – 3 children.[81] If we also take into account high child morality, such a low number indirectly confirms an effort at regulation. However, we also find indications in comments in correspondence or in judicial records. For example, accusations of witchcraft against women also sometimes mention that the "witch" offered preparations guaranteed to prevent a woman becoming pregnant. Regulation of fertility can have several forms. Various magic acts are regarded as positive attempts, but killing of the newborn and regulation of fertility by abortion and prevention of pregnancy or contraception are placed among the negative effects.[82]

Magic Methods of Preventing Pregnancy

We find traces especially in witchcraft trials. Often the "witch" offered to prevent unwanted pregnancies already at the wedding, sometimes also so that the husband would not beat the bride.[83] In 1739, they investigated a certain woman, who advised a bride that after the wedding, when they take her to the house, she should count the beams in the house. The number she counted would correspond to the number of years she would not have a child.[84] In another trial, from 1722, a woman, who had given birth, asked the accused to do something to prevent her becoming pregnant again for at least two years. The accused replied that although she knew how to prevent pregnancy and how to ensure that the child died immediately after birth, she would not do it because when she has to have a child, she should suffer with it.[85]

The opposite case happened, when the "witch" herself proposed to a woman, who often had children, that she would do something to prevent such frequent pregnancies. However, the mother refused, since she was allegedly still able to support several more children. Another woman also refused because she was afraid that she would be held responsible for it in the next world.[86] Another accused encouraged a witness to take a lover, since her husband was away with the army. She was afraid she would become pregnant, but the "witch" comforted her: if she followed the instructions, she would not become pregnant however many times she had a man.[87] In one case, the witnesses were also able to state the procedure by which they could limit the birth of further children: When a woman gave birth, she should put the placenta in a new pot covered

[80] Compare e. g. Miloslava Bodnárová, „Demografická štruktúra obyvateľstva Košíc v prvej polovici 16. storočia," in *Acta Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Šafarikianae* (Bratislava: 1984), 117-143.

[81] Compare Tünde Lengyelová, „Početnosť rodín v obciach Hlohoveckého panstva v roku 1617," in *Pôrodnosť a vybrané aspekty reprodukcie obyvateľstva* (Bratislava: Slovenská štatistická a demografická spoločnosť, 1997), 65-74. Vera Zimányi and Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, "Mindenik jobbágyunknak mennyi gyermeke vagyon és azok hány esztendősek. Egy 17. századi uradalmi "népszámlálás" tanulságai," in *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*, eds. Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy and István György Tóth (Budapest: MTA, 2002), 461-550.

[82] Gémes, "A népi születésszabályozás (magzatelhajtás) Magyarországon a XIX-XX. században," 10.

[83] Ferenc Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529-1768, I.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 313.

[84] Ibid., 361.

[85] Ibid., 34.

[86] Ibid., 412.

[87] Ibid., 424.

by a lid in the earth and leave it for three days. She would not have another child for three years.[88]

Causing an Abortion

Many afflicted women endeavoured to free themselves from unwanted pregnancies, sometimes by such drastic methods that it cost them their lives. A synod in Buda in 1279 already cursed all women, who attempted to free themselves from unwanted pregnancies by artificial intervention.[89] This decision testifies to the fact that abortions were performed and were relatively frequent, if the Church authorities intervened against them. It is also necessary to take into account that attempts at abortion were always done in the greatest secrecy, and nobody ever learnt about many successful cases. In unsuccessful cases, the cause of death of the woman was often not recognized and so the procedure remained secret. Abortion could be done by external physical intervention, most frequently by midwives. However, such intervention was extraordinarily dangerous and was the easiest to identify. Therefore, abortive plant materials were often used. Recipes *ad mensruum provocandum, pro aborto* were already known throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. Some sources even claim that Queen Beatrix, wife of Matthias Corvinus, was infertile precisely thanks to an abortive intervention.[90]

Specialized early modern literature mentions about 40 plants to which abortive effects were attributed. Modern pharmacology has researched these drugs and found that such effects really occur in the cases of ergot (*Claviceps purpurea*), savin (*Juniperus sabina*), rue (*Ruta*), parsley, birtwort (*Aristolochia elematitis*) and rosemary. Many other plants, which were thought to have this effect, actually influence the activity of other organs, have spasmodic effects or are poisonous.[91] Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*) can be mentioned as an example. Its effects were already known in Antiquity, when it was used as a means of execution, for example, in the case of Socrates. The fruit is the most poisonous part. It causes paralysis like curare, bringing death by stopping of breathing while fully conscious. Survival of intoxication during pregnancy can have teratogenic effects and lead to the birth of a deformed baby.[92]

The mother as well as the foetus could die from the use of various plant preparations to cause abortion. Another possibility was dying of the foetus, which, in the best case, was caused by spontaneous premature labour or the possible "official" use of one of the means for expelling a dead foetus, as if it died by itself. Further alternative results of the use of abortives are the birth of damaged children or irreversible damage to the organs of the mother.

In spite of the fact that many contemporary doctors and pharmacists, but also

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[88] Ibid., 98.

[89] György Seregély and István Szentgyörgyi, "Gyógyszerésztörténeti és néprajzi adatok az abortivumok és antikoncipiensek köréből Magyarországon," in *Gyógyszerészet* (1969), 184.

[90] Ibid., 185.

[91] Compare Leibrock-Plehn, *Hexenkräuter oder Arznei* and Jaroslav Kresánek and others, *Atlas liečivých rastlín a lesných plodov*, 3rd ed. (Martin: Osveta, 1988, illustrations by Jindřich Krejča), 399 pages.

[92] Kresánek, *Atlas liečivých rastlín a lesných plodov*, 70-71.

midwives and lay people knew about these effects of plants, not one recipe book writes specifically about the termination of pregnancy. It is always a matter of the expulsion of a dead foetus, or the use of a medicine by a pregnant woman is specifically forbidden: "The juice of asarabacca (*Asarum europaeum*) or water in which it was boiled expels both the living and the dead foetus, so a pregnant woman cannot drink it".[93] Similar sentences act directly as instructions for use. In the end, support for illicit abortions was a good possibility for enrichment for pharmacists, herbalists and other charlatans. They exploited desperate women, giving them large quantities of various "guaranteed" abortive materials, the composition of which was "secret" and often on the level of the so-called junk medicine (*Dreckapotheke*). Village midwives sometimes undertook to "help," and not only with concoctions, but also by the mechanical method. We also find the offer of abortives in trials of witches. In one case, the accused gave a drink to the pregnant girl, but she was afraid and did not drink it, although she paid three feet of cloth for it.[94] Other cases are mentioned, but the means and method remained secret.

14/ Juniperus Sabina, an herb used for causing an abortion in Europe. From Leonhart Fuchs, "New Kreutterbuch,"1543.

When researching folk methods of terminating pregnancies from later periods, we are surprised not only by the endless range of means used on women or by the women themselves, but also by the drastic interventions they inflicted on themselves. Three methods prevailed: First they attempted to produce an abortion by carrying excessive burdens, jumping, bathing in hot water, striking or falling on the belly and so on. If this did not help, mechanical intervention most frequently followed. She penetrated the uterus with a sharp object and damaged the foetus. The third method used various

[93] Hoffman, *Medicusi és borbélyi mesterség*, 41.

[94] Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529-1768 I.*, 133.

herbal concoctions and chemicals, which caused poisoning, abortion and sometimes also death. From the 19th century, the interventions can be traced thanks to medical documentation and judicial records with relatively detailed expert reports.[95] Although we have no direct proof, it is probable that many of these methods, still used in the first half of the 20th century, were also used several centuries earlier.

Obviously, such interventions were always done in secret. In spite of long discussions about when it acquired a soul, the foetus in the body of its mother was protected and its removal and killing was classified extraordinarily strictly. However, it is impossible to ascertain what percentage of abortions was discovered. Only cases with a clear death, whether of the mother or of an already born baby, came before the courts. We can assume that with a lack of qualified people, especially of doctors, similar interventions were not discovered and any death, poisoning or other harm was identified as injury or illness for unknown reasons. The registers recording cause of death, mostly only in the 19th century and even then the diagnoses are unreliable, only very rarely provide an unambiguous record of an attempt to terminate a pregnancy. Various cases of bleeding or others "women's' illnesses" can be placed on the level of speculation.[96]

Conclusion

In spite of its Cinderella position in the official conception of early modern medicine, gynaecology had an important place in the manuscript recipe books. According to these sources, we can divide the illnesses and states associated exclusively with women into several groups: 1. Conception of the child and identification of infertility, 2. Various problems during pregnancy, prevention of miscarriage and the birth of handicapped children, 3. Expulsion of the dead foetus and probably also causing of abortion, 4. Childbirth itself, 5. Breast feeding and problems with the breasts, 6. Problems in the puerperium, 7. Menstrual problems and various types of bleeding. A further eighth group could consist of various curiosities, means of guaranteeing childbirth, faithfulness in marriage, the woman going before the man naked, etc.

In gynaecology, as in the case of other areas of illness, which afflicted humanity, the scientific knowledge of the time from chemistry, anatomy and physics was found side by side with the empirical experience of people connection with nature and formulae, enchantment and magic acts. The medicinal procedures and substances used to treat various female illnesses and states are ambivalent from the point of view of present-day medicinal and pharmacological findings. If the diagnostic procedures surprise us, the therapy shocks us. The effectiveness of medicine and rationality of approach

[95] The whole range of abortive interventions are mentioned in work by Balázs Gémes cited in note 2.

[96] Tünde Lengyelová, "Úmrtnosť žien pri pôrodoch v 16. 17. storočí v zrkadle historických prameňov a vývoj úmrtnosti žien v prvej polovici 19. storočia," in *Demografické, zdravotné a sociálno-ekonomické aspekty úmrtnosti* 2. (Bratislava: Slovenská štatistická a demografická spoločnosť, 1999), 101- 106.

sometimes surprise us, but thanks to the various magic procedures they provoke smiles. The folk recipe books, herbal and official prescriptions from the Early Modern period contain both these aspects. However, it is impossible to deny that in most cases, they sincerely endeavoured to help and they deeply believed in their effectiveness.

ELEMENTS OF MAGICAL – MEDICINAL PRACTICE. THE POSITION OF THE WITCH AND WIZARD IN SLOVAKIA

KATARÍNA NÁDASKÁ AND MARTINA SEKULOVÁ

Magic is an independent phenomenon accompanying humanity in its development from the earliest times to the present, and it still has its special place in our present-day consumer society. In the earliest stages of human development, it was part of religious ceremonies, rituals and ideas, but also of the early foundations of science and knowledge of the surrounding world. However, we must sceptically state that the origin of magic is unclear. Various researchers associate magic with the oldest religious systems, in which faith in the existence of ambivalent forces changing various objects comes to the fore. Expert literature uses the Melanesian term *mana* for the higher transforming force.[1] According to Vladimír Scheufler,[2] magic is faith in an ambivalent power, which initiated individuals, that is magicians, can control with certain specific actions or words, either for good in the case of white magic or evil in the case of black magic. The actual basis of magic is faith in the possibility to influence the course of the world, but also people, animals and the spiritual world using supernatural forces. We can state that we find magic in essence to a larger or smaller extent in all the higher religious systems. For example, from the point of view of general religious studies, the celebration of Holy Mass and the Christian sacraments as well as prayer are magic acts. Magic often overlaps with psychotronic acts and there it is relatively frequent to change one into the other.

Magic practices are reflected and inevitably included in ethno-medicine. From the beginning of its development, human society attempted to heal the most varied illnesses and injuries, which occur in the course of human life. The complex of medicine knowledge accumulated by humanity during its development was formed by observation of nature and by experience, in relation to natural and social conditions. Folk healing reflected and still reflects the experience of previous generations, but also their faith in supernatural beings and animist ideas about nature. Medicinal systems not only show ethnic specifics, but also general features. Ethno-medicine is "a scientific discipline researching the complex of views and practices directed towards maintaining life and health and treating illnesses in various ethnic communities."[3] We can divide ethno-medicine into two parts. One is the rational part. Procedures are based on verified experiences of healing. People attempted to protect their health with it, to heal their illnesses and to avoid them.

The other part is irrational ethno-medicine, which includes magic. Apart from the rational use of various means for healing, people also used magic approaches to heal-

[1] Robert Codrington, *Mana* (London: Flash, 1891), 15.

[2] Vladimír Scheufler, "Pověry," *Národopisní revue*, no. 4 (1996): 93.

[3] Juraj Zajonc, "Etnomedicína" in *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska* (Bratislava: Veda, 1995), 129.

ing. There was a belief that "the demons of various illnesses causing fevers, chills, colds, ulcers, cramps and other conditions penetrate into the bodies of people or animals."[4] The faith and spiritual culture of the people, magic and superstitious ideas, the application of magic approaches to healing are reflected here. Ideas about the magic causes of illnesses are an important part of the knowledge of ethno-medicine. Two areas of such ideas existed in the territory of Slovakia. They were "ideas about failure to respect particular taboos causing illnesses"[5] and "ideas about human intervention causing illnesses."[6] Medicinal practices are an interesting combination of magic and rational elements. However, in the consciousness of people, they were not differentiated, they formed a complex, which had to produce the desired result. The magic treatment of illnesses occurred by incantation, magic transfer of an illness to another person, healing with the help of the elements (fire, water, earth), or by evoking a crisis situation, which had to lead to either recovery or death. On the other hand, people could cause illness or unhappiness by casting a spell, cursing, incantation or bewitchment. It is important that the division of ethno-medicine into rational and irrational is artificial. In traditional culture, the two elements overlapped and were not separated from each other at all. Magic practices also included prevention, for example, various practices in the annual ceremonial cycle – Easter bathing in cold water.

We can generally define magic in traditional spiritual culture as the idea that "every object has certain characteristic properties, which can be transferred to another object according to certain principles."[7] We can find in traditional folk magic the basic magic principles – the law of similarity and the law of contact. A great number of magic means were also used in magic activities. The use of ideas about magic words and numbers was relatively frequent, and the magic of movement, gesture and mime was used. The magic of the beginning, time, space and so on was abundantly used. The magic means strengthened the effect of individual magic ceremonies, practices and actions. Perhaps they were used when rational possibilities did not exist and magic was the last possible remedy. We find the application of magic principles especially in the customs of the annual or family cycles and rites of passsage. They are also found to a significant extent in the area of traditional ethno-medicine. According to traditional ideas, the application of the principles of magic could not only restore damaged health, but also protect against illness.[8] Ideas about the magic causes of illness are important especially from the point of view of the chosen method of healing.

[4] Emília Horváthová, "Ľudové liečenie," in *Slovensko: Ľud II* (Bratislava: Veda, 1975), 1031.

[5] Dušan Belko, "Magické predstavy, opatrenia a praktiky v humánnej etnomedicíne," *Slovenský národopis* 44, no. 3 (1996): 304.

[6] Belko, "Magické predstavy, opatrenia a praktiky v humánnej etnomedicíne," 305.

[7] Scheufler, "Pověry," 185. The term "investigated localities" is used in the text. It concerns communities in eastern Slovakia, where the ethnologist Katarína Nádaská (then Zajicová) did research in the course of the years 1995-1999. They were the communities of Jarabina, Stará Ľubovňa, Litmanová, Vyšné Ružbachy, Sulín and Malý Lipník. In 2002 Katarína Babčáková did field research in the communities of Stebník, Smilno and Mikulášová as preparation for her diploma thesis.

[8] Peter Telúch, *Amulety a talizmany* (Bratislava: Print Servis, 1998), 6.

Servants of the Devil

The so-called servants of the devil known as witches or wizards (*bosorky, strigy, bosoráci or strigôni*) had abilities going beyond the ordinary level of knowledge. From the 13th century, when Scholasticism was practically the only recognized form of Catholic theology, we also find in it teaching about the incubus and succubus, that is a belief in agreements and contacts with the devil. The concepts of the scholars following the teaching of St. Augustine and later of St. Thomas Aquinas led to demonology penetrating into popular religion. It is necessary to observe that the accusations of so-called witchcraft already appear in Christianity much earlier than the 13th century. However, it was more a matter of attacks on individuals than of belief in a conspiracy of witches and wizards, as we find in the 13th and later centuries. In general, witch-hunts started in the 14th century, but few death sentences were carried out at that time. The hysteria associated with accusations of witchcraft came to an end in Europe in the 18th century. In the Kingdom of Hungary, reports of so-called divine judgement (Ordeals), tests with red-hot iron in matters of *maleficia* and *veneficia* appear in the first half of the 13th century. Twelve cases are known. A further great affair, centred on an accusation of witchcraft, is connected with Hungarian aristocratic circles. The infertility of Beatrix, wife of Mathias Corvinus King of Hungary, was attributed to witchcraft. The work of the Leipzig professor Benedict Carpzov *Praxis Criminalis* was republished in Trnava in the 17th century, and added to the Hungarian Corpus iuris. The work included instructions to prove the alliance with the devil of people suspected of witchcraft. Although this work did not acquire legal effect in Hungary, it provoked an increase in trials of witches. Traditional folk medicine was also affected by "diabolisation" in 16th century Hungary. Even in the 18th century, not to speak of the preceding periods, healers, midwives, herbalists and all those who did not hide their magic powers, but actually boasted of them, belonged to the category of people worthy of condemnation.[9]

Men and women believed to be capable of using supernatural powers, by means of which they could, for example, influence the fertility of the fields, cause destruction by natural means such as drought, storms or hail, or use spells to cause illness in people or animals, were designated servants of the devil. The chosen people, who continued with witchcraft, were more frequently women than men. They were especially old spinsters, childless widows, or also their own daughters.[10] Although men as well as women were faced with accusations of witchcraft women did not avoid a sort of stereotype of the witch. They were especially people associated with supernatural abilities, who were believed to have special powers to help or to harm. The material accumulated on the given problem provides information connected with the agricultural environment, especially the lower, less propertied classes. Historical documents

[9] Robert Muchembled, ed., *Magie a čarodějnictví v Evropě od středověku po současnost* (Praha: Volvox Globator, 1997, Czech translation of *Magie et sorcellerie en Europe du Moyen Age à nos jours*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1994 by Jiří Našinec), 19.

[10] The respondents mentioned as one of the signs for recognizing witches (who could not only do harm by practicing black magic, for example, to bewitch, but, for example, also to unbewitch somebody already bewitched by her) a small protuberance on the coccyx, a so-called „little tail", „little fin" or „little finger". It was a fatty growth, which could have grown with the increasing age of the witch. On this compare also: Hanuš Máchal, *Nákres bájesloví-slovanského*, 172; Katarína Babčáková, "Mágia a démonológia v rusínskych obciach severovýchodného Slovenska," (Diploma thesis, Comenius University Bratislava, 2002), 10.

show that magic concerned persons of all social classes. The activity of these persons gave magic, animist, demonological and religious principles and views the concrete form of phenomena in society. Ideas about persons as semi-demonic beings also concerned persons not involved in magic, but with rich experience in the area of rational ethno-medicine. People with special physical or psychic characteristics such as thick eyebrows, joined eyebrows, small and "stabbing" eyes, atavism, and isolationist or choleric nature were also assigned to this category. It was believed that these persons are able to cause unhappiness and disease, to take away cow's milk, and to inflict curses by special procedures. It is necessary to realize that education was on a low level and superstition was a characteristic feature of people. These people could gain their supernatural abilities by inheritance or have them from birth. They were the well-known inborn properties of the witch (*bosorka*) or her male equivalent the wizard (*bosorák*). The second possibility was to gain supernatural abilities from a witch, who touched the chosen person, especially before her death, often only on her deathbed, since otherwise she could not die. On the basis of the method of gaining supernatural abilities, semi-demonic beings were divided into: 1. Persons with no supernatural abilities, who deliberately use means, which have magic powers either by themselves or in certain conditions. 2. Persons with supernatural abilities, either inborn or acquired. This ability is not always used consciously (evil eye - *úrek*).

Whether positive effects such as healing or protective acts, or negative effects harmful to people or property were involved, was an important factor. Persons concerned with positive practices are called goddesses, gods, wise-men and wise-women etc. (*bohyne, pánbožkovia, vedomci, vražci, vražkyne, vedunkári and vedunkárky*). The abilities of these people were regarded as a gift from God. They used their abilities to foresee the future, find things, help with the evil eye and in the case of people deliberately harmed by negative spells. Persons concerned with negative practices were called wizards or witches (*čarodejníci, čarodejnice, strigy, strigôni, bosoráci, bosorky, mory or satany*). The last two names designated beings on the boundary between humans and demons, who go around at night press and suffocate. Such an idea of the semi-demon is found throughout Slovakia. These designations show that the performance of these activities was not gender differentiated. According to Peter Dinzelbacher,[11] they could play a certain role in birth (the function of midwives – the first bath of the baby), healing the illnesses of children and adults, the participation of women during dying and the first acts after the death of a person – the washing and dressing of the dead body.

It is possible to say that medicinal herbs, preparations and ointments were mainly a female domain, but there were exceptions. Shepherds were an important group of people concerned with healing with herbs, water and spells. We have a multitude of historical sources, but we can still find this fact in living oral tradition at the beginning of the third millennium. The shepherds spent most of the growing season outside in the natural environment. Everyday contact with nature and flora taught them to recognize plants and their uses. On the other hand, knowledge of various irrational practices or spells was attributed precisely to shepherds. However, we find in the materials more data about women concerning themselves with magic or women considered to be such

[11] Peter Dinzelbacher, *Světice nebo čarodějky* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2003), 85-90.

people. The answer to this fact can be found in the components of traditional culture. Women generally had a different position to men in the spiritual component of traditional culture. Gender differentiation was expressed in all spheres – from the division of labour and rights, through position in the family, to ritual. The rational reason why women had greater experience with herbs and healing was that women had more experience with care of the sick, old and helpless. From giving birth they devoted themselves to the health of children. Magic rituals, mostly performed by women, often accompanied all these areas. Women also have a greater disposition to the production of para-normal phenomena such as religious apparitions. This is also why women were and are attributed magic abilities to a greater extent than men. Field research has shown that in the first half of the 20th century, women were described as witches originating from the countryside and relatively modest social backgrounds. By inheritance of healing abilities, this kind of occupation remained in the family. The belief that if the incorrect people learn the rules, the person in question will lose her power to heal, also played a role.

The idea that a woman is unclean in some periods of her life existed in traditional folk culture and in the non-European cultures of tribal societies. It concerns the period of menstruation, childbirth and the period after childbirth. Our traditional culture had a series of rules, taboos and ceremonies concerning women, for example, the ceremony of introduction (*vadzka*), the separation of the woman after childbirth in a corner behind a sheet, the belief that in this period her presence harms people, animals, plants and objects, that she is impure in a magic sense and accessible to magic powers. Christianity was also a strong influence on the formation of negative ideas about women – woman as the witch, the image of the first woman Eve, originator of the first sin, which indicates her greater tendency to sin than in the case of men. Misogynous views coming from the mouths of men are especially characteristic of the Middle Ages. Women were close to magic for various reasons. In the view of the Church dignitaries, women are without reason, passionate, unfaithful and talkative. These examples show why women were very often associated with unclear and supernatural forces in magic and religious thinking.

However, it is undeniable that women were, are and I guess will continue to be associated with magic and the supernatural. Women and healing, women and magic spells and the power of women in general are a strong tendency we carry subconsciously as an inheritance. Not only in our culture, but also in the majority of other cultures throughout the world, woman is a mysterious being, associated through her sexuality, femininity, sensuality and biological characteristics with the supernatural and the forces between heaven and earth. She can use them positively, but also negatively. Woman has an irreplaceable role. This is true from the earliest times in the course of hominisation up to the present. In the earliest periods, when people lived by hunting and food gathering, woman as the food gatherer endeavoured to collect enough food for others. The human race gained valuable knowledge about fauna and flora precisely through this property. Their concern, emotionality and knowledge were used successfully, but also negatively. In periods when education was rare, it is understandable that rational practices also had to be "supported" with the magical and irrational, in an attempt to weaken the influence of the evil forces as much as possible. Such professions gave women the possibility of application and identification. In the

early Christian Church, women were honoured, valued and recognized if they became martyrs. In the early and high Middle Ages, they represented purity and saintliness – the abbess and the saintly queen. From the 12th century there was the mystic saint. They had internal mystical experiences, which the male spheres received very critically. Attitudes to persons who experienced reality mystically, or who healed whether by rational medicine or by magic, could be varied. They could be venerated as saints or persecuted and condemned. The devil could be driven out of them. In this case they were not responsible for their actions and could live in peace after the devil was driven out. They could be considered sick. The presence of "others" has accompanied us from the earliest beginnings to the present-day.

The Place of Magic Practices in the Traditional Folk Culture of Slovakia

The perception of witches and ideas about their negative activities such damaging the health of people and animals and the so-called "taking away" of milk, are among the most widespread ideas in Slovakia. There is frequent belief in the ability of witches "to cast the evil eye" (*urieknuť*) on a child or adult and the ability to "bewitch" another person. Wiping with a banknote or piece of cloth wrapped around a coin was one of the most widespread procedures in Slovakia. Then the banknote or coin was dropped on a path so that a passing person was attracted to the money and so brought illness on himself. Touching the sick places of a treated person with bread, which was then given to a beggar, was also frequent. From the point of view of traditional ideas, bewitching was a sure method of effectively harming the health or life of their enemies. It is probably the most frequently used area of magic in our cultural region, and it can be dangerous for those affected by it.[12] The so-called "taking away of milk" from cows and "bewitching" by the evil eye were among the most feared and important negative actions of witches in the consciousness of the people in the researched localities. We also encounter the idea of the possibility of identification of the witch by means of the objects prepared and used at the time appropriate for the above-mentioned activity such as the so-called St. Lucy's stool or a sieve. They were isolated women such as old spinsters and widows, herbalists or healers, especially those, who had devoted themselves to healing for several generations. The main harmers of their neighbours were witches. They were in league with the devil, they know secret things and used supernatural means to harm people's health and property[13]. In the studied environment, the older generation generally held the view and idea of the origin of illness or other harm from the activity of envious or jealous people, who use magic practices with harmful intensions, or they pay a witch to perform such acts. The psychosomatic process or autosuggestion was used. When a victim knew that magic was being used, it often caused real symptoms of illness or even death.[14] A further indication that a witch was involved was the so-called witch's sign, the *punctum* or *stigma diabolicum*, which could be found on men as well as on women. It was a matter of irregularity of the skin, a birthmark or other dermatological defect. Search for "unnatural" marks or protuberances on the body, which could allegedly be regarded as proof of witchcraft,

[12] *Mágia a čarodejníctvo v súčasnosti* (without an author, publisher or year, private self-published text), 8-9.

[13] Mark Hofler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube in Oberbayern* (Bonn: Fischer, 1888), 20

[14] Compare Mária Kosová, "Magické usmrcovanie protivníka na diaľku," *Slovenský národopis* 21, (1973): 513.

was already known in the period of witch-hunts.[15] It is interesting that people still believe in the given mark of the witch in the researched localities in Slovakia even today.[16] Especially garlic and poppy seeds – plants fulfilling the function of magic protective plants, protective objects blessed in churches – the cross, the magic circle made with blessed chalk, and holy water or water from places of pilgrimage, were used for protection against witches.[17]

To take away the milk of cows, the bad intention of the particular person to harm others was enough. In practice this meant that not only the men and women generally regarded as involved in witchcraft, but also ordinary people, attempted to use magic, ideas about which were an ordinary part of life.[18] Not admitting women and female neighbours to the stable on certain days, when there was thought to be an increased level of ability to do harm (new year's day, the eve of St. John's day, during the full moon and so on), was one of the means of protection against the taking away of milk. The witch attempted to obtain an object from the stable or house she wanted to harm. Shepherds, wise-women (*vedmy*), herbalists (*baby bylinárky*) and the householders themselves helped to remove spells. They used the principles of similar magic.

The witch or wizard has to experience everything, which will happen with the bewitched milk. For this reason they put sharp things such as nails, pins, scissors and knives in a pot. They were supposed to prick, cut and cause pain to the person responsible for the bewitchment.[19] It was similar with the teriomorphic form of frog (tree frog or toad), which the witch could take. If the farmer cut and injured it when it left the stable, the injury would also appear on the body of the witch. Various forms of bewitching and casting the evil eye to threaten the health of people were often initiated by a customer for an agreed financial payment. There were areas of Slovakia to which people went for the purpose of getting an enemy bewitched.[20]

The relatively well-known regions included Kysuce and Starý Hrozenkov, the Slovak – Polish and Slovak – Ukrainian frontier areas. Apart from this, locally well-known personalities were sought. In the event of serious suspicion of "bewitchment," specialists able to eliminate and neutralize the magic were sought out. However, it was generally true that the location or object of the bewitchment (*porobenisko*) had to be burnt first. The negative effects of black magic were neutralized especially by means of prayer. The practices of so-called white magic were usually designated with the term *bosorčenie* (incantation, count downing and other techniques - *zariekanie,*

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[15] Marilyn Yalom, *Dějiny ňadra* (Praha: Rybka Publishers, 1999, Czech translation of *A History of the Breast*, New York: Knopf, 1997), 72.

[16] On this see also: Babčáková, "Mágia a démonológia," 10.

[17] „We use this water from Litmanová, we always have some. It has the same effect as holy water." From the account of the respondent Š. Z. from Stará Ľubovňa.

[18] Dinzelbacher, *Světice nebo čarodějky*, 175. The respondent M. H. from Sulín describes a case of taking away milk from the 1950s: "*... išol rano tak das o trecej hodzine na cmiter a do fertucha lapal rosu i hvarel: „sberam sebe užitek, ale ňe šicek servatku zochabim.*"[…about three o'clock in the morning he went to the cemetery and he collected dew into an apron saying: I am collecting my gain, but not all of it, I will leave whey].

[19] Respondents mentioned the further methods of putting into the milk red-hot coal or red-hot iron objects. A case of putting a wild rose branch with thorns in the milk was also mentioned.

[20] A shepherd said to father: „You have a problem? We'll go to the willow you'll see what can be done." He had a problem with a certain person, who behaved badly to him, slandered and harmed him.

odrábanie, odčitovanie, meranie). Especially older women devoted their attention to it. Priests also played an important role here.[21] It could often be one and the same person – a witch, who prepared a "place for bewitchment" for financial gain from one person, could also help to eliminate her own magic, if the afflicted person expressed an interest. This means that the witches functioned as healers, although they sometimes devoted themselves to harmful magic, especially bewitchment. This especially concerned skin diseases or eczema – often illnesses requiring long-term treatment and with unclear origins. In such cases, professional treatment by a doctor was combined with visits to the healer.

The Evil Eye

Belief in the evil eye (*urieknutie, úrek,"z očí"*) is regarded as one of the oldest and most widespread magic ideas. It is still part of magic cults and occult practices even today. The evil eye involves causing of illness by magic transfer of a negative charge of energy or force. It could also be caused by theft of the life force or energy by looking with the eyes or by mental influence. The basis is belief in the supernatural power of the eye, which can cause stress, illness and in extreme cases even death. This belief is found in all Slavonic countries. The expression "to cast the evil eye" (*urieknuť*) is understood not only as meaning to harm or injure with the eyes or by sight, but also with the word or by thought. The etymological meaning of the word *urieknutie* is interesting: its root is *riecť* – to speak. Many European and Indo-European languages have a special term for the phenomenon of the evil eye, for example: *mauvais oveil, mal occhio, boser Blick.* Among the Slavs, Polish has *urzec, urok,* Bulgarian *bivam urečen, uroki,* Serbian *uréci, uróči,* and Czech *uřknouti.* As the etymological meaning indicates, belief in this cause of illness is widespread in all Slavonic countries, in the whole of Europe, and there are parallel ideas in Asia and Africa.[22]

Use of the evil eye is manifested by specific symptoms. The afflicted person feels weary, tired, his lower jaw shakes, he is weak and sometimes faint. Circles appear before his eyes and his head spins. In more serious cases, he vomits and cramps and shivers take control. It is important that these symptoms appear suddenly and with very strong intensity. In the past, this illness was considered very frequent. Especially children and adolescent girls are vulnerable to the evil eye, but it can afflict both men and women, animals and even soil or gardens. The look of a person caused the illness. There were two categories. The first included people with inborn "powerful eyes" They did not intend the result of their look. Their look had such an effect regardless of intension. The second category included people, who acted on others by their definitely negative action or thought. They had a "powerful look" and could cast the evil eye. It was enough for such a person to think badly of somebody, although he or she might speak positively. Often words of praise actually hid envy and negative thoughts.

[21] Syncretism of belief appears here. Catholicism combines with „pagan practices". For example, it is possible that one person used almost exclusively humane rational ethno-medicine, but another combined magical practices with normal Christian faith. For example, in 16th century Italy, priests used some magic purification practices even within their churches without any suspicion that they were pagan practices. A further good example is that apart from healing with magic practices, they used, for example, holy water and magic formulae appealing to Christian saints or Jesus Christ.

[22] Kazimierz Moszinsky, *Kultura ludowa slowian* (Warszawa: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1968), 275.

In the case of small children, this state could lead to death, especially before baptism. Therefore, the child was given a red ribbon, a thread for the hand or the pram during its first year, or the child was dressed in an inside out shirt.

A wide range of preventive measures and cures were associated with this illness. Research shows that these practices changed and were supplemented, but always according to the same principles. Change happens very slowly in a historical context. The latest research has shown that belief in this illness is still alive. The rationalism of the present strongly intervenes in the survival of superstitions. Many can explain the above-mentioned symptoms in medicinal terms, but this does not mean that others do not believe. On the contrary, a wide range of people are convinced that they have themselves experienced this unpleasant illness, and successfully received its irrational, magic treatment.

Wearing inside out clothes is one of the most widespread preventive measures, both for adults and children. It aims to protect against the look of a multitude of unknown people, with whom they come into contact, since precisely they are regarded as the potential source of the evil eye. The red colour, ideally used in clothing, is also an apotropaic means. In the case of animals, it was included in the harness of horses or red ribbons were twisted into the jokes of cattle. Other objects were also used for prevention and protection. Salt was very important in this area. It was a rewarding means used in the whole Slavonic region. In Poland, newly married couples were sprinkled with salt to protect them from the evil eye. In Russia, they put salt next to newborn babies or spread it on their bodies to protect them. Wearing garlic also serves as protection and prevention.

There is a wide range of treatments for those afflicted by the evil eye, but they have some things in common. These include methods of unbewitching with water and fire or coal, the use of medicinal or magic plants, the use of urine or incantation. Coal water is one of the most widespread procedures using water. Combination of the purification functions of water and fire arises, when water turns to steam or coal is thrown into it. In the past it was coals from the oven, but today they are replaced with matches. Multiples of 3, that is 3, 9, are most frequently used. Coals are thrown into water and the numbers are counted down from 9 to 1. After counting, it is good to drink from this water and pour it on the hinges of the door. Here, they also find out by means of incantation, who is the origin of the evil eye, whether woman or man. In the case of the evil eye from a girl it was sent under a plait, the case of evil eye by a man it was sent under a hat, in the case of evil eye by a woman under a bonnet. It is a matter of the magic practice of driving out illness, which has to be transferred symbolically according to the status symbols of men, women and girls.

The principle of the oracle for identifying the origin of the evil eye related to the movement of the coals in the water and the sound produced when they were thrown in. When thrown, the coal, which remembered the true originator of the evil eye, intensively hissed, the water began to boil and the coal floated on its surface. Finally, it was necessary to wash with the “coal water” or to drink it and make three small crosses on the forehead with it. This brought the purifying power of the coal water into contact with the afflicted person and the purification process began. Pebbles from a stream could be used instead of coals, and they were put in “flowing” stream water. According to the principle of similarity magic, the water washes the evil eye from the person,

just as it washes impurity from the stones.

A further possibility is the use of water, which is poured into a vessel with soup-spoons. It is best to use holy water or water from a place of pilgrimage. About 5 spoonfuls are used. Then the forehead is rubbed with the other side of the hand three times from left to right and three times from right to left. If the person is afflicted by the evil eye, 3 – 4 more spoonfuls of water will remain on the plate than were there originally. Then the water must be poured into a pit dug in the ground, so that the evil eye goes into the ground, or it should be poured behind a fence in a place where nobody goes. If the healing was done with holy water, it was beneficial if the afflicted person drank it. Another important and widespread method of healing is spitting, washing with a concoction of hedge nettle (Stachys sylvatica). The hedge nettle is also given to afflicted animals in their food. The use of human urine for healing this illness is also a very widespread procedure. Generally, the afflicted person's own urine was used for healing. It was possible to wet with urine a rag or some other piece of cloth and rub the forehead and hands of the afflicted person. A second possibility was to wet the hand and rub the forehead with it three times from right to left and then three times from left to right.

Specific procedures also exist for the treatment of animals. Hedge nettle is also used. It is added to their food, for example, in the case of pigs, cows and horses. Another procedure was the use of coal water. Water was poured through coals and given for the animal to drink. When the farmer entered the stable, he was obliged to say: "Lord God bless" otherwise he could cause the evil eye. A further feature of ordinary magic practices during healing of the evil eye and other illnesses caused by "evil forces" were practices aiming to transfer this illness to another person, most frequently to its initiator[23] (... *I was feeling sick, and Marča said to me: "Spit on your hands and rub it on your eyes, and "Go back to where you came from." I spat and rubbed my eyes and forehead. Then I threw it away from me – let it go to the person, who caused it.*…).[24] A special illness of languor was identified as use of the evil eye on young girls. Scorned young men had them bewitched. One of the methods of unbewitching was also to go at dawn under a sour cherry tree, shake a flower from the tree onto the afflicted girl and so free her from the bewitchment.

The present research points to various facts. There are two basic variants of verbal expression used during unbewitching. The first variant is an identification incantation formula, recitation of which accompanies throwing of coals into water. The originator of the evil eye is identified on the basis of questions. The evil eye is then driven out and transferred to its originator by a symbolic verbal expression: "*To the girl under the plait, to the man under the hat, to the woman under the bonnet*." The second variant is a formula for the invocation of water. The water is challenged to use its purifying power to eliminate the evil eye and other illnesses from the body of the afflicted person, just as water washes and purifies the stones in the stream. Basic prayers supplement both verbal formulae: the Our Father, Hail Mary and sign of the cross.

The evil eye was one of the common phenomena, which the majority of respondents encountered and knew how to remove. Mostly women were concerned with

[23] Belko, "Magické predstavy, opatrenia a praktiky v humánnej etnomedicíne," 302-318.

[24] From the reply of the respondent Š. Z. from Stará Ľubovňa.

healing the effects of the evil eye, and in almost every family. Knowledge of unbewitching was passed down in families from mother to daughter or from mother in law to daughter in law, and the methods of unbewitching together with the verbal formulas are often recorded in writing, especially because magic incantations and charms must be delivered fluently and with no faults or they could lose their positive effects, and perhaps make the condition of the afflicted person worse. Some, especially older women are local experts on unbewitching and their help is still sought today, for example, by young mothers, who suspect that their children are showing the effects of the evil eye. Older women often pass on their experience of healing the effects of the evil eye to younger women.

Bewitchment

Bewitchment (*porobenie*, *počarovanie*) belongs to another category to the evil eye, because it concerns the deliberate use of magic to cause harm. It meant the use of contagion and similarity magic acts directed to achieving a given aim. In ethnographic literature, bewitchment designates deliberate action starting from magic with the aim of causing a negative effect, especially illness or even death. Bewitchment by means of a magically effective material, a so-called "*porobisko*" is frequent. The person with negative intensions made an object to achieve the aim. This contained the destructive effect – slow, systematic but certain. The *porobisko* may be a concoction from blind dogs and human bones poured on a path, so that a person begins to "shrivel" after passing it.[25]

Negative magic had various aims: harming by worsening health because of revenge, hatred or envy. Love magic is also a specific type. Field work has produced data on bewitchment precisely with love magic. It was done either by a directly involved person, by relations or by so-called professional bewitchers. The bewitchment was directed towards gaining the love of a particular person or harming a rival in love. Stopping a rival meant placing the object "charged" with negative energy affecting the given person against whom the object was directed. It would cause health problems or an inexplicable cooling of feelings from the side of the partner.

The means for bewitching can be objects in regular use, with which the targeted person comes in contact, so that he or she receives a daily dose of the negative energy programmed into the given object. The relatively widespread objects using the principle contagious of magic included small feathers or small fragments of bone sown into a cushion, water poured under a threshold or in front of a door. These objects or a combination of them could also be deliberately placed in an inconspicuous place, from which they could constantly threaten their target. The path from the house, the threshold of the house, inside eiderdowns or cushions were very frequently used for this purpose.

Apart from love magic, when a couple had to separate or induce the love of a given person, bewitchment was also used in cases of revenge, bad neighbourly relations, envy and so on. One of the examples is also given by J. Ľ. Holuby: "*Soil from a grave, something from a person, such as a hair or scrapings from shaving, and yeast are put in a new pot. They are mixed and buried with the pot in the ground, where eve-*

[25] Babčáková, "Mágia a démonológia," 53.

rything ferments and so also the bewitched person swells and the flesh falls away from him."[26] The bearers of destruction are energy-informational forms of natural materials, such as the bones of people or animals, feathers, some selected types of dried plants, soil from graves, dried parts of animals with the appropriate reputation in folk magic, for example: toads, bats, snakes, some species of beetle. The mixture of these materials were wrapped in a package of natural material such as cloth, leather or a bladder, and after the appropriate ritual programming for evil, they were put in a hiding place close to or inside the home of the victim.[27]

There were many objects with which it was possible to bewitch a person, and they were designated as *porobenina*, *porobisko*, *porobenisko* and *vraždenie*. They could be objects in some way connected to a dead person: water used to wash a corpse, a comb used on it, nails from a coffin, soil from a grave. However, objects such as coins, banknotes, cloth, pieces of clothing and handkerchiefs, to which illness was transferred following the principle of magic by contact in the framework of medicinal practices, could also have a malignant effect. Sharp objects such as spindles, knives and needles could also serve as *porobeninas*. The *porobenina* was buried in the ground, or in the case of water poured onto a place the targetted person would cross. Therefore the most frequent form of contact with the *porobenina* was crossing the buried bewitched or cursed harmful media.[28]

The bewitched object was not supposed to be touched directly with the hands, if an object was identified, since sometimes it was freely placed, for example, a little snake woven from black interlaced threads was thrown into a yard, as a neighbour from one of the researched localities reported. The *porobenisko* was liquidated by burning, but it was not supposed to be burnt by the person against whom it was aimed. One woman in a village found that a ball of feathers rolled into her yard from the street. She did not take the strange thing in her hands, but on a shovel. She attempted to put it in a vessel, which was not easy, since the ball was very light to catch. It was as if wind blew it from the shovel, although the weather was calm. When the ball was in the vessel, the woman took it to a nearby healer. He reached for the ball of feathers without thinking or taking any precautions. He received a wound and his hand was weakened for several days. He burnt the ball, but this did not help immediately, he had to suffer.[29]

Bewitching effected domestic animals, just as much as people, especially economically produced animals such as poultry, rabbits, horses and cows. Bewitching of animals aimed to make them languish until they died. Especially well-known village women, considered dangerous by local society and generally regarded as witches, were thought to be the originators of illnesses of livestock. In the event of such affliction, people visited the fortune-teller, healers, shepherds and experts on dealing with witchcraft (*zažehnávačky*, *zariekačky*) to discover the person they assumed was endeavouring to damage the health and property of the given community. A further reason was the need to "break the *porobenisko*" and so reverse its negative effect. Other

[26] Jozef Ľudovít Holuby, "Rastlinné domáce lieky a povery slovenské," *Národopisný věstník československý* XV, no. 1 (1922): 86.
[27] *Mágia a čarodejníctvo v súčasnosti*, 10.
[28] *Mágia a čarodejníctvo v súčasnosti*, 49-50.
[29] Babčáková, "Mágia a démonológia," 62.

relatively frequent practices are sprinkling of the house, farm buildings and garden with water from a place of pilgrimage such as Litmanová. Depositions of blessed pictures from Litmanová or their incorporation in the foundations of a house are also used to annul bewitchment.[30]

The respondents mention their ideas about the witch as a woman, who could have natural supernatural abilities, or could be connected with an evil spirit and able to borrow its power for various magic practices with wicked aims. Practices for defence against negative forces were also generally known, especially the blessing of homes, the protection of small children with red ribbons and methods of "unbewitching." In more difficult cases, both in the past and today, they use the abilities of certain women, who like witches, master the magic practices more deeply, and help people with them. It was said of these women that they helped by means of God, prayer and the Holy Spirit. Their incantation ended with the words: *"...may God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit assist me in this.*"

Even today, in the case of suspicion of the activity of a negative supernatural force, they seek the help of a priest, who has official Church authorization to perform exorcisms. The spiritual person has the power to drive the unclean force out of the home, especially by means of certain special prayers, associated with blessing of the house or celebration of the Mass for the afflicted person. The priest sprinkles with holy water the corners, windows and doors of the house, since these are the potential entry points for unclean forces. He also makes the sign of the cross on them. A wide range of magic ideas and practices include pre-Christian, Christian and syncretic elements. Modern practices and ideas are also included. In the minds of the respondents, this differentiation does not exist, the individual magic ideas and practices are combined, supplement each other and form a whole, in which the cause of individual phenomena is sought, and efforts are made to produce or remove them. Although some of these phenomena can still be found directly in the field, they can clearly disappear from the consciousness of people in a short period or be transformed into other forms.

Magic and magical practices are inseparably connected with Slovak folk culture. Recent research shows that many ancient elements are still alive today, although in moderately changed form. For example, matches are used instead of coals from the oven for healing the effects of the evil eye. The continuity of these elements of folk culture is clear. It is documented by archive materials, chronicles or ethnographic materials collected directly in the field. Magic is also strongly connected with rational practices, mainly in ethno-medicine, where one component supports the other and they are inseparable. Their long continuity is probably a very interesting prognosis for their future existence. In the course of being passed on from generation to generation, many magic practices and rituals change their function.

Practices with the primary aim of securing prosperity, health and wealth are inseparably connected with the celebration of Christmas. They are no longer customs emphasized as magic practices. Instead, they have become aesthetic parts of the celebrations. However, precisely the example of the evil eye directs us to the fact that folk magic is still alive. It is alive without limits of age, education or social status. Therefore, its acceptance and practice are woven into something else. Research on magic is

[30] Ibid., 157.

one of the classic archaic themes, which attracted the interest of ethnographers from the beginning of research. However, it is still a topical theme today. This paper was produced on the basis of published and archive sources. Another source is field research from Rusyn and Goral communities in northern Spiš region[31] and the Slovak-Moravian frontier area.[32]

[31] In 1995, 2003 and 2004 at Stará Ľubovňa, Jarabina, Kamienka and Vyšné Ružbachy.

[32] In 2002 at Lysá pod Makytou, Záriečie and Lazy pod Makytou.

THE MEDIATION OF POISONING. MAGIC EMBEDDED IN EVERYDAY MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE

EMESE BÁLINT

For depicting one form of magic knowledge in the sixteenth century, I will use a case study to show how health, illness and healing were understood in the past, how people perceived their own bodies, and how they communicated bad conditions to others. The starting point of my presentation is a trial record from 1572, which I found in the Romanian State Archives in Cluj (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg). A woman brought the case to the court and accused her son-in-law, a barber, of poisoning his wife, the woman's daughter. Analysing the witnesses' depositions, I show that understanding the cause, nature and meaning of illness illustrates not only the medical pluralism of the past, but implies complex social rituals involving family and community as well.

The habitual use of the term 'medicine' is applied to the sixteenth century as a collective noun "which can embody a multitude of changing opinions and practices."[1] The extraordinary complexity of the different personal and collective meanings of suffering and therapies, of the experience of ill health and recovery from it formulate a unique healing culture in the face of disease, and reveals the existence, overlap and constant interaction of the available resources. As a basic medical practice, the Hippocratic/Galenic tradition based on the works of the Hippocratic writers and Galen of Pergamum, remained influential throughout the Middle Ages and well into the eighteenth century.[2] This doctrine incorporated the concept of pollution and impurity in explaining the cause of diseases. According to Lindeman, at least until the seventeenth century, and probably much later, interpretations of disease were based on a mixture of humoralism and environmentalism. Lay and learned people alike understood health as the proper balance of the four humors (black and yellow biles, blood and phlegm) and disease arose from their imbalance further influenced and affected by the environment (condition of the air or water, an especially hot or wet summer, unfavourable conjunction of the planets etc.).

In urban and rural cultures alike, illness and the healing process took place within the community, and with constant reference to it. This was achieved through confrontations, shared knowledge, and gossip throughout the processes of diagnosis, healing and convalescence. Social relations created communication systems and information networks, through which messages were sent and phenomena compared[3]. Different

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[1] Willem de Blécourt and Cornelie Usborne, "Medicine, Mediation and Meaning," in *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine*, eds. Willem de Blecourt and Cornelie Usborne (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 1-10.

[2] Mary Lindeman, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 27.

[3] Yaarah Bar-On, "Neighbours and Gossip in Early Modern Gynaecology," in *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine*, eds. Blécourt and Usborne, 36-55.

meanings of pain and suffering were shaped by a collective and public discourse, and in their intricately mediated forms, they show the complexity of the medical knowledge in the past. Based on these findings, I will further argue that the public circulation of medical knowledge reveals that there were self-contained, often competitive and exclusive views that might be identified with particular social groups or categories. In my presentation I will also concentrate on the social system created around this particular case.

A very important arena in which physical pain begins to enter language and reflect everyday discourse is the courtroom,[4] and to communicate the reality of pain to those who are not themselves in pain was (and still is) a real challenge, as its very conception – "its nature, causes, and meaning"[5] – is complex and enigmatic. Moreover, pain extended not only to the visible bodily injury but to the invisible experience of physical suffering as well. To present the view of the sufferer permits us to overcome (or at least to complement) the traditional viewpoint of medical history, usually centred on administrative or official records, or the physician's point of view. Once going beyond the voices of practitioners, we are offered a different perspective of sickness and "illness behaviour," we read about the distress of a dying woman who believed that her husband poisoned her. Her story is mediated in the trial by those witnesses who had been the observers and participants in the medical encounter.[6] This complex view results in the basic mappings of individual and collective experience, people's belief systems, images and symbols; how they reflected upon living and dying, the body and the functions and meanings of various organs. Through the intervention of the witnesses, we can see how they related to the sick woman's malady, what she actually felt and thought about sickness. In this particular case, evidently, the patient is silent, and others are telling the story. By common understanding, the victim's definition of her ill condition is ultimately decisive; the testimonies are based on the way she articulated her own complaints in conversation with family, neighbours and acquaintances. Moreover, we find that the patient's view is not always faithfully translated by the mediator's words, therefore we may get an insight into the cultural and social characteristics of the larger environment in which this case of poisoning was interpreted.

In order to better understand the case study I wish to present, it seems important to place it in its appropriate ***social context***. To comprehend how the historian has to enquire into the variety of meanings attached to terms used by different participants of the medical encounter, I will present three aspects of interpretation when talking about illness and pain. First by interpreting the people's beliefs about the causes of illness, it becomes clear that several resources of knowledge were available and in constant interaction with each other. In an era which could be best characterized by little professionalization and lack of rigid legislative control, the medical market comprised of a variety of people who could heal and cure: *balneatores, barbitonsores, tonsores, chi-*

[4] Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain. The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[5] Roy Porter, "What is disease?," in *Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 82. I found this formulation of the concept of illness very relevant to my own set of problems.

[6] On uses of the notions 'medical market', 'medical encounter' and 'mediation' see de Blecourt and Usborne, *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine.*

rurgi, *doctores*, and *medici*, all of them healers of different ranks, were present at the court of the Prince.[7] The division of the medical practice was present until the 1800s, and medicine was divided between different groups of practitioners who possessed special sets of skills: surgeons knew about wounds and skin lesions, physicians understood internal disease, and apothecaries were skilled in the preparation of drugs.[8] On the local level, the picture was even more colourful with medicine women, ointment women or dilettante teeth pullers, and one characteristic of the healing practices was that it was not separated from domestic work. Very often managing and treating sickness remained very largely in the hands of the sufferers themselves[9] and their circles, while the intervention of doctors was only one (sometimes the last) weapon in the therapeutic arsenal.

All these practitioners of some sort of medicine represented certain bits of knowledge, and the formation of a healing culture was a result of their influences within the popular culture. Accordingly, the perception of illness has to be understood in relation to the medical pluralism characteristic of the Ancient Regime. To emphasize variety is not to deny the existence of communalities, widely diffused, such as the humoralist conception of the human physiology. But this alone could not be regarded as the ruling medical culture of the early modern period, as I will show that the other two aspects of the interpretation of illness, namely individual experience and its mediation, link several spheres of popular, medical, religious and magical healing knowledge.

A second aspect in my analysis is the **nature** of illness and pain as felt and related by the individual. Porter argued that the sufferer's role in the history of healing – in both its social and cognitive dimensions – has been routinely ignored by scholars, and as a consequence, we remain "profoundly ignorant of how ordinarily people in the past have actually regarded health and sickness, and managed their encounters with medical men".[10] It is more difficult to reconstruct the way in which the workings of the body in health and disease were understood as the interpretation has to be sensitive to the basic mappings of personal experience, the sufferer's belief systems, images and symbols, the way people reflected upon living and dying, the body, and the functions of various organs. Diseases were thought to result from imbalances in the body's fluids or energies, and health reflected a state of balance. In the description of symptoms the sick person was not seen as an isolated individual, social circumstances and life history were relevant to the diagnosis and treatment of the complaints. In this respect food and drink were perceived to be responsible for the duration of the human life as they could lengthen or shorten one's life. This latter will be an important issue in the analysis because the arguments about the nature of illness in the presented case revolve around a substance (either wine or poison mixed in wine) which drunk by the victim caused her death.

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[7] Endre Veress, *Fontes Rerum Hungaricarum III: Báthory István lengyel király udvari számadás- könyveinek Magyar- és Erdélyországi adalékai (1576-1586)* (Budapest, 1918).

[8] L. S. Jacyna, "The localization of disease," in *Medicine Transformed. Health, Disease and Society in Europe. 1800-1930*, ed. Deborah Brunton (Manchester: The Open University, 2004), 1-30.

[9] In this typical setting called 'bedside medicine', the patient exercised most power and autonomy, based ultimately on economic considerations. See Nicolas D. Jewson, *Sociology* 8, no. 3 (1974): 369-385.

[10] Roy Porter, "The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below," *Theory and Society* 14, no. 2 (1985), 176.

As the individual illness experience was transmitted orally to other members of the community, who in turn further transmitted information, the search for explanations of somebody's disease leads to the third aspect of the analysis. Using Porter's formulation, the **meaning** of sickness can be grasped when individual experience is shaped through collective and public discourses. Coming from individuals, families and other small groups, one of the characteristics of meaning is that it is contested; hence a good method to study how people have perceived incidents, objects, and verbal expressions is to examine different and conflicting opinions and to distil a particular interpretation by comparing and contrasting with others. This is a particularly hard task because the idiosyncrasy of the different meanings perceived by the people around the sick person is created by the complexity of the medical world in the past.

The key figure in this process is the mediator, the go-between whose efforts at transmission introduce the possibility of reconfiguration of meaning. Several channels of communication play a major part as means of information about health and illness from which certain bits were selected and others ignored. As the conventional meaning of the word 'mediation' invokes transmission and reconciliation of diverging opinions, it also suggests a neutral medium transmitting an idea from point A (in our case the poisoned woman) to point B (in our case the judges of the trial). These messages, however, can be altered in the process of transmission, in the fashion of a Chinese whisper (or telephone game). Therefore mediators not only bridge physical or social distance by spreading the news but also articulate these differences in meaning. Several people give different narratives about the same person, and this shows the way such an evolution lived in the community. In this perspective "meaning is produced by mediation."[11]

Mediation, however, is not a predicated one-way process or a mere filtering down of facts. The way information was selected and adapted in the past is only the starting point of the historian's journey unravelling multi-layered practices. By its very nature the language used in the interaction refers to images and concepts outside the medical repertoire, and they can be clothed in terms of science, religion or magic. They also bring to light the various and subjective representations, elucidating once again that discussing sickness is in fact recreating the reality of the sick person and realities of the mediators.

When the litigant woman appeared in court, and accused the barber of poisoning his wife, we also learn from the depositions of the witnesses the history of the illness involved in this case. The victim had already been ill and in bed when suddenly her condition got worse, and eventually died. The accusation of the woman is based on this turning point in the process of the victim's condition, which was presented as the **cause** of her death. Some of the witnesses say that the woman's death was provoked by some sort of medicinal wine, which was given to her by her husband; some others state that the victim claimed that she was poisoned by her husband, and the poison was given to her in the wine.

For those who were familiar with the Galenic medicine, the above-mentioned doctrine of the turning point (or critical days) in an illness was very well known. It was part of the medical prognosis, and given that not all illnesses were curable, a physician

[11] De Blécourt and Usborne, "Medicine, Mediation and Meaning" in *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine*, 1-10.

needed to ensure that he was not to blame if his patient died.[12] One of the witnesses gives a rational explanation for the death (which he heard from the victim herself): she drank from the medicinal wine and "*it became cold in her stomach and caused her death.*" Beside, we can hear the voice of the same witness stating that the patient represented a certain type as she herself was of a weak nature, already suffering from other conditions[13] when the incident occurred. "*Márton Kalmár declares that Orsolya, the daughter of Mrs. Albert Kalmár had already been ill. He [the witness] heard it from herself that the moment she drank the wormwood-wine [medicinal wine] that was brought to her by the apprentice, it became cold in her stomach, and that caused her death.*"[14]

The cause of the woman's death was thus conceived as the imbalance of the qualities within her body. This humoralist speculation was also able to measure the disturbance or imbalance in the body of the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, wet) on a scale from 1 (imperceptible) to 4 (fatal). The function of the medicine was to restore a balance that had been disturbed, the principle of medication rested on the idea of opposition. For instance, an illness that caused excessive heat was treated with medicine that had a strong cold quality.[15] Similarly, warming up the stomach by drinking hot fluids was one of the healing procedures lay people often practiced. Wine, in general, was reserved for the old, as the progressive decline in their natural heat required a supplementary source of warmth to overcome the coldness that accompanies old age. The benefits of drinking wine run as follows: "*The moderate use of wine makes the intellect illustrious and clear, the mind faithful and mild; the spirits comfort one another, happy feelings multiply and sorrows are forgotten… as far as the body is concerned, wine assists nutrition, digestion and the generation of blood. It distributes the digested humors, speedily nourishes, makes the hearth happy, eliminates windiness, encourages urination, increases the natural warmth, fastens convalescents, reawakens the appetite, activates sweat, assists sleep, clears the blood when it is turbid, opens obstructions, takes nutrition to all parts of the body, thins the coarse humors, improves skin colour and helps to discharge all excrements.*"[16] In extreme cases, during illness wine was given as a remedy for the sufferer, the medicinal wine in this case was a bitter tasting curative liquid made of different herbs, wormwood among them.

Learned medicine and its popular form taught that illness resulted from an imbalance caused by the defect or excess of one of the humors, therefore close attention was paid to what went into the body, because substances eaten or drunk could cause problems by blocking the digestive tract. Bodies had to be unobstructed, and had to flow in order to be healthy. By a relatively good knowledge of the body the ill person could

[12] Galen's text *On Critical Days* gives a calculation on the predictability of the crises. Cited by Sachiko Kusukawa, "Medicine in Western Europe in 1500," in *The Healing Arts. Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1500-1800*, ed. Peter Elmer (Manchester: The Open University, 2004), 1-26.

[13] According to the Galenic theory, a healthy body had a good complexion – that is, a good balance of humours and arrangement of the parts of the body. A diseased body did not have a good balance – in fact, it had an imbalance caused by a deficiency in or an excess of one or more of the humours. Elmer, *The Healing Arts*, 8.

[14] Fond Primaria Mun. Cluj, Protocoale de judecata. Col. microfilme rola 190.

[15] Elmer, *The Healing Arts*, 10.

[16] Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses. Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy* (Polity Press, 1994), 86.

immediately respond to any kind of uneasiness. Roy Porter quotes an exhausting list of illness experiences of women in the eighteenth century,[17] stating that they noted highly personal changes they could feel and which being strange and painful, incommoded and frightened them.

We have three testimonies, which state that the sick woman localized pain in her stomach, and referred to objects within the stomach: 1. "*She felt it immediately; it* [the wine] *stopped in her stomach just like a* ***cannon-ball****;" 2. "It feels in her stomach like a* ***square object,*** *if she got rid of it, she would be cured immediately;" 3. "It stopped in her stomach just like a* ***piece of meat.****"* The nature of the illness is perceived in three different ways: inside the body, the liquid feels as if it has turned into objects, which are hurting the body either by their shape (square) or weight (cannon ball), or eventually as a material (meat), which cannot be digested, and which becomes rotten very quickly.

These metaphors are used to express that, in her vision, there was something within her body blocking the natural flow. If compared with each other, the symbols and metaphors applied in the witnesses' narrations represent a variety, which is especially striking as they are confronted in the court, and they are supposed to give a highly objective report of the victim's incriminating words. The patient and people surrounding her had to construct the most plausible interpretation of the history and symptoms of the disease, and deduce the most promising practical approach. Why was there such a discrepancy in their words? The way they "translated" and transmitted her words is a matter of mediation. The apparently random words of the witnesses can be arranged into coherent groups which, by making visible the consistency interior to any one set of words, worked to bestow visibility on the characteristics of pain. As we could see, there were two groups of witnesses who claimed different things as the cause of her death. One of the groups said, it was the wine as a non-natural substance[18] that caused the worsening of the woman's condition, the other group claimed that poison in the wine was the direct cause. We should not forget that all the witnesses based their narratives on what they had heard (or not heard) from the deceased woman.

Further analysing the depositions we can see that, although on a different cognitive level, there existed an aspect of the healing culture that was connected to magical beliefs, and showed similarities to the witchcraft accusations. In this system sudden and inexplicable changes in the human condition were explained by human agency, meaning that an enemy could make one sick. The agent can introduce or project some morbific object or substance into the body of the victim. These objects can be stones, crystals, fragments of bones, or leaves. It is asserted in one of the statements ("*it feels in her stomach like a square object, if she got rid of it, she would be cured immediately*") that the removal of the object is believed to affect a rapid cure.[19] In practice, the removal of the object, therefore the reduction of pain, could be produced in two

[17] See also Roy Porter, ed., *Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 99.

[18] Non-naturals did not form part of the body's internal workings: surroundings (air), exercise (walks, riding, massages and sex), ingested substances (food, drink, medicine), those things that are eliminated or retained (secretions and excretions), the passions of the soul (emotional states: anger, grief and envy).

[19] Anthropologists' findings show a close relationship between tribal medical knowledge and early modern European lay practice.

ways: by massage or by purgation. The former is closer to the magical belief as it is supposed to act directly on the body, and help remove the object, which is causing the problem.[20] Taking purgatives was widely employed in the sixteenth century, and it aimed to remove putrid matter in order to keep the body's passages open.

Those witnesses who claimed that the dying women accused her husband of her sudden sickness, also tried to show that the husband was heartless, being indifferent and not helping his wife in her agony, not taking her to the doctor outside the town, moreover showing a hostile attitude by insulting her with bad words. Once again, the husband was a barber, who at a certain point gave his wife the medicinal wine (with or without the poison). It is very interesting to follow how the magical element is filtered down in the narratives: he is believed to be some kind of healer who possesses the knowledge to help someone, but the same person could cause damage as well. There is one witness quoting the barber, who scolded his wife and said that her accusation is not founded because he has not ever poisoned anyone. "*Klára, the widow of István Tót declares that she heard the deceased wife of Bálint Borbély telling him in the face: you gave me the wormwood wine which makes me die. Bálint Borbély scolded her and told: you are a liar, you sick soul because I have never poisoned anyone, you meager bitchy soul. She [the witness] further declares that the mother took her to the doctor in Makó, and stayed there with her, but the doctor said that he could not help because she was so overwhelmed [by poison]*."[21]

Many relevant features of the early modern societies can be traced from the analysis of these lay conceptions, medical practices, and different devices for protection against diseases. Managing and treating sickness remained largely in the hands of the sufferer and her circle, while the intervention of a doctor was the last weapon in the therapeutic arsenal. Earlier we could see that the nature of illness had a twofold definition and description, and this split can be attributed to the beliefs and values of two traditions within the society: one was the humoralist set of system, and the other one the more enigmatic, but not less systematic knowledge which incorporated several elements of magic. The social structures around the case more or less correspond to this divide. There were 29 witnesses involved in this case, all of them had a direct contact with the private side of the events. The patient was cared for by them, had a certain status in the society, and her illness was very visible within the community. Socially, the witnesses of the accuser and those of the accused in this conflict also show a twofold (but not exclusive) distribution: the mother brought to the court people who were her or her daughter's neighbours, friends or relatives, while the accused barber, among others, brought two of his fellow barbers and two of his former apprentices, all of them having some sort of contact with his dead wife. The latter were representing the Galenic theories in the court, claiming that the death was caused by the improper balance of the bodily fluids. They can be regarded as the embodiment of a so-called professional authority, although it is not clear from the documents which party won the case.

As a conclusion for the nature, causes and meaning of illness in the early modern period we can state that sickness is one of the major ways in which individual and

[20] In a different case I found that massage was employed when curing digestive problems, and the person who performed the cure was the household servant.

[21] Fond Primaria Mun. Cluj, Protocoale de judecata,. Col. microfilme, rola 190.

group misfortune is symbolically embodied. It always calls for explanations that go for a search for causes and expound a truth about the order of the world and the body of the sick person. Lay conceptions cannot be separated from that of learned medicine, and the interaction and influence between them must be analysed in both directions. This double-directedness was very important during times when medical knowledge was less systematic than today. Although humoralism dominated European medicine in the sixteenth century, in the mental universe of the practitioners it easily incorporated other models of the body, and formed an available repository of knowledge and attitudes to illness. The base knowledge, which forms the framework, is the Galenic medicine, whereas the embedded knowledge, which is present only in places, is magical belief. Perceiving illness through notions of its causes, nature and meaning leads us closer to understand the medical pluralism of the past. The diversity made historians categorize these groups of knowledge and practice into various polarities. Their attempt resulted in learned versus unlearned medicine, orthodox versus unorthodox medicine, elite knowledge versus popular, or professional versus lay. My research shows that in reality any effort fails when trying to apply these exclusive categories, we should rather disregard these ill-defined boundaries, and view them as fluid. This could be a way to avoid forced categorizations, and forget the attempt to attribute wisdom and coherence that probably never existed in medical practices. Lastly, I have argued that meaning is also a very mobile category, and it is as much a social as a cultural construct. Despite the long durée of the religious, magical, and humoralist explanations of disease, their ambiguity and uncertain efficacy gave the sick the freedom to build their own cultures of healing, which in turn came about in specific contexts of negotiation, regulation and eventually repression. Closing with Roy Porter, it is still a valid assertion that we must not generalize from one single case. We don't know what was typical, and what exceptional; we lack a historical atlas of sickness experience and response, which can be graduated by age, gender, class, religious faith, and other significant variables.

INCANTATIONS IN MEDICAL ADVICE AND RECIPES FROM 16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

JANA SKLADANÁ

In scholarly literature incantations are defined as set verbal units or phrases expressing superstitions that according to popular beliefs were thought to have a real effect. Incantations are probably the oldest folkloric expressions. Their origin dates far back to the Pre-Christian period. One of the earliest illustrations of their practice can be found in Persian sources. Incantations stemmed from primordial conscience according to which word and action were identical and through them one could make one's wishes come true. Incantations are much older than prayers. They formed the basis of magical healing, love magic, driving away storms, fires and evil powers; they were part of wishes, carols and other ritual verbal expressions. Incantations differ from prayers in that that one is trying to reach the result directly, while prayer has only a mediating function, representing a link between man and God, an appeal with which a man turns to God awaiting fulfilment of his supplication. The older types of prayers used some elements of incantations. For example prayers against fever, for a good harvest and so on, in which the older pattern was only formally adjusted to the Christian ideas. For example, the person saying an incantation formula in its introductory and final part would stress that he is acting in the name of God, and there were various insertions, such as not with my, but with the help of God and so on.

Incantations were exceptionally frequent in folk healing and in other contexts as well. In folk healing they formed the main part of numerous medical procedures and part of them survived up to later periods. Healing procedures of a magical character presupposed not only strict observance of the prescribed procedures, but also fulfillment of other conditions, mainly keeping the given time (at sunrise or sunset, new moon, at midnight). The most important elements of medicaments were curative herbs. The majority of them represented a rational part of folk healing and their use was the result of the long time-honoured experiences.

There are numerous manuscript medical-healing sources from the 17th – 18th centuries from the region of Slovakia of folk or semi-folk character. They are mainly recipe books (preserved in the Nitra, Turiec, Gemer regions, the town of Prešov and elsewhere), but also various medical advice and instruction manuals concerning not only folk healing, but also other life circumstances. For example, they are incantations against supernatural powers, magic, or those connected with love magic, instructions for treasure hunting and incantations for various other situations. Apart from these materials of folk or semi folk provenience there are copies of published works or manuscripts that were prepared for publication. The attention here is paid to sources of the first group. The study does not deal with printed works. In connection with the analysed sources it is important to state that their authors are unknown and their titles were created only later. A special case is a work *Trifolium sanitas medicum or O*

zdravi sprava lekarska [Medical report on health] from 1760. It is likely that the author of this work was Georgius Heill, a county apothecary of the Orava region.[1] A work about treasure hunting by P. P. Ketskemety *Spisowe do rozličnich mist a wrchu u Uherske zemi* [Books about various places and mountains in the Hungarian land] from 1754, is another work to be used in this paper that was not anonymous.[2]

A considerable number of the recipes represent neutral, rational advice. Many herbs are used even today and not only in folk or alternative medicine, but also by modern pharmaceutics. Here are some examples:

Vodka against breathlessness. Take root of gentian, same 3 lots of sweat wood root, 3 lots of wall fern, 1 lot of inula root. Cut the roots to the small pieces and pour one žajdlik[3] *of flower vodka into it and leave to soak for three or four day* (RT).[4]
For bowels, when it pushes out, this can be used. If somebody has bowels pushing out: Cook wormwood in wine, strain and while warm steam the bowels with it, then smear with ink (or oak leaf water) and push inside with a piece of cloth (RT, 201).

For warts. Willow bark burnt to the ashes, mixed with vinegar and applied kills the warts. Against long fever. Pepper, ginger, zedoary, cinnamon, crumb bit of all, and drink with wine, vinegar and lie in a warm bed.
For pulling out thorns, splinters. Root of beet crushed and applied pulls them out. Item. Big caraway root crushed and applied pulls out thorns, splinters and other things.
When a horse has its vein strained or torn. Cook hop, wheat grit and vinegar together and steam the vein with it (RG).[5]

For dry scabs take a bit of buxus, crush it to flour, add white onion and fry together in May butter and rub the scabs with it, also often wash in lye, moreover often wash head with urine, as I have done and with the help of God my head became clean (RO).[6]

Recipe for treacle spirit. Four ample handful of treacle, handful of marjoram, one handful of lavender flower, one handful of rosemary... the best poultice on every sore (RP).

To strengthen one's heart. Use freely borage flower in meal and drink. It strengthens heart of the brain, arouses cheerfulness in foolish, sad and melancholic people, brings them back into a good humour and purifies the blood.
Cloves eaten or drunk with wine strengthen heart, liver, stomach and head, help indigestion, and stop throwing up and diarrhoea.

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[1] Marie Majtánová, ed., *Trifolium sanitas medicum aneb o zdravi sprava lekarska* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1987), from now on TS. The manuscript is in Literary archive of Matica Slovenská in Martin, no. 1774.

[2] P. P. Kecskemety, *Spisowe do rozličnich mist a wrchu u Uherske zemi* (1754), 5 pages. The manuscript is held in the Slovak National Museum in Martin, no. 518/946.

[3] Old measure, 1 žajdlík = 0,4166 liter.

[4] *Receptár turčiansky* [Recipe book of the Turiec region], 4; from now on RT. The manuscript from 17th century is in the Literary Archive of Matica slovenská in Martin, no. J 181/2, 226 pages.

[5] *Receptár gemerský* [Recipe book from the Gemer region], from now on RG. The manuscript from 18th century is in private possession, 124 pages.

[6] *Receptár osturniansky* [Recipe book from Osturňa], from now on RO. The manuscript from 18th century is in Východoslovenské múzeum [Eastern Slovakian Museum] in Košice, without a number, 27 pages.

Oil from nutmegs takes away kidney pain, stones, gout, especially in hips and knees, pricking and piercing pain and heavy breathing.
Almost all apples have got this quality that if they are pressed for juice and the juice is mixed with a bit of saffron and drunk, they resist poison and drive off worms (RN).[7]

On being hoarse (Raucedos). Item: take lilies of the valley, peonies, red roses, lavender flowers, sage, linden flower, beechnut, hyssop, rosemary, half handful of each, cook it in beer and rinse your throat well and often, that's tried medicine against hoarseness.
On yellow disease (Icterus flavus): take 1 lot[8] of good quality fenugreek leaves without tail, good quality rhubarb, one and a half kvintlík[9] of wine scale after first decant, half kvintlík of cinnamon, two lots of tiny raisins, half lot of sweet wood, aniseed, fennel, half kvintlík of each, pound it together and pour a bucket of hot water into it, leave during the night and in the morning cook as long as it is half boiled away, sieve and press firmly through a scarf and drink warm (TS).

Quite frequently authors refer to well-known figures from the medieval period, even from the ancient times, but also to unknown people and tradition. For example:

I had thyme in bloom soaked in spirits for 24 hours and then again I put fresh thyme into those spirits and distilled it again and the third time the same. It has always helped me when I soaked a scarf in it and applied warm. I have used this for many years to my great benefit. The late doctor Stephanus Bačmegyey Trnawsky had scared me that I would catch muscle constriction, saying: "Omne spirituosum causat contractorum." I gave up immediately and now I do not have other medicine than patientiam, abstinentiam et quietam.
Galen wrote: When colic suddenly attacks you, gird yourself firmly, eat garlic with bread and move yourself, abstain from alcohol till evening and for the night drink good wine and by the morning you will be free from pain (RN).

Some write that horses may suffer from 366 diseases, but to be sure they definitely do from 60 of them (RP).[10]

On the other hand, sometimes authors denied customary methods and recipes. For example:

The tree that is called balsamus or opobalsanum. This tree has no such scent as some stupidly gabble about it (HL).[11]

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[7] *Receptár nitriansky* [Recipe book from Nitra region], from now on RN. The manuscript from 17th - 18th centuries is in Regional State Archive in Nitra, in fond Szilvay IV, 86 pages.
[8] Old measure: 1 lót = 1.5 gram.
[9] Old measure, 1 lót = 4 kvintlík; 1 kvintlík = 4.375 gram.
[10] *Receptár prešovský* [Recipe book of Prešov], from now on RP. The manuscript from 18th century is in the State Scientific Library [Štátna vedecká knižnica] in Prešov, no. A 19339/45409, 6 pages.
[11] *Herbár liptovský* [The Liptov herbarium], from now on HL. The manuscript from 17th century is in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [Magyar Tudományos Akadémiai Könyvtár] in Budapest, no. K 59, 335 pages.

Some of the described observations surely have no grounds and no truth in them, some have a little bit of truth and are plausible, but are not quite certain and might be deceptive (RP).

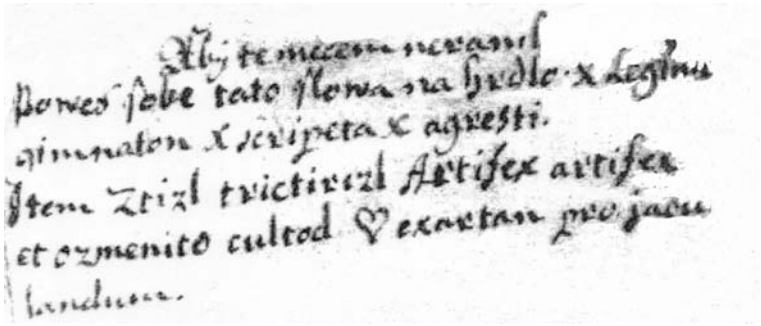
Incantations as a part of magic were supposed to secure the desired effect by various ways, for example, by using the names of magical objects (such as the tongue or head of some animals and birds, hangman's rope etc.) and by their use in practice, by pronouncing incantation formulas or possibly some other related words, like in following examples:

Against burns:

Against burn. Take honey and dissolve, then smear the burns or scalds with it and then, cut tomcat's hairs if it's a man or cat's hair if it's a woman and apply the smeared honey and bind till a scab is made there, then smear it with unsalted butter (RG).

Various life situations, wins, good bargains and so on:

For good bargain. Carry hoopoe head around with you.
So you don't lose. Put a rook's leg under your right arm and you will win.
So meat will jump out of the pot. Write these words on the bottom. E E X E X i l X o h a X and put on the fire and it will jump (RG, f. 26).
So you have a good memory. Put rue into the water, let it soak a bit and then take it and put it on your head.
So people are kind to you. Carry hoopoe head around with you.
So fire does not spread, write on the paper: Pateret Orator H G C H + donix R X G X T X E X O X U X (RG, f. 28).
So you do not drowse. Take the heart of an owl and carry around.
So you are not hurt by a sword. Hang these words on your neck x Leginu gimnaton x scripeta x agresti. Item ztizl trictirezl Artifex artifex et ozmenito cultod ♥ exarton pro jaculandum. (RG, f. 24, see picture no. 15)



*15/ From Receptár gemerský (Recipe book from the Gemer region) [*Aby te mečem neranil. Povves sobe tato slowa na hrdlo x Leginu gimanton x …*]*

Not to miss a target. Take a bat's heart, burn to ashes and mix with gunpowder. You will not miss.
So no arm will hurt you. Bury a young swallow in the crossroads and leave it there for twenty days.
Against arms. Take the rope from a hanged man, have a thread spun out of it and wear it on your neck.
So no arm will hit you. When you find a snake before Saint George day, cut its head off, and plant a garden pea into it. When it bursts into flower, carry this flower around and don't be afraid of bullets.
To succeed in a lawsuit. Pull the tongue out of a live snake and put under the toenails in your right boot (RG).

Who should be somnambulant in the night. Take pig's urine if it is a boy and sow's urine, if it is a girl and give to drink to the afflicted. (RO).

Against fire. Say this prayer three times: "Be welcome new guest, let it be that you have already enough, let's stop, don't burn more, I invoke you through God, Father and Holy Ghost." (RG).

Against thieves:

So one knows who stole what. Hold a quatrefoil clover in your right hand and you will have a dream.
Take green chicory, put it under your head with the leaves and a new axe and you will ward off a thief (RG).

For protection of cattle and pigs:

So they won't harm cows. Take egg yolk, myrrh, thyme, live fire, dill, mix it together and give it to a cow and no witch will harm it (RG, f. 26).
The one, whose - salve veniam - pigs are not doing well, should buy old trousers from a beggar and pay what he asks for and bury them under the pigs in the shed, they will multiply greatly like lice in the beggar's trousers (RG).

Concerning bees:

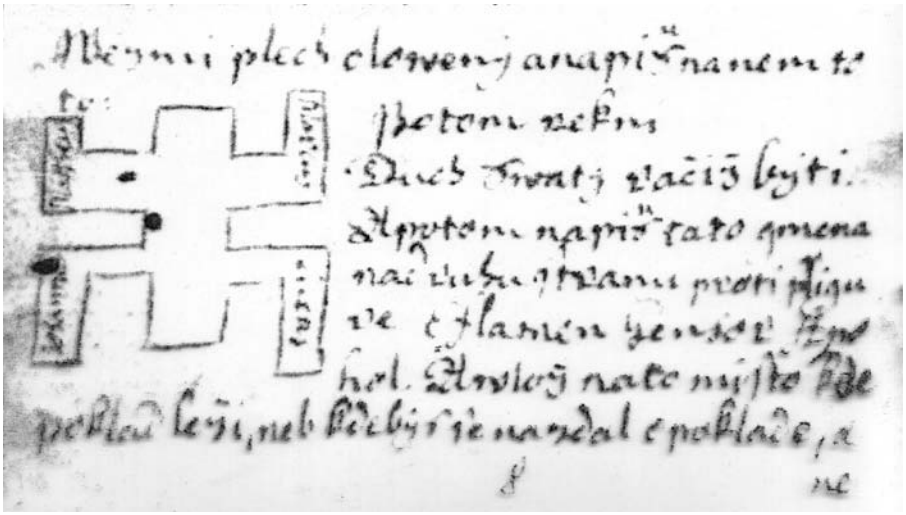
To place bees in a good place, do this: take the upper layer of quicksilver and put in the place, where you want to place them, if white ashes remain there, the place will be lucky, if they remain black, quite the opposite. So somebody else's bees do not steal honey, take a hazel stick that has grown in one year, and with this stick you will kill the stranger's bees. If they do not stop then do this and write on the block in which they do harm this: Y. 2. Y. 3.
Item when you first go ploughing, do not till the earth down, but take the earth and smear it on your beehives and they will be all right. So the swarm does not flee away, when you first plough in pre-spring, take the earth and mix it and they will not flee.
When you buy bees from somebody and you take it from that place, have a coin with you at that time and put this coin on the place of beehive and say three times: "I pay for it, for all this property and its use, profit and work and all this with God's power from the help of Christ the Lord." So the swarm does not flee, keep the wedge onto

which hemp is bound first in spring among bees and when the swarm comes out dig up a circle in the earth with this wedge and when they want to flee away throw this soil after them. So the bees will settle into the beehive, take woman's milk and sprinkle the beehive with it, the bees will willingly enter into it.
So there is abundance of bees. Take earth from the place where you are about to set up a beehive, placing this earth on the beehive and say: "as much as this soil is rich, let them also be rich." (RG).

Against magic and supernatural powers:

Against magic and monsters. Sea onion [Urginea maritima] suspended above the doorframe, where the house is entered, so whatever monster or magic does not harm the house and its inhabitants.
Item. Some carry around an herb of red harebell against night monsters. Item. Who wears the root of St. John's wort on his neck, will be safe against poison and all kinds of magic.
So no horse will be bewitched. Let it have a small piece of red cloth under its ear (RG).

Vodka from mullein flower will protect from all kinds of magic the one who is afraid of God.
When a marriage is spoiled by magic, give the bewitched a drink of red soil of bean size, smear with datura juice or crush datura itself, apply to the hips/loins, suspend mugwort (wormwood) above the door, it takes away devilish magic (RO).



*16/ From Receptár gemerský [Recipe book from the Gemer region]. [*Wezmi plech oloweny a napis na nem toto:…Potom rekni Duch swaty, račiž byti. A potom napiš tato jmena na druhu stranu proti figure Eflamen hensor Apohel. A vlož na to misto, kde poklad leži, neb kdebys se nazdal o poklade…*]*

In some sources there is advice for treasure hunting, a phenomenon especially popular in the 18th century. Descriptions of the places where the treasures are situated are very exact and suggestive:

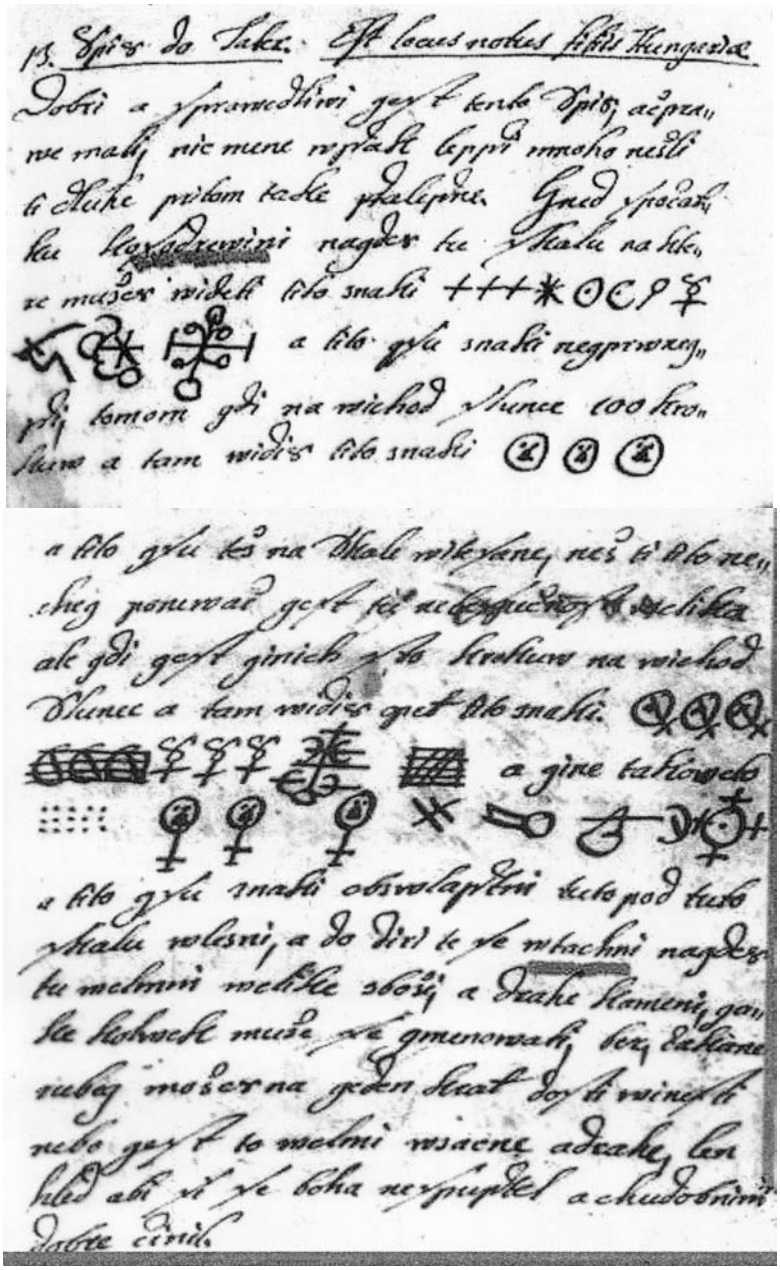
To find it soon, take quick silver and put it into a lamp and pour oil over it, go to the place where you think treasure might be and when you reach the place where the money is hidden, then the mercury will jump and there you look for it. If you want to make bad spirits who have power over the treasure go away, so they will not change the treasure or carry it away to a different place, take a lead sheet and write this onto it:.. And then say: "Holy Ghost, deign to be present." And then write these names on the other side against the figure Eflamen hensor Apohel. And insert into this place where treasure lies or where you think it is and then read: "The creator, Holy Ghost, visit the minds of the faithful and condescend to fill our hearts like you have condescended to create us. …[a long prayer follows]. (RG, f. 8, see picture no. 16).

Book on Tatras [Spis do Tater]. Est locus notus filiis Hungariae. This book is good and just, though short, still it is better than a long, but false one. Right at the beginning of dwarf pine you will find this rock, on which these signs can be seen: +++ ... and these are the very first signs, make one hundred steps by joint towards the sunrise and there you will see these signs ... and these are also inscribed on a rock, but leave these, because there is a great danger and rather make another hundred steps towards the sunrise and there you will see these signs again … and some other of this kind and these are special signs, so crawl under that rock and go into the hole and there you will find numerous great goods and precious stones, you name it, take a pickaxe, dig out, you can carry up enough at one stroke, because it is extremely valuable and expensive, just take care so you do not forsake God and that you do make good to the poor. [Est locus notus filiis Hungariae. Spis do Tater. Dobri a spravedlivi jest tento spis, ačprave mali, nic mene wšak lepši mnoho nešli ti dluhe, pritom take falešne. Hned spočatku kosodrevini najdeš tu skalu na ktere mužeš wideti tito znaki +++ ... a tito su znaki nejprwnejši, lomom jdi na wichod slunce 100 krokuw a tam widiš tito znaki ... a tito jsu též na skale vitesane, než ti ale nechej, ponevač jest též nebezpečnost welika ale jdi jest jinich sto krokuw na wichod slunce a tam widiš opet tito znaki. ... a jine takoweto... a titojsu znaki obzwlaštni tuto pod tuto skalu wlesni, a do diri te se wtachni najdeš tu welmmi welike zboži, a drahe kameni, jake kolwek muže se jmenowati, ber čakanu, rubaj, možeš na jeden krat dosti winesti nebo jest to welmi wzacne a drahe, len hled, abi si se boha nespuštel a chudobnim dobre činil]. (See pictures no. 17 and 18).[12]

In the beginning we mentioned that some incantations had bad intentions, a kind of execrations. For example:

*So a tree will wither. On St. Jacob's beheading day cut into its wood and it will dry out. So people will be afraid of you. Take a snake's tongue, put into the right boot and always wear it. So he will fall down from a horse. Take the wood that was severed by lightning and put on a hat (*RG).

[12] Kecskemety, *Spisowe do rozličnich mist a wrchu u Uherske zemi.*



17/ and 18/ Two pages from P. P. Kecskemety, Spisowe do rozličnich mist a wrchu u Uherske zemi. [Books about various places and mountains in the Hungarian land].

Finally, a note about the language of the analysed texts. The materials used in the paper are from various regions of Slovakia, dating from 17th and 18th centuries. In this period pre-standard cultivated language forms were used in the region of Slovakia. Cultivated Slovak language had its native sources in the colloquial language of Slovak intellectuals, local dialects and other language sources (such as Czech, Latin, German and possibly some others). The native dialects are more substantially represented in three variants of cultivated Slovak language: Western, Central and Eastern Slovak, all of them can be found in the sources we used for the present paper.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE LOVE MAGIC BELIEFS IN EASTERN SERBIA

DANIJELA DJURIŠIČ

In my paper I would like to point out some aspects of love magic using eastern Serbian examples. I am not a historian and I mostly work with the contemporary material from my own fieldwork. The paper focuses on the traditional form of love magic in eastern Serbia and tries to put it in an anthropological context. Eastern Serbia is an ethnically heterogeneous region, settled mostly by Serbs and Walachs. The Walachs are citizens of Roman origin, who migrated there from Romania (mainly from Transylvania, Moldavia and Walachia). Both Serbs and Walachs are orthodox. This area has always been known for strong beliefs in magic and witchcraft and Walachian magic has been regarded among the Serbs as one of the strongest varieties and one by which it was possible to make a (magical) attack on somebody from a distance. Strong fear of the dead and belief in vampirism characterized this area as well.

Love Magic in Eastern Serbia

When we talk about love magic we usually do it in several ways. Love or erotic magic should be used for getting the attention of a person of the opposite sex and finding a partner. In that case, magic is not directed towards a specific person.[1] Love magic also includes some oracles by which people tried to find where their possible partner would be from or what he will be like - *gatanje*. The third case of using love magic was when a person wanted to get some specific man or woman. In the broader sense we should put here different acts aimed at the destruction of a relationship or influencing somebody's potency - *čaranje* (men's impotence was usually connected with it, but also women's sterility).

In this paper I would like to concentrate mostly on the third case – that of magic directed towards the specific person. At the end I would like to add something about possible ways of explaining belief in supernatural phenomena such as magic and witchcraft. Magic was appropriate if a person (woman or man) wanted to get somebody's attention and he/she did not know (or if it was the only one "possible" for him) how to do it in another way. It could also be used for "surety."

In magical rituals various kind of herbs were used, often on the principle of etymological analogy, for example: *ljubičica* (violet) for *ljubljenje* (loving), since in Serbian both words have the same root and the word *ljubav* means "love," or the use of *omraza*, also a herb, could cause "hate" since *mrzeti* means "to hate" in Serbian. These methods of magical effects were usually based on the principles of imitative magic; saying a magical formula or performing a magical act might influence another act. The essence of this belief lay in the conviction of the strength of analogy.

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[1] *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska* (Bratislava: Veda, 1995).

To make the magical effect strong, something, such as cloth, hair or body liquids, from the person towards whom the magic was directed had to be used in the magical act. Fear of magical attack made people give attention to saving all these things so they could not be used in a possible magical practice against themselves. Something, such as menstruation blood, perspiration, ash from burned hair or urine, from the person who made the magical attack was also useful. In that case, it was put in drink or food prepared for the person who had to be bewitched.

So, we see that it was some kind of contact or homeopathic magic in Frazer's sense.[2] A person could perform the magic acts for him/herself or he could ask for help from a "specialist." Mainly if it was necessary to suppress an effect of sorcery, a person needed help from an unwitcher. Although people might perform some magical acts themselves, they used to believe that *vračare* - unwitchers had not only "knowledge" of what to do and how, but also power, which they inherited or acquired during life, perhaps after some illness or accident. I use the term unwitcher to denote a person who removes the influence of black magic (sorcery) and witchcraft.[3] According to some aspects, love magic is sometimes treated as "black" or "negative" magic, because its aim is to effect a person without his/her willing as in the case that you want to make somebody fall in love with you or in the case of harming somebody because of jealousy or envy.

Magic could give a man feeling that he could "change" his fate, in the case of love magic that he could, for example, choose or find a partner. If the ritual was ineffective, it was possible to explain it by contra-magic or by breaking the rules for fulfilment of a ritual. On the other side, people could explain their own misfortunes or failures such as inability to find a partner, lost of potency, divorce or the break up of a relationship by somebody's bad wishing.

***Vezivanje* - Tying**

Now I turn to a belief, which is characteristic of this region. There are still women known as *vlajne* - some kind of unwitchers. Usually people believe that *vlajne* should help, but may also do harm by using magic. They do not specialize only in love magic; they can do other things such as healing. People went to them in both cases – if they wanted to stop somebody's magic, used against them and their family and also if they wanted to harm somebody. In the case of harming, it is believed, that mostly women used it against men who left them or found some other woman.

Specialists for making love magic have mostly been women and they have also been suspected of using love spells more often than men. The Serbian ethnologist Lidija Radulović in her article about the relation between gender and witchcraft wrote that although the Serbian language has a word for male witch – *veštac* (*veštica* is the

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[2] James G. Frazer has divided magic into two categories: contact magic and homeopathic magic. In the first case there is a belief that between things which were once in contact stay some imaginary relation also if they are not in contact more; that' s why hair, nails or cloth should be used as the symbol of person on which magic was directed. In the second case, magical ritual is based on the principles of similarity: similar causes similar. James George Frazer, *Zlatá ratolesť* (Praha: Mladá Fronta, 1994, Czech translation of *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion,* London: Macmillan, 1911).

[3] I speak about witchcraft in Evans-Pritchard sense as synonym for ability to harm somebody by using an innate psychical power that means without using a magical technique. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

word for female witch), the beliefs about him are very pure and rare.[4] In fact, it was almost always women who were accused of witchcraft and also punished for using spells, male-witches were mostly known from the anecdotes and fairytales.[5]

According to folk beliefs witches were old women with a "cross beneath the nose"- "moustached" women; women who could not have children any more and women who "ate their children" (maybe women who gave birth to dead children or women whose children died).[6] So, women, who were past their reproductive age or did not have children at all, were regarded as witches in traditional culture.[7]

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Men from eastern Serbia used to believe that their sexual abilities depended on women. Mainly, if they could not have intercourse, it was not strange that they started to think that some kind of magic was behind it. This belief could also be strengthened because official medicine still does not have a clear explanation for the cause of impotence. Psychical condition of patient plays here a big role.

The ethnologist Zorica Divac talked to many men, who were sure that in some period of their life they were "bewitched" by some woman and because of bewitchment they could not have intercourse at all or they could have it only with one specific woman (without consideration for their desire). Use of spells against them was the reason for their impotence. When they found that they had been bewitched, they had to try to solve the problem by finding another *vlajna* whose task was to do away with sorcery. [8]

People in Serbia used the term *vezivanje* (tying) for naming an act of attack on a man's sexuality. A man was *vezan* (tied) by some woman, as it was said. Apart from the sexual disability, the man felt bad, lost his physical power and will to fight against it and he could die, as people believed. A woman – his wife or in some cases mistress – *tied* a man with the help of a *vlajna* or according to her advices because of jealousy, wish to possess him or out of revenge. It is often emphasized in literature dealing with sorcery and witchcraft that the emotions accompanying them – the emotions, which led people to wish somebody something bad, were jealousy, envy and hatred. For example, in the case of adultery, the wife took small kittens and bathed them and then gave her husband this water to drink, although of course he did not know what he had drank. It is a kind of homeopathic magic, where the blindness of the kittens has to cause "blindness" of the man to the other women.

According to Serbian folk beliefs, Walachian magic is one of the few, which

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[4] Lidija Radulović, "Rodno konstruisana sudbina veštice," in *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji: diskursi i prakse, II.* (Beograd: Asocijacija za zenske inicijative, 2004), 340-358.

[5] Tihomir Djorjdević, "Veštica i vila u našem narodnom verovanju i predanju; Vampir i druga bića u našem verovanju i predanju," *SEZb knj.* LXVI, *drugo odeljenje Život i običaji narodni knj.*, no. 30 (Beograd: SAN, 1953), 53-55.

[6] Lidija Radulović, "Rodno konstruisana sudbina veštice."

[7] In Serbian the words *veštica, vračara* should be used both for the woman who was believed should heal, divine etc. that means who was an unwitcher and also for person who should harm by her bad willing or by using spells.

[8] Zorica Divac, "Vračanje u severoistočnoj Srbiji," in *Tradiocionalno i savremeno u kulturi Srba* (Beograd, 2003), 111-121.

should work at a distance. If a woman wanted to get the attention of some man, she had to wait for him somewhere outside. When he came, she had to tie nine knots on a black thread while pronouncing a spell. There were nine levels of *tying*, the ninth was regarded as the worst, since it might evoke "drying up." Among the object used, those, which had been in contact with a dead person: the ring from his hand, a handkerchief with which he was wiped and so on, were regarded as the strongest.

People believed that magic started to work immediately and the victim usually did not know how to explain what happened and how it began. But this information is important because without it the *vlajna* could hardly help the victim. The unwitcher tried to find as much information as possible about the person who could make magic and sometimes she forced the victim to go and get a confession from the suspected woman. It is not so surprising that under threat a lot of women really confessed that they used magic against men. After the confession man wanted to know how and when she made it, so the unwitcher should stop it. If the man was not successful in identifying the cause of his problem or if he could not find out what was exactly done against him, the *vlajna* could not stop the magical effect. In one case, a young man had a relationship with an old woman and after some time he found out that he could only be with her, not with any other woman, even younger. He started to believe that his old mistress bewitched him, so he went to her and tried to get her confession and he got it, but then he killed her. He was arrested, but his problem with potency remained unresolved. One of the most popular objects used in this kind of magical ritual was a "padlock" as a symbol of something what could be tied (locked) and freed (unlocked).

Some Anthropological Aspects of Belief in Magic

First to say, I do not want to solve the problem of believing in magic as whole, only to show some aspects of belief in love magic. Also, I speak mainly about one aspect of love magic or better to say, about the influence belief in possible magical effects have on men.

The French anthropologist Jeanne Favret Saada has shown in her work *Deadly words: Witchcraft in Bocage,* that loss of a man's potency could be connected with an attack of witchcraft (according to her it was not possible to distinguish between sorcery and witchcraft strictly as Evans Pritchard did. She uses the term *witchcraft* for naming supernatural attack on somebody's health, property, sexuality and so on. From this point of view "tying" is sorcery). In Bocage, witches were regarded as omnipotent and their attack on a victim could cause loss of his/her sexual power. Loss of potency could be only one of the consequences of a witchcraft attack; all others misfortunes of the victim should be connected with it. As Favret Saada showed, a witchcraft attack meant loss of the vital force, and generally that means the capacity of the bewitched to: survive (illness and death of animals and people), reproduce (sterility of animals and people) and produce (sterility of the soil, exhaustion of work energy etc.).[9]

Etnologists know that in stories about witchcraft in Slovakia and in the Balkans as well, the drying up of cows is a very frequent motif. This was also ascribed to witches, who were said to steal milk from a distance. Attacks on cattle were as dangerous as attacks on people because they mainly depended on cattle. For man impo-

[9] Jeanne Favret Saada, *Deadly Words:Witchcraft in Bocage* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 197.

tence meant not only that he could not have sexual intercourse, but as we have seen earlier, he became ill and powerless with all the consequences that followed from this. I do not want to say that people associated these things only with sorcery and witchcraft or that they connect any problem with them. Mostly, it was so if some unexpected events happened, for example, illness or in the case of misfortunes, which were repeated or came in a series.[10] We know that people used to associate headaches or nausea with the evil eye. In a similar manner, man put his impotence together with somebody's dangerous magical effect.

In an area full of superstition, such as eastern Serbia, where most people believed in the possibility of magical effects on somebody or something and where the big part of population believed in some kind of supernatural phenomena (as many researches there showed) it was not so strange for people to start explaining their own problems (even impotence) in connection with them. These beliefs were part of daily life and as a result, it was in some sense easier to "activate" them or to start thinking about this kind of explanation. The question, which arises and not only for cases like these, but generally for explanation of misfortunes in supernatural ways is "why did it happen?" This is why people used to think in that way.

Cognitive Anthropology Explanation

My aim is not to give a complex explanation of the cognitive theory of religion, because it is impossible in such a short space and also it is not so necessary. I did not test this theory on the material I have presented; I just want to present a possible explanation of these phenomena from the cognitive anthropology point of view. So, very briefly: cognitive anthropology is the part of cognitive sciences that tries to connect research into cultural phenomena with the knowledge we have about the human mind. It relies on researches into evolutionary psychology, biology, neurology, cognitive psychology and so on. Cognitive anthropologists, who are also interested in religion, try to explain what it means to people and why it is so. The well-known cognitive anthropologist Pascal Boyer in his book *Religion Explained* also deals with the problem of sorcery and witchcraft. According to him this kind of explanation is only one of the possibilities, but the question is why is it activated in some cases.

Men should have some rational explanation, for example, bad things could happen to anyone, or have another supernatural explanation: misfortunes could be a consequence of sin or God's punishment for an immoral life and so on. But as Paul Boyer said, all these explanations are possible, but they are also too general and tell us nothing about one concrete case. People did not ask themselves in such a general way, they wanted to know "why it happened exactly to them and why right now." Belief in witchcraft (sorcery, evil eye etc.) seems to provide an "explanation" for all sorts of events: many cases of illness or other misfortunes are spontaneously interpreted as evidence of witchcraft.[11] What anthropologists call witchcraft is the suspicion that some people in the community perform magical tricks to damage other people's health, good fortune or material goods. [12]

[10] Ibid., 80.

[11] Of course, this is a very simple presentation of cognitive theory of religion, without explaining the processes that stay behind the phenomenon I'm writing about.

[12] Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained* (New York: Basic Book, 2001), 265.

When we say that somebody is superstitious it usually means that he sees causality where there is just a chance. But as Evans Pritchard showed in the case of the Azande – if something bad happened the Azande believed that witchcraft was involved, but that did not mean that they were not aware of some biological or mechanical causes of this same event as well. However, in such cases people ask themselves questions such as "why me, why now" and these questions go beyond what can be explained by these biological and mechanical causes only, as Boyer said. So, these questions are not answered in terms of ordinary causal processes.

If a man in eastern Serbia is healthy and full of strength and in one moment he loses all this and also his potency, and he lives in surroundings where everybody “knows how“ problems like this happen, this cultural surrounding together with some predispositions of his mind, make him start to ask himself where is the "origin" of his problem. In accordance with local beliefs he would try to solve it: to find an unwitcher, and together with her to find "the witch" and so on. Of course, the attitude to these beliefs could depend on the man’s subjective experience. If he has it, he would probably believe that something like it is possible. Favret Saada said that in Bocage, people who believed they had been bewitched usually did not talk about it, except with somebody who shared their experience or to an unwitcher who could help them.

All these situations include some more or less strong emotions. The problem of emotions is very popular in contemporary psychology, but also a lot of contradictions have been written on this topic. Scientists still cannot say exactly how human behaviour is affected by the emotions. The sort of situations described above carry emotions with them and undoubtedly have some influence on men. There are the emotions attributed to the witch such as hatred, envy or jealousy and also the emotions of the victim, which could influence his behaviour (fear etc.) I think that this aspect will be very interesting for research too.

THE ROLE OF BLACK MAGIC IN CONTROLLING SOCIAL BALANCE IN MOLDAVIAN CHANGO* VILLAGES

PETI LEHEL

This paper is designed to show some rituals succeeding theft of the Moldavian Chango villages, which have been practiced with the same features presumably since the 19th century. We attempt to explain the social historical causes of the "cultural conservation," for this reason we try to outline the historical context in which these offensive magic rituals have taken shape. In Moldavia there was no witch-hunt and the reason for this fact is questionable. Perhaps there was not because this method of curing was not known and practiced by the elite, by the Church, or probably because the adequate popular beliefs and institutions, which could have supported it, were lacking. Without the records from the witch-hunts we have hardly any sources about the bygone role of magic. As a result of the socio-economic isolation the waves of modernization were fairly late in this region, therefore many elements of the practice of magic have remained with medieval continuity up to now. Thus we can nevertheless identify the past features from the techniques being practiced today and from their narratives kept in the collective remembrance. Although we have still not analysed the functioning of the system as a whole, we can draw attention to some significant characteristics. This is especially justified, since an intensive modernization of Moldavia is now in progress, which has taken decades in the case of other regions and ethnic groups. Owing to the loss of language being advanced because of assimilation, those narratives from which we could reconstruct the past features of the magic penal system and from which we could interpret its present forms of realization could disappear within a short time.

About the Changos

The Changos live in Romanian Moldavia in the foothills of the Eastern Carpathians, in about ninety villages scattered in the valleys of small rivers.[1] They live in one of the economically most underdeveloped regions of Romania where the network of civil institutions functions at a very low level. From the points of view of language and religion they form a minority, which has resulted in their fairly isolated life. With this we can explain their similarity with the pre-industrial societies, many features of their world concept and worship are medieval. According to widely accepted estimates the number of Changos is about 240,000, and by now, most of them have undergone language shift and speak only Romanian, but about 62,000 Changos are bilingual and

* The name in Hungarian is *Csángó*, in Romanian *Ceangăi*, in English apart from *Chango*, also *Tsango* or *Csango*, sometimes *Tchangos* in French is used [editor´s note].

[1] Klára Sándor, *Contempt of Linguistic Human Rights in the Service of the Catholic Church: The Case of the Csángós* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 318–319.

have maintained their Hungarian-origin vernacular.[2] The Moldavian Changos' mode of life hardly changed from the Middle Age up to the recent past, and in the circle of the older generation the medieval world view, scale of values and of morals are still determinant.[3] Today the great part of the Changos are pursuing traditional, natural farming in the fields returned by the Romanian change of regime; the others are working in the industrial zone evolved in the vicinity of the Chango villages. In the last few years large numbers of the young people have started to take on jobs abroad. During communism the industrial jobs established in towns absorbed the men and the majority of the young generation. For the Chango communities with a closed social structure and living in isolation this fact has led to the appearance of a relatively wide communicational rift and it has provided – mostly for men – a greater possibility for meshing with foreign cultures. This can explain the phenomenon that in these villages women preserve more of the traditions. The women represent the most traditional level of culture.

In this region the norms controlling the everyday life express religious values. The problems occurring in the ordinary life are also solved by the actualisation of remedial models deeply rooted in (popular) religious traditions. Devoutness is lived by the Moldavian Changos as interiorised experience. In spite of the fact that with the paradigm of modernization the conditions of secularisation and atheism have also appeared in Moldavia, the traditional religiousness still plays an important role in their lives, it is one of the most important elements of their identity. Their devotional experience is quite emotional; its essential components are ecstasy and adoration. The social defencelessness of the individual, the blind respect towards the leaders of the community, their determinant role of control and the world concept's feature that it is deeply rooted in religious traditions are mentioned as considerable facts by the ethnographic literature dealing with the culture of the Moldavian Chango villages.[4] This ethnic group living under pre-modern circumstances has started to develop only in the last few years. The recent economic and cultural changes, the progressing modernization together with the appearance of a middle class have caused a certain degree of relativity in the system of values and norms, but nevertheless the patterns of the social integration are still organized by traditional cultural principles. The community judges people's acts from a religious-moral point of view, only acts following traditional attitudes have value. The sacral worldview appears in all the semiotic systems valid in the society,[5] it permits the working of a community in such a way that it offers the same system of norms to its members. If somebody breaks the norm, it concerns the whole community because it causes the crisis of the whole system; the individual act turns into a social experience.

According to our presumption the magic events presented below have become more infrequent as a result of the modernization paradigm of the 20th century. How-

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[2] Sándor, *Contempt of Linguistic Human Rights in the Service of the Catholic Church*, 318.

[3] Vilmos Tánczos, *Gyöngyökkel gyökereztél* (Miercurea Ciuc: Pro-Print, 1996), 286.

[4] Ferenc Pozsony, "Látomások a moldvai csángó falvakban," [Visions in the Moldavian Chango Villages] in *Eksztázis, álom, látomás. Vallásetnológiai fogalmak tudományközi megközelítésben* ed. Éva Pócs (Budapest–Pécs: University Press, 1998), 72.

[5] Aaron Jakovlevics Gurevics, *A középkori ember világképe* (Hungarian translation of *Kategorii srednevekovoi kultury*, Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó/Gondolat, 1974), 33.

ever, they still have several functions that have formerly been provided by custom. While in former times in Moldavia the community could kill a culprit by collective self-jurisdiction in the case of a heinous theft,[6] today it appears to be more the personal business of the injured, and the individual form of the symbolic satisfaction has become more valuable.[7] Thus the cases of theft are solved by using very archaic remedial models whose ritual forms have consolidated presumably round the 19th century. Namely this was the Romanian nation-state's period of strengthening, when the state started to employ the Romanian Catholic church for the sake of the Changos' assimilation. In the opinion of Vilmos Tánczos the young Romanian state which started up in 1859 and become independent after the Russian - Turkish war in 1877 wanted to achieve the linguistic assimilation of Moldavia's Catholic population and then, due to the activity of the intellectuals, to evolve Romanian national identity among the Changos. The formation of the Romanian Catholic ecclesiastical intellectuals can be attributed to the seminary, printing-houses and cantor schools of the episcopate established in 1884 in Iaşi.[8] The Moldavian Changos lacked powerful nobility and an intellectual and ecclesiastical elite. This explains why the Roman Catholic Church has worked "differently" in Moldavia, where more deeply religious people lived, than in Romania's other regions. When it undertook the treatment of thefts by ecclesiastical cultural therapy, it started to adopt medieval spiritual ritual forms built on the magic worldview of the Moldavian Changos. In Western Europe the formal materialization of these rituals lost ground in the ecclesiastical practice already in the Middle Age, only the Orthodox religiousness has preserved some local forms. In the background of the rituals we can find several handed down medieval beliefs, which constitute an organic part of the Moldavian Changos' culture and worldview, through their traditional life style.

If we want to understand the past social and cultural context of the magic practices presented below, first we need to have knowledge of the Church's role in Moldavia. The intervention of the Church in the Changos' assimilation and indirectly in the popular practice dates back to the 17th century. Italian, Croatian and Bosniac missionaries were sent to Moldavia by Rome for three and a half centuries, namely between 1622 and 1859. But they did not learn the Hungarian language, so they were not able to establish spiritual contact with the inhabitants and therefore the Moldavian Changos could not call them their own intellectuals.[9] Independent forms of the popular practice have evolved; and important elements of them were the magic practices, which comprehended all domains of life. In Moldavia, owing to the lack of priest lasting for centuries, particular forms of openly cultivated popular liturgy have evolved; since the

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[6] István Imreh and Péter Szeszka Erdős, "A szabófalvi jogszokásokról," [About Legal Custom of Szabófalva] in *Népismereti Dolgozatok 1978*, eds. Károly Kós and József Faragó (Bucureşti: Kriterion, 1978), 195-207.

[7] József Kotics, "Erkölcsi értékrend és társadalmi kontroll néhány moldvai csángó faluban," [Moral Scale of Values and Social Control in Some of the Moldavian Chango Villages] in *Dolgozatok a moldvai csángók népi kultúrájáról*, ed. Ferenc Pozsony (Cluj-Napoca: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság Évkönyve 5, 1997), 42.

[8] Vilmos Tánczos, "A moldvai csángók lélekszámáról," [On Number of Inhabitants in the Moldavian Changos] in *Csángósors. Moldvai csángók a változó időkben*, ed. Ferenc Pozsony (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 1999), 7–32.

[9] Vilmos Tánczos, *Keletnek megnyílt kapuja* [The Gate of the East has Opened] (Cluj-Napoca: Komp-Press, 1996), 190.

people were forced to become religiously self-sufficient.[10] If we want to get to know the role of black magic in this period, on the one hand we need to have an actual functional analysis of the practice of black magic, on the other hand we have to consider the micro-social context of the given period.

In the Moldavian Chango villages theft is a particular form of violation of norms. Here theft is one of the most heinous sins. Its communal judgment is based on the Christian notion of sin and on its popular re-interpretation. In this region the magic practices succeeding theft have become part of the social controlling mechanisms, which have been activated after the theft. In these villages black magic is one of the main informal controlling mechanisms, it is sometimes activated by evading the state authorities. In the background of this social practice we can find the perpetual lack of civil institutions, or their backwardness. This can be explained by the fact that the Church has undertaken the curing of thefts for a fairly long time. The Church's attitude towards magic is unequivocally active and it can be called also positive because it has not ever hunted the elements of the popular practices but it has legitimated them, it has given them a place in a quasi-official ecclesiastical practice.

Due to the fact that black magic has been legitimated in the past (approximately since the end of the 19th century), the faith of the communities in the magic's efficiency has increased, consequently it has contributed to the succession of several offensive rituals. With this is explicable the fact that the Church is still able to be an alternative technique of conflict solving in the everyday life of the Chango communities. It is more evident for them than the jurisdiction of the administrative institutions; it is thought to be more efficient than the latter one. Even today, the Church is legitimating the magic practices produced in the past.

From the data originating from the Moldavian Chango villages we can conclude that in Moldavia presumably from the end of the 19th century a more or less organic magic penal system conducted by priests had been operated. This bespeaks a continuity of the medieval official and popular cult running with Catholic and Orthodox mediation. In the framework of these communities of deeply religious people such conscious inclination of the priests had the result that they gained a position of authority and a controlling role, which is still strengthening today. The priests know well the various aspects of the popular confessional realm because the majority of those serving in the Chango villages were recruited exactly from Chango villages. Due to the fact that their magic praxis is based on a monolithic tradition, they contribute to the sustenance of a system, which has formerly been sustained by beliefs and institutions rooted in deep religious traditions. Their special vantage-ground is also increased by the fact that the elements of this system are functionally interchangeable, thus the popular confessional realm (and indirectly magic) becomes the means of the community's manipulation (exactly of that community which keeps it alive).

"Crying out"

According to Chango beliefs theft is an forgivable sin as long as the sinner confesses his transgression and returns the stolen goods. The method of disclosure was ritualized; it required communal publicity (just like today). This ritual prescription is a

[10] Tánczos, *Gyöngyökkel gyökereztél*, 22.

very old notion; it is present in the cultures of several prehistoric ethnic groups. In Moldavia one of its forms was "crying out," which meant that the sinner publicly admitted his transgression and he apologized for it. The ritual of confession was combined with the return of the stolen goods. The "crying out" could have been induced also by magic (the injured party "prayed unto" the thief on nine Fridays). Sometimes this "praying unto" could have been done by the priest within the scope of the public (weekday) mass. The recited prayers were partly the ones used in Catholic practice. They also recite up to the present so-called archaic prayers in which the "addressed" saint is usually St. Anthony. These archaic prayers are connected to the medieval world, not only on the level of text but also mentally.[11] Praying to St. Anthony is presumably the continuation of a medieval belief. According to it in the older times the patron saint of the peasants (thought to be the saint who damns the fellow-beings) was conceived as a just lord who revenged his or his protégés' injuries, for example, he distempered the thief of the Church's or the peasants' sheep or glued his hand to the fence.[12]

Prophecy is mentioned by the Hungarian literature dealing with theft as one of the important acting alternatives. Its practice becomes justified when the usual patterns of action or interpretation come under inhibition for an individual or community.[13] In the case of larcenous actions prophecy is used only to find out the sinner's identity and – according to literature – it has no malefic intention.[14] It becomes punitive so far as a narrative with negative value judgment about the person in question circulates in the community's public construction.

In the Moldavian Changos' knowledge of belief the "*praying unto*" can be interpreted as an analogous meta-action with prophecy. Its function was finding the stolen goods and making the thief "cry out" his sin. This was not aimed at punishing the sinner; the approach of the social norm system was permissive if the culprit repented (namely he confessed publicly his culpability) and he returned the stolen goods. All these were the consequences of the religious-ritual acts (known by the community members) of the injured party.

József Kotics's paper dealing with the Moldavian Changos' moral scale of values relates the following: Formerly if the thief was caught when he had stolen minor goods, his apology and return was enough. The owner forgave on condition that the thief promised he would not steal anymore.[15] Thus the "praying unto" in this case can be interpreted as a "strategic pitfall,"[16] the community tried to restore order by intentional talk. The injured, according to the communal expectations, gave a chance to the

[11] Ibid., 21.

[12] Éva Pócs, "Boszorkányság a vallás és mágia határán," [Witchcraft on the Border Between Religion and Magic] in *Magyar néphit Közép- és Kelet-Európa határán* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2002), 257.

[13] "Inhibition can be evoked by the lack of other acting alternatives or if there are too many of them or if the outcome is uncertain. The solution of the situation requires mental transfer of an action into another paradigmatic system. Vilmos Keszeg, "A cseberbenézés. Egy mezőségi hiedelem eredete és szemantikája," [The Origin and Semantics of a Belief from Mezőség], *Néprajzi Látóhatár*, no. 1-2 (1992): 70.

[14] Béla Gunda in his paper dealing with riddle dwells on the thief's detection through prophecy. Béla Gunda, *A rostaforgató asszony* [The Woman Who Makes Riddle] (Budapest, 1989).

[15] Kotics, "Erkölcsi értékrend és társadalmi kontroll néhány moldvai csángó faluban," 41.

[16] Vilmos Keszeg, *Mezőségi hiedelmek* [Beliefs in Mezőség] (Târgu-Mureş, 1999), 338.

sinner to choose the admission with a positive outcome. If the "praying unto" was unsuccessful, crisis set in, and the injured took up an alternative magic series of action. The *black mass and black fast* are the forms of magic-religious rituals, which result in – according to their belief – a transcendent punishment of the sinner. Its heaviest form is death. In accordance with this the praying unto is the lightest sanction in the penal system, its primary function was to put psychological pressure on the sinner. If the thief did not accept the "indulgent alternative" on the part of the injured party and the praying unto was not followed by agreement, the injured person referred to offensive magic rituals. The thief could escape from their malefic effect only if he removed the evil eye (for example he ordered a mass absolving from the black mass). But this was efficient only if the sinner had formerly taken on the exposure of his sin by crying out.

Black Mass – Requiem Mass

The specialist of the black mass is the (Catholic) Romanian priest. From the evidence of the narratives we reckon that the experiences of the Moldavian Catholic village inhabitants are characterized by black masses with differences in form and content. By the informants' relations we can distinguish the "magic praxis" of **(1) the Chango villages' Catholic priests,**[17] **(2)** of **the Orthodox priests of the neighbouring towns** and **(3)** of **the specialists from the surrounding monasteries**. The western ecclesiastical antecedents of the black mass are seen by Éva Pócs in the "clamour" rituals (*facere clamorem*) that can formally be called legitimate.[18]

According to data from Cleja this kind of mass was celebrated at night and the priest was dressed in black. He held a lighted candle in the hand, at the end he broke it into pieces. In the village called Ciucani the priest who celebrated the black mass was barefooted even at the end of the nineties. The candle's blowing out is the symbolic expression of the extinction of human life, its meaning is known by the Changos, too. The adoption of the symbol within the scope of a magic ritual, the magical or symbolic visualization of the transcendent judgment made possible for the participants of the ritual to project themselves into it, the meta-reality became ´experienceable.´ The symbolic performance of the magic punishment could strengthen in the participants the fear of breaking the attitudes considered obligatory by the society. The ones who had taken part in the black mass in their own village related that the priest was praying so silently that they could not understand what he was saying. His voice was clearly audible only at the end of the mass, when - after blowing out and breaking the candle - he said the following curse formula: *Father sweep His house with him!*

In the monasteries situated in the outskirts of Fundu Răcăciuni monks have celebrated black masses at midnight, with praying coupled with drumming. The ones who paid for the mass were also present, on one occasion they were praying for several cases. The pretenders of the mass took part actively in the ceremony. According to narratives the participants were dressed in black and they were praying kneeling on the ground. Besides the *black mass* denomination this baleful ritual is also called the *req-*

[17] From the evidence of our data we can conclude that black masses are celebrated not only by Orthodox priests for payment (for example the people from Cleja when in crisis appeal also to Orthodox priests from Bacău), but also by Catholic priests of the Chango villages, though officially the Catholic Church would not admit it.

[18] Pócs, *Boszorkányság a vallás és mágia határán*, 256.

uiem mass. This kind of technique for solving conflicts is present up to now in these settlements. In some of the villages preaching (with the black mass' function) has been practiced by the priests. At the end of the public everyday mass the priest preached in the injured person's name and he prayed that "the thief bare himself." In this case we meet the realization of the communal norm control, which is attained through the priest's institutionalized leading position.

Clerical Curse and the Theft Ritually Classed up

If somebody cheated a priest, the theft became a communal experience. A Romanian priest is a figure with ambivalent cue in the respect of his value of belief. Stealing from the priest is a prominently heinous sin not only because it is morally reprehensible but also because it has a meaning of religious taboo: *If you have stolen something from a priest, acolo e cel mai păcat!* ('it was the greatest sin'). The priest's magic knowledge could be a source of transcendent danger for the community, therefore cheating the goods of the priest (or of the Church) became more significant than the ordinary theft. According to the belief its negative consequences affected the whole village in the form of blows. If the sinner's identity was revealed, that person was marginalized; his or her damages and misfortunes were attributed by the community to the transcendent judgment and interpreted as punishment for the theft. In the presence of the community's publicity the individual's life was turned into a "negative biography," his failures were scored, in some cases any kind of contact with him was broken. Under the influence of the communal opinion his deviancy could become interior, he himself could feel that the transcendent judgment had been proved true, since he had the same magic world view as the other members of the community, in spite of his norm breaking. Several of them related that after they had committed the theft, they were tortured by obsessions ("*He saw evil things, he was choked."*) or they had physical symptoms with trembling (nervous exhaustion): "*He has a shivering-fit."* or "*He is shivering in the bed."*

This kind of judgment comes true by the mediation of the clerical curse. This mediating function of the Romanian priest is due to that knowledge of beliefs which is coupled also with hidden knowledge (*homo divinans*). The Romanian priest mediates between the supernatural forces and the people, he communicates with the ghosts' world, he is primarily God's serf whose spiritual relations provide the efficiency of his activity.[19] He is in possession of the knowledge through which he can use supernatural forces (at his free will) and his power can be attributed to this fact. He also gets power because he is God's serf or the devil's fellow (depending on his magic activity - white or black).[20] In accordance with this the Romanian priest is God's serf, but also the mover of the devildom's dubious forces.[21]

Since Éva Pócs' research we have learned that the ordeal character of the clerical curse is obvious also in the medieval data. In her opinion in the field of Western Chris-

[19] Dóra Czégényi, "Magyar–román interetnikus kapcsolatok vallási vetülete," [The Religious Aspect of the Hungarian – Romanian Interethnic Relations] in *Változó társadalom*, eds. Éva Borbély and Dóra Czégényi (Cluj- Napoca: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, 1999), 36.

[20] Tünde Komáromi, "Rontásformák Aranyosszéken" [The Evil Eye/Bewitchment Forms in Aranyosszék], *Néprajzi Látóhatár*, no. 1-2 (1996): 93.

[21] Czégényi, *Magyar–román interetnikus kapcsolatok vallási vetülete*, 35.

tianity one of its most important forms was the "*facere clamorem.*" It is a ritual curse coming upon the ones who sinned against the possessions of the community (the abbey or the monastery) or of the Church. The author has demonstrated that in a divinatory system blessing and curse were alternatives to each other and thus they were easily interchangeable. The clerical curse is a part of a ritual legitimated by the idea that the malediction of a human being or of human products in fact comes upon the Devil's work, upon the sin planted in humans by the Devil and thus it is a rightful punishment given in God's name.[22]

The notion in traditional cultures that the sinner has an evil effect on the community originates from the secret being regarded as a metaphysical entity. According to the Moldavian Changos' beliefs, for example, concealing the forbidden sexual relationship caused drought - "it fastens the rain." If somebody dies without confession, it means that in the otherworld he loses everlasting life (having positive ontological status). Today the ritual disclosure of a secret takes place increasingly within the scope of the official devoutness (confession) also in the circle of the Moldavian Changos and it provides purification for the individual. At the same time it restores the cosmic order, the community does not suffer anymore from the different blows for the sake of the norm breaker. This is the explanation of the fact that theft was treated as personal case not only by the injured but also by the whole community, because through the social, ethical and moral off-balance not only the social structure has broken down but the cosmic harmony between the divine and the human has also come to a crisis. The concealment of profane happenings breaks the community's scale of values, it can imperil it, while knowing about each other, sharing knowledge with others produces coherence, solidarity and reality.[23] According to Mircea Eliade, in archaic societies the concealment of profane happenings is risky. If the ritual purification and disclosure does not take place, the magic forces produced by the concealed deeds can later indicate danger for the whole community.[24]

Accordingly, sin becomes a terrible deed, it becomes the source of energy of the offensive demonical forces not only for itself, but also because of its liturgical mistake if concealed. In Moldavia this is impeded by a penal system which has mixed the magic (symbolical) elements and elements of usage with the punitive methods practiced by priests. A narrator related that in Galbeni the villagers wanted to beat the person who had damaged the church because due to his hidden deed hail was ravaging the outskirts of the village. As a consequence of the clerical curse his marginalized position was stabilized, the villagers thought it was a divine judgment that his cow had needed emergency slaughter and its flesh could not be used, but was thrown into the bog hole of the village.

The community's fear of the priest's magic curse and the severity of this symbolic control can also be shown by a recent case, which recalls the practice of the medieval form of popular anger. In Galbeni in August 2002 at three a. m. B. J. caught J. I. stealing boards. The boards belonged to the priest of the village. J. I. was lashed on a board by B. J. and his neighbours. Early in the morning quite a large crowd gathered at

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[22] Pócs, *Boszorkányság a vallás és mágia határán*, 254.

[23] Vilmos Keszeg, *Homo narrans* (Cluj-Napoca: Komp-Press, 2002), 167-168.

[24] Mircea Eliade, "Lucruri de taină," [Mysterious Things] in *Drumul spre centru* (București, 1991), 110-113.

B. J.'s gate and they started to spit on and insult the man lashed to the board. According to witnesses, serious injury to J. I. was impeded only by the police. However, according to his daughter's narration, he was injured. After the priest of the village had arrived, the theft's arms were stretched and he was lashed on a board. Then in the eyes of the authorities he was driven along the village while everybody was howling him down. Only then he was taken to the police station where he was punished with a fine. The thief could also be punished by individual cursing. A woman from Cleja pronounced the following curse upon the person who had stolen her hens: "*Father, afflict him, curdle his hands* (*namely curdle his blood*) *lest he should steal anymore!*" The ritual, ordeal-like forms of the clerical curse legitimate the individual cursing and the whole system built on it.[25]

Black Fast

Another form of magic punishment of a sinner is the *black fast* (fasting on somebody). In contrast to cursing, which was an important element of the rustic system of witchcraft throughout Europe, this kind of *black fast* is a very rare phenomenon in the modern age of European culture as it can be hardly found elsewhere than in the Balkan (Romanian) witchcraft.[26] It can be adopted by anybody who follows the series of magic acts prescribed by the ritual but it also has specialists. They mostly come from a particular stratum of Moldavian society namely from the nuns (*maică*). We still lack detailed ethnographic or anthropologic analysis of the nuns' social role and their religious-magic services provided for the Moldavian Changos. What we know is that their institution offered a strategy of life for Moldavian Chango women who remained unmarried. After a religious training lasting for several months - or sometimes for a year – the single women lived their socially protected life mostly in their native village.

Although the scenario of the ritual was far from being monolithic in the different villages of the Chango area, it is certain that the black fasting took place with ecclesiastical or clerical guidance (or contribution). Apart from the nuns, the Romanian monks (*călugăr*) were also fit to hold the black fast, because they were thought to have extremely effective malefic force. According to the narrations of informants from Cleja the monks occupy the highest point in the divination system. They do not accept money for their services, only food. Finding them was not simple and monasteries situated in the wooded, mountainous region appeared in the narratives as mythic places. Magic services of the monks are usually sought after only for the events of great importance. They would hold fasts for luck and health. In fact, these involve the positive influence of the divine providence. Consequently, it is not only the workmanship of the required curse-rituals that is crucial, but also the supernatural power of the monks as saintly human beings, as *living saints*, and the beaming force of the monastery as a holy place.[27]

The black fast belongs to the category of the offensive magic rituals, its important characteristic is its divinatory nature. It takes place within the context of the "rightful revenge," instead of the interpersonal relations of magic the inevitable character of the

[25] Pócs, *Boszorkányság a vallás és mágia határán*, 249.
[26] Ibid., 246.
[27] Ibid., 248.

completion or the ordeal nature is emphasized.[28] We do not have data about the beginnings of the black fast practice. It seems that in Moldavia the elements of the rituals securing luck have been built into this magic practice. The earlier form of this offensive ritual can be reconstructed from a case that in our opinion shows a very archaic form of the ritual. In 1997, in Lespezi the police was investigating the circumstances of a robbery. The A. F.'s family was burgled while they were at a wedding. The damage was considerable in spite of the fact that only textiles were stolen. The investigation of the police took place with the intensive interest of the villagers. The result of the official investigation was surprising: the culprits were the people living next door to A. F. Although they did not admit their guilt, the evidence was enough for A. F.'s family to recover financial and moral damages through judicial process. However, the injured renounced their right to this and instead they began black fasting. The informants related that the woman let her hair down, undressed totally and prayed all day long walking in the house. She repeated this several times while the whole family started a strict fasting. This was so severe that in these days they did not give food even to the livestock. The villagers acknowledged with satisfaction that shortly after the ritual's end A. F.'s neighbour had become paralysed and he got into a wheelchair. When we were in Lespezi we also saw him sitting unfree around in front of his gate.

While formerly black mass and black fast were certainly used as different magic alternatives to bring a solution, today in some cases they are used together, but on the level of text they are represented separately. The crisis behaviour of A. F.'s family followed a traditional pattern. Everybody knew about their preparations, the important aspects of the event were present in the level of narratives in the everyday communication field of the village. Circulation of narratives dealing with an earlier similar event intensified its actuality as well as the fact that it was the neighbours who had injured people from their village. The result of the fasting was frightful in the opinion of the villagers: both of them died.

The Semantic/Archetypical Interpretation of the Ritual

1. Ritual purity is the precondition of all kind of magic acts. Its symbolic representations in the magic acts are nakedness and fasting. The symbolic purification of the body and soul happens through fasting. That is why the fasting of the unmarried women had increased efficiency. Fasting is a technique of body treatment, which makes possible the activation of the magic's interpersonal forces and at the same time it provides defence for the individual against their malefic effect.

2. The **unfastened hair** was the sign of the ritual behaviour, it had an important role in funeral ceremonies. In the literature of symbolic anthropology it is the archetypical representation of the deadly time and malefic femininity.

3. Nakedness is rich with symbolic expressivity. On the one hand, it played a preventive role against the evil eye (for example the possible effect of the black fast was that the evil eye could recoil upon its originator), on the other hand it increased the efficiency of the action through evocation of the mythical prior to the Creation. Its symbolic convergence is analogous with the archetype of the centre, it is related to the act of circling. The aim of the priest who was celebrating the black mass barefoot and of

[28] Ibid., 245-246.

the woman who was praying and walking naked around the hidden parts of the house was the same: emitting the offensive demonic forces upon the hypothetical sinner, while they themselves were enjoying ritual protection against these forces.

4. Magic of words. Prayers are magic by means of their function, although according to our information a part of them were also used in Catholic practice. The prayer, the magic of words is the Christianized form of the ghost's calling with spell-words.[29] Praying is related to other magic acts, if it is interpreted in the context of an act, it is the purposeful adoption of *black magic*.[30] (In Ciucani we had the opportunity to notice that in the cure of gastric disease the person adopting white magic was murmuring Christian prayers while she was prickling a clove of garlic with a needle). The Moldavian Changos pray to St. Anthony of Padua even today not only for recovery from damage or for the discovery of the thief, but also for prevention of danger, disease or temptation by devils, he is a very popular saint throughout Moldavia. In those archaic prayers with curing intention which are recited for curing the illness named *St. Anthony's fire* or in the archaic prayers such as *St. Anthony's prayer* the motif of the heavenly confirmation, the deduction of the saint's miraculous force from the supernal place is an important element.[31] Magic becomes legitimate through its deduction from a holy place, its placing within the religious system.

5. Magic of numbers. Fasting must be repeated for nine days (usually on Fridays). The different dictionaries of symbols deduce its symbolism from the triply holy triple.

6. Time. The time of the commencement of the fast is the evening and it ends the next evening. Its symbolical sign is the unfastened hair and the name of the ritual: "black fast" its archetypical motivation is the "dark shock."

7. Space. The scene of the ritual's course is the hidden part of the house. Being in hiding, seclusion is an almost perfect sign of the personal nature of the magic ritual[32] (just like the secret) and it is closely connected with the use of time, insomuch as the temporal limit of the ritual is the night.

8. The specialists. The spiritual leader of the ritual is the priest, but formerly it could also be a "wise" old woman. In a way the priest is qualified as neuter by means of his magic function, just like the specialist old woman in former times, whose principal feature was her "wise" nature and "saintly life" and not her femininity.

All members of the family were fasting, but women had a stressed role in the course of the ritual. Nancy Caciola's research shows that in the Middle Ages a certain openness was attributed to the female body and therefore it was more vulnerable to spiritual impressions. At the same time it was more susceptible towards visions and apparitions.[33] Consequently, women are more suitable for creating relationships with

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[29] Keszeg, *A cseberbenézés*, 76.

[30] Depending on situation and condition, the manifestation of beliefs concerning basic as well as specific problems of people can have magical or religious forms. Dóra Czégényi," A hiedelem és hiedelemszöveg mint reprezentáció," [Belief as Representation] in *Emberek, szövegek, hiedelmek. Tanulmányok*, eds. Dóra Czégényi and Vilmos Keszeg (Cluj-Napoca: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, 2001), 161.

[31] Tánczos, *Gyöngyökkel gyökereztél*, 35 and 120.

[32] Marcel Mauss, *Szociológia és antropológia* [Sociology and Anthropology] (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 63.

[33] Nancy Caciola, "Lélegzet, szív, bélrendszer: a test és a szellemek a középkorban," [Breath, Heart, Intestines: the Body and the Spirit in the Middle Ages] in *Mikrokozmosz – makrokozmosz. Vallásetnológiai fogalmak tudományközi megközelítésben*, ed. Éva Pócs (Budapest: University Press, 2002), 118, 12.

transcendence. In Marcell Mauss' opinion women are considered to be more suitable for magic than men not because of their physical capability, but rather because of the social emotions connected to their aptitudes.[34] Also, we have to take into account the belief originated in medieval traditions that associated a negative, malefic sense to women.

Due to the fact that today (by the formation of the middle classes) the public order is maintained by the state and not by the communal self-control, the internal self-controlling mechanisms have been transferred to the field of black magic. In Moldavia the adoption of black magic is deeply rooted in cultural patterns. While formerly it has been used for solving a more differentiated scale of conflicts, today it is used almost exclusively for solving of theft cases. The validity of these beliefs is sometimes verified within the community by keeping alive the faith that the thief will die or he will have a serious accident: *"There were ones who hanged themselves because of it. They burnt away. There were many people… oh… he hanged himself because he knew he was sinful, he couldn't get out from that sin."* In the Moldavian Chango villages theft was also connected to beliefs related to the direct (e.g. without personal intervention) destructive effect of magic. In Cleja people think that if somebody feeds his livestock with food stolen from the fields, the animals will die. Therefore if a cow or a horse died without any known reason, the villagers suspected that they were fed with stolen food.

The presented magic practices originated from several medieval beliefs that had been officially legitimated by the Church for the reasons expounded above. Due to the fact that the Church has extended its range of activity into the popular practice, its controlling role has strengthened. Apart from the elements of the medieval Catholic ecclesiastical practice, we can observe a powerful Orthodox influence in the magic rituals, mainly in the case of the northern Chango villages that are situated close to the Orthodox settlements. Accordingly, in Moldavia two forms of witchcraft could be found even in former times: on one hand a Central-Western European suspicion-accusation type, which – in Éva Pócs's opinion – is known from the Hungarian and Transylvanian witch-hunts of the 16th - 18th centuries and a type named Orthodox/East European.[35] The Orthodox influence issues from the inter-ethnic and religiously differentiated surroundings and also from the shortage of priests in Moldavia until the 19th century. In some special cases, the inhabitants of the Chango villages asked Orthodox priest to practice magic therapy. The church ritual forms that had disappeared from Western Europe, have been maintained by Orthodox Christianity (legitimately or illegitimately) until the modern age.[36]

[34] Mauss, *Szociológia és antropológia*, 68.

[35] Pócs, *Boszorkányság a vallás és mágia határán*, 240.

[36] Ibid., 260.

BELLS AND MAGIC

JURAJ GEMBICKÝ

Bells – Symbolism and History /Introduction/

Bells are used in different world cultures as musical and cult-instruments for calling people and supernatural beings together, they serve in performing of religious or profane rituals and ceremonies and in many other similar functions or purposes. The traditions of using bells are very ancient features of human cultures. They have been used for religious purposes already in Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt. In ancient time they had also decorative and apotropaic functions as we can see from amulets, excavations of horse- and cattle-bells, etc.[1]

Bells are traditionally connected with Gods and Deities. Their meaning and symbolism depends on specific cultures that attribute to them a spiritual power. That is why bells are cult symbols, media of sanctification and sacralisation. As magical objects they serve against negative destructive powers. The swinging of the bell – its movement – is a symbol of the movement of the elements: extremes of good – bad, death – immortality. Symbolic meanings are added to parts of bells. For example, the hollow inside the so-called bell-mantle is like the mouth of the preacher and the clapper – the "heart" of the bell is like his tongue. The shape of the bell is like the vault of heaven. In some cultures like Buddhism or Hinduism it symbolises the women's principles – virginity and so on. The sound and voice of the bell could also be interpreted as a symbol of creative power, the clear sound of wisdom, sweet sound of paradise as well as a symbol of thunder and thunderbolts.[2]

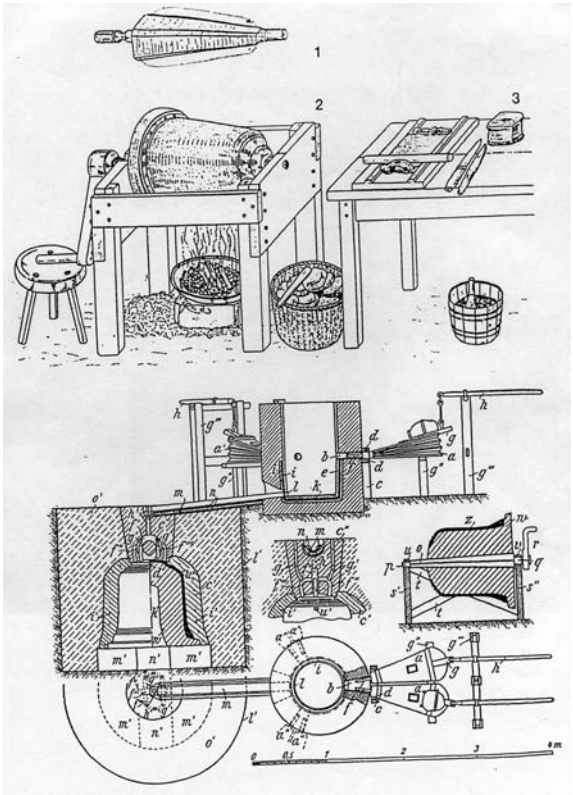
19/ Albrecht Dürer`s "Melancholy" with the symbolic bell

[1] For a detailed and general overview of the history of bells see Karl Walter, *Glockenkunde* (Regensburg and Rom, 1913); Margarette Schilling, *Glocken- Gestalt, Klang und Zier* (Dresden, 1988); H. Samson, *Zur Geschichte und Symbolik der Glocken* (Frankfurt an Main, 1897); Sauveterre, *Essai sur la symbolisme de la cloche* (Paris, 1883).

[2] Rosemary Eleen Guiley, *Encykopedie čarodejnic a čarodejnictví* (Praha: Olympia, 1997); Jean C. Cooper, *Encyklopedie tradičních symbolú* (Illustrated encyclopaedia of traditional symbols, translated into Czech by Allan Plzák, Praha: Mladá Fronta, 1999), 223-24 and other dictionaries or encyclopedias of symbols, for example: Hans Biedermann, *Lexikón symbolov* (translated into Slovak by Peter Dobrovodský and Silvia Varsiková, Bratislava: Obzor, 1992), 355.

The Magic of Handicraft and Magic of Sound /Apotropaic Function, Amulets/

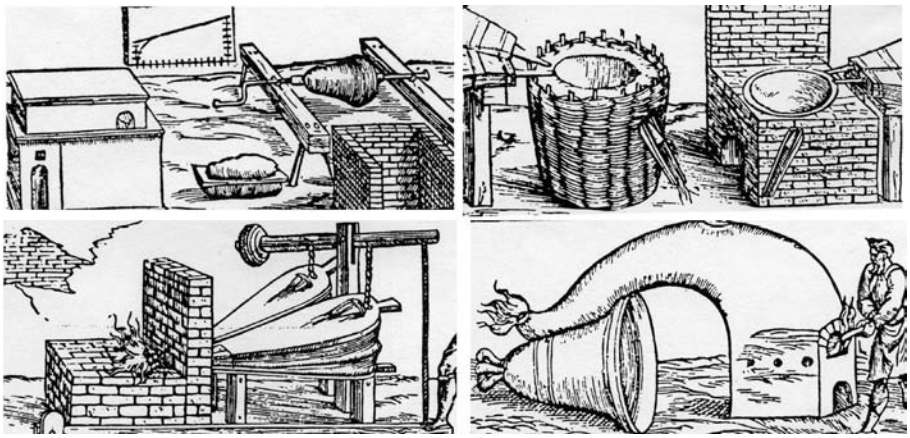
Since the time when man discovered metal, the magic and power of metal and metal-crafts has been part of it.[3] We can see it also in mystification of foundry handicraft as well as in everyday life, if we look at the practice, archive records or history of concrete bell-foundry workshops. A lot of transmissions from ancient times to the Middle Ages were still alive, as Mircea Eliade wrote: *"Founder, smith and alchemist – it is common for them together, that all of them report a special magic-religious experience in connection to the material substance. This experience is their exclusive property and its secret is transmitted through the initiation rituals, connected with each handicraft; all of them influenced substance, which is considered to be alive and sacred as well, and their activities showed tendencies to transformation of material substance, to its transmutation."*[4]



20/ Preparing of bell-form; reconstruction of bellfoundry workshop according to Teofilus Presbyter, 12th century /illustration database of Michal Slivka/

[3] For the topic in common see James George Frazer, *Zlatá ratolest* (Praha: Mladá Fronta, 1994, Czech translation of *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, London: Macmillan, 1911); see also P. V. Gidulajnov, *Cerkovnyje kolokola na službe magii i carizma* (Moskva, 1929); A. Lehr, *Maggie&Klokken. Het occult gebruik von klokken eb bellen, vroege en in-hier en elders* (Asten, 2000); Dag Moskopp, "Glockenklang und Epilepsie bei Dostojewski und Jeanne d'Arc. Glanz und Elend menschlicher Hirnfunktionen in der Nähe des Glockenläutens," *Jahrbuch für Glockenkunde* 5-6 (1993-94): 161-167.

[4] Mircea Eliade, *Kováři a alchymisté* (Czech translation of *Forgerons et alchimistes* by Jindřich Vacek, Praha: Argo, 2000).



21/ Bell-foundry workshop; according to Biringuccio, 16th century /Milan Flodr, Technologie středověkého zvonařství, Brno, 1983/

22/ Bell-foundry workshop; cannons-foundry workshop, 18th century /database of Michal Slivka/

In folk magic practice, brass is considered to be a very powerful medium against witches and bad spirits. It is demonstrated by production of brass amulets.[5] The noise of metal staffs in folk-Christian practice stops storms. In another way, the bell's functions can be replaced by wooden instruments - clappers, rattles – as we can see especially during some liturgical traditions of the Easter period.[6] Brass bells for horses, cows and cattle are used for their protection against the "evil eye." In Slovakia there is the example of the famous small bell-makers in Jelšava.

Jews used small bells on their clothes as amulets against spirits. There were also small silver or tiny-bells from Christian pilgrimages (Rome) and also the first Christian bells were made by rivet-tins technique. This apotropaic function dating back to the ancient time still lives in traditions of many cultures. In a way, it is both the magic of material and the magic of its sound.

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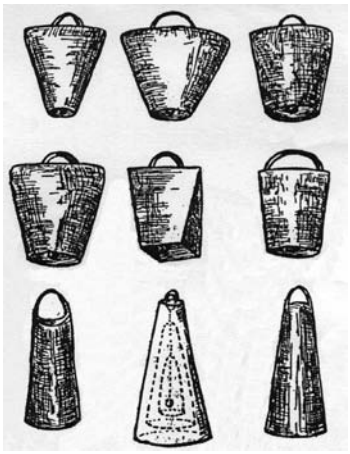
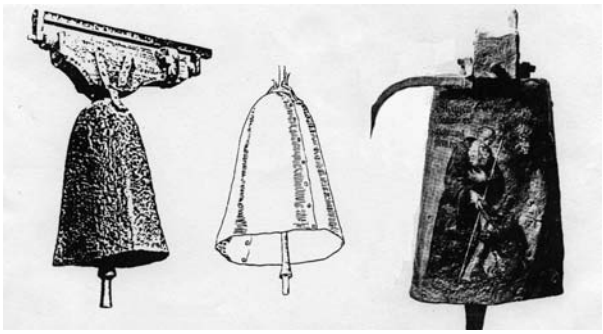
[5] L. Hausmann and C. K. Rettenbee, *Amulet und Talisman* (1966); see also Guiley, *Encyklopedie, 156.*

[6] *Encyklopédia slovenskej ľudovej kultúry II* (Bratislava: SAV, 1996), 356-7.

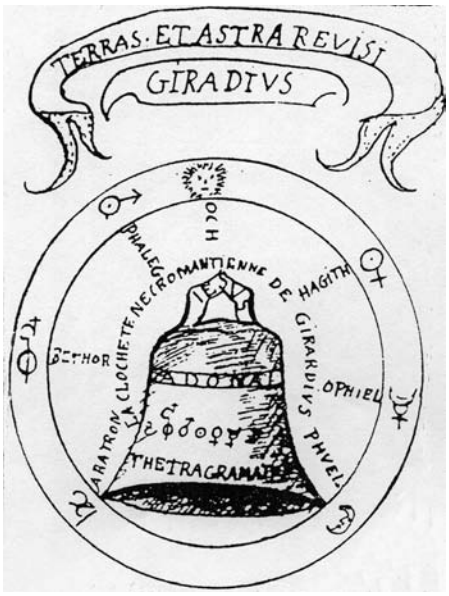




24/ /right/ Oldest medieval bells made by rivet-tins technique: Köln, St.Gallen /Elek Benkő, Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi, Budapest – Kolozsvár, 2002, p. 63/

23/ /left/ Various cattle-bells made in workshop in Jelšava (East Slovakia) /according to Michal Markuš, "Jelšavskí zvonkári," Národpisný sborník 9, SAV Bratislava 1950, p. 42 - 67/

Necromancy and Bells /"Bell of Giradius"/



Necromancy is an ancient art of conjuring up the dead, with the aim to foretell the future. In the Middle Ages it was a part of witchcraft connected with the revitalisation of the dead and evocation of spirits. Use of bells in these ceremonies is described in magical books. Paracelsus mentioned Spanish magicians using bells from "electra magica" for evocation. The so-called "necromantic bell of Giradius" with planetary symbols published in French magic book from the 18/19th century is best known from this category.

25/ Necromantic "Bell of Giradius" /L. Hausmann and C. K. Rettenbee, Amulet und Talisman, 1966/

There is a description of the exact steps of its casting and special metal-content (s. c. *electra magica*). It should be cast exactly on the day and in the hour, when the person using it was born. Astrological signs and magical words should be used (see also inscriptions Adonai, Iesus, Tetragramaton). Prophecy or forecasting from the voice of bells was another practice of some medieval magicians. They claimed to be able to

make prophecies from the vibrations of bell metal – they talked inside bells. Interpretation of bells in dreams also had an important role.[7]

The Excommunication Ceremony / "Bell, Book and Candle..."/

The words "bell, book and candle" from the Catholic ceremony of excommunication were used like a synonym for witchcraft in general. Excommunication as a condemnation to darkness and separation from society, in which the bell, Bible and candles were used, was an impressive liturgy with the similar effect as a swearing. In the main part a priest reads the verses: *"We expel him from the chest of our holy mother Church and condemn him to the condemnation to eternal flame with Satan, his angels and all the heretics, as long as he will not break the connections with demons, does not make penitence and reconciliation with the church."* Then priest will close the Bible, ring the death-bell, switch off the candle and throw it on the ground, which means that soul of excommunicated sinner is separated from God's presence. [8]

26/ Ceremony of excomunication (Chronicum pictum Vindobonensis, 14th century)

Bell-ringing against disasters /Invocation – dispeling storms/

In the Middle Ages, many disasters were usually attributed to witchcraft due to the belief that witches and demons could cause thunder and thunderbolts. Also, it could have been the damned people such as suicides, heretics, drowned, executed etc., whose bad spirits could cause storms too. [9]

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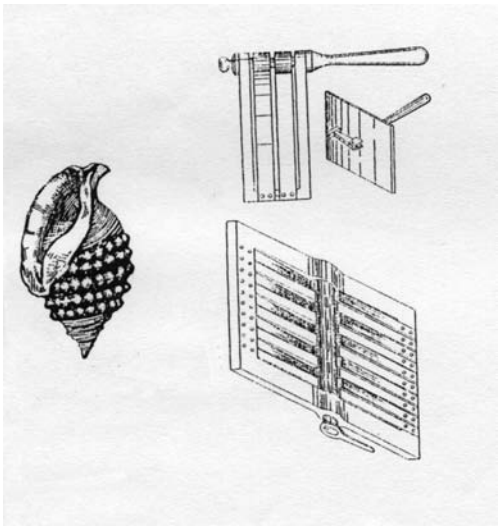
[7] Guiley, *Encyklopedie;* Vladimír Vondráček, *Fantastické a magické z hlediska psychiatrie* (Praha: Columbus, 1968).

[8] Guiley, *Encyklopedie,* 242. See also literature on bells and liturgy: S. Jacques de la Boucherie, *Ordre des cérémonies qui doivent etre observées pour la bénédiction d une cloche en l´église* (Paris 1780); Jules Corblet, *Liturgie des cloches* (Amiens: Yvert, 1854); J. M. Eschenwecker, *Vom Recht der Glocken.* (Magdeburg, 1739); Farnier, *Priéres et cérémonies pour la bénediction des cloches* (Dijon, 1894); F. Segmuller, *Glocken und Glockenweihe* (Paderborn, 1923); A. Ch. Schubart, *Geistliche und geheimnussreiche Glockenbetrachtung* (Jena, 1662).

[9] Juraj Spiritza, "O používaní zvonov proti búrke," *Múzeum* 3 (1969): 173–174; see also Guiley, *Encyklopedie*, 242-243.

Such beliefs as ringing to dispel storms appear also in practice. We have historical records of bell-ringers getting paid for it. It has been documented in several ethnological, regional and campanological studies in Slovakia.[10] The Church recommended Christian practice: prayers, quotations from the Bible, blessing with the cross and special ceremonies or liturgy that were supposed to replace magical formulas. Bell ringing during storms was one of them, prescribed by the official church, to repel the storm-demons. It could be seen in verses of bell-sanctification ceremony. The well-known book *Malleus Maleficarum* contains the following sentence in the chapter *Remedies prescribed against Hailstorms and for Animals that are Bewitched*: "*And for this reason it is a general practice of the Church to ring bells as a protection against storms, both that the devils may flee from them as being consecrated to God and refrain from their wickedness, and also that the people may be roused up to invoke God against tempests with the Sacrament of the Altar and sacred words, following the very ancient custom of the Church in France and Germany.*"[11]



27/ Shell for dispeling storm /Otakar Nahodil and Antonín Robek, České lidové pověry, Praha: Orbis, 1959, p.64 - 65/; wooden clappers (Otte Heinrich, Glockenkunde, Leipzig 1858).

Any pagan activities based on folk magical traditions were forbidden, because there still existed former ancient practices to manage and to protect the harvest through sacrifice, devotions and appeals. For example, ancient pagan Slavonic superstitions and beliefs about dispeling storms and hail with the help of pipes, tubes or shells were also connected with negative powers and were very similar in function to bell-

[10] Juraj Spiritza, *Spišské zvony* (Bratislava, 1972); see also diploma thesis at Trnava University: Zuzana Barčáková, *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Dunajská Streda* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2001); Andrej Cibík, *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Hlohovec, Piešťany a Trnava* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2000); Martin Čižmár, *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Malacky, Senica a Skalica* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2000); Juraj Gembický, *Zvony a zvonolejári v Košiciach* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2000), Martina Godálová, *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Trenčín a Nové Mesto nad Váhom* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2001); Marcel Kinka, *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Banská Štiavnica, Žarnovica, Žiar nad Hronom* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2002); Miroslav Klobučník, *Zvony v okrese Galanta, epigraficko-kampanologická štúdia* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 1998); Maroš Mačuha, *Zvony v Trnave, epigraficko-kampanologická štúdia* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 1998); Vladimír Soták, *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Bratislava, Pezinok, Senec* (Diploma thesis, Trnava University, 2002).

[11] *Malleus Maleficarum / Kladivo na čarodějnice* (Prague: Otakar II, 2000, facsimile according to the Lyon´s edition of 1669, Czech translation by Jitka Lenková), pars II., caput VII, 206.

ringing.[12] The Church found very clever way of reusing these practices and customs and replacing them with Christian ones, which is an example of syncretism.[13] On the other side, in some periods bell ringing against storm was strictly forbidden by state or city-officials.[14] It is interesting, that in some cultures bells are used also in rituals for evoking the rain with bell ringing in times of drought and bad harvest. There is also belief in magical power of bells as a sound barrier against storms and winds. That is why the sound of bells was also used in healing practices or to repel the plague. Research results on the influence of bell-sounds on man and nature speak about spreading super sounds and specific frequencies, which destroy some bacteria (illnesses), could disperse concentrated particles of dust in air (wind-storms), could eliminate electric-charge tension (storms) etc.[15]

Bells in Tales, Legends and in Local Folk-Traditions /Magical Connotations/

The syncretism of Christian and magical elements is reflected in various folk traditions concerning the bell phenomenon as well as in the numerous legends, fairy-tales, local or regional folk stories, narratives and historically documented regional traditions. There are sources like historical archive records, chronicles, collections of folk and national literature, fiction, local informers, tradition living in practice as in the case of different forms of bell-ringing today that are researched by ethnologists or any other regional researchers.

It is expected that at each (!) place – village or city – where bells can be found, some tradition, connections and local stories will still exist that illucidate the perception of the bell-phenomenon in all these aspects. That is how it is perceived, accepted, experienced, how it influences the everyday life of the community and how all this is then reflected in the cultural consciousness or local historical memory. There are campanological studies dealing with this topic in specific contexts that offer typologies or schemes of stories and their interpretations, collections of bell-references in particular folk literature and regional or country folk traditions, with all their specific features.[16]

In the territory of Slovakia, the creation of a database with similar information is only beginning, but there are analogies and similarities with other European countries.[17] We can find bells, bell-ringing, bell-ringers and bell-founders being referred to

[12] Otakar Nahodil and Antonín Robek, *České lidové pověry* (Praha: Orbis, 1959), 64-65.

[13] Michal Slivka, "K náboženskému synkretizmu v strednej Európe," Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo, Book of conference proceedings form conf. held in Banská Bystrica in 2003, eds. Rastislav Kožiak a Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2004), 147–162

[14] Ludmila Kýbalová, *Pražské zvony* (Praha: Nakladatelství československých výtvarných umělců, 1958/1959), 16.

[15] Milan Švihálek, *Jak se rodí zvony. Putování brodecké zvonařky 20. stoletím* (Brno: Jota, 1997), 34-35

[16] Recommended literature: Satis N. Coleman, *Bells. Their history, legends, making and uses* (Chicago & New York, 1928); E. Erdmann, *Die Glockensagen* (Wuppertal – Elberfeld, 1931); E. Gleichmann, *Die Glocken in Volksglauben – Sage und Dichtung* (Kulmach, 1930); Ernest Morris, *Bells of all nations* (London: Hale, 1951); Ernest Morris, *Legends of the bells*; *being a collection of legends; traditions: folk-tales, myths, etc., centred around the bells of all lands* (London: S. Low, Marston & co., ltd, 1935); Morrison, *Bells. Their history and romance* (Santa Barbara, California, 1932); G. Pasig, *Glockensagen* (Kottbus, 1880); J. Pesch, *Die Glocke in Geschichte, Sage, Volksglaube, Volksbrauch und Dichtung*, (Dulmen in Westfalen); P. Sartori, *Das Buch von den deutschen Glocken* (Leipzig, 1932).

[17] There are some records in Miloš Jesenský, *Krajina zázrakov. Lexikon magických miest na Slovensku* (Košice: Agentúra K, 1998); Gyula Ortvay, ed., *Magyar Néprajzi lexikon II.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó,

in tales. Often bells are mentioned only marginally, illustrating the main story line or main heroes. Certain specific thematic motifs or main themes that are repeated can be classified in a typology. Some basic examples are given below:
- Bell ringing in specific, unusual, memorial or festive times
- Bells and treasures (especially connected with the Turkish period or any other war-requisitions)
- Self-removing or wandering bells (special category of bells making pilgrimages to Rome on Good Friday during Easter)
- Lost bells (in vanished localities) and bells found by pigs or by young girls
- Self- ringing bells
- Other unusual, remarkable, significant and memorial bells and their stories
- Bell-founder's stories (creation of the bell and some rituals, steps connected with it - human sacrifices in furnaces etc.)

Inscriptions and Decoration of Bells and their Magical Meanings

The inscriptions on the bells represent their important element. Inscriptions together with the sound embody function of the bell. They speak themselves, carrying the message, expressing cult, magical and protective functions, representing ideas of each particular time period, aesthetic and spiritual feelings as well as the creativity and ability of craftsmen. As texts they became essential parts of the decoration on the bells – using different types of letters in their development, in combination with ornamental, symbolic motifs, with so called dividing signs and plastic lines, which divide the bell mantel and create a place for the inscription. There could be a rather varied range of them – religious formulations, quotations from the Bible, prayers to saints, prayers for help, for mercy, prayers connected with the Virgin Mary, protective formulas, inscriptions with the names of bell-founders, donors, state, village, city or church-officials, historical or memorial texts about wars, fires, important events etc.[18]

It is possible to interpret the meaning of inscriptions on the bells or baptismal

1979), 468; and other regional literature, editions of Slovak tales and legends, fiction etc.

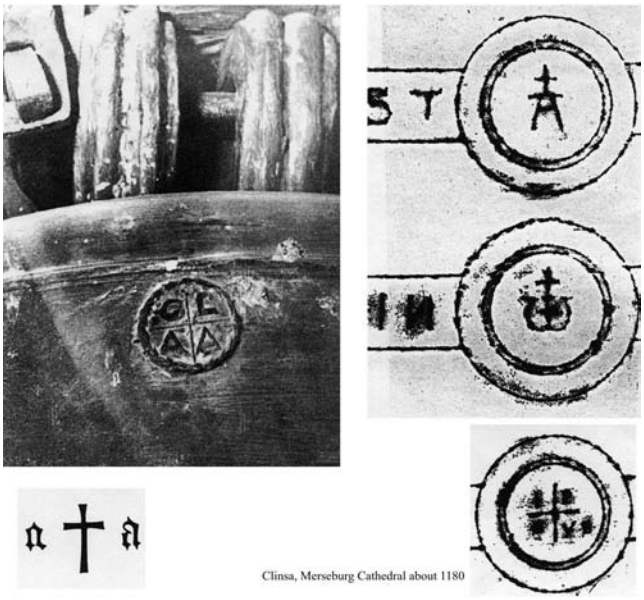
[18] Milan Flodr, "Nápisy na středověkých zvonech," *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brnenské univerzity*, Seria C 20, (1973): 143-57 and his others works; Radek Lunga, "O čem vypovídají nápisy na zvonech v Čechách?" *Kuděj* 2 (1992): 10-21. For databases of bell-inscriptions in Romania see Elek Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* (Budapest: Polis Könyvkiadó - Kolozsvár: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2002); for Hungary see Pál Patay, *Corpus campanarum antiquarum Hungariae. Magyarország régi harangjai és harangöntői 1711 előtt* (Budapest, 1997); for Slovakia see works of Juraj Spiritza, "Zvony ako muzeálny predmet," *Múzeum* no. 2 (1968): 101–104; "Ktoré zvony patria do Súpisu pamiatok ?," *Múzeum* no. 2, (1969): 117–120; "O používaní zvonov proti búrke," *Múzeum* no. 3 (1969): 173 – 174; *Spišské zvony* (Bratislava: Osveta, 1972); "Staré zvony v okr. Liptovský Mikuláš," *Liptov*, no. 4 (1977): 131 passim; "Banskobystrický zvonolejári a delolejári v 18. storočí," *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea – História* 30 (1990): 175 – 197; "Prehľad zvonolejárov pôsobiacich v 14. - 20. storočí na Slovensku," in *Corpus campanarum Slovaciae I.*, eds. Milan Petráš, Fridrich Neitz and I. Kvapil (Trnava: Západoslovenské museum, 1992); "Nielen epitafy sú epigrafmi," *Slovenská archivistika* 21, no. 2 (1996): 61-85; *Kremnický zvonolejár Juraj Palisch a jeho nasledovníci* (Kremnic, 1997); "Glockengiesser in der Slowakei," *Karpaten Jahrbuch* (1998): 67–74; "Vandrujúci lotrinský zvonolejár Nicolas Bezot a Slovensko," *Pamiatky a múzeá*, no. 4 (1999); "O počte a postavení zvonov na Slovensku," *Slovenská archivistika* no. 1 (2001); "Pôvodcovia renesančných zvonov na Slovensku," *Pamiatky a múzeá*, no. 4 (2001): 54; "Slovinskí pôvodcovia slovenských zvonov," *Zborník Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského Historica* XLV (Bratislava, 2002): 169 passim; *Biografický slovník zvonolejárov činných na Slovensku v druhom tisícročí* (Bratislava: Pamiatkový úrad SR, 2002) and Diploma thesis on campanology in note 10.

fonts, together with the functions of bells in the context of interferences between the official Christian liturgy and folk magical beliefs.[19] There is one well-known inscription – the so called "*Seven virtues of the bell*", which expresses all of basic functions of the bell: "LAUDO DEUM VERUM, PLEBEM VOCO, CONGREGO CLERUM, DEFUNCTOS PLORO, PESTEM FUGO, FESTA DECORO, EST MEA CUNCTORUM TERROR VOX DAEMONIUM." In translation from Latin: "I praise the true God, call people together, make clergy assembled, cry for dead people, repel the plague, declare the festivals, and my voice frightens all evil demons."

It is the last one that is especially close to our topic, but there are also some special types of bell-inscriptions with magical functions:

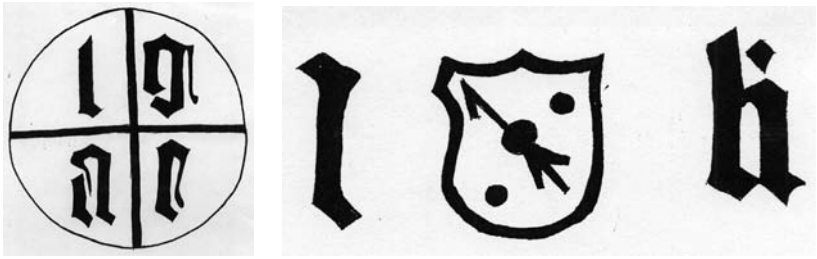
´Cabalistic Abbreviations´ on the Bells of Wandering Bell-founders (AGLA Type)

Since 13th century Western European bell-founders have used the cabalistic abbreviation "AGLA" in bells-inscriptions. It consists of the first letters of Hebrew words "Atha Gibbor Leolam Adonay" and it means – "In the eternity is your power, Lord!" They believed, that a bell with such an inscription has a power to protect every place against fire in the radius of its sound.



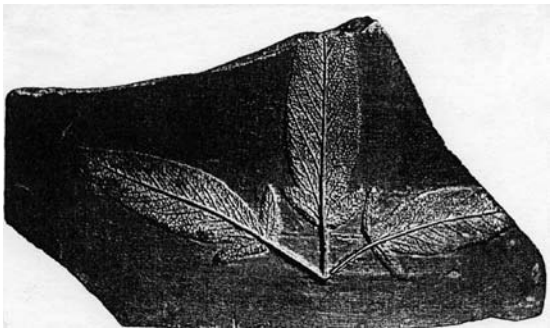
28/ Bell in Strážky (1647) with abbreviation of "AGLA" /Spiritza 1999/; α-Ω in bell-inscriptions /Schilling 1988; Benkő 2002, p. 320/

[19] Krzysztof Bracha, "Pismo, slowa i symbole. Pomiedzy średniowieczna pobożnościa a magia," *Inskrypcje toruńskie*, ed. I. Sawicka (*Toruń, 1999*), 7 passim; see also Slivka, *K náboženskému synkretizmu v strednej Európe,* 146-156.



29/ Abbreviation of AGLA and master-sign on bells of Hans Koch, 16th century /Spiritza/

In Slovakia there are some works and connections by wandering Lotharingian bell- and cannon-founders from the 17th century – J. H. Brors, David Gehra and especially Nicolas Bezot, who was connected in his family-tree with important bell-founders' families of eastern France. His bell from 1647 in Strážky (in Spiš region, eastern Slovakia) includes as a part of the decoration letters AGLA inscribed in quarters of a circle. There is another case of using AGLA in the same way, on a bell from 1519 in village of Rybany and it is a Gothic bell of bell-founder Hans Koch, who was supposed to be in contact with wandering masters. In some cases, the leaf of the magic sage plant (*salvia divinorum*) is used with a very similar function in the relief-prints on the bell's mantel decoration as a symbol of magical protection against fire as well as protection of the master and his workshop.[20]



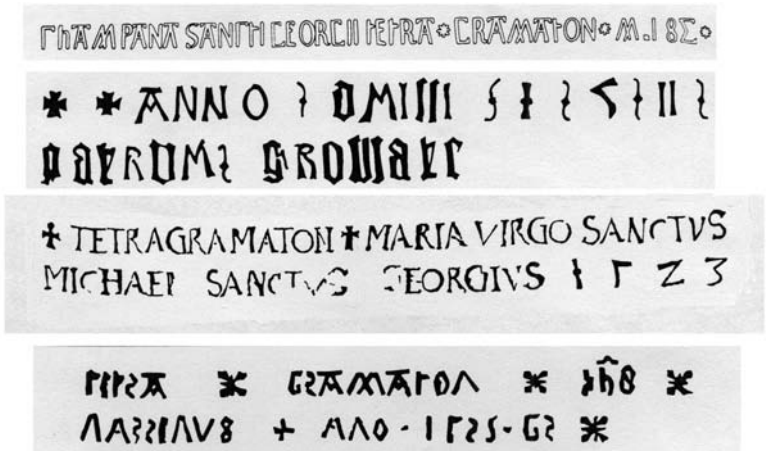
30/ Leaf of magical sage on a bell /Schilling

Greek and Hebrew Inscriptions (TETRAGRAMATON, α-Ω type etc.)

They were used on bells from the Middle Ages in transcription with Latin letters and usually they represented expressions of God's name. In this way they have the character of mystic symbols of God – Christ as a protector against demons and their activities, as well as magic formulas in bell-inscriptions to repel that kind of danger.

[20] For all this information see: Juraj Spiritza, "Vandrujúci lotrinský zvonolejár Nicolas Bezot a Slovensko," *Pamiatky a múzeá* no. 4 (1999), 26-28; Juraj Spiritza, *Biografický slovník zvonolejárov činných na Slovensku v druhom tisícročí* (Bratislava: Pamiatkový úrad SR, 2002), s. v. "Bezot."

The using of the Greek letters α-Ω as a symbol of the infinite power of Christ is one of the typical example of this category as well as the words like ADONAY, ELOY, ANANISAPTA, TETRAGRAMATON. Another variant is the whole Greek or Hebrew text – prayer, with Latin translation in inscription (AYOS YSCIROS, AYOS OTEOS, AYOS ATHONATUS.... etc.).[21]

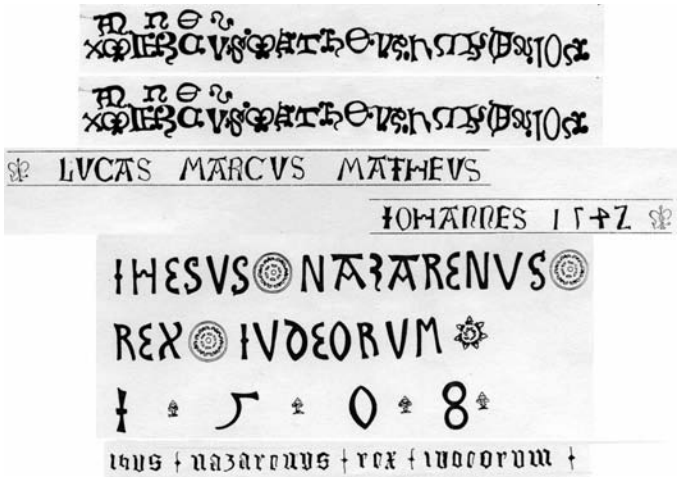


31/ Greek inscription (type TETRAGRAMATON) on medieval bells, Romania /Benkő 2002/

Inscriptions with the Names of Evangelists, Wise Men and Other Saints

Most of the bells-inscriptions express function of protection, some of them in symbolic way, others specifically in texts. There was a belief in the magic power of the names of the four evangelists (MARCUS-MATHEUS-LUCAS-IOHANNES). They were protectors against all negative dark powers, and pronouncing or writing these names was like a magic formula, swearing and dispeling storms and so on. It had the same function as the bell itself, so it was some kind of multiplication. There are many types and combinations in using these four names in inscriptions. The same role was played by the names of three kings from Bible (CASPAR-MELICHAR-BALTHASAR) and later by the names of other saints and naturally, God's name or name-title INRI, IHS, XPS. They might be accompanied with prayers – most often there is "O REX GLORIE VENI CUM PACE" (O, King of Glory, come with peace) or variants with "AVE MARIA – Hilf Gott," but also many others on medieval bells.[22] One very interesting example of interference between official Christian belief and folk magical beliefs connected with paganism is an inscription on a bell with Christian iconography from 1514 in Rowne (Poland) with the text *sankte.iakop.afe.maRi.isis.iopiteR.1514.tilf* dedicated to Christian saints together with Egyptian Gods.[23]

[21] Milan Flodr, *Nápisy na středověkých zvonech*.
[22] Ibid.
[23] T. Szydlowski, *Dzwony starodawne z przed r.1600 na obsarze Galiciji* (Krakov, 1922).



32/ *Inscriptions with the names of four evangelists, with INRI-title /Patay 1990; Benkő 2002/*

Alphabetical Inscriptions (ABC Type)[24]

This is a specific type that uses letters of the alphabet as a main part of the text (from A to Z or just some parts of alphabetical order, repeated) found on bells mainly from the 14th century and later. Interpretations of this type could be based on symbolic analogies with the Christian ceremony of consecration of a new church, when the bishop writes Greek and Latin alphabet letters on the floor as a symbol of placing the church under the protection of Christ, whose power is symbolized by letters like α-Ω. The same function and meaning is reflected in a tendency to use this kind of inscription on bells (and baptismal fonts) to increase their protective power, for example such bell is in Spišská Belá (Spiš region, East Slovakia).[25] The interpretation is problematic precisely in the cases of illogical groups of alphabet letters placed together as a part of inscriptions, which could also belong to the next category of cryptograms or brachygraphs.

"Mysterious" Inscriptions (Cryptograms, Brachygraphs, Specific Letters etc.)

There is still a tendency especially with inscriptions that are very difficult to read and interpret, to make a logical interpretation of their sense and words. If they are not legible, some mysterious or secret meaning is given to them, and their epigraphic or historical context is not considered. A system of abbreviations (brachygraphs) in the Middle Ages was rather rare in inscriptions or it could be found only in some typical phrases, word or formulas. On the other hand, use of systems of cryptograms was typical in the field of magical or mystical practices. In any case, we could identify a lot of such cases interpreted as cryptograms or brachygraphs, especially alphabetical ones. Such an example is to be found in a document about the bell from 1752 from the bell-

[24] Milan Flodr, *Nápisy na středověkých zvonech*.

[25] Juraj Spiritza and D. Učníková, "Spišské gotické krstiteľnice z tvorivého okruhu Konráda Gaala," *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea* LXVI *História* 12 (1972): 35 passim.

founder Winand Müller in the chapel of the Virgin Mary underneath the Mount Calvary near Červený Kameň Castle (West Slovakia). Eremit Peter, originally French noble Peter Aubortin de Richmond from Hoconcourt had an inscription with a cryptographic collection of 97 letters and numbers put on this bell.[26]

Mirror-written inscriptions (and variants)

It often happened, that during the process of bell-casting some deformations appeared in the form or in some part of the decoration as well as in inscriptions. They could be deformations of letters-shape, incorrect words and also so-called mirror-written inscriptions and their variants, when sentences could be read from the back or with the help of a mirror, or they are written upside down or inverted and so on. Some interpretations of this type connect them with symbolic or magical meanings.[27]

Iconography and Decoration on Bells with Protective Function (Special Signs)

The same function as for the texts and inscriptions could also be given to decorations, ornaments and all the iconography on the bells or baptismal fonts. There are some elements that have protective function against evil spirits or are used in the name of God and the saints. Pilgrimage-badges used on the bells, as well as use of reliefs of sacred, merciful images, icons or some special, sometimes magical symbols could form a special category.[28]

33/ Pilgrimage-badges used on medieval bells, Romania (Benkő 2002, 489-495).

[26] Spiritza, "Prehľad zvonolejárov pôsobiacich v 14. - 20. storočí.na Slovensku," 57.

[27] Milan Flodr, *Technologie středověkého zvonařství* (Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, Spisy Filosoficke fakulty, 1983).

[28] See works in note 18 and Bernhard Bonkhoff, "Glockenrufe und Motivstatistik. Glocken in Volkslied und Volkskunde," *Jahrbuch für Glockenkunde* 7-8 (1997): 225-228; H. Jursch, "Die Glocke in der bildende Kunst," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich Schiller Universität Jen*a, Jahrgang 6, Heft 5 (Jena, 1956/57); Ebengreuth A. v. Luschin, "Munzen als Glockenzierat," *Mitteilungen der k.k. Zentralkomission* 6 (1880): LXXI fl; Jörg Poettgen, "Europäische Pilgerzeichenforschung. Die Zentrale Pilgerzeichen-kartei (PZK) Kurt Kösters († 1986) in Nürnberg und der Forschungsstand nach 1986," *Jahrbuch für Glockenkunde* 7-8 (1997): 195-207; Poeettgen, "Kryptogramme und Pilgerzeichen auf spätmittelalterlichen Glocken im östlichen Thüringen. Studien zur Werkstatt des Meisters Herlin in Jena," *Jahrbuch für Glockenkunde* 9-10 (1997-98): 81-99; Poettgen, "Zur Theologie früher Glockeninschriften am Beispiel mittelalterlicher deutscher Glocken," *Jahrbuch für Glockenkunde* 11-12 (1999-2000): 69-81.

Bells Research and Protection in Slovakia (Conclusion)

In the past there was a real belief in the strong magic power function of the bell and it pervaded the everyday life. On the other hand, today there is a need to protect bells against their destruction or recasting. In short, bells protect people and people protect bells.

The research of bells and bell-foundry history in the territory of today's Slovakia is connected with the activities of national monuments documentation, the works of Juraj Spiritza, P. Pátay and others, and since 1998 many diploma-thesis of young historians, graduates of the Trnava University focused on cataloguing the bells in various regions of Slovakia, including archive research and reviews of the main bell-collections in museums. The research has come out with interesting facts, newly discovered Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque bells, previously unknown names of bell-founders or unpublished information on regional bell-foundry history that supplement previous works and has put the results in a broader international context. As the researches say, protection and preservation of the bells as epigraphic, musical and cultural monuments is an important and necessary task for the future.[29]

[29] See Petr Vácha, "Ochrana a údržba zvonařských památek," *Zprávy památkové péče* 10 (1992); Jaroslav Dobrodinský, "Památková ochrana zvonú," *Zprávy památkové péče* (1955): 99 passim; works of Juraj Spiritza and diploma thesis in note 10.

TURKISH MAGIC AND HABSBURG PROPAGANDA

ELISABETH KLECKER

The following study deals with magic as a topic of literature, of heroic poetry in particular; it will be a philological approach, which implies looking for artistic models as well as enquiring why scenes of magic were included at all.[1] Magic commonly involving the underworld is quite deeply rooted in the ancient epic tradition, but for a Christian hero attempts to gain more than human power or knowledge by other means than prayer would hardly seem appropriate. Due to its demonisation magic could, however, be used to denigrate the enemy who by this charge was not only accused of associating with the devil, but also convicted of lack of courage and self-confidence. Examples taken mainly from literature in praise of the Habsburg emperors illustrate how classical models, Christian values and crusading propaganda set the frame for the shaping and development of magical scenes in neo-Latin epics and drama.[2]

Caprique perempti	he sacrifices a goat, cuts off the scull
Avellit caput atque infanda sistit in ara	and puts it onto a wicked altar, then he slaughters
Tres exin pueris raptos ex[3] ubere matris	three boys, torn away from their mother's breasts;
A Getico aversae ritu Latiumque professae	the mother an apostate of the Getic rites had
Mactat et innocuo conspergit sanguine capri	converted to the Roman church; with their innocent
Cornua sacrilegasque aras. Tum lumina circum	blood he sprinkles the horns of the goat and
Altare accendit flammisque alimenta ministrat	the sacrilegious altar. Then he lights lamps around,
A pueris sublatus adeps, dein orbibus orbes	the altar the fat of the boys fuelling the flames.
Exortos virga ducens inscribit arena.	Circles after circles he draws on the sand
Ipse stat in medio rectus, mox pronus adorat	with his wand. He himself stands in the centre,
(horresco meminisse) caput	upright at first, then bowing he worships
	– what a horror – the skull.

The Latin verses contain the stock elements of a magic ritual: the sacrifice of innocent children whose fat is used for lamps, magical circles drawn by a magic wand,

[1] Though there are some substantial studies on the image of the Turks in early modern times, the aspect of Turkish magic seems to have passed unnoticed so far. Carl Göllner, *Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert.* Turcica 3. Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana 70 (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei & Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1978); Karl Vocelka, "Das Türkenbild des christlichen Abendlandes in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Österreich und die Osmanen – Prinz Eugen und seine Zeit*, eds. Erich Zöllner and Karl Gutkas, red. Hermann Möcker, Schriften des Instituts für Österreichkunde 51/52 (Wien: Bundesverlag, 1988), 20–31. For the mainly negative image of sorcerers in medieval vernacular epic poetry see Helmut Brall, "Die Macht der Magie: Zauberer in der hochmittelalterlichen Epik," in *Artes im Mittelalter*, ed. Ursula Schäfer (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1999), 215-229.

[2] In the past decade considerable research work at the Institute of Classical Philology, Medieval and Neo-Latin Studies of the University of Vienna has been devoted to Latin poetry in praise of the House of Habsburg: Elisabeth Klecker and Franz Römer, ""Poetische Habsburg–Panegyrik in lateinischer Sprache". Bestände der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek als Grundlage eines Forschungsprojekts," *biblos* 43 (1994): 183-198.

[3] With the preposition *ex* we should expect *utere* – womb instead of *ubere* – breast; perhaps a subtle allusion to an even more appalling cruelty.

the adoration of a goat symbolizing the devil in a kind of black mass. Finally it will turn out that the ritual serves to produce a storm, nothing unusual to a 17th century audience, familiar with contemporary literature on witchcraft. Were it not for the explicit mention that the boys are children of a mother converted to Roman Catholicism, we would not guess that we witness a Turkish magician at work. The scene is from the *Eugenius* (10, 10 p. 324) by the Neapolitan poet Francesco Maria Cesare, the most important Latin poem praising the military exploits of the Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663 – 1736).[4] In 12 books of classical hexameters Cesare describes the victory of Peterwardein in 1716, the capture of Temesvar and finally the capture of Belgrade in 1717. The epic was printed at Naples in 1724; the sumptuous dedication copy (with pictures by the Neapolitan painter Francesco Parisi on a metal cover) is kept in the Austrian National library.[5]

The scene is preceded by a description of the strategic position of Taurunum/ Belgrade and an account of the panic-stricken atmosphere at the approach of Eugene's army. The commander of the Ottoman garrison applies to the magician, who by the incantations quoted above conjures up Typhon, and brings about a storm on Danube and Sava (reminiscent of the tempest at the beginning of Virgil's Aeneid).[6] The effects seem damaging at first, but they are only temporary: Eugene immediately identifies the satanic origin of the storm and addresses a prayer to the Virgin. Mary despatches her favourite servant, the archangel Michael to Belgrade, where the weather changes immediately. The successful campaign as a whole is due to Mary's help: the concluding lines of the book report the angels' chant of victory commemorating the assumption of the Virgin (i.e. 15th August). The reader is prepared for this interpretation of Eugene's victories by the very title of the poem: *Eugenius seu Mariae virginis per Eugenium trophaea*. It is in line with the Habsburgs' traditional devotion to the Virgin: Emperor Ferdinand II (1578 – 1637) had hailed Mary his *generalissima*.[7] Eugene is but an instrument of Heaven, and Heaven is fighting for the Habsburgs who take part in the cosmic war of god against evil.[8] Thus, by highlighting the kinship between the Ottomans and the devil, the incantation scene is a poetical device to reveal these cosmic dimensions of the following battle.

As for the anonymous sorcerer, his satanic character is revealed even before we assist in his infernal ceremony. It is out of inborn envy and jealousy, the poet tells us,

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[4] *Eugenius seu Mariae virginis per Eugenium trophaea nuper de innumeris Turcarum relata copiis foeda clade profligatis atque ex Dacia Moesiaque ejectis* (Neapoli: ex officina Dominici Roselli, 1724); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 108.044-B. For a survey of poetry dedicated to Eugene of Savoy see: Helene Dvorak, "Prinz Eugen in der Dichtung seiner Zeit," (Diss., Wien, 1935); Helmut Oehler, *Prinz Eugen im Urteil Europas. Ein Mythus und sein Niederschlag in Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung* (München: Bruckmann, 1944).

[5] Reproduced in: Otto Mazal, *Ein Weltgebäude der Gedanken. Die österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (Graz: ADEVA, 1987), plate VIII.

[6] Compare Cesare *continuo qua iussa via est, ruit impetus ille / Tartareus* – Aen. 1,83 *qua data porta, ruunt*; Cesare *volvitque imis e sedibus amnes* – Aen. 1,84/85 *totumque a sedibus imis / una Eurusque Notusque ruunt … et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*.

[7] Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1982).

[8] Cesare's epic on the Empress Maria Theresa is based on the same idea: *Theresia sive ostenta Dei O.M. edita pro augusta Maria Theresia Romanorum imperatrice, regina Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae &c.&c. libri XIV* (Viennae Austriae: ex typographeo Agheliano, 1752).

that he is always ready to do harm to the Christians (*invidia innata promtus licet ille Latinae / gentis in exitium*). Thus he has adopted a feature of Satan's very nature – envy of mankind – according to a well-known biblical verse: *invidia diaboli mors introivit in terram; imitantur autem illum qui sunt ex parte illius* (But by the envy of the devil, death entered the world, and they who are in his possession experience it; Sap. 2,24).

With his lengthy work *Eugenius* Cesare had set the standard for future epics on Eugene's victories: The *Eugenius* by the Milanese poet Claudio Nicolo Stampa, printed in 1728,[9] about four years after Cesare's Eugenius, could not do without a Turkish wizard. The poem opens after Temesvar and focuses on the siege and assault of Belgrade. Again we witness a panic-stricken Turkish commander who is seeking magical support. In utmost despair he turns to the most famous sorcerer of Hungary, a certain Tergetes, who is being introduced as a rather unpleasant figure (2, p. 8):

… cominus ipsi	him approaches
Ecce gravis senio Ungaricis notissimus oris	Look here, burdened with old age, Tergetes, most
Fit magico ante omnes Tergetes carmine pollens	famous all over Hungary, powerful for his magic
Orridus obtutu, in pectus cui sordida anhelum	spells. A horrific sight, a dark beard falls down on his
Barba cadit, pallore genas atque ora videres	frenzied breast, paleness you see on his cheeks and face,
Obsita, quin oculi stygio squalore corruscant	only his eyes are flickering out of the infernal darkness
Infernaeque sedent contracta in fronte sorores	(of his appearance); on his forehead – he frowns – the infernal sisters (the Furies) have taken seat.

Mustafa Pasha is to care for the fortifications, whereas Tergetes will turn to more powerful weapons (p. 9 *diversa … arma*); he unfolds his plan to excite a damaging storm by summoning the spirits of the underworld. In the following verses a detailed account is given of the infernal rites, which have to be undertaken to this purpose (2, p. 9/10):

It pedibus nudis senior nudataque iactat	*the old man walks barefoot and waves his uncovered*
Brachia et inferna saturam ferrugine pallam	*arms; he wears a cape dyed in infernal dark purple and*
Discinctasque trahit tunicas vittasque capillis	*ungirded garments he drags behind, his hair he bound*
junxerat infectas fumanti sanguine vittas.	*with bands infected with foaming blood. In his right he*
Dextera fert ignes fractoque erepta sepulcro	*carries torches and the funereal cypress out of a broken*
Horrisonis stridet flammis funesta cupressus.	*tomb is crackling with the horrific sound of flames.*
Laeva gerit virgam varios quam vertit in orbes	*His left with his wand draws various circles, three times*
Terque solum nudo pulsat pede, terque furentes	*he stamps on the soil with his bare foot, three times he*
Avertens oculos tacito demurmurat ore	*averts his frenzied eyes and mutters spells not to be*
Carmen et anguicomas e sedibus advocat imis	*heard; the serpent-haired Eumenids he summons from*
Eumenides caecumque Chaos Noctemque profundam.	*their infernal dwellings, dim Chaos and blackest Night.*
Tunc mugire solum, tremere omnia visa repente	*Suddenly the soil roared, everything seemed to tremble,*
Adventum testata Erebi. Cui talia mandat	*thus testifying to the arrival of Erebus. To him the old*
Impavidus senior: Quid deses, Tartare, nostris	*man fiercely spoke: Why idle Tartaros, do you detract*
Imperiis remoraris adhuc? Mage percita forsan	*my commands? Do you need more compelling words?*
Verba cupis? Propera, furiales collige nimbos!	*Hurry up, gather clouds of rain and furious storm!*

Again we may observe familiar elements, though in Stampa's case, they are rather taken from classical sources. For Tergetes' outward appearance the poet seems to be indebted to Horace's famous witch Canidia (serm. 1,8,23 *nigra succinctam* …

[9] *Triumphus Eugenii ad Albam Graecam epico carmine expressus* / Claudii Nicolai Stampae Eugenius. Pars prima (Mediolani, 1728).

palla / Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo, … pallor utrasque / fecerat horrendas aspectu). Whispering appeals to infernal powers recall Circe muttering spells when she turns Scylla into a sea-monster in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (met. 14,58 *carmen magico demurmurat ore*). Stampa reports the ritual movements attending the words and he mentions the noise of the torches, which was important in judging the efficacy of the ritual – details rarely overlooked by writers of magical scenes. With dramatic suddenness, strange phenomena herald the arrival of the lord of the darkness (*Tunc mugire solum … adventum testata Erebi*) as in the Aeneid the unseen presence of Hecate is witnessed by Aeneas and the Sibyl: Aeneid 6,256 *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri / silvarum*; 258 *adventante dea* (the ground rumbled underfoot, the wooded ridges began to quiver … as the goddess drew nigh).[10] Last but not least, the scene is set at a convenient place, a gloomy grove never lit by the rays of the sun (2, p. 9 *Sylva fuit* …). An analogous setting is chosen for necromancy in Statius' Thebaid (4,419ff. *Sylva* …); Stampa is quoting almost verbally:

2, p. 9

Nam Stygiis tellus sacris sat commoda et umbris Tartareis, multo oblectant loca pinguia tabo	for well suited is the ground to Stygian rites and Tartarian shades, the soil, rich with gore, delighted him (sc. the magician)

Thebaid 4,443

Stygiis adcommoda quippe terra sacris vivoque placent sola pinguia tabo.	for well suited is the ground to Stygian rites And the soil, rich with living gore, delighted him (Tiresias)[11]

The magician turns up again at the end of book 5 where he tries to comfort the commandant of Belgrade with a prophecy of victory (which of course does not come true), and a third and last time in book 10: He summons a serpent-chariot to fly to Byzantium where the sultan is to be convinced to send immediate military support. This detail may help us identify Stampa's mythological model: In classical literature serpent- or dragon-drawn carriages are used by chthonic deities such as Demeter, but most famous is Medea's serpent-chariot, which she mounts to fetch magic herbs (Ovid, met. 7,218) and in which she escapes after having murdered Pelias by pretending to rejuvenate him (met. 7,350) or after killing her and Jason's children (Seneca, Med. 1023). Stampa evidently thought of Medea, for Tergetes' very first entry alludes to a passage in Seneca's *Medea* painting the conventional picture of a witch in action (740ff.): Tergetes invokes *Chaos caecum* as does Medea (742 *et Chaos caecum*); he is walking barefoot, as Medea's feet and hair are unconfined, because magical rites had to be free from all constrictions and knots (753 *Secreta nudo nemora lustravi pede*).

Apart from these Senecan quotations the Colchian princess makes an appearance at the beginning of book 7: Stampa embarks on an excursus, the description of an island on the Danube – the place where Medea sheltered after having been betrayed by Jason and after having taken cruel revenge on his bride Creusa. She founded a temple,

[10] Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid I-VI* with an English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G.P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 551.

[11] Statius with an English translation by J.H. Mozley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press – London: William Heinemann, 1967), 539.

which is since guarded by the dragons of her chariot and surrounded by a delightful garden flowering in eterring. Stampa evidently took advantage of mythical geography: From Colchis (on the eastern shore of the Black Sea) the Argo was said to have come up the river Hister, as the Danube's lower course was called in antiquity. Even before she had to flee from Corinth, Medea came to Hungary and infected the soil with magic philtres and poisons: (Turkish) magic in this region may be traced back to classical mythology, thus revealing its purely literary and so fictional character. Nevertheless, the reference to Medea and the Argonauts might contain a subtle allusion to a specifically Habsburg topic: the Order of the Golden Fleece, which the Habsburgs inherited from the dukes of Burgundy, had been founded to promote crusading ideology.

Despite this prominence of Medea we should not underrate the influence of another classical model: The fullest account of necromancy in Latin poetry is given in Lucan's epic on the Roman civil war, it introduces Erictho, the most famous witch of antiquity.[12] Tergetes starting off his incantation by invoking the Eumenides clearly echoes Erictho (6,695 *Eumenides Stygiumque nefas poenaeque nocentum*). And a further detail is reminiscent of Erictho: Stampa's Tergetes is threatening Erebos with more compelling spells just as Erictho warned the underworld that she would pronounce the hidden name of a secret infernal power. This display of immense self-confidence was eagerly adopted by later writers (e.g. by Statius, in Teiresias' necromancy, Thebaid 4,514ff.).[13] We may even note that Tergetes' impatience is out of place, as there are quite impressive acoustical signs pointing to the success of his incantation (compare the lines from *adventum testata* to *remoraris*). Lucan's influence is not absent from Cesare's epic either: In both the poems the magical scene is preceded by an excursus on the future battlefield Pharsalos and Taurunum / Belgrade respectively. Cesare's magician, too, has to resort to menaces because the devil is appearing in changing forms,[14] and has to be compelled to assume the shape of Typhon (the father of storms since Hesiod, Theogony 869ff).

The ideological background of both Cesare's and Stampa's works is essentially the same: the *pietas Austriaca*. Thus the Christian reaction to the magical threat in Stampa's epic does not differ from Cesare: Again, Eugene is aware of the satanic origin of the storm, his prayer is heard by Fides, the personification of Christian faith; she complains to God almighty, who sends his angels to calm the storm. Compared to Cesare's black mass, however, the classical atmosphere sheds a more gentle light on Stampa's magician. Though not devoid of the mentioned propagandistic background, Stampa's epic may be considered a somewhat scholarly exercise in imitating the classics.

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Though scenes of magic abound in classical Greek and Latin poetry,[15] for early modern authors the decisive motivation to include Turkish magicians almost certainly

[12] Martin Korenjak, *Die Ericthoszene in Lukans Pharsalia: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Studien zur klassischen Philologie 101 (Frankfurt / Main: Peter Lang, 1996).

[13] David Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 235-258.

[14] This feature seems to be taken from Proteus (Odyssey 4,349ff) and Thetis (Ovid, met. 11,241ff).

[15] For a survey see Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, ed., *Witchcraft and magic in Europe. Ancient Greece and Rome* (Philadelphia: The Athlone Press, 1999).

sprang from Italian crusading epics, especially from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. The outline and structure of the *Gerusalemme* as well as single episodes and characters had a great impact not only on vernacular poetry, but on neo-latin epics as well.[16] At the beginning of canto 2 Tasso introduces the magician Ismeno, an "apprentice" of classical sorcerers.[17] After Tasso it became en vogue to introduce oriental sorcerers to satisfy the readers' everlasting interest in scenes of horror.

Tasso's influence is easily detected in a Latin poem on Jerusalem, the *Hierosolyma eversa* by Giovanni Pietro d'Alessandro (1574 – 1647).[18] The epic deals with the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Roman general and later emperor Titus who burnt the city to ashes in 70. Though the scene is set in the year 70, we are constantly reminded of the first crusade (1099), and the Roman soldiers are acting as if they were medieval Christian knights, characters from Tasso indeed. The poem is dedicated to a member of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg family, Philip III of Spain (1578 – 1621), who is hailed as spiritual successor to the ideal Roman emperor Titus. The author especially points to the role of Philip's ancestors as defenders of the faith, to the Reconquista successfully finished by the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella.

D'Alessandro's sorcerer enters the epic stage in book 6, the poet is thus following Aeneid 6, Virgil's introduction of the Sibyl, a priestess of Hecate, and his description of the ceremonies opening the way to the underworld. Aletes is of course performing his – as we shall see – rather conventional magic ritual in the interest of the "pagan," in this case Jewish (!) party (6, p. 128):

Nec mora, secreto primum submurmurat ore Nisus humi vultus fixo tum lumine Eoas Ter partes totidemque Hesperias prospectat Aletes. Ter pede nudus humum laevo concussit et altum Ferratam tendens virgam super aethera fatur.	Straightaway, he mutters spells with mysterious mouth; clinging to the soil,three times with a fixed stare, he gazes towards the east, three times towards the west, three times he stamped the soil with his left foot and pointing upwards to the ether with his iron wand, he speaks

Aletes' following incantation is addressed to deities of the underworld, first of all Hecate. It may be compared to Medea's in Ovid (preparing Aeson's rejuvenation, met. 7,192ff.), and it brings about the same result, the appearance of a dragon-chariot which takes the magus to the Aetna where he intends to fetch infernal fire as a deadly weapon against the Romans (p. 129-130). The stratagem deployed in battle in book 7 is closely modelled on Ismeno's,[19] and as Ismeno (18,87ff.) Aletes is finally killed in battle (7, p. 152).

The Aletes scene of book 6 is balanced by the next section of the book, in which d'Alessandro shifts to the Roman, that is "Christian," side for an actual "Virgilian /

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[16] Achim Aurnhammer, *Torquato Tasso im deutschen Barock*. Frühe Neuzeit 13 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994); Ludwig Braun, "Lateinische Epik im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 1 (1999): 9-20.

[17] The classical parallels are given in: Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, a cura di Bruno Maier; introduzione di Ezio Raimondi (Milano: Rizzoli, 1982).

[18] *Hierosolymae eversae … libri decem* (Neapoli: ex typographia Ioannis Baptistae Gargani et Lucretii Nucci, 1613). Vittorio Zacchino, "Giovanni Pietro D'Alessandro, letterato galatonese del Seicento," *Archivio storico pugliese* 29 (1976): 183-239.

[19] 18,48 Mesce il mago fellon zolfi e bitumen, / che dal lago di Sodoma ha raccolto / e fu, credo, in inferno, e dal gran fiume / che nove volte il cerchia ancho n'ha tolto.

Dantesque" catabasis: Together with Symeon, second patriarch of Jerusalem, the Roman soldier Placidus is wandering through the underworld to see the eternal punishment of sinners, to visit purgatory and to meet a former companion. Titus, however, like Aeneas is granted a prophetic vision revealing the future of the Roman Empire: At the beginning of book 4 he is lifted through the spheres to the highest heaven, where he catches a visionary glimpse of the Roman Empire under the rule of the "Austriadae," meaning the Habsburgs. We may note that in book 6 there is a clear opposition between Aletes' violent magical penetration into the pagan underworld, and Placidus's peaceful didactic wandering. As for Titus, the ancestor of the Habsburgs, he does not get in touch with the underworld, the vision culminating in a eulogy of the divinely elected house of Habsburg, the passage corresponding to Virgil's prophecy of Roman glory, is set in heaven.

The literary fashion of Turkish magic was by no way confined to countries under Habsburg rule. To free the Holy Land from the Islamic yoke was a claim which applied to every European sovereign, though politics often conflicted with the ideal and Christian monarchs had to compromise and ally with the enemy. As an outstanding example of French neo-Latin epic poetry we may mention the *Scanderbegus* by the Jesuit poet Jean de Bussières (1607 – 1678).[20] The epic deals with the exploits of the Albanian national hero Scanderbeg (Georgius Castriota), concentrating on the defence of Croia in Epirus against the assault of Murat II in 1450. A magician called Orcanus is consulted by the sultan; after announcing that a mirror is being polished for katoptromancy, which will allow for a global vision of the future, he turns to hydromancy, which as he assumes will suffice for the minor concern of foretelling the imminent battle (4, 2, p. 84sq; cf. 7, 24 p. 99).[21] Orcanus (whose name recalls the hurricane; winds are commonly thought of as demons) is introduced as a dervish: Zedler's famous encyclopedia *Universal-Lexikon* comments under the entry "Derwisch": "*Etliche von ihnen pflegen aus der Tasche zu spielen und dem Volcke eine Kurtzweile zu machen, andre geben Hexenmeister*" (some of them use to entertain the mob by pieces of juggling, others are sorcerers training witches).[22] He worships the Syrian goddess Astarte, who could be identified with Selene as well as with Hekate and whom he summons from the underworld in book 6 (p. 146).[23] The Orcanus scenes culminate in the magician's violent death: he is stabbed by Amuratus who afterwards commits suicide himself (8, 25, p. 211-212). On the Christian side, the future is revealed to Scanderbeg's patron St. George (7,25, p. 100f.), he may even look forward to a successful

[20] Ioannis de Bussieres e societate Iesu, *Scanderbegus. Poema. Editio altera longe emendatior. Cui accesserunt aliquot Poematia* (Lyon: Guill. Barbier, 1662).

[21] A valuable survey of the various techniques used for prophesies ex eventu is given by Heyne in his commentated edition of Virgil: Excursus XIV ad librum VI „Futurarum rerum praedictiones in epico carmine," in P. Virgilius Maro, ed. Christian Gottlob Heyne, ed. IV. cur. Georg Philipp Eberard Wagner, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Hahn & London: Black, Young & Young, 1832), II 1036–1041. Heyne, however, is concentrating on vernacular poetry.

[22] Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste* vol. 7 (Leipzig – Halle, 1734), 634.

[23] E.g. Lucian, De dea Syria 4. The Syrian Goddess was also identified with Cybele; the orgiastic elements in the cult of the Magna Mater and the frenzied Galli could be compared to the ecstatic dances of the dervish orders. Lucian. On the Syrian Goddess. Ed. With Introduction, Translation and Commentary by J. L. Lightfoot (Oxford: University Press, 2003), 301; 62-64.

campaign by Louis XIV the Sun King who in fact never fought the Ottomans but allied with them against the Habsburgs.[24]

In this context we may mention the *Turcias* by the Capuchin Père Joseph (François Leclerc du Tremblay, 1577 – 1638),[25] the grey eminence in Richelieu's France. The *Turcias* is an epic not on victories already won, but on the wars still to be waged by the sovereigns of Christianity, thus resulting in a fervent appeal to undertake a crusade. To substantiate his view that the doctrine of Islam is but a melting pot of the heresies and errors of the past, the poet resorts to a rather sophisticated fiction (book 2): the scene is set in heaven, Christ explaining the nature of Islam to his angels opens a prospect to hell, where they can see the workshop of infernal Cyclopes forging weapons to fight heaven. In five caves the vices of the former ages of the world are in stock: The third and fourth ages are characterized by magic and witchcraft on the one hand (Christ gives a detailed account of the witches' sabbath), and heresy on the other (after mentioning Simon Magus the author concentrates on Calvinism, Huguenots being the burning problem of the day). The very metaphor of the melting pot is worked up into a surrealistic image: Demons are shown erecting a furnace in the cave at Mecca where Mohammed is writing the Koran; just as the demons amalgamate the vices of all previous generations in the furnace, Mohammed is blending lies and errors in his book.

A rather similar view pointing to an interrelation between magic and the Ottoman threat emerges from a charming Jesuit poem on little Jesus and his mother Mary, the *Iesus puer* by Tommaso Ceva (1648 – 1737), dedicated to the Habsburg emperor Joseph I.[26] Making ample use of apocryphal sources Ceva retells Christ's first years, expanding on the flight to Egypt and stressing the dark machinations of hell against the future lord and saviour. These are considered to foreshadow the Ottoman menace to the Holy German Empire and to Austria in particular. Ceva's outlook is essentially the same as Cesare's and Stampa's in their epics on Eugene of Savoy: Habsburg's wars are a contribution to the universal struggle of good against evil, heaven against hell. Thus the Ottoman army besieging Vienna in 1683 is used for an epic simile illustrating the devilish hosts when they try to terrorize Mary (3, p. 109 *nec tot Mustaphus Eois / viribus excitis totoque Oriente coacto / Austriacum implevit nuper Viennam*) and among other scenes from Austrian history, the relief of the Austrian capital in 1683 is

[24] For a German translation see: Ludwig Braun, "Neulateinische Epik im Frankreich des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Humanistische Blätter* 41 (1999): 59-95.

[25] *Turciados libri quinque dicati Urbano VIII. Pontifici maximo* (Parisiis: apud Ioannem Fouet 1625). I am obliged to Professor Ludwig Braun / Würzburg for drawing my attention to the *Turcias* and for kindly sending me a copy of the text. Wolfgang Weber, "Joseph von Paris," in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 3 (1992), 693-698. The *Turcias* may be seen in the context of Père Joseph's diplomatic activity to organise a crusade to free Constantinople: "Walter Leitsch, Père Joseph und die Pläne einer Türkenliga in den Jahren 1616 bis 1625," in *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen, Wien, 26. – 30. September 1983*, ed. Andreas. Tietze (Wien: Verlag des Verbandes der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1985), 161-169.

[26] *Iesus puer. poema … Iosepho Primo Romanorum regi sacrum* (Mediolani: typis Caroli Antonii Malatestae, 1690); *Jesus puer*. Poema Thomae Cevae Soc. Jesu ad Mediolanensem editionem nova cura recognitum et brevi adnotatione instructum a Laurentio Clemente Gratz & Joanne Michael Broxner (Augustae Vindelicorum: Karl Kollmann, 1844); *Jesus als Knabe*. Ein lateinisches Heldengedicht des P. Thomas Ceva im Versmaaße der Urschrift übersetzt von Johannes Michael Beitelrock (Dillingen: Aulinger, 1842).

depicted on the walls of an imaginary palace in the earthly paradise where Mary and her child shelter for some days of recovery (6, p. 105ff.). It is against this background that we should read book 8. At first sight the plot comes quite as a surprise: The book concentrates on Simon Magus whom we know from *Acts* chapter 8,9-24 and mainly from apocryphal sources (e.g. the *Acta Petri* reporting a flying contest with St. Peter).[27] In Ceva's poem Simon who has been blamed as *haeresiarcha* by the fathers of the church worships the goddess of the moon, whom he purports to be his wife – in baroque literature Diana / Selene is a common mythological code for the Turkish crescent. At the same time Simon acts as a magician charming a simple-minded audience and even kills a girl in the presence of her fiancé by making her appear as a sacrificial heifer. As ancient sources do not seem to emphasize Simon's devotion to Selene,[28] we may infer that Ceva by shaping his character, wanted to establish a connection between Islam and abominable magic.

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As magic provided a playwright with ample possibilities to display an elaborate stage machinery, scenes of magic were popular in Baroque drama; they were included whenever spectacular effects were required, for example, when plays were to be performed in the presence of the emperor himself, the so-called *ludi Caesarei* staged by the Viennese Jesuits and their students. Magic is not absent from the most famous of these plays, Nicolaus Avancini's *Pietas victrix*, celebrating the coronation of the Emperor Leopold I. in 1659.[29] To hail the *pietas Austriaca* mentioned above, Avancini stages the battle of the Milvian Bridge, the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine the Great (312), which could be styled as Christianity's victory over paganism. Maxentius and Constantine are seen in terms of black and white, the former adhering to the most disgusting aspects of paganism, bloody sacrifices (combined with an extispice modelled on Seneca's *Oedipus*) and magic, which, however, offers but fallacious security and results in self-deception. In Avancini's drama Maxentius never enters without his sorcerer-minister Dymas (whereas Constantine is surrounded by capable generals): In the first act Dymas performs an incantation of Dis – frightening even his lord Maxentius (I, 6); in act 2 he disguises as Constantine to discourage the Flavian generals; he summons demons and shades and succeeds in putting Constantine's army to flight until Constantine displays the *labarum* (i.e. the holy cross) (II, 5-8); in act 3 Dymas produces a kind of flying carpet to pick up Maxentius' son in Perusia and to take him to

[27] Christoph Schmitt, "Simon Magus (der Magier)," in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 10 (1995), 410-413; Stephen Haar, *Simon Magus: The first gnostic?* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 119 (Berlin [u.a.] : de Gruyter , 2003).

[28] Simon's companion is commonly called Helena (Irenaeus, *Against heresies* 1,23), but Ceva obviously took advantage of the Clementine *Recognitions*, where she is appears as Luna (2,9,1). A further source of inspiration may have been Lucian's account of the false prophet Alexander of Abunoteichos pretending to be loved by Selene and even faking a hieros gamos with the goddess (Alexander 35; 39).

[29] Nicolaus Avancini S. J., "Pietas victrix – Der Sieg der Pietas," *Frühe Neuzeit* 73, edited, translated by and with Anm. vers. Lothar Mundt & Ulrich Seelbach (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002); Elisabeth Klecker, "Mythos und Geschichte auf der Bühne der ‚ludi Caesarei'. Seneca und Vergil in Nicolaus Avancinis *Pietas victrix*," in *Politische Mythen und nationale Identitäten im (Musik-)Theater. Vorträge und Gespräche des Salzburger Symposions 2001*, ed. Peter Csobádi and others (Anif/Salzburg: Verlag Mueller-Speiser, 2003) (Wort und Musik 54), vol. I, 151-172.

Rome to his father (III, 2+4+6). Finally, however, the sorcerer realizes that the spirits at his disposal are subject to divine providence. Nevertheless he is held responsible for the disaster by Maxentius and murdered by the enraged tyrant. His corpse is thrown into the Tiber, but repelled by the waves and naiads because of its fierce "infernal" temperature (IV, 2-5).[30] This survey may suffice to demonstrate the outstanding part of magic in Avancini's encomiastic drama.[31]

Constantine, on the contrary, is presented as an example of how the Christian defender of faith gets mental support from heaven. At the outset of the play he gains thorough confidence in a vision of the famous "*In hoc signo vinces;*" he trusts in the interpretation of his dream by bishop Nicholas of Myra and feels no need for further investigations into the future. It is only after the battle that the holy Virgin appears to Constantine's mother Saint Helen and presents her with an embroidered cloth: The pictures are explained by an angel, they show the fate of the Flavian family, but also the history of the Roman Empire down to the Habsburgs and the ruling emperor Leopold. The spectators would not fail to grasp that the war between Constantine and Maxentius mirrored Habsburg's struggle against contemporary paganism that is Islam and Protestantism. Engravings of the 1659 production survive in the first edition and give us an idea of how the most spectacular scenes were set: The engraving illustrating the incantation scene (I, 6) shows Dymas in a costume which with a turban was evidently meant to be oriental.

Dymas, who plays such an important part in Avancini's *Pietas victrix*, seems to be the invention of Avancini's main source, the *Constantinus Romae liberator*, an epic poem by the Roman Jesuit Alessandro Donati (Siena 1584 – Rome 1640), which was quite easily accessible in an anthology of Jesuit poetry.[32] Donati relies on Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* (1,38) and the Byzantine historian Nikephoros (7,29), who stressed Maxentius' addiction to magic, to divinatory magic in particular (in the gruesome form of extispice). Again we are in book 6 for the divination scene: On the roof terrace of his house, Dymas is performing the *hyalomantia*. The term derived from the Greek hyalos – glass and given in the marginal notes, designates crystallomancy by means of a globe he has fabricated himself.[33] At first sight this may seem a pure technique to in-

[30] Avancini may be drawing on the cliché that witches cannot be drowned, because they are repelled by the pure element and float on the surface.

[31] As an experienced dramatist Avancini was aware that comical elements were needed to warrant a successful play; as they could not be attached to Constantine and his surroundings, the poet made use of the Dymas-scenes. Dymas is given an apprentice Maguscus (not in Donati), a cheeky little devil ridiculing his master. A similar comical effect seems to be intended in Stampa's *Eugenius*: The commander is terrified at the sight of the serpent-chariot (10, p. 63 *atque fugae iam terga dabat*), he has to be reassured by Tergetes.

[32] *Parnassus societatis Iesu*, hoc est poemata patrum societatis quae in Belgis, Gallia, Germania, Hispania, Italia, Polonia etc. vel hactenus excusa sunt, vel recens elucubrata nunc primum evulgantur, studiose conquisita accurate recensita et in aliquot classes divisa quarum I. continet epica et heroica (Francofurti: sumptibus Iohan. Godofredi Schönwetteri, 1654), 1-96; first edition Romae: ex typographia Manelfii Manelfii 1640. For Donati's works see: Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles – Paris, 1890 – 1909), vol. 3, col. 131-133. Magic is equally prominent in a French neo-Latin epic on Constantine's war against Licinius: Pierre Mambrun, *Constantinus sive idololatria debellata* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: ex officina Dion Bechet & Lud. Billaini, 1658). The magician Pholous summons Diocletian (4, p. 161ff); a kataoptromancy (recalling a contemporary affair) is performed in the temple of Venus (5, p. 184).

[33] Avancini opted for the more spectacular apparition of Pluto, but combined it with a katoptromancy, Pluto

vestigate the future, but it turns out that the water in the crystal bowl has to be mingled with human blood. A little boy is killed and the crystallomancy is preceded by an inspection of his entrails. In the bowl the battle of the Milvian Bridge can be watched going on, but by heavenly intervention the divination is interrupted at its crucial point, Maxentius' drowning in the Tiber remains hidden.

Donati, though using what was evidently meant to be a "modern" technique of divination, heavily borrowed from classical sources. Dymas is at home on the Esquiline (once the burying region of the poor), where Horace's Canidia was digging for human bones (serm. 1,8,27). As for the architecture of his house, we may remember Apuleius' witch Pamphile, who owns a similar magic workshop on the roof of her house, hidden from view, but open to the winds (Apuleius, met. 3,17). But Donati's dependence on classical literature is perhaps best illustrated by a "philological" detail (6, p. 45):

Nudus et ille pedem nudataque brachia jactat. Dextra facem praefert fractoque erepta sepulchro Fumiferis stridet flammis semiusta cupressus Raptum laeva gerit modo matris ab ubere natum	Barefoot he walks and waves his naked arms. In his right he carries a torch and the burnt cypress out of a broken tomb is crackling with flames and smoke.With his left he carries a boy torn away from his mother's breasts

Dymas is carrying a torch made of cypress wood, robbed from a violently opened tomb (*fractoque erepta sepulcro … cupressus*). Its funereal origin obviously suits the ghastly ceremony, but logically a grave is hardly a good place to find the remains of half-burnt torches. Classical witches are fond of using torches from pyres; the Latin term is *rogus*, but *sepulcrum* too can be used to denote the burning place: This is the case in Seneca's Medea, where Medea uses such a torch in a sacrifice to Hecate (Medea 798 *de medio / rapta sepulcro fax nocturnos sustulit ignes*). Donati whose torch is torn out of a tomb may have wanted to outdo his model, or simply misunderstood the term *sepulcrum*. It is this very detail that caught Stampa's attention and he took it over for his own magician. Tergetes thus once more stands out as a striking example of the fictional character of Turkish magic in neo-Latin poetry.

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If we try to evaluate the contribution of neo-Latin epic poetry to the history of magic, we ought to be very careful: Of course we should not expect authentic Turkish features– there simply was no need for them, as the classical literary tradition (Aeneid 6, Horace's Canidia, Lucan's Erictho, Medea in Ovid and Seneca) provided the poet with plenty of picturesque detail. Neither can we expect an awareness of the essential problem, as to whether magic or the occult in general is characteristic of an Islamic civilization. Though first-hand information would have been easily available, the epic poet generally relies on commonly accepted stereotypes of oriental exoticism, which suit his purpose of praising the Christian / Habsburg hero. Only details vary: The Turkish sorcerer may appear as a witch worshipping Satan, reproducing public opinions on witchcraft current in early modern times (Cesare) or he may be portrayed according to mythological models in Greek and Roman literature (Stampa).

himself offering Maxentius a mirror to look into for the future battle (749 *ex speculo fatum casusque evolve futuros*). Furthermore he may have wished to recall a biblical model, Saul consulting the witch of Endor.

Thus the mentioned poems mirror the attitudes of a European society towards magic as well as towards a foreign civilization. Magic is instrumentalised to display the wickedness of political enemies, to gain pretexts for political goals and to justify wars, whereas the Christian monarch would claim his place in the history of human salvation. Though we must not underrate the entertainment value of incantation scenes, poetical descriptions of "Turkish" magic essentially belong to the sombre history of human prejudice and of literature all too readily echoing political propaganda.

POPULAR PIETY AND MAGIC IN HUNGARY IN THE 17TH CENTURY

INGRID KUŠNIRÁKOVÁ

In the 17th century, the Kingdom of Hungary was divided into two parts. The Turkish army occupied the larger part, and the Habsburgs controlled only the approximate area of present day Slovakia and the northwestern part of present day Hungary. The frontier between these territories frequently changed. As a result of the religious and political development, five important confessions existed in the country in this period alongside each other and each of them cultivated its own forms and expressions of piety. The wide range of problems going beyond the possibilities of one paper, the absence of specialized studies and the inadequate level of present knowledge do not enable the production of an account of the formation of popular piety in Hungary in its whole breadth and complexity. The paper will trace only those forms of piety and expressions of magic associated with the Roman Catholic Church and exclusively in the territories where the Habsburgs exercised royal jurisdiction in the 17th century.

Popular piety usually involves religious rituals with more external expressions of piety, based on primitive religious teachings corresponding to a low level of literacy associated with certain elements of "traditional" culture. Popular piety is characterized on one side by mainly external observance of religious ritual in the form of church attendance and knowledge of the main liturgical acts, and on the other by the attribution of magic significance to this ritual and the objects connected with it. However, such a form of piety is not only an expression of the piety of the common people. Without regard for the changing significance of the word people depending on time and place, the expression popular piety has wider significance than only the piety of the lower social groups. In this case there is often a narrowing of the social environment of this form of piety.[1] Popular piety does not represent an independent phenomenon, since the common people receive Church ideas and the religious practices represented by the secular elites. Thus, according to this view, "high and popular" religions influence each other.[2] However, the relationship between these two levels of religious practice cannot be considered one directional.

The piety of the common people in 17th century Hungary was shaped in the framework of the triangle – ruling dynasty, Catholic Church and nobility. All these components of the social and spiritual elite participated in the formation of popular piety in the country, with every side of the triangle playing an essential part in the process.

The Catholic Church in Hungary as part of the universal Catholic Church shaped

[1] Josef Petráň, ed., *Dějiny hmotné kultury* II/1 (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), 51.

[2] Karl Vocelka, "Habsburská zbožnosť a lidová zbožnosť. (K mnohovrstevnatosti vztahů mezi elitní a lidovou kulturou)," *Folia Historica Bohemica*, no. 18 (1997): 226.

the piety of its members especially on the basis of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Especially the decree on the veneration of saints, their relics and holy images, approved at the final, 25th session of the council, was an important impulse for the development of Catholic piety in the Early Modern period. The decree confirmed the correctness of these forms of piety and increased their importance for the religious life of the faithful.[3]

The piety of the Habsburgs described as Pietas Austriaca was already sufficiently considered in the literature,[4] and so I will consider only its basic attributes. Pietas Austriaca stood on three basic pillars – zeal in the Catholic faith, veneration of the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary, especially her Immaculate Conception.[5] The final element of the Hungarian Estates society able to significantly contribute to shaping popular piety was the nobility. The Hungarian nobles had numerous possibilities enabling them to shape and influence the religious thinking and practice of their serfs, but in my view, the nobles influenced the piety of the serfs especially by their activities as founders and patrons.

All the relevant social groups in Hungarian society propagated veneration of the Virgin Mary and her Immaculate Conception as the basis of Catholic piety. Promotion of the cult of Mary in the Kingdom of Hungary was connected with the medieval legend that St. Stephen had entrusted his kingdom to the protection of the Virgin Mary. In the 17th century, the Virgin Mary became the patron of the revived Catholic Church in Hungary, protector of the soldiers fighting the Turkish armies and symbol of the self-identification of the Catholics in relation to the Protestants. The Virgin Mary was seen by the faithful as a woman, mother and suffering person, to whom they could turn in any time of pain and unhappiness. The widespread custom in Hungary of dressing and decorating the sacred statues of the Virgin Mary shows that she was really perceived as a human being.[6]

The origin of numerous places of pilgrimage dedicated to the Virgin Mary is also evidence of the strong Marian devotion in the Kingdom of Hungary. Sacred and miraculous images or statues of the Virgin Mary were not preserved only at places of pilgrimage. They were also found in the churches of large towns, small towns and villages. Veneration of sacred statues and images brought from abroad, for example from Italy, France or Spain, was very widespread. This was usually only a simple copy, but they were sanctified by contact with the original cult work, so that they also became sources of the grace of God.[7] A work of completely unknown origin, which attracted the attention of the faithful by an unusual phenomenon or some amazing event, could also become a miraculous image.

Catholic piety in 17th century Hungary was understandably not limited only to

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[3] Jozef Špirko, *Cirkevné dejiny II* (Martin: Neografia, 1943), 230-231; Jaroslav Kadlec, *Dějiny katolické církve III* (Olomouc: Vydavatelství Univerzity Palackého, 1993), 340.

[4] Above all the work of Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1982).

[5] Vocelka, "Habsburská zbožnosť," 227.

[6] The sacred statue of the Virgin Mary at Marianka (near Bratislava) had an extraordinarily rich collection of clothing and jewellery. See *Documenta artis paulinorum 1. A Magyar rendtartomány monostorai* (Budapest: MTA, 1975), 278-364.

[7] Ivan Rusina, ed., *Svätci v strednej Európe* (Bratislava: Správa kultúrnych zariadení MK SR, 1993), 22.

veneration of the Virgin Mary. Other saints from the rich spectrum of saints venerated by the Catholic Church also received veneration from the faithful. However, while strong devotion to the Virgin Mary was found throughout the former Kingdom of Hungary, the veneration of individual saints developed on the basis of local and regional specifics. The faithful turned for help and support to the saints they knew, that is to the saints whose statues and images were found in their place of residence. Veneration of the saints concerned with plague was especially widespread. They were depicted independently, especially in the case of St. Rosalia, or as parts of sculptured plague monuments or monuments to the Immaculate Conception. In spite of the fact that Hungary was a largely agrarian country, the cult of St. Isidore patron of farmers did not become popular, but there was relatively widespread veneration of Sts. Vendelin, Urban and Florian. The cults of Sts. Barbara and Catherine of Alexandria, patrons of miners, were widespread in the mining towns. Especially St. Barbara was often depicted as part of sculptured groups of the Immaculate Conception or on plague columns in this region. Perhaps every craft had its patron. It depended on the solvency and piety of the individual guilds whether altars in churches or outdoor sculptures were erected to them in particular places.

Each of the three religious orders – the Jesuits, Franciscan and Paulines – which significantly contributed to the re-Catholicization of Hungary in the 17th century, had its own saints. Apart from devotion to the Virgin Mary, they formed the basis of the spirituality of the orders. The feast days of these saints were marked by special celebrations in churches of the orders, and in the majority of churches administered by the religious communities, altars or at least more important sculptures were dedicated to these saints. They were familiar to the common people, but veneration of them was regionally limited, especially to the regions, where the appropriate order operated.

Church fraternities became part of the religious life of the faithful already in the course of the 17th century, although the golden age of these associations in Hungary came only in the 18th century. Religious fraternities were voluntary associations of lay people and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church bound to a particular cult of the Catholic Church and bearing its name. Preparation of its members for death and for life after death was the main component of their activity.[8] The establishment of religious fraternities in this period was usually initiated by the Jesuits and Franciscans.

Until the middle of the 18th century there was a very close relationship between popular piety and its official form, with the two forms overlapping. Many aspects of so-called popular piety were cultivated and supported by the official representatives of the church and the social elites. The cult of the saints was cultivated especially by the religious orders and all social groups participated in pilgrimages. Religious communities administered the places of pilgrimage and consistently recorded all the miracles, which occurred there. They allowed the placing of votive offerings close to the images and statues, to express the thanks of the faithful for miracles. Statues of the Virgin Mary were dressed in clothes and decorated with jewels, but these gifts could come only from persons of the higher social classes and only with the agreement of the Church. Reliquaries of saints were also collected mainly by the nobility and higher Church dignitaries. Miraculous and sacred statues and images were spread mainly

[8] Jiří Mikulec, *Barokní náboženská bratrstva v Čechách* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2000), 9.

thanks to the Church hierarchy.

Veneration of saints, visits to places of pilgrimage and association in religious fraternities represent very closely related forms of impressive Catholic piety. However, the popular piety of this period also included other religious acts and rituals, many of which crossed the boundary between religion and magic. Catholic piety and magic were just as close to each other in the 17th century as before the Reformation. The reformers of the Catholic Church endeavoured to cleanse faith from deposits of superstition, but they were also more tolerant of popular piety than the theologians of the Protestants churches, who regarded many Catholic rituals as pre-Christian superstitions, for example, comparing the Virgin Mary to Venus or St. George to Perseus.[9] However, the reformers in both camps were especially concerned to separate the sacred from the profane. This tendency alreay appeared in the Church in the Middle Ages, but now the protagonists of reform endeavoured to be more consistent. However, the position of Catholics was more difficult because they had to fight on two fronts – against the Protestants who wanted to change too much, and against superstition and magic in their own ranks.

The united liturgy and the seven main sacraments were among the main instruments for the renewal of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. In the eyes of the faithful, the liturgy and the individual sacraments were connected with magic power and the Church supported, tolerated or suppressed this attitude according to the circumstances. The representatives of the Church participated to varying extents in spreading stories about miracles associated with giving of the Eucharist, the sacrament of baptism or the last anointing because many miracles associated with these sacraments supported the conviction of their importance for salvation of the soul and perhaps also for earthly well-being among the uneducated groups in the population.

Prayer was an attribute of the Catholic Church, which came extraordinarily close to magic and spells. Already in the Middle Ages, the Church created a set of prayers to secure the favour of God and success for various human activities and endeavours. Many of these prayers later became the basis for magic spells and formulas.[10] Prayer was only a request for help, while magic promised guaranteed success, but many of the faithful regardless of social position, attributed prayer the same significance as a magic spell. The fact that representatives of the Church often promised the granting of requests if certain prayers were recited also blurred the difference between prayer and magic.

The everyday presence of fear conditioned by constant wars, plague epidemics, the permanent proximity of hunger or serious illness led to people seeking help and protection in the magic power of the saints. Although the saints were supposed to be only mediators between God and the faithful, many stories spread, especially orally, about miracles worked as a reaction to the prayers of the faithful. However, not only the saints themselves had magic power, but also their remains venerated as relics. Magic power was attributed to the remains of saints and to objects, which touched them. This power could restore health or assist with other individual misfortunes, but also protect a city against the plague, fire or other natural catastrophe. In an effort to

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[9] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), 209.

[10] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 46.

preserve the monotheistic character of religion, the Catholic Church endeavoured to eliminate deposits of superstition associated with the veneration of saints and their relics by the common people, but it had to proceed very carefully to avoid crossing the boundary separating the Catholic Church from the Protestants in the perception and interpretation of this question.[11]

Various rituals connected with the blessing of buildings, land, domestic animals or other secular objects were also on the boundary between magic and popular piety. For such an act to be regarded as a religious ritual and not an act of magic, it was essential that an ordained priest participate as a representative of the Church, and that the blessing be done with the help of holy water and the sign of the cross. The attitude of the faithful and the priests to holy water was very broad and heterogeneous. The faithful often sprinkled it on their fields, cattle, homes and beds. They drank it against illness and used it as a means for protection against the devil and his power. Some priests supported such activities of the faithful and saw nothing bad in them, but others regarded them as superstition. Holy water was only one of the amulets widespread among the Catholic faithful. Holy images, pictures of places of pilgrimage or badges from pilgrimages received great veneration from the faithful. The rosary became a very widespread amulet in the 17th century. It was expected to protect the faithful against fire, storm, fever or the work of the devil.[12]

Church representatives also supported the faith of the people in the magic power of various amulets and pictures. In the environment of prevailing illiteracy as existed in 17th century Hungary, these objects were an instrument for spreading and teaching the faith, but also a means of self-identification of the Catholic faithful in relation to the supporters of Protestantism. Foreign missionaries also significantly contributed to spreading them among the faithful in Hungary. The inaccessibility of medical care and effective medicine in the country led to the missionaries themselves and under their influence also the faithful attributed healing effects to these objects. Holy water moderated toothache; the *Agnus Dei* was effective against fever and so on.[13]

The faithful attributed magic powers and abilities essentially to all objects associated with serving Mass and giving the sacraments. Thanks to celibacy and priestly ordination, magic power was often attributed to the priest, but also to the vestments or scapula of monks. The priest was not only the mediator between God and man, but also a person, who could actually change things into sacred objects. The liturgical acts done in incomprehensible language and the complex rituals connected with the different periods of the year, festivals and pilgrimages made the priest into a person with super-natural abilities and possibilities in the eyes of the faithful.[14] The church building, its gate, altar and bells also had magic power. Especially the consecrated bells had

[11] Robert J. W. Evans, *Vznik habsburské monarchie 1550-1700* (Prague: Argo, 2003; Czech translation of Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700: An Interpretation, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 446.

[12] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* 33.

[13] István György Tóth, "The Missionary and the Devil: Way of Conversion in Catholic Missions in Hungary," in *Frontiers of Faith*, eds. Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (Budapest: CEU European Science Foundation, 2001), 79-87.

[14] Evans, *Vznik habsburské monarchie,* 45.

great magic power to protect against storm and the devil.[15]

The social background of popular piety cannot be reduced only to the common people. A certain form of piety was special to each social group and these forms of piety overlapped and influenced each other. The piety of the Catholic Church also had a very close relationship to magic in the 17th century, in spite of the effort of the reformers to cleanse faith from superstition and elements of magic. Just as it is impossible to define the difference between different forms of piety and the relationship of the Catholic Church to its individual elements, it is impossible to unambiguously determine the attitude of the Church to the merging of Catholic piety with certain elements of magic. The Church did not have the ambition to provide people with a set of magic spells to secure them the help of God in their secular activities and earthly suffering. The Church was supposed to mediate between God and the faithful and secure their salvation by the prescribed method.[16] Although the Church endeavoured to draw a firm line between religion and "superstition," its definition of superstition was relatively changeable. In principle, the use of a sacred object for a purpose other than that originally intended, or the achievement of an aim other than by a natural method or a method approved by the Church was regarded as superstition.[17] The legitimacy of religious acts always depended on the attitude of the Church. If the Church allowed the use of holy water or bells against storms or evil spirits, it was not regarded as magic or superstition.[18] It is impossible to place an unambiguously defined boundary between religion and magic in the pre-Enlightenment period. The perceptions of both these categories were undergoing constant change and modification in the Early Modern period.[19]

[15] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 35.

[16] Ibid., 53.

[17] Ibid., 55.

[18] Ibid., 303.

[19] Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion und Kultur. Europa 1500-1800* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 26.

MAGICAL PRACTICES IN THE BOOKS OF MIRACLES

MARKÉTA HOLUBOVÁ

Magical practices in the books of miracles represent an interesting research topic that has not received much attention in Czech historiography. The topic is closely related to problems of miraculous sites and religious pilgrimages. Using mainly the methods of historical anthropology, the paper focuses on the manifestations of magical practices connected with Baroque miracles and associated with Marian pilgrimage places of the Society of Jesus in the Czech Lands.

The principal sources were printed and manuscript collections of miracles from the period of the second half of the 17th century to the first half of the 18th century. They were related to six Jesuit pilgrimage places in the Czech Lands - Bohosudov, Golčův Jeníkov, Chlumek u Luže, Jičín, Stará Boleslav and Svatá Hora at Příbram.[1] Medieval piety continued in the northern Czech residence – Bohosudov near Teplice, and according to the archival sources as early as the beginning of the 16th century it was already a popular pilgrimage place.[2] In the central Czech residences of the Society of Jesus at Stará Boleslav and on Svatá Hora at Příbram the cult of medieval Madonnas was also strengthened. There was a Late Gothic Marian metal relief known under the name Palladium (Paládium) in Stará Boleslav. The Palladium symbolized mystical protection and spiritual patronage of the whole kingdom in the 17th century. At the same time, it was worshipped as an ancient symbol of native Christianity linked together with the cult of the majority of the land's patrons.[3] The position of Stará Boleslav as the region's pilgrimage place faced competition from Svatá Hora at Příbram. Unlike Stará Boleslav, Svatá Hora at Příbram concentrated only on spreading the Marian cult. The statue venerated during the Baroque period dated back to the reign of Charles IV (1316-1378) and was considered to be a work of a Marian worshipper and the first Archbishop of Prague Arnošt of Pardubice (1297-1364). Therefore the statue was celebrated and emphasized for its antiquity. None the less, veneration of the statue of the Virgin Mary in Svatá Hora, in a sense as a daughter of the Palladium, in the 18th century took over the mission and function of regional Palladium from the relief in

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[1] Naturally, there had been more Jesuit pilgrimage places in the region of Bohemia in the 17th and 18th century, but due to the preserved archival and printed material, the research had to be restricted only to six of them.

[2] *Historia Mariascheinensis, das ist: Ausführlicher Bericht von dem uralten und Wunderthätigen Vesper-Bild der schmerzhaften Mutter Gottes Maria, Welches zu Mariaschein unweit Graupen, im Königreich Boheim im der Kirchen Unser Lieben Frauen von etlichen hundert Jahren her zu offentlicher Verehrung vorgestellet, und wegen vieler Wunder- und Gnaden-Werken sehr berühmt ist: verfertiget von P. Joannes Miller des Gesellschaft Jesu Priester, im Jahr l710. Alt –Stadt Prag in der Academischen Buchdruckerey des Collegii S. J. bey S. Clementem durch Joachimum Joannem Kamenitzky p. t. factorn*, 20-21; Alois Kroess, *Die Rezidenz der Gesellschaft Jesu und Wallfahrtsort Mariaschein in Böhmen* (Warnsdorf: A. Opitz, 1894), 41-42.

[3] Jan Royt, "Skřivan a Paladium," in *Legenda jako slovesný útvar a výtvarná inspirace* (Praha: Ústav pro klasická studia ČSAV – Ústav dějin umění ČSAV, 1992), 24-30.

Stará Boleslav.[4] Apart from spread of veneration of traditional local Marian cults, the Jesuits also promoted veneration of Baroque imports in Golčův Jeníkov, Chlumek u Luže and Jičín, which became important regional pilgrimage places in the Eastern Bohemia. In the case of Golčův Jeníkov it was spread of veneration of the Virgin Mary of Loreto. On the other hand, in Chlumek u Luže cult of St. Mary the Helper of Passau was promoted. In Jičín they fostered a cult of the Virgin Mary of Jičín, a Madonna of eastern origin, veneration of which was somehow a Czech speciality in the Central European context.[5]

Information about miraculous visions can be found in several types of Jesuit source materials. They were registered in a special, for this purpose assigned part of monastic order diaries, chronicles or in annual reports - *Literrae annuae* that Jesuits would send from their pilgrimage places to Rome every year. In the case of Svatá Hora at Příbram there are also materials from a manuscript book of miracles written in Czech from the years 1662-1751,[6] in which individual cases were included according to the character of the miraculous event. Moreover, there are sources that had been officially verified, mostly certificates written in Latin and Czech about miracles in Svatá Hora that took place in the years 1635-1773.[7] Reports about prayers to the order's saints being miracously answered, could be found in the manuscript about the Czech Jesuit province written by the order's historian Jan (Johannes) Miller.[8]

While the manuscript documents mentioned above can be regarded as private sources, written mainly for the use of Jesuits, printed lists of miracles, which formed an extensive part of printed pilgrimage literature dealing with Jesuit pilgrimage places in Bohemia boosted its promotion and awareness among people. This might be shown also by the fact that published miracles were the result of a certain selection.[9]

Marketability of the print was enhanced by the frontispiece, placed either on the right side of the title page or preceding the title sheet in the form of a whole page engraved pre-title. The theme of a frontispiece was usually a symbolic expression of the content of the print – legend topoi of a described pilgrimage place framed as a picture and part of an allegoric scene.[10] In the prefaces of authors, printers or publishers and in

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[4] Ivana Čornejová and others, *Ve stínu tvých křídel … Habsburkové v českých zemích*, (Praha: Grafoprint – Neubert, 1995), 157; Ivo Kořán, "Etika Miraculosy," *Umění*, no. 6 (1995): 511.

[5] Jan Royt, *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, (Praha: Karolinum, 1999), 124-131.

[6] State Central Archives in Prague [Národní archiv], ŘR, sign. P-152, Svato-Horská Kniha třetí (1662-1751), inventory no. 118.

[7] State Central Archives in Prague [Národní archiv], ŘR, sign. O I-VI/1-574, Kult Panny Marie (1639-1773), karton no. 102-103, inventory no. 218.

[8] Manuscript in the National library [Národní knihovna] of the Czech Republic in Prague, under signature XXIII C 104.

[9] *Přepodiwná Matka Swato Horská Marya / w Zázracých / a Milostech swých na Hoře Swaté nad Městem Přibrami Hor Střibrných / den po dni wjc a wjc se stkwiegjcý: z Latinské Hystorye skrz Ctihodného Kněze Bohuslawa Balbina z Towarysstwa Gežjssowa sepsané wybraná / w Czesstinu od gednoho z téhož Towarysstwa Patera přeložená / Slawnému a Starožitnému Rodu PP: Wratislawůw z Mitrowic připsaná / a S Powolenjm Wrchnosti wytisstěná. W Litomyssli / v Jana Arnolta, Léta od Narozenj Božjho M.DC.LXVI* (l666), Foreword (*Předmluva*); Miloš Sládek, "Zázračná uzdravení a „dobrotivá vzhlédnutí" v literatuře českého baroka," in *Česká barokní literatura. Sborník příspěvků k literatuře 17. a 18. století*, ed. Miloš Sládek (Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 1993), 249; Miloš Sládek, "Já ničemný člověk … ," in *Malý svět jest člověk, Výbor z české barokní literatury*, ed. Miloš Sládek (Praha: H&H, 1992), 93.

[10] Mirjam Bohatcová and others, *Česká kniha v proměnách staletí* (Praha: Panorama, 1990), 295.

the dedications that were predominantly written in the form of a letter, we can find not only information about the reasons for publication of a book, who and took the initiative and how, who paid for it, but they also contained textual-linguistic, philological, theological or historical explanations. In the end of the book the name of the writer together with date and location, where the work was written were included. Confirmation of the fact that the printer followed the prescribed process and the published manuscript was duly approved was given by the formulation *approbatio, imprimatur* or *facultas* in the introduction. The content was expressed by a set formula – exact information about the author and reviewer of the book together with the statement that the book does not contain anything condemnable (*nihil obstat*) and can be published *luce publica dignum censo*. From the 1730s, there was a visible attempt to transfer censorship to governmental authority – that is into secular hands.[11] Subsequently, statement of approval had started to partially disappear; printer would restrict it to the formula of *cum facultatae superiorum* (with the approval of the authorities) on the title page in order to point to the fact that the manuscript was properly inspected.

34/ Front pages with frontispiece depicting medieval Piety from Bohosudov from the work of Johannes Miller: Historia Mariascheinensis, published in 1710.

According to the studied material religious pilgrimages to Jesuit pilgrimage

[11] Klára Homerová, "Tisková cenzura v Čechách 1621-1660," *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze* 42-43, Series (Řada) C, no. 1-4, (1997-1998): 1-49; Ivona Kollárová, *Cenzúra kníh v tereziánskej epoche* (Bratislava: Ústredná knižnica SAV, 1999), 27-35; Grete Klingenstein, *Staatswerwaltung und kirchlische Autorität im 18. Jahrhunder. Das Problem der Zenzur in der terezianischen Reform* (München: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1970), 46-50, 131-135.

places represent palpable evidence of a human sense of powerlessness, fear stemming from critical situations in which one could find oneself and from an implicit faith in the power of the supernatural, that could ensure help in time of need and change the human fate. Man endangered by personal misfortune imagined that the higher power would listen to his prayers that he would win its favour and it would become his advocate when he presents a specific request. A person afflicted by pain, anxiety, worries and desperation first looked for suitable people, who could possibly help him or her, such as bonesetter, quack, midwife or a Jewish woman. When all the available means failed, he or she vowed to the Virgin Mary.

The supplicant could take vows either alone only mentally or aloud, or possibly he could do it in the presence of his or her family. Taking vows could be done also on behalf of other people. By taking vows, it was as if supplicants threw themselves to the Virgin Mary and positively expressed their devotion and faith in the power of the heavenly miracle worker as an intercessor. This fact was revealed in the sources by expressions used such as – to sacrifice, devote, dedicate, *devovere*. Moreover, whatever illness or disease afflicted a man, in the frame of Baroque mentality it was understood as something that violated the usual balance of his life. It could have been God's punishment sent down on a sinner, but also black powers or creatures or possibly even people could have caused it, whether intentionally or not. Disease was personified and it has human attributes. With the help of invocations it was possible to communicate with the disease, address, order, threaten it or drive it away.

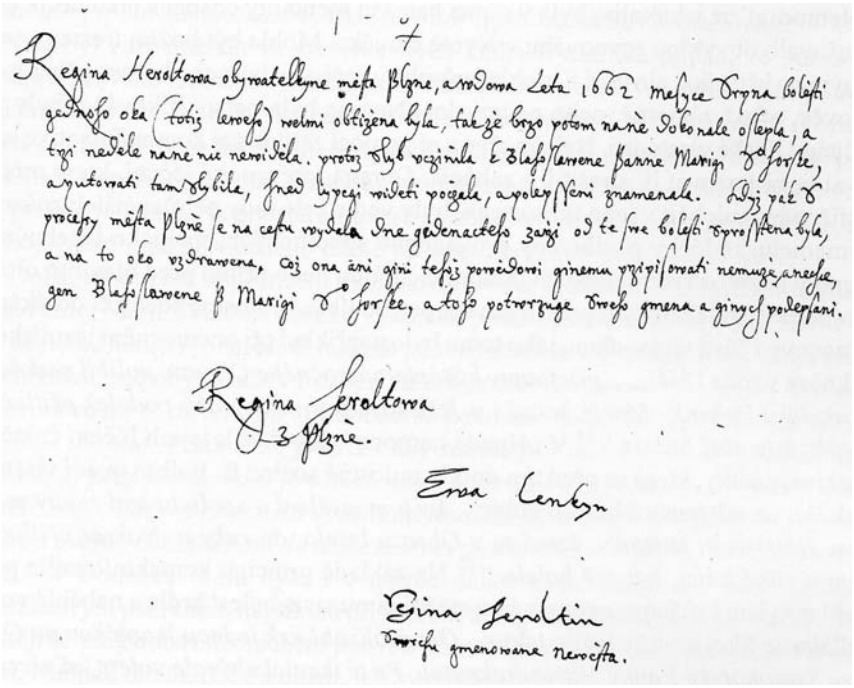
Apart from the broad array of various medical treatments, people expected that the protection and treatment of the afflicted would also be enhanced by carrying out specific, magical-curative procedures in the immediate neighbourhood of the pilgrimage place or directly in front of the main altar. Frequent curative treatments included kissing of the sacred statue and its clothes or touching it with the afflicted parts of the body. As a treatment working on the principle of contact magic various touching objects were used such as rosary, Marian crowns or in the case of the afflicted eyes they were often treated with touched scarves. Often, to achieve a complete cure they would rinse sore limbs with holy water or the afflicted would have a sip of water from the nearby Marian well, which was considered miraculous. In cases connected with infertility problems or heavy labour a water bath was believed to help. Water from pilgrimage places was an easily available and much sought after curative treatment for the diseases of eyes, internal organs and pulmonary diseases.[12] These reasons led a number of Marian supplicants to carry water home in glass bottles, to be able to use it in case of future need. However, water from Svatá Hora together with diverse blessed and tiny devotional objects were also used at Easter for preparation of dough, from which people baked crosses – talismans, which were supposed to protect fields against hailstorms.[13]

According to some testimonies shooting prayers could contribute to establishment of contact with the Virgin Mary. Shooting prayers were very short prayers aimed like projectiles at winning over the heart of the Virgin Mary, when supplicants turned to

[12] Katka Zajicová (now Nádaská), "Ľudové liečenie na pútiach," in *Magie a náboženství*, ed. Ludmila Tarcalová (Uherské Hradiště: Slovácké muzeum, 1997), 109-112.

[13] Jana Ratajová ed., *Alžběta Lidmila z Lisova. Rodinné paměti* (Praha: Edice Manu propria 1, 2002), 144-145.

her. The effect of prayers was understood in their firm link to the ardour with which they were pronounced and their length was not decisive. A brief and direct prayer was often more suitable for the exhausted and ill person.[14]



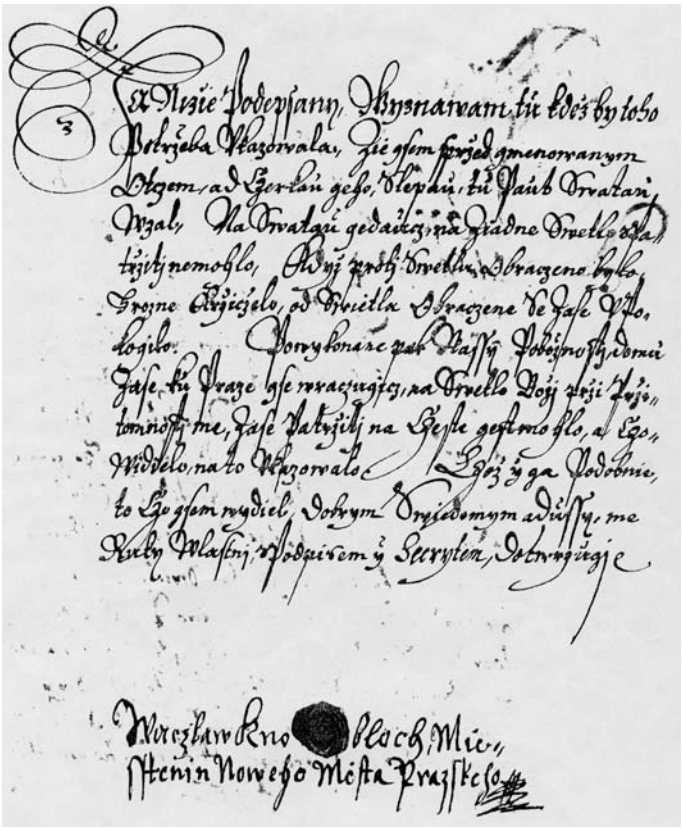
35/ Written officially certified report from 1662 about miraculous recovery of Regina Heroltová from Plzeň. State Central Archives [Národní archiv] in Prague.

It is obvious, that similar function as magical practices was played not only by prayers pronounced orally, but the same meaning was also attributed to the prayers in written printed form. According to Josef Lauritsch, an author who devoted his work to the miracles of the Virgin Mary of Jičín, printed prayer with a picture of Virgin Mary saved Jan Prokop from war.[15] There was a close and direct connection of word magic with proved miraculous visions achieved with the help of prayer books. In this way a prayer book could also became a means for gaining God's mercy as described by Josef Lauritsch in one episode from 1718 at the miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary of Jičín: "*A certain husband, very keen on playing cards, wasted a lot of time away. When his good wife failed to convince him to give up playing cards by another way, she also took a kind of card, but prayer cards and instead of supplication letters she*

[14] Miloš Sládek, *Vítr jest život člověka aneb život a smrt v české barokní próze* (Praha: H&H, 2000), 109.

[15] *Prwnj Wiek Rodičky Božj Russánské, Nebo Kronycká Správa/O Počátku/Ctěnj/a Dobrodinjch Starožitného Russánského Obrazu MARYE Matky Božj;Který W Czeském Gičjné/w Chrámě Swatého Ignácya Towarysstwa Gežjssowa. Giž na Druhý Wěk, S welikau Pobožnostj Ctěn bywá. W latině na Swětlo wydaná Od Kněze Joseffa Lauritsch z téhož Towarysstwa. A od giného Kněze též Towarysstwa Gežjssowa na Czesstinu přeložená* (Wytisstěná w Hradcy Kralowé nad Labem/v Wáclawa Jana Tybély/Léta l743), 79.

would touch the holiest paper on the picture with them and she prayed more often and in the end her husband became fed up with playing cards."[16] In general, it could be said that while for magical-curative practices prayer books were used predominantly by women, men preferred the rosary.



36/ Written, officially authenticated report (or certificate) about the miraculous recovery of a blind daughter of a burgher from Prague, State Central Archives [Národní archiv] in Prague.

Devotional objects played a special part, providing a person had it on him or her. For example, a woman who wore a picture of the Virgin Mary from Jičín stuck in her bodice as some kind of an amulet, did not forget to stress this detail in her testimony about her miraculous rescue after she had fallen down into a well. The fact that these devotional objects were considered personal protection instruments making it easier to establish a contact with the heavens was probably one of the reasons for their huge popularity in the Baroque era.

An isolated example of vampirism can be found in the printed book dedicated to miraculous visions at another Jesuit pilgrimage place – Chlumek u Luže. A dead father

[16] Ibid., 56.

reappeared in the dreams of his daughters and requested that they make a religious pilgrimage to a Marian pilgrimage place so his soul could be at peace.[17] The effects of negative powers were often pinpointed as a cause of marital quarrels.

Nevertheless, we cannot assume that miraculous visions at the Jesuit pilgrimage places were linked exclusively with the Virgin Mary. The manuscript history of the Czech Jesuit province written down by the order's historian Jan Miller offers valuable information about miracles following the intercession of the order's saints – St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier. There are some interesting items on the list. For example he mentions water of St. Ignatius, which was well known in the whole Czech province. The water helped against goitre and they would even give it to children as prophylaxis. In other places, they would sprinkle fields with it in order to protect the fields from mice and insects. Water was also used in granaries as it was supposed to ensure good threshing. Yet, St. Ignatius Loyola was mainly believed to be a protector of pregnant women.[18] Pregnant women would often place pictures of the saint or his relics on their bellies.[19]

On the other hand, St. Francis Xavier was considered the order's protector against plague. At first, after his canonization he was not worshipped much in the Czech Lands, but later his cult strengthened and he became almost as popular as St. Ignatius Loyola. It was exactly his reputation as an anti-plague saint that accounted for the strengthening of his worship in the unfortunate plague year of 1680. Special protection was provided by ten-day anti plague religious service and prayers to St. Francis Xavier.

Recovery or protection in dangerous situations were understood as a mercy calling for an act of gratitude showed by the supplicant - worshipper. Votive gifts, either in spiritual or material form, often a combination of the two were specific types of demonstration of gratitude for the bestowed grace. The given object was an expression of gratitude for the help granted, a reminder of the grace bestowed and at the same time, in a way it represented the donor. The appearance of the given object also symbolically testified to the reason for giving the gift. Rather frequent accumulation of gifts can be viewed as a clear attempt by donors to declare in a dignified way that divine grace had been bestowed on them.

Votive gifts were brought into the Jesuit pilgrimage places not only by individuals, but were also presented on behalf of individual towns, parishes or even whole domains. Donors of the paintings depicting natural disasters such as floods, conflagra-

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[17] *Pomoc Maryánská Od Pomocnjce Nebeský Neyswětěgssý Rodičky Božj Přeblahoslawené P. MARYE. W Chrámě Páně pod Kossmbergkem nad Městis Luži / na Wrssku Chlumek řečeném. S mnohými Dobrodinj a Milostmi nad Přirozenýma Pobožným Ctitelům swým Sstědře prokázaná. Nynj pak zase k rozmnoženj gegj Cti a Chwály a w této Knjžce Maryánské rozličnými Pobožnostmi a Modlitbami okrásslené Wůbec představená. Nákladem Weleslawného Bratrstwa: pod Tytulem gegjho Přeswatého Narození / Léta l676. Wyzdwiženého. S dowolením Wrchnosti.* (Wytisstěná w Hradcy Králowé nad Labem / v Wáclawa J. Tybély l711), 89-90.

[18] *Přepodiwná Matka Swato Horská Marya…*, 253; Joannes Miller, Historia Provinciae Bohemiae S. J. ab anno D. 1555 … ad annum 1723 … conscripta anno 1723, T. II, fol. 1180 (National Library In Prague XXIII C 104/II); Karel Černý, "Ostatky, zázraky a bratrstva v jezuitské koleji v Klatovech v 17. a na počátku 18. století," *Sborník prací z historie a dějin umění* 2 (2003): 57-58, 61-63.

[19] Karel Černý, "Jezuité a medicína," in *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci, Sborník příspěvků z pracovního semináře konaného ve Vranově u Brna ve dnech 4.-5.6. 2003*, ed. Ivana Čornejová (Praha: Scriptorium, 2003), 171.

tions or plague outbreaks were usually towns. The town of Kutná Hora even published in 1715 at its own expenses in a local printing house a tiny work – "New Ballads on the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora" (*Písně Nové o Panně Marii Svatohorské*) as an act of gratitude for protection of the town in the times of plague pandemic.[20]

Browsing through individual entries, one can rather frequently find among the votive objects silver or waxen imitations of male, female or child figures or parents together with their children, symbolically substituted for the supplicants and brought to the worshipped Madonna as personified religious offerings. In a similar way, there were models, usually miniatures of individual parts and organs of the human body, such as hands and arms, legs and feet, ears, teeth, breasts, lungs, stomach, shoulders and so on, representing the afflicted parts. However, a right hand could also mean a sworn gesture of obligation. Frequent depiction of a flaming heart or kneeling figure with the heart in its palms symbolized not only an organ afflicted with disease, but also a place of emotions and life and therefore hearts were often sacrificed as evidence of Christian love and complete submission to the will of God. Another example from the book from Svatá Hora is an entry from l739: "*Magdalena wife of Tomáš Hromada from Černovice, for seven weeks lay in labour and because of her faintness she was given all the last sacraments, when she could neither give birth nor die. Her husband who suffered because of sympathy for the wife, made a pilgrimage on her behalf to Svatá Hora and implored God's mother for her recovery and he was returning with big hope and he did find his wife feeling well, after successful delivery and therefore he brought two big silver hearts from his gratitude*."[21]

On the basis of the contact magic principle it was believed that, by the intercession of a patron, substitutive symbols would mediate successful fulfilment of individual wishes and commitments. Therefore there were various attributes of diseases hung in the pilgrimage places, crutches being among the most frequent sacrificed objects on the altar of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora. In a figurative sense, they could be substituted also by a bandage or gauze, which had touched the diseased part of a body, or by a firearm, stones (such as kidney or bilious stones) substituting for a cause of a misfortune or illness. Parts of clothing could be also found among gifts from Svatá Hora: "*A skirt that a girl wore when she was drowning in a well was hung as a relic in the church of Svatá Hora*."[22] Apart from frequent miniatures of a cross, a lock sometimes expressed penitent commitment. Such a symbol was given in 1730 by Dietrich Wentzl, a burgher from a town of Poděbrady for his liberation from prison, in which he was unjustly put.[23] A magical connection with the donor and element of substitutive sacrifice was also expressed in gifts of the same weight as the figure of the donor.

An absolutely specific and considering its range rather important collection of votive gifts was represented by luxurious objects from the personal belongings of supplicants who usually belonged to the well-off members of society. Apart from silver

[20] Zdeněk Tobolka, *Knihopis československých tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století* (Praha) No. 13.212.

[21] State Central Archives in Prague [Národní archiv], ŘR, sign. P-l52, Svato-Horská Kniha Třetí – year 1739, fol. 97.

[22] *Přepodiwná Matka Swato Horská Marya*…, 371-372.

[23] State Central Archives in Prague [Národní archiv], ŘR, sign. P-152, Svato-Horská Kniha Třetí – rok 1730, fol. 134.

lamps, candlesticks or candelabra and liturgical vessels, crowns, an assortment of jewels and gems such as necklaces, bracelets, rings, diamond brooches, strings of pearls, garnets, chainlets with precious metal or stone pendants, they often included expensive fabric from various materials used for covering church walls during more ceremonial pilgrimages and on special occasions in general. Traditional gifts from nobility included costly decorated dresses for a sacred sculpture, sewn from various kinds of luxurious fabric. Often the fabric was originally taken and adapted from noble ladies´ wedding dresses.[24] Sacrifice of their wedding dresses can also be viewed as an appeal to the Virgin Mary for blessing and for the success of their marriages.

Large number of expensive above-mentioned votive gifts could be accounted for by the specific set of ideas about jewels. Jewels were highly esteemed in the Early Modern period not only for its appearance and value, but mainly for their scarcity, colour and healing properties and therefore were commonly used as amulets. It is possible that the astrological attributes of individual given jewels corresponded to the zodiac sign in which a diseased person was born or that stars and zodiac signs to which specific jewels corresponded had an influence on afflicted body parts. However, there were also simple gifts such as lamp butter, scarves, ribbons or field flowers chains/chaplets among the *ex voto* offerings in Svatá Hora. Moreover, grateful parents would also leave children's swathing bands there as a sign of gratitude for the recovery of their children. Money gifts ranged in value from one to several hundreds gulden according to the social standing of the Marian worshipper. Nevertheless, waxen *vota* were one of the most frequent gifts, whether in the form of raw wax or candles. Gifts of decorated waxen columns or massive candles weighing from one to 160 pounds (1 pound = 0, 512 kg) and in height often exceeding one meter, were usually not from individuals, but from towns, parishes and particular domains.

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[24] Royt, *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, 98.

THE SUPERNATURAL AND CLAIMS OF SCIENTIFICITY IN RUSSIAN POPULAR CULTURE, 1875-1914

JULIA MANNHERZ

> ***We admit the existence of electricity, of which we know nothing, so why should there not exist some new force, as yet unknown to us. […] the spiritualists say we don't know at present what this force is, but there is a force and these are the conditions in which it functions. Let the scientists find out what the force is. No, I don't see why there should not be a new force.***[1]
>
> ***Lev Tolstoi, Anna Karenina***

Enthusiasm for science was widespread in the last decades of imperial Russia. So was the fascination with occultism, spirits of the departed and the supernatural in general. It was therefore not surprising that the sciences and the occult should meet in contested fields of scientific investigation and mystic experience.

The natural sciences have for long had a difficult relationship with elusive and borderline areas of inquiry. Such pairings of scientific and mystic inquiry as alchemy with chemistry and astrology with astronomy are well known. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when investigations into phenomena at the margins of science gained wide popularity among laypersons and scientists, the troubled relationship between the sciences and the occult gained a pressing urgency.

The 1850s and 1860s had been an exciting period for modern science in the Western world. In the Russian empire, during the period beginning with the Great Reforms in the 1860s, there was a corresponding general endorsement of and predilection for the sciences. The disaster of the Crimean War set a reform process into motion, during which progress in science and technology was urged as the means to overcome Russia's backwardness.

The increasing popularity of science can be traced through the emergence of private scientific societies, such as the Society of Admirers of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography. Many of these institutions grew out of private grass-roots discussion circles, or *kruzhki*. The Society of Admirers of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography organised hugely successful public exhibitions, while the older Free Economic Society initiated public lectures in physics, chemistry and forestry that 'were so popular that on many occasions its spacious lecture hall could not accommodate all those who attended.'[2] Similarly, when the First Congress of Russian Natural-

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[1] Lev N. Tolstoy, *Anna Karenin [sic]* (translation Rosemary Edmonds, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), 66.

[2] A. Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture, 1861-1917* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 84. Other societies that were founded during the Reform years were the Moscow Mathematical Society (1864), the Russian Chemical Society (1868) and the Physical Society (1872).

ists and Physicians met in Saint Petersburg in 1867, 600 scientists attended the convention's lectures alongside so many 'private citizens and ladies' that the 2,500 seats available at the plenary meeting of the convention were filled.[3] Although private societies contributed relatively little to the advancement of modern science, they were an unmistakable 'expression of the popular endorsement of science as a major cultural force' and functioned as a 'bridge between scientists and society at large by popularising science as a system of knowledge and a vocation.'[4] The endorsement of scientific reasoning remained an important factor in Russian culture until (and after) the end of the empire.

The enthusiasm for science and scientific knowledge was not restricted to educated society. Free public lectures addressed to the urban workforce were greeted enthusiastically. A wide range of topics was covered in such public lectures. Lectures and seminars on mechanics, physics and the natural world in general were by far the most popular. Their appeal was so great that many who came to the lecture hall after a hard day's work in the factory had to be turned away.[5] The general admiration for science is also mirrored in the popularity of science fiction, popularity, which is indicative of a sincerely felt belief in technological progress.[6]

The growing influence of science on popular attitudes and the increasing exposure of contemporaries to technology during the rapid industrialisation of the 1880s and 1890s caused a deep crisis of religious and mystical thought. This crisis was further deepened by the general disillusionment with the Russian Orthodox Church. The church was generally seen as theologically backward and a handmaiden to the state which had lost its role as an independent social force. Admiration for science in society at large gave rise to the popularisation and adaptation of worldviews that had emerged in Western Europe in an atmosphere similarly laden with enthusiasm for rationalism. French positivism, English utilitarianism, German materialism and neo-Kantianism explained nature without appealing to divine or supernatural intervention. In Russia, these philosophical concepts became widely popular in the years marked by the whole-hearted endorsement of science. Consequently, nihilism, the dominant trend in Russian philosophy of the 1860s, was enthusiastic towards science and dismissive of metaphysics. Populism, which evolved out of nihilism and dominated the 1870s, followed this appreciation of science.

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[3] Ibid., 80.

[4] Ibid., 92.

[5] Reginald Zelnik, "'To the Unaccustomed Eye': Religion and Irreligion in the Experience of St. Petersburg Workers in the 1870s," in *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs*, ed. R. Hughes and I. Paperno (Stanford: University of California Press, 1994), 61-63. See also James T. Andrews, *Science for the Masses: The Bolshevik State, Public Science, and the Popular Imagination in Soviet Russia, 1917-1934*, ed. Stjepan Mestrovic, Number Twenty-Two: Easter European Studies (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003). For programmes see for example: *Odesskaia Gorodskaia Auditoriia: Programmy obshchedostupnykh publichnykh lektsii na 1901/2 (1900/1, 1902/3, 1903/4, 1904/5) god.*, (Odessa, 1901-1904), *Sostoiashchee pod pochetnym popechitel'stvom Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Printsa Aleksandra Petrovicha Ol'denburgskogo Obshchestvo "Maiak" dlia sodeistviia nravstvennomu, umstvennomu i fizicheskomu razvitiiu molodykh liudei. Raspisanie bezplatnykh sistematicheskikh lektsii vo obshchestve "Maiak" s 4-go Ianvaria po 26-e Fevralia 1916 goda* (Petrograd, 1916).

[6] Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 26.

These developments were disconcerting for many religious thinkers, and in the late 1870s the appeal of metaphysics grew. At first, it regained respectability in philosophy with the publications of works by Boris Nikolaevich Chicherin (1828-1904) and Vladimir Sergeevich Solov'ev (1853-1900). In *Science and Religion* (1979), Chicherin expressed the view that science was shallow because it was 'limited to the explanation of purely mechanical relations', whereas religion strove for the 'living communication with the absolute.'[7] Solov'ev went further; unlike Chicherin, who defended the essential role of science in modern culture, Solov'ev stressed mystical experience over scientific epistemology. Metaphysics gained further momentum and influence in the 1890s and even more so around 1900.[8] By the turn of the century, mysticism as a counter-movement against what was increasingly perceived as 'crude materialism' became prominent among some distinguished members of the intelligentsia.

With the growing popularity of mysticism, interest in the transcendent and the supernatural also grew. Religious sects mushroomed all over Russia during the second half of the nineteenth century and movements concerned with hidden truths gained considerable followings.[9] Of the groups, which addressed supernatural and mystical matters in late imperial Russia, spiritualists were the culturally most influential. The movement was originally born in 1848 in the United States, in a climate of spiritual and political crisis and religious quest.[10] It soon spread to Western Europe, especially to Britain from where it reached Russia. After a slow start but a few high-flown scandals, it gained notoriety and a considerable following in the mid-1870s and 1880s and fascinated many ordinary Russians. The basic assumption of spiritualism is the belief in man's continued existence after death as a spirit and the notion that communication between the living and the deceased is possible. This can be achieved through a medium, a person sensitive enough to encourage spirit activity and thus to convey messages. Initial spirit activity is assumed to consist of blows and raps to the walls, ceilings or furniture. Once such phenomena are observed, a code can be agreed between the living and the ghostly visitor and messages can be exchanged. In the late nine-

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[7] B. Chicherin, *Nauka i religiia* (Moscow, 1879), 211.

[8] Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture, 1861-1917*, 234-247.

[9] See for example, Maria Carlson, "Fashionable Occultism: Spiritualism, Theosophy, Freemasonry, and Hermeticism in Fin-de-Siècle Russia," in *The Occult in Soviet and Russian Culture*, ed. Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1997), Maria Carlson, *"No Religion Higher than Truth": A History of the Theosophical Movement in Russia 1875-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), V. B. Fedjuschin, *Russlands Sehnsucht nach Spiritualität* (Schaffhausen: Novalis, 1988), Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal and Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, eds., *A Revolution of the Spirit: Crisis of Value in Russia 1890-1924* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1900), Nathan Smith, "Political Freemasonry in Russia, 1906-1918," *The Russian Review* 44 (1985).

[10] Bret E. Carroll, "Spiritualism in Antebellum America," in *Religion in North America*, eds. Catherine L. Albanese and Stephen J. Stein, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). On spiritualism see Logie Barrow, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850-1910* (London: Routledge, 1986), R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century England* (London: Virago, 1989). There is no monograph about spiritualism in Russia, but it is addressed in Carlson, "Fashionable Occultism.", Michael D. Gordin, "Loose and Baggy Spirits: Reading Dostoevskii and Mendeleev," *Slavic Review* 60 (2001), Michael D. Gordin, *A Well-Ordered Thing: Dmitrii Mendeleev and the Shadow of the Periodic Table* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).

teenth and early twentieth century, this usually involved the holding of a séance. For this purpose, sitters gathered around a table in a darkened room. They held hands, thumbs and little fingers touching, to form a chain of energy believed to assist spirit activity. Often, prayers or psalms would be recited or the group would engage in joined singing. Although this did not guarantee supernatural occurrences – in some cases nothing might happen – in other instances, knocks would be heard, messages conveyed or, if one were particularly lucky, a spirit could materialise as a radiant white figure.

One medium, the Scottish-American Daniel Dunglas Home (pronounced Hume) was particularly important in bringing spiritualism to Russia.[11] Home, who never had another profession apart from his spiritualist career and was the only medium never to have been exposed as a fraud, married into the Russian nobility in 1858 and, after the death of his first wife, again in 1870. His frequent visits to the tsarist empire were vital in introducing spiritualism to Russia. Among the people who in St. Petersburg came out of Home's séances convinced spiritualists were the chemist Aleksandr Mikhailovich Butlerov (1825-1886), a cousin to Home's second wife and inventor of structural chemistry, and Aleksandr Nikolaevich Aksakov (1832-1903).[12] Aksakov was by far the most renowned of Russia's spiritualists.[13] He was a member of the prominent Aksakov family, a nephew of the writer Sergei Timofeevich Aksakov and a cousin of the slavophiles Ivan and Konstantin. Aleksandr Nikolaevich had been educated at the imperial lycée and from an early age studied philosophy and religion, in particular Swedenborg, whose works he translated into Russian. After having become convinced of the authenticity of spiritualist phenomena, Aksakov spent the remainder of his life publicising spiritualist tenets. Before 1875, however, he hardly published anything on spiritualism in Russian, bringing out books and a journal, *Spiritistische Studien*, in Germany.

In 1875, the zoologist Nikolai Petrovich Vagner (1829-1907), a friend of Butlerov's and a prominent figure in tsarist society, too, became convinced in the reality of spirits and published his conversion in a lengthy letter to the editors in *Vestik Evropy* (*The Messenger of Europe*).[14] This article set off a lively and at times vitriolic

[11] On Home see, for example his autobiography Jean Burton, *Heyday of a Wizard: Daniel Home the Medium* (New York: Knopf, 1944), Daniel Dunglas Home, *Light and Shadows of Spiritualism* (New York, 1877).

[12] Ever since the late nineteenth century, there has been a debate over the authorship of structural chemistry. Recent research sees 'strong evidence that Kekulé, not Butlerov should be considered the originator of the structural theory.' Nathan M. Brooks, "Alexander Butlerov and the Professionalisation of Science in Russia," *The Russian Review* 57 (1998): 11.

[13] On Aksakov see A. Aksakov, *Biographische Skizze des Herausgebers der "Psychischen Studien" des Herrn Alexander N. Aksakow, Kaiserlich Russischen Wirklichen Staatsraths zu St. Petersburg. Sonder-Abzug aus den "Psychischen Studien" Monatliche Zeitschrift vorzüglich der Untersuchung der wenig gekannten Phänomene des Seelenlebens gewidmet* (translated by Gregor Constantin Wittig, Leipzig: Oswald Mutze, 1896), V. Pribytkov, "Vopros o spiritizme v Rossii," *Rebus* 19-20 (1900-1901). See also the obituaries "Aleksandr Nikolaevich Aksakov," *Rebus* 22 (1903), M. Petrovo-Solovovo, "Alexander Aksakov," *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 11 (1903-1904).

[14] N. P. Vagner, "Pis'mo k redaktoru: po povodu spiritizma," *Vestnik Evropy* (1875). On Vagner see *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia*, 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1971), *Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, (St. Petersburg, 1911-1916), "Vagner, Nikolai Petrovich," in *Kritiko-biograficheskii slovar' russkikh pisatelei i uchennykh (ot nachala russkoi obrazovannosti do nashikh dnei)*, ed. S.A. Vengerov (St. Petersburg, 1895).

debate about spiritualism in the periodical press. This fierce reaction was largely due to Vagner's and also Butlerov's exposed position as prominent scientists, as Michael Gordin convincingly argues.[15]

The most tangible result of this debate was what came to be known as 'the Mendeleev commission'. Dmitrii Ivanovich Mendeleev (1834-1907), the father of the periodic table of elements, was a colleague of both Vagner's and Butlerov's at St. Petersburg University. Mendeleev was upset about his colleagues' endorsement of spiritualism and their claims to scientificity. At his initiative, a commission was set up to investigate spiritualist phenomena.[16] However, the commission, in which Vagner, Bulterov, Aksakov and Mendeleev participated, broke apart in March 1876 without having reached any final decision on the authenticity of spiritualist phenomena. The commission and the scandal that ensued as it broke apart finally soured the relationship between Mendeleev and Butlerov. The press followed these developments closely and ensured that by the end of 1875, spiritualism was well known all over the Russian empire and among all social strata. In 1881, its renown was further strengthened by the founding of Russia's first spiritualist journal, *Rebus*. Despite encountering problems with censorship, the retired naval officer Viktor Ivanovich Pribytkov (†1910) succeeded in publishing the country's best-known and most long lived periodical devoted to spiritualism.

The era in which spiritualism arrived on the Russian stage was thus marked by a complex and fluid negotiation between the competing claims of science and mysticism. Spiritualism took on a vital role in the process. In nineteenth-century Russia, scientific progress was combined with fierce attacks on science as an epistemological method advanced by philosophers and writers. During the last decades of the tsarist empire, both the intelligentsia and the population at large were torn between the opposed and competitive currents of mysticism and admiration for sciences. But unlike other mystical currents, spiritualism promised to overcome this contradiction and indeed, it numbered among its followers, as we have seen, eminent scientists as well as outspoken mystics. Most spiritualists were not satisfied with a worldview that perceived nature in a rational and scientific manner and reserved a different level for the transcendent, thus acknowledging the existence of God and providing room for belief in life after death. What spiritualists were aspiring to was much more radical, for it was nothing less than an attempt to prove religious assumptions scientifically. Spiritualism served this purpose particularly well, since it was alleged that spirit activities as observed during séances 'provided the proof' for life after death. The confidence of spiritualists in their ability to supply evidence for this claim is illustrated by their cooperation with Mendeleev and the scientific commission of 1875. The mutual inquiries into the spirit world were broken up after a few months because – among other reasons – no agreement could be reached regarding what constituted a piece of evidence. I will argue that spiritualists created their own understanding of science and its workings and tried to use this scientific worldview to prove their beliefs about the spirit world. The search for a scientific explanation of their beliefs was painstaking, as was the involvement by acclaimed scientists in these endeavours. Many of the areas in which

[15] Gordin, *A Well-Ordered Thing*, 87-88.

[16] On the 'Mendeleev commission', see Ibid., 87-108.

spiritualists had high hopes lay at the margins of scientific inquiry, and the question of what constituted scientific knowledge as opposed to pseudoscience or simply wrong-science had – in some areas – not been answered. The success of spiritualism among contemporaries would not have been so considerable were it not for its goal of bridging the deep divide between scientific progress and mysticism.

What shall concern us here are two of the areas in which both transcendental notions and scientific theories advanced claims: x-rays and the ether. Recent developments in mathematics, physics and chemistry seemed promising and interesting for contemporaries who tried to reconcile the sciences with the supernatural world. These attempts to reconcile the supernatural with the rational were not conducted in laboratories or within universities or the Imperial Academy of Science, but rather on the pages of popular newspapers and journals. Authors with spiritualist convictions made eclectic use of these developments and strongly dismissed any views that did not agree with their conception of scientific knowledge. Some spiritualists even claimed that occultism would eventually attain the status of a science – that it was experiencing only momentary birth pangs. In arguing their case, they appropriated – and often distorted – recent discoveries in mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

The Scientificity of Spiritualism

Before spiritualists could claim to facilitate the unification of science and the supernatural, they had to demonstrate their rational convictions, which only made communication between science and spiritualism possible. One way of stressing this rationalism was through language. Spiritualist publications were obsessed with 'facts', 'proofs' and positivist language. Articles frequently bore titles like 'Dva fakta' ('Two Facts), 'Interesnyi fakt' ('An Interesting Fact'), 'Strannyi fakt' ('A Strange Fact'), 'Zamechatel'nyi fakt' ('A Remarkable Fact'), 'Fakt poslednykh dnei' ('A Recent Fact'), 'Mediumicheskii fakt' ('A Mediumistic Fact') or *Sredi zagadok bytiia: Fakty iz zhizni Okul'tista* [sic!] (*In the Midst of the Riddles of Existence: Facts from the Life of an Occultist*). The text would then often claim that this 'fact' of an apparition or something comparable provided the 'proof' that ghosts existed and that there was more to the world than was known to (some) scientists. The spiritualist use of the word 'proof' was highly controversial. Supportive evidence for the factuality of an apparition, such as witness accounts or the locked door of a room when a figure appeared suddenly, was usually taken as 'proof' not only for the occurrence in question, but also for the reality of apparitions in general. In other instances, the reference to exact instruments such as, for example, clocks that were observed at the time in question were supplied as 'proof' that certain events had actually taken place. This usage of 'proof', despite being widely deployed by the spiritualist and popular press, was, however, not generally accepted by scientists opposed to ghosts as meeting the necessary rigour of scientific methods.

The table of contents in *Rebus* – Russia's best-known spiritualist journal – further stressed claims to scientificity. It sorted most of the articles that appeared in the journal under the rubric 'Overview of Little-known Phenomena of Nature' ('Obozrenie maloissledovannykh iavlenii prirody'), while the rest were either subsumed under 'Fiction' ('Belletristika'), 'Bibliography' ('Bibliografiia') or 'Miscellaneous' ('Raznye stat'ia). In 1895, for example, 79% of the journal's articles were in favour of nature's

unknown 'facts,' only 14.3% were called fiction. 5.4% were devoted to bibliography and around 1.3% to Miscellaneous.[17] The popular journal *Spiritualist* also devoted one part of its publication to medical advice and one part to a 'Scientific (Physical) Section'.[18] Both called for a close collaboration between spiritualists and scientists and held out the promise that spiritualist assumptions could be proven by scientific concepts. The stress on scientificity in spiritualist journals attests to the authority that these organs and possibly their readers attributed to the exact academic disciplines, but it also underscores the self-perception of spiritualists as inquirers into the hidden laws of nature and the self-stylisation as a member of a scientific community, however this may be defined.

Many spiritualists were indeed quite eager to learn about scientific discoveries. Aksakov, having already developed an intense interest in Swedenborg, for example, had attended lectures in anatomy, physiology, chemistry and physics as a private student at Moscow University. Autobiographical accounts by other spiritualists suggest that Aksakov was by far not the only one to have taken a sincere interest in the sciences.

However, this passionate endorsement of the sciences was not mirrored by an equally enthusiastic reaction to spiritualism on the part of the scientific community. Of course, as has been mentioned before, some prominent researchers figured among the followers of spiritualism, but equally esteemed professors were also found among its most outspoken opponents. From some of them, spiritualists earned only hostility, derision and ridicule.

Like most other spiritualists, Aksakov was deeply disillusioned and despondent at the hostile reaction spiritualism received from many scientists. Spiritualists' passionate identification with rationalism explains the intensity of their disappointment. One way in which spiritualists reacted to this academic hostility was by fashioning themselves as proponents of a new kind of science, not yet accepted by established scientists. According to Aksakov, *"We know now that "misonémism" (the persecution of the new) is an hereditary illness of mankind. Since time immemorial some individuals have been possessed with this illness and have tried to prevent the progress of humankind and of knowledge. If professor Wundt [a critical scientist] had lived 300 years ago, he would have convicted Eusapia Paladino [a medium] to death on the pyre. He would also have hindered Galileo; especially he would have tried to prevent him from looking through a telescope. And he would have laughed at Galvani. But Galvani would have consoled himself by saying "I still know that I have discovered one of the greatest forces of nature!"*[19]

Aksakov considered spiritualism a new discipline of science which had yet to win

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[17] "Oglavlenie XIV toma," *Rebus* XIV (1895).

[18] See for example "Meditsinskii sovet," *Spiritualist. Vestnik issledovaniia v oblasti obshchenii s zagrobnom mirom. Ezhemesiachnyi illiustrirovannyi zhurnal* 1 (1905), F. Narchevskii, "Nauchnyi (fizicheskii) otdel," *Spiritualist. Vestnik issledovaniia v oblasti obshchenii s zagrobnom mirom. Ezhemesiachnyi illiustrirovannyi zhurnal* 1 (1905), "Soderzhanie," *Spiritualist. Vestnik issledovaniia v oblasti obshchenii s zagrobnom mirom. Ezhemesiachnyi illiustrirovannyi zhurnal* 1 (1905).

[19] Aleksander Nikolajewitsch Aksákow, *Animismus und Spiritismus: Versuch einer kritischen Prüfung der mediumistischen Phänomene mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Hypothesen der Halluzination und des Unbewussten. Als Entgegnung auf Dr. E. v. Hartmanns Werk "Der Spiritismus". Vierte verbesserte und um ein 'Vorwort' und eine 'Autobiographie' vermehrte Auflage* (Leipzig: Oswald Mutze, 1905), XXII.

respect from established institutions and their members, but which would eventually attain a similar status as Galileo's ideas about astronomy or Galvani's work on electricity. Not surprisingly, then, one of his publications was entitled *Spiritualizm i Nauka* (*Spiritualism and Science*). This book was a defence of spiritualism against what Aksakov saw as the witch-hunt like persecution of spiritualism. It included translations of essays by foreign scientists who were sympathetic to spiritualism, such as the British chemist Sir William Crooks (1832-1919). Even the strongly anti-spiritualistically inclined Mendeleev owned a copy of this text, 'on the cover page of which he crossed out the word "science" and underlined "spiritualism" twice with blue and orange crayons.'[20]

A second aspect of this reaction to the hostile reception of spiritualist tenets was to view scientists as people unable to explain all aspects of human experience. Spiritualists expressed suspicion about the ability of hostile scientists to explain the supernatural phenomena, which they observed during séances or in haunted houses. Many scientists – or at least those with no spiritual inclination – were portrayed as biased or simply incapable of dealing with mediumism. When strange things occurred in professor L's apartment on Furshtadtskaia Street in St. Petersburg in 1891, for example, L's friend Kh-on, a university professor of physics, was – as *Rebus* claimed – at his wits' end: '*the physicist could not explain anything.*'[21] Kh-on and his colleagues-empiricists did not have the methods and theories to explaining anything, if they rejected spiritualism.

The perception that the occult was a new scientific discipline with its own methods of observation was widespread in society at large, and the word *nauka* ('natural' but also 'social science') appeared in the titles of many publications devoted to the mysterious. For example, *Zerkalo tainykh nauk* (*The mirror of secret sciences*), a widely advertised publication, made the scientificity of the occult quite clear in its title. Other examples include 'Prof. Okkul'tist' Shavel's *Okkul'tnye Nauki: polnyi prakticheskii kurs gipnotizma, lichnogo magnetizma i vnusheniia. Telepatiia (zaochnoe vnushenie)* (*The Occult Sciences: A Complete and Practical Course of Hypnotism, Personal Magnetism and Suggestion. Telepathy (suggestion at a distance)*) and the *Katalog chernoi i beloi magi* (*Catalogue of Black and White Magic*) by 'Prof. of magic Pevzer.'[22] Claims to academic titles and university chairs for occultism by authors appeared in many texts. Filimovich declared that German universities – highly regarded institutions at the time and models for educational reform in Russia – had departments for occultism where professors supervised habilitation theses on the subject.[23] Authority could also be bestowed on the occult by reporting that famous scientists or inventors, such as Thomas Edison in 1896, performed experiments exploring

[20] Gordin, *A Well-Ordered Thing*, 85.

[21] "Tainstvennoe iavlenie," *Rebus* 11 (1892).

[22] Starshii Prof. magii Pevzer, *Noveishii katalog chernoi i beloi magii* (St. Petersburg, 1891), Iu. A. Prof. Okkul'tist Shavel', *Okkul'tnye Nauki: polnyi prakticheskii kurs gipnotizma, lichnogo magnetizma i vnusheniia. Telepatiia (zaochnoe vnushenie)* (St. Petersburg, 1912), "Zerkalo tainykh nauk," *Peterburgskii listok* (10 March 1916), "Zerkalo tainykh nauk.", *Zerkalo tainykh nauk ili otrazhenie sud'by cheloveka: Polnyi kurs gipnotizma*, (Moscow, 1914).

[23] V. D. Filimovich, *Chistaia Khiromantiia: Populiarnoe rukovodstvo k ee izucheniiu. S 6-iu risunkami ruk.* (St. Petersburg, 1906).

telepathy or other inexplicable phenomena.[24] The frequent allusions to institutions of higher education and to academic titles were part of the attempt to place the occult within the realm of the sciences and lend the mysterious the authority conferred by university degrees and esteemed institutions.

While non-spiritualist scientists discredited spiritualist claims to scientificity, some highly regarded researchers wholeheartedly embraced spiritualism. As discussed, these included the chemist Aleksandr Butlerov and the zoologist Nikolai Vagner. The appeal of spiritualism among scientists was not a peculiarly Russian phenomenon. In Britain the chemist William Crookes supported spiritualism, as did Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913). Marie Curie (1867-1834) was a member of the Society for Psychical Research and attended Paladino's séances, as did Guiseppe Gerósa in Italy. Historians and biographers have long tried to come to grips with these seemingly contradictory interests of some of the greatest scientists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Most historians have stressed the incompatibility of science and spiritualism and have interpreted the interests of some scientists in the mystical as an aberration. Alexander Vucinich, for example, perceived a deep divide between the Butlerov of the chemistry laboratory and the one of the séance gathering: *Butlerov the scientist was completely separated from Butlerov the spiritualist. Butlerov the scientist was a model of perfect adjustment to the great advances in the codification of scientific theory; Butlerov the spiritualist was influenced by the upper classes of St. Petersburg, who searched for a world unaffected by the challenges of "materialistic" knowledge and the failings of a disintegrating value system*.[25]

Most later works – particularly Soviet biographies or articles in Soviet encyclopaedias – preferred to bypass the question by ignoring Butlerov's interest in spiritualism.[26] More recent work on Western spiritualism has often adopted a similar view. Janet Oppenheim, in her study on spiritualism and psychical research in England, struggles to explain why esteemed scientists spent 'thousands of hours' investigating the phenomena of darkened rooms, a pursuit she regards as diametrically opposed to proper scientific investigation.[27] This is indeed, a difficult question to answer. It is, however, important not to ignore two important aspects of science: that science and scientists do not operate outside their cultural and social context, and that the meaning and connotations of 'science', especially in areas that lie on the fringes of scientific investigation, change over time. Butlerov, Vagner, Crookes and others were neither the first nor the last to investigate areas, which their successors did not regard as worthy of scientific research. Isaac Newton's work on alchemy is one such example. It has been argued that Newton's long-lasting commitment to alchemy provided him with vital stimulation for his groundbreaking formulation of mechanical laws.[28] Spiritualism was

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[24] "Opyty T. Edisona, prof. Tomsona i d-ra Drakulisa s iasnovidiashchim B. Rizom," *Malen'kaia gazeta* (1916).

[25] Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture, 1861-1917*, 145.

[26] For an extremely distorted account see A. E. Arbuzov, *A. M. Butlerov - velikii russkii khimik: stenogramma publichnoi lektsii, prochitannoi v Kazani* (Moscow: Tipografiia gazety "Pravdy", 1949).

[27] Oppenheim, *The Other World*.

[28] On Newton's interest in alchemy see Richard S. Westfall, "The Influence of Alchemy on Newton," in *Science, Pseudo-Science and Society*, eds. Marsha P. Hanen, Margaret J. Osler, and Robert G. Weyant (Waterloo, Ontario, 1980). Present-day examples of physicists interested in the supernatural from the University

culturally highly influential in the late nineteenth century, and it is therefore not surprising that scientists as well as non-academics should take up the subject. Successful scientists commonly have an open mind – groundbreaking discoveries are not likely to be made by traditionalists – and are curious to delve into unknown phenomena. Scientific curiosity can explain why Butlerov, Vagner and Mendeleev spent time assessing spiritualist events.

Even if Butlerov's hope that spiritualism would be compatible with chemistry or mathematics was rejected by posterity, this does not mean that his endeavours should be dismissed out of hand as non-scientific without further investigation. It is to two of these attempts at incorporating the supernatural in the fields of physics and chemistry that we shall now turn.

X-rays and Nature's Invisible Forces

In November 1895, Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen discovered a hitherto unknown form of radiation that he called x-rays. In the following year, x-rays and the possibility of seeing through objects that were not transparent to light fascinated the reading public of Europe. Sketches and photographs depicting both x-ray photographs and the act of taking them regularly appeared in print.[29] In Russia, as elsewhere in Europe, some saw the new radiation as evidence that more things existed in nature than could be perceived by the ordinary senses. '*To gain an idea about the real world in its wholeness, we would probably need a sixth, a seventh and maybe even an eighth sense. […] We do not have an organ that is able to perceive x-rays, but flies, for instance do,' Novosti i birzhevaia gazeta* wrote in 1901.[30] Some publications regarded x-rays and radiation as natural phenomena similar to animal magnetism: invisible but with obvious effects on visible bodies.[31] X-rays became linked to other incomprehensible phenomena, among which spiritualism was very prominent. Like mediumistic phenomena, x-rays seemed inexplicable. They were furthermore associated with the mysterious in staged shows that made use of the new technology. Thus the popular newspaper *Peterburgskii listok* (*The Petersburg Flyer*) printed a report of an evening in Paris where x-rays and their fluorescent effects on some salts were used to stage 'miracles': a tray with a jug and glasses took to the air and 'dispensed fiery water' before a spectre appeared. In this article, x-rays were advanced as a scientific explanation for the phenomena of séances: 'if we assume that x-rays were known before under a different name' *Peterburgskii listok* wrote 'then many of the miracles of spiritualism, clothed in mysterious secrecy by the successors of Home & Co., become dexterous and successful tricks'.[32]

of Cambridge alone include the physicist turned Anglican priest Sir John Polkinghorne and the Nobel laureate Brian Josephson.

[29] Ines Kaplan, "Röntgeneuphorie und Experimentierlust: Reaktionen auf die Entdeckung der Röntgenstrahlen in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Witzblättern (1896/97). Magisterarbeit," (Münster, 2003). For Russia, see for example "Iks-luchi i kontrabanda," *Peterburgskii listok* (14.6., 1897). Another indication of the cultural importance of x-rays can be found in volume 52 of the encyclopaedia by Brokgauz and Efron, which, barely four years after their discovery, devoted almost five pages to the matter, including one page of x-ray photographs. *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (St. Petersburg, 1891-1904).

[30] "Nauchnye novosti," *Novosti i birzhevaia gazeta* (12 June 1901).

[31] *Sovet okkul'tista: Kak predokhranit' semia ot chumy. Lektsiia, chitannaia v chastnom kruzhke issledovatelei psikhizma v S.-Peterburge* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 11.

[32] "Iks-luchi i spiritizm," *Peterburgskii listok* (1897).

Rebus, of course, vehemently rejected the claim that mediums were simply making use of forces that had yet to be discovered by physicists: If x-rays '*were known to participants of séances, they would never have concealed them from men of science*.' To the editors of the spiritualist journal, x-rays were a clear indication that invisible spiritual forces existed and would also be discovered in due course.[33]

X-rays not only provided occultists with new evidence for the existence of invisible powers, they also sparked an increase of publications on cases of clairvoyance in which the defining feature was not prophesy but rather the ability to see through non-transparent matter, such as envelopes and wooden boxes. Although such occultists as Elena Blavatskaia (1831-1891), had for some time claimed to be able to read sealed letters, the number of people able to see through matter seems to have increased in the years following Röntgen's discovery.[34] In 1894, the Russian Society for Experimental Psychology had devoted a few meetings to the clairvoyant abilities of Sofiia Aleksandrovna Monoenkova of Tambov.[35] The daughter of a local nobleman and inmate of an asylum was apparently able to read not only sealed letters, but also the German language newspapers in which they had been wrapped. She could also see through a wooden box in which the letter and newspapers had been placed.[36] However, it was not until 1898, that Monoenkova's abilities became known to a broader audience. In this year, her doctor, A. N. Khovrin, published an extensive article about his patient in *Voprosy nervno-psikhicheskoi meditsiny* (*Questions of Neuro-Psychical Medicine*). News about M-va's feats also appeared in the newspaper *Novoe vremia* (*The New Times*), *Rebus* and even in the London based *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*.[37] Her abilities to read sealed letters even if they were wrapped in newspaper-sheets and placed in boxes thus became known to a broad audience. It is not coincidental that the reports about S. A. Monoenkova were received with considerable interest in a public climate captivated by the phenomena of x-rays, while they had largely been ignored in the years preceding Röntgen's discovery. The inspiration magicians and occultists drew from x-rays seems to have been considerable. In 1899, a fortune-teller could perceive the dark shadowy figures of the dead that had been close to her clients. The description of these dark appearances evokes the dark reflections of the human body on x-ray plates.[38] From 1904 to 1907, two 'Indian' fakirs on Russian

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[33] "Fal'sifikatsiia mediumicheskikh iavlenii," *Rebus* 16 (1897): 241.

[34] On Blavatskaia see Vs. Solov'ev, "Interesnyi fakt," *Rebus* 3 (1884).

[35] For the scattered pieces of evidence that establish her identity, see A. N. Khovrin, "Redkaia forma giperestezii vysshikh organov chuvstv. (Eksperimental'nye nabliudeniia nad usilennoi razlichitel'noi sposobnost'iu v odnom sluchae bol'shoi isterii)," *Voprosy nervno-psikhicheskoi meditsiny*. III (1898), M. Petrovo-Solovovo, "Account of some experiments in apparent clairvoyance," *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 6 (1893-1894), M. Petrovo-Solovovo, "Letter to the editors of Journal of the Society for Psychical Research," in *Archive of the Society for Psychical Research. Journals and Proceedings. Box: Journal Vol. V-VII* (1893).

[36] "Protokol' 1-go Obshego Sobraniia v 1892 godu, sostoiavshegosia 21 oktabria," *Protokoly russkogo obshchestva eksperimental'noi psikhologii. Supplement to: Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii. Izdanie moskovskogo psikhologicheskogo obshchestva.* V (1894).

[37] Khovrin, "Redkaia forma giperestezii.", L.G. Korchagin, "Pervyi nauchnyi opyt iasnovideniia v Rossii," *Rebus* 17 (1898), Walter Leaf, "Mr Petrovo-Solovovo on Spiritism," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* XIX (1905-1907), V. S. R., "Tambovskaia iasnovidiashchaia," *Novoe vremia* (12.8., 1898).

[38] O. Stano, "Iasnovidiashchaia v S.-Peterburgskom mediumicheskom kruzhke," *Rebus* 18 (1899).

stages similarly read sealed letters and then acted according to instructions given in them.[39]

New scientific discoveries thus not only provided spiritualists with welcome theories about the invisible nature of reality's stunning manifestations, they also influenced the form of supernatural phenomena themselves.

The Ether: A Material and Simultaneously Spiritual Substance

Another field to which occultists laid claims was chemistry. Spiritualists had especially high hopes in ether, a universal substance believed to permeate all matter and space. The hypothesis of the existence of ether is ancient. 'Even before Aristotelian mechanics posited an ether to fill the heavens' plenum, there had been discussion of an ethereal substance which penetrated all things.'[40] The 'modern' concept of ether dates back to Newton. 'Ether then began to be understood as a "subtle fluid" which carried a variety of effects: light, heat, electricity, chemical action, and gravity.'[41] In the nineteenth century, ether was also believed to carry electromagnetic waves, such as x-rays, in a manner analogous to the way in which sound waves are transmitted by elastic media such as air.[42] However, an older disagreement over what constituted ether was still present at that time. One view, first formulated by Descartes and criticised by Newton, proposed that all normal matter was made up of ether, the 'primeval substance'. The opposing, more accepted view, advanced by Newton himself and later by Maxwell, interpreted ether as a 'material substance of a more subtle kind than visible bodies' that permeated empty space but did not interact with other matter.[43] The ether was a resilient notion which, even after receiving a severe blow by the Michelson-Morley experiment in 1881 and 'its supposed abolition by Albert Einstein's 1905 Special Theory of Relativity [continued to attract] many physical scientists for non-technical reasons.'[44]

The ether aroused considerable interest in nineteenth-century Russia, both among scientists and occultists. In St. Petersburg in the 1870s, Dmitrii Mendeleev conducted a research project that aimed to define the gaseous substance. He hoped the ether would explain discrepancies in measurements of gas expansion. Mendeleev was quite convinced that the ether existed and assumed that it would be considerably lighter than hydrogen. Thus ether was thought to occupy a place at the very beginning of the periodic table. Mendeleev also maintained that matter was '*divided into "corporeal" and*

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[39] *Otzyvy Russkoi Pressy po povodu zagadochno-porazitel'nogo seansa Indiiskikh fakirov g-zhi Saadi-Dzhebbari i g-zha Solimana Ben-Saida imeiushchego byt' u nas v gorode* (Khar'kov, 1904), *Otzyvy Russkoi Pressy po povodu zagadochno-porazitel'nogo seansa Indiiskikh fakirov g-zhi Saadi-Dzhebbari i g-zha Solimana Ben-Saida imeiushchego byt' u nas v gorode* (Vil'na, 1905), *Otzyvy Russkoi Pressy po povodu zagadochno-porazitel'nogo seansa Indiiskikh fakirov g-zhi Saadi-Dzhebbari i g-zha Solimana Ben-Saida imeiushchego byt' u nas v gorode* (Kazan', 1907).

[40] Gordin, *A Well-Ordered Thing*, 52.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Compare James Clerk Maxwell's influential article "Ether," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9 ed. (London, 1878), vol.viii.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Gordin, *A Well-Ordered Thing*, 54. The Michelson-Morley experiment influenced Einstein's development of special relativity and led to his proposal that the velocity of light was a universal constant. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, London, New Delhi & others: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002). vol. 8.

"ethereal" atoms, the interactions between which explained the phenomena of heat and light in chemical reactions.'[45] However, after several years, Mendeleev's and his assistants' many experiments came to nothing and Mendeleev gave up on the concept.[46]

Occultists were as intrigued by ether as physicists were. References to the fleeting substance appear in pamphlets and articles on the occult until the revolution. However, as in other instances such as the case of mathematics and the fourth dimension, occultists added spirits to the equation.[47] In the case of ether, spiritualists again appropriated concepts that were at the forefront of scientific debates, embedding such concepts into their worldview, in which ghosts of the departed played a vital role.

Occultists repeated long held assumption about the characteristics of ether but often borrowed eclectically from scientific conjecture and mixed different concepts. In many instances, their commentaries were extremely contradictory. The author of *Sovet Okkul'tista: Kak predokhranit' sebia ot chumy* (*An Occultist's Advice: How to Guard Oneself from the Plague*) explained that ether 'penetrates the whole world and connects with rays of light, with gravity and many other physical and psychological factors – many of which are to this date unknown to mankind – one solar or astral system to the other, the sky to the earth, men, and plants to stones.'[48] Aleksandr Konstantinovich Bodisko stated in an interview for *Peterburgskaia gazeta* (*The Petersburg Gazette*) that the energy of life, which for him was the same as ether, 'was extended everywhere in nature'.[49] The occultist concerned with the plague went even further and stated that everything was made up of ether. '*This ether constitutes matter, its atoms are like concentrated, like thickened energy*.'[50] He took some inspiration for his views from the discovery of the electron in 1897: '*The vortex of ether, no matter which, even if tiny, are electrons, i.e. material particles. This is indeed a special energy that is manifested in the whirling movements of ether. […] if their movement would stop – [the matter] would immediately vanish into the ether without leaving the smallest trace*.'[51] It is not logical that ether should simultaneously be an atom and, when in motion, become an electron, while at the same time being without matter at all, but the occultist's point seems clear: ether penetrates everything and is the building block of the physical world. Dr. Pogorel'skii in his quasi-scientific treatment of hypnotism, another contested field between science and the supernatural, explained the influence of one person on another and 'human electricity' with ether.[52] However fugitive and light

[45] Gordin, *A Well-Ordered Thing*, 52-54.

[46] Mendeleev's research project was conducted on such a large scale that his biographer sees these experiments as an early example of 'big science.' Ibid., chapter 3.

[47] On the fourth dimension and spiritualism, see Julia Mannherz, "Popular Occultism in Late Imperial Russia.," (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2004), 177-185.

[48] *Sovet okkul'tista: Kak predokhranit' semia ot chumy. Lektsiia, chitannaia v chastnom kruzhke issledovatelei psikhizma v S.-Peterburge,* 10.

[49] Vik. P., "Peterburgskie spirity V: U A. K. Bodisko," *Peterburgskaia gazeta* (1893).

[50] *Sovet okkul'tista: Kak predokhranit' semia ot chumy. Lektsiia, chitannaia v chastnom kruzhke issledovatelei psikhizma v S.-Peterburge,* 8.

[51] Ibid., 8-9.

[52] Dr. M.V. Pogorel'skii, *Elektrofotosfeny i energografiia kak ukazatel'stvo sushchestvovaniia fiziologicheskoi poliarnoi energii ili tak nazyvaemogo zhivotnogo magnetizma i ikh znacheniia dlia meditsiny i estestvoznaniia. S 48 fotografiiami i 2 fototipiiami, s prilozheniem portreta i faksimile avtora* (St.

ether was in chemical conjectures, it was not at the same time matter and non-matter.

For some occultists, ether was not only material, but also spiritual: according to Viktor Segno, ether – which for him equalled ethereal energy – was created in the brain when thinking.[53] The mental and material quality of ether was mirrored by spiritualist claims regarding the material property of ghosts, especially during spirit materialisation. For spiritualists, ether could explain many of the mysterious characteristics of spirits and séances. Why, many adversaries of spiritualism asked, did spiritualist séances require darkness? Could charges of fraudulent behaviour not be ruled out easily if séances were held in well-lit rooms instead of dark chambers? Spiritualists responded that spirits were essentially ethereal beings, weightless (the confusion whether ether was material or not is obvious here), almost undetectable yet present everywhere. Light, which after all consisted of waves, washed away these most delicate beings, dispersing the matter they were made of over a huge space. Various wavelengths, i.e. light of different colours, had distinctive influences on spirits in their material form. After numerous experiments, one spiritualist was able to conclude: '*Violet […] turned out to be even more disadvantageous than the influence of white light. Red turned out to be considerably more favourable […] I found out that orange is the colour most favourable, allowing the invisible beings to guard their material form from dispersion. […] Photographers know very well that orange is the colour which has the least influence on the sensitive plate.*'[54] The influence and endorsement of technology on spiritualists is, once more, obvious in this statement. If spirits were of such an airy quality that even light waves could disperse their materialisations, then, sitters needed to provide ideal circumstances in order to observe the spirits as a white cloud or figure. Materialisations of spirits, it was believed, were only possible if the medium or the chain of assembled sitters provided the spirits with some of their own energy and matter. Spirit materialisations thus depended on emanations of the omnipresent fluid from the body of at least the medium. If this fluid could be provided and if darkness guarded the spirits from being blown away by light, then the marvels of materialisation could be observed.[55]

Another theory advanced argued that spirits were made up of especially low wavelengths of air. This is similar to the claim that spirits are gaseous beings, although it did not necessarily assert that they were ethereal.[56]

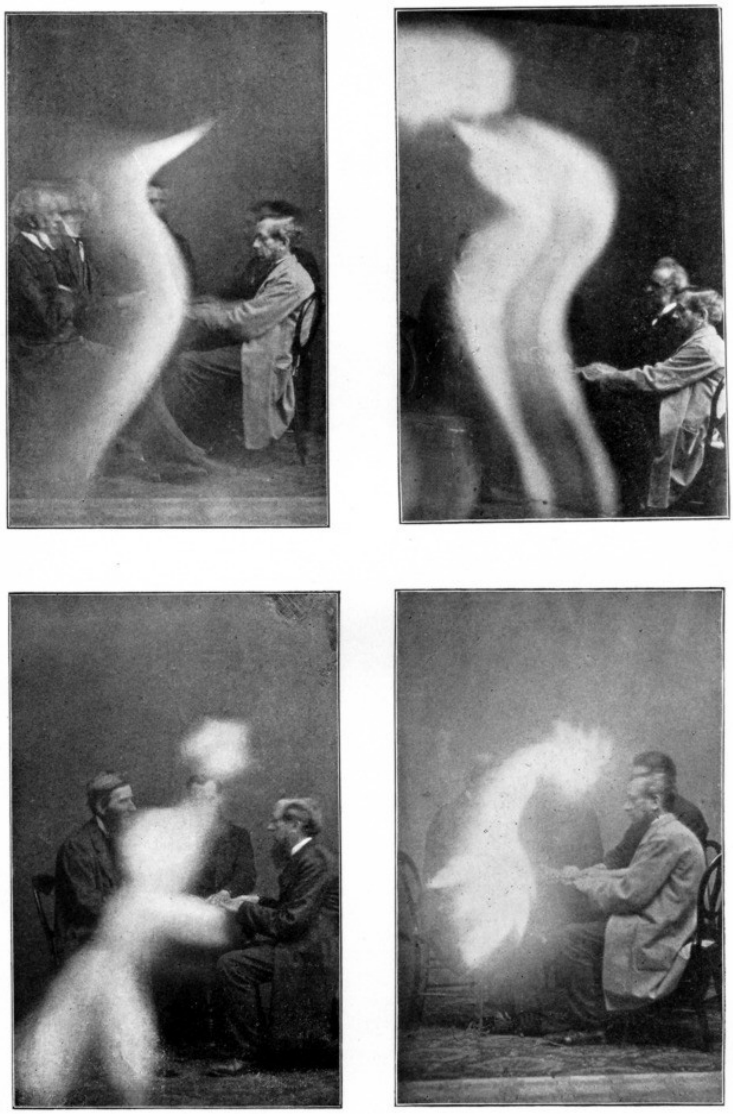
Petersburg, 1899), Dr. M.V. Pogorel'skii, "Pis'ma o zhivotnom magnetizme," *Rebus* 18 (1899): 69.

[53] A. V. Segno, *Zakon mentalizma: Prakticheskoe nauchnoe ob"iasnenie mysli i dushevnoi sily, zakon upravliaiushchii vsemi myslennymi i fizicheskimi deistviiami i iavleniiami, sushchnost' zhizni i smerti*, 47 ed. (Moscow, 1912), 16.

[54] Matv. Fidler, "Vliianie sveta na materializatsiiu," *Rebus* 7 (1888): 316. An almost identical article is reprinted as Fil'der, "O vlianii sveta na materializatsiiu "dukhov"," *Rebus* 14 (1895). Fidler and Fil'der are probably one and the same author, despite the different spelling of the name.

[55] See also D. O. Karabanovich, "Novoe uchenie o bessmertii," *Rebus* 34 (1915).

[56] "Religiia s filosovskoi tochki zreniia i sopostovlenie ucheniia khristianskoi tserkvi s ucheniem spiritizma," *Spiritualist. Vestnik issledovaniia v oblasti obshchenii s zagrobnom mirom. Ezhemesiachnyi illiustrirovannyi zhurnal* 1 (1905).



37/ Example of ghost photography taken during a séance. From Aleksander Nikolajewitsch Aksákow, Animismus und Spiritismus: Versuch einer kritischen Prüfung der mediumistischen Phänomene mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Hypothesen der Halluzination und des Unbewussten. Als Entgegnung auf Dr. E. v. Hartmanns Werk "Der Spiritismus." Vierte verbesserte und um ein 'Vorwort' und eine 'Autobiographie' vermehrte Auflage (Leipzig: Mutze, 1905).

Spiritualists would not let themselves be pinned down as to whether the ether, which made up spirits was material or not. Only by understanding ether as a simultaneously material and immaterial substance could spirits be washed away by light, vanish into immateriality, guard their material form when exposed to orange light and take on material form during séances.

As was the case with occult interpretations of other scientific concepts, spiritualists interpreted scientific debates within their belief system. If ghosts existed, then a contradictory understanding of the ether could provide some explanations for the spirits' preference for dark rooms and the need to form an energy chain of sitters. What could not be logically argued, however, was the existence of spirits. Despite this, most spiritualists repeatedly claimed that the ether provided the 'proof' of their beliefs. The 'proofs', however did not meet the standards of scientific rigour and it was these claims that so enraged scientists like Mendeleev: spiritualists used scientific concepts to bestow their convictions with the authority of science. Creative interpretations of some scientific ideas paired with the unquestioned presumption of the existence of spirits were then used to make a case for spiritualist notions. This gave rise to many critical portrayals of spiritualism, not only in lectures and texts written by scientists like Mendeleev, but also in popular culture.

Science thus played a central part in spiritualists' worldview, but the relationship between spiritualism and science remained ambiguous. Scientific authority was too well established to be toppled and replaced by attitudes stressing the mystical only. Spiritualists realised this, for they did not try to displace science so much as to gain access into its inner circle and claim some of its authority for their own beliefs and their sincere attempts to unite the supernatural and science.

However, spiritualists did not succeed in this attempt. To paraphrase the French philosopher Foucault, proponents of scientific disciplines could never accept the spiritualist discourse as a part of theirs. For Foucault, the use of terminology is paramount in determining whether a certain discourse will be accepted into another. Although spiritualists did use terminology appropriate to scientific discourse (electricity, x-rays, experiments, facts, etc.) they would not relinquish those expressions that were in no way permissible for the scientific community (spirits, mediumistic fluids, materialisations). Spiritualist discourse thus remained at the fringes of the scientific discourse, despite its frequent attempts to gain acceptance into the debates of the larger scientific community. Spiritualist claims were not even granted the status of "wrong science": most scientists simply denied spiritualists the privilege of partaking in the scientific discourse at all. According to Foucault, scientific debate is shielded off from other modes of discourse by more than the metaphors of its discourse. Authors of articles in scientific journals and speakers at conferences must have the seal of academic approval. In some cases, spiritualists fulfilled this necessary prerequisite and some speakers who took to the floor of scientific debate in defence of spiritualism were academic authorities. Men like Butlerov and Vagner could and did refer to their scientific training and titles. As we have seen, it was precisely this that angered other scientists who did not approve of the table-turning craze. When it came to the institutions of scientific life and the media for transmitting scientific views (i.e. journals and meetings), spiritualists never made it into the inner sanctum of scientific debate. Butlerov did try to penetrate this space back in 1883, when he chose to give his talk at the VII Con-

gress of Russian Naturalists on spiritualism. This gained him admiration from his spiritualist peers, but it was a cause of derision and ridicule at the conference.[57] Spiritualism was thus not permitted the rank of a scientific discipline, despite the repeated efforts and claims by mysticist authors to the effect that mediumistic manifestations were truly scientific.

Spiritualists thus failed to reconcile old values with new authorities in a single theory. Neither the Academy of Science nor the Orthodox Church were positively inclined towards their endeavours. Consequently spiritualists had to fight off attacks from both camps. Their attempt at modernisation and reconciliation did not find unequivocal approval and consent. Claims about supernatural beings and about religion were both difficult to prove scientifically; this was a problem something theologians had come to realise many centuries earlier when their proofs of the existence of God all turned out to be inadequate. Science, too, could not easily be forced into a union in which room had to be made for spiritual and elusive forces. People who wanted to remain loyal to both their ancestral faith and to the laws of modern science had to find a solution other than the mixing of the two.

Conclusion

Enthusiasm for science and scientific explanations was widespread in post-Reform Russia, as in other parts of the Western world. Science had become the explanatory model *par excellence*. This authority, however, did not remain unchallenged. With the reappraisal of mysticism within philosophical discussions and within society at large, scientists felt they had to defend the position of the exact disciplines as the most potent instrument of persuasion.

One challenge to science, or so some scientists perceived it, came from spiritualists, people passionately in favour of science but with the equally strong wish to reconcile the sciences and the supernatural experience. New physical and chemical discoveries such as x-rays could, mystics hoped, be used to shed light on the spirit world. Spiritualists also sought to explain spirits with chemistry, referring to the gaseous ether, a substance that was thought to be both material and immaterial and which allegedly penetrated everything and was, at the same time, the building block of the material world.

Despite aims to unite science and the occult, the relationship between the two remained contested. Science remained the prime instrument of persuasion. Spiritualists did not only accept this, they also used it: scientists who spoke out in support of occult notions were eagerly advanced as authorities. At the same time, however, fierce attacks on scholars rejecting mysterious creeds were also frequent. Scientists opposed to beliefs in spirits joined the debate by writing elaborate essays against spiritualism. Spiritualists reacted by declaring their beliefs a new and revolutionary science, not yet accepted by established researchers but one, which would, sooner or later, be recognised in its far-reaching explanatory power.

At the same time, scientific discoveries served clearly as an inspirational source for occultists. Spiritualists advanced their own understanding of proof. Supernatural

[57] V. Pribytkov, "Vopros o spiritizme v Rossii," *Rebus* 20 (1901): no. 5. On Foucault, the necessary metaphors within a given discipline and the restriction on actors on the scientific stage see Michel Foucault, *Die Ordnung des Diskurses*, 7 ed. (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2000), 22-26.

'miracles' mirrored x-rays to a remarkable extent and spirit materialisations reacted to light in a way that was not dissimilar to the effect of light during the development process in a photographic laboratory. In the end, however, spiritualists failed to unite the authority of science with a worldview that allowed for supernatural interference in human affairs. Despite all this, fin-de-siècle spiritualism had a lasting influence not only on European culture in general, but also on science. In Russia, as elsewhere, spiritualists reasserted the role and the importance of the human soul; they were among the first to embrace new forms of psychology and psychiatry such as psychoanalysis.[58] "*Just as psychiatry had reacted against the concept of the soul in establishing itself as a legitimate branch of medical science, psychoanalysis was established in a reaction against the biological model of the diseased brain as the primary explanatory theory of mental illness*."[59] Spiritualist belief and publications almost certainly prepared the ground for this development. Despite the failure to unite science and occult forces, spiritualism thus had an impact, albeit belated and unforeseen, within academic institutions.

[58] See for example Carl Gustav Jung, "The Psychological Foundations of Belief in Spirits: Read at a General Meeting of the Society on July 4, 1919," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* XXXI (1920-1921), "Review: Zur Psychologie und Pathologie sogenannter occulter Phänomene. Jung. Leipzig 1902," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* XVII (1901-1903).

[59] Martin A. Miller, *Freud and the Bolsheviks: Psychoanalysis in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 20.

MAGIC ELEMENTS IN SLOVAK ROMANTIC BALLADS

IRENA MALEC

Interest in folk oral literature was a general European phenomenon in the period of Romanticism. The motifs of folk poetry penetrated into creative artistic writing in German, English, Polish and Czech literature. Romantic thinking in these literatures was based on the contrasts between nature and culture, emotion and reason, life and civilization, living and dead truths and laws. By returning to nature, Romanticism opposed Classical artificiality and a civilization based on rational consideration.

Romantic literature wanted to grasp the mystery and essence of modern man in their whole breadth. With the help of new language and new literary forms, it wanted to express the mysterious symbolism of nature, reality and the universe.[1] In Slovak Romantic literature, the return to nature and to oral folklore became a constitutive element of the emerging national literature. Oral folklore became a basic source of inspiration for national literature, with an idealised and absolutised value, which had to be evidence confirming the maturity of the Slovak language, codified in 1843. However, the exclusivity, exoticness and magic of oral folklore were kept only in ballads. Perhaps the ballads were the only genre of Slovak Romantic creative writing not subordinated to national ideology and the need to confirm the identity of the Slovak nation. The creators of Slovak Romantic ballads – Janko Kráľ and Ján Botto used themes and approaches of contemporary European ballads and like other creators of this genre, such as Gottfried August Bürger, Johann Wolfgang Goethe in Germany, František Ladislav Čelakovský and Karol Jaromír Erben in Bohemia and Adam Mickiewicz in Poland turned their attention to nature and the simple person, living in close connection with nature. In harmony with the European tradition of the time, they regarded nature as a living organism connecting the irrational, mysterious world of spirits and the afterlife with the concrete everyday world of people. Therefore, the miraculous, the strange and the constant presence of supernatural powers guarding the moral order on earth are characteristic features of these compositions.

The characteristic timelessness also contributes to the atmosphere of balladic mystery and magic. The genre of the ballad liberates from strict use of historical and socio-national motifs, which would define the event in time or space. The story can happen in any place or time to anybody, who crosses the boundaries determined by nature and religion. It is an eternal present determined only by the natural time of day and night.

The absence of sun light, mysterious darkness, especially midnight, creates space for the activity of magic, devils and demons. Therefore, the fatal meeting of the human with demonic beings such as devils, witches, mermaids or water nymphs usually takes place in the middle of the night. Darkness increases the emotional tension and sharp-

[1] Maria Janion, *Gorączka romantyczna* (Kraków: Universitas, 2000), 24.

ens the tragicness of the situation. When the event occurs during the day, it is usually a Christian feast day, such as Christmas Eve or the Ascension, the power of which should increase the effect of magic acts.

The ballad as a composition "*with a gloomy event leading to a tragic encounter of a person with a demonic force*,"[2] also shapes a "new geography,"[3] which ignores the sacred national topographic places typical of Slovak Romanticism, the symbolic outlining of the frontiers of the homeland. The location of the event is entirely subordinate to the encounter of the real and magic worlds. Thus, the action of ballads occurs in ordinary places belonging to everyday life such as the home (Ján Botto: *Žltá ľalija*, Janko Kráľ: *Bezbožné dievky*), water (Ján Botto: *Margita a Besná*, Janko Kráľ: *Zakliata panna vo Váhu a divný Janko*), a forest (Ján Botto: *Ctibor*), a chapel (Ján Botto: *Lucijný stolček*) and a cemetery (Janko Kráľ: *Kríž a čiapka*).[4]

The world of wonders, miracles and romantic fantasy intrudes into this ordinary, familiar, often very idyllic space. These two worlds are very closely connected in the life of the simple village person. One cannot exist without the other. The mysterious, miraculous, dangerous, otherworldly is an inseparable part of the everyday existence and faith of the village people. Miraculous elements are constantly present in stories, songs and especially in folk, or according to the romantics' age-old moral commandments and taboos. Faith in demons and the mysterious forces of nature is inseparably connected with religion and faith in God. Both determine the action of the characters and events of compositions. Religion and magic guard the boundaries of ethics and morality together.

The connection of the real world with nature evokes an atmosphere of disturbance and mystery in ballads. This comes before the encounter of the person with the mysterious powers. Although direct descriptions of nature are not common in ballads, they have a very strong emotional charge and became romantic stereotypes of mystery. Wild abandoned fields, cliffs, silence, sudden gusts of wind, dry cracked branches, running water in a lake or river and moon light are the basic attributes of the balladic environment, in which occur the events of stories soaked in questions of guilt and punishment, conscience and penalties.

The supernatural world directly intervenes in earthly events. It is the invisible judge, which restores the violated moral order in the human world. The earthly representative of the balladic supernatural world is nature – mysterious, dangerous, threatening, which fascinates and terrifies. "The magic romantic theatre occurs in such an environment."[5]

The heroes of the romantic ballads are most frequently young, inquisitive members of the simple village people. In contrast to the idealised young peasants in Slovak national revivalist poetry such as that of Andrej Sládkovič, the heroes of romantic ballads are not symbols of higher ideas or of national life. The genre of the ballad does not allow the transfer of the connection of the common people with nature and its mysterious forces into the area of the creation of national identity. The main figures of

[2] Štěpán Vlašín, *Slovník literární teorie* (Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1977), 40.

[3] Alina Witkowska and Ryszard Przybylski, eds., *Romantyzm* (Warsaw: PWN, 1997), 250.

[4] Ján Botto, *Súborné dielo* (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1955), 335, 345, 342, 333. Janko Kráľ, *Súborné dielo* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1952), 112, 89, 108.

[5] Witkowska and Przybylski, *Romantyzm*, 250.

Slovak romantic ballads are, therefore, daughters and sons of the night, nature and cemeteries. They are deeply experiencing heroes, who realize their existence, declared religion and the metaphysical aspect of life. In their action they represent first of all themselves, their own physicality and personal, sometimes egoistic desires. They are directed by emotions, inner voices and premonitions. They are aware of themselves, their needs, feelings and fears. It is especially their internal, psychic abilities, personal desires, thoughts, feelings and urges that brings them closer to nature and its mysteries. Through these phenomena, they present their physicality, intimate desires and sexuality. The characters in the ballads are mainly bearers of the so-called low emotions. Jealousy, envy, inconstancy in feelings, distrust towards age-old moral taboos, which lead to the fatal encounter with the mysterious, irrational world and the dangerous bringing of metaphysical forces into the life of the hero and local society (*Žltá ľalia, Margita a Besná, Kríž a čiapka, Povesť, Bezbožné dievky*).

The cause of the entry of mysterious forces into the life of a village girl could be an innocent joke, as in Kráľ's ballad *Kríž a čiapka* (The Cross and the Cap), in which the frisky village girl Mara light-heartedly and from pure boastfulness crosses the dangerous boundary between the sacred and profane. In an atmosphere of village entertainment, the heroine obeys a sort of irrational voice, which incites her to show her superiority over the shepherds, who are afraid to walk around the cemetery and fear the supernatural forces active there. In the interest of increasing her attractiveness in the eyes of local society, the girl went to the cemetery at midnight and took a cross from there. She forgot the moral prescriptions and unwritten laws commanding respect towards the mysterious world of the spirits and the dead. In harmony with balladic logic she must suffer a cruel punishment for this.

Mara crossed the frontiers not only of one, but of two worlds, which were supposed to remain taboo for her according to the laws of romantic aesthetics and the world view of the time. The first sin of this unwise girl is boasting before the local lads. The courage she showed is reserved to the male sex, as if "by nature" in romanticism. Women are capable of acts equalling those of men, but as Maria Janion shows in the book *Kobiety i duch inności* (Women and the Spirit of Otherness), they are always punished. They have violated the age-old "naturally" determined frontier and in romanticism, "nature" very strictly guards "her" order.[6] The most frequent punishment for crossing "naturally" determined boundaries is madness. However, Mara must be punished more because she also violated another much more dangerous boundary, that between the worlds of the living and the dead. By going to the cemetery at night and taking a cross and cap from there, she voluntarily crossed the threshold of death, a boundary beyond which something is active, which August Wilhelm Schlegel interpreting the ballad *Lenora* designated as *das Unheimliche*,[7] something "disturbingly strange." The presence of *das Unheimliche* is also significant in Kráľ's ballad. When Mara returned from the cemetery to the village, fear fell on everybody. All felt the presence of something strange, only Mara herself perceived nothing: "*Mariena tells various jokes, they sit sad as columns*."[8] Mara "was already strange because she had

[6] Ibid., 250-251.

[7] August Wilhelm Schlegel, "Bürger," in *Kritische Schriften* (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1962), 157.

[8] Janko Kráľ, "Kríž a čiapka," in *Súborné dielo*, 109.

returned from that other world marked by contact with ghosts and vampires. She already belonged to the other world."[9] For this reason there was no help for her in this world. She was haunted every night by a voice: "*Give me the cross and the cap! You did not give them to me. Put them in the place from where you took them!*" She began to decline in body and spirit. Neither prayer nor magic spell helped her: "*There were fortune-tellers from another county, (a black priest, monks and a hermit) spells do not help, charms do not help.*" [10] The only solution for her was submission to the world of the dead and voluntary departure to the land of shadows. In contrast to other characters in ballads, who suffered a similar fate, Mara believes in the possibility of future happiness after death. Death is a punishment for her foolish act. However, eternal damnation does not await her, because although she consciously violated religious and moral laws, she did not abandon faith in God. Therefore, at the moment of death she has hope that He will save her for eternal life.

A similar punishment also meets the lad Janíčko in Botto's ballad *Lucijný stolček.* This foolish, excessively inquisitive and self-confident boy, who does not care if he desecrates a holy place and crosses the forbidden boundary between the worlds of the visible and invisible. He decided to verify the truth of the superstition about witches in his native village. To do this he sat light-heartedly during the Christmas Eve Mass at a small stool made between St. Lucy's day (13th December) and Christmas Eve. This act took him, like Mara, across the invisible boundary into the mysterious world, from which there is no return. The people gathered around him have no access to the mysterious reality, so they cannot help him. Janík no longer belongs to their world, he is already subject to entirely different laws, although he is still with them. Already neither prayers nor spells will help him. Like Mara he has to die.[11]

Superstitions, unwritten truths, about which people speak, have to remain sacred and unbroken. There can be no doubt about this. Anybody, who dares to verify his or her truth, is already condemned in advance to destruction. It is characteristic of all the balladic heroes, who decided to cross the boundary between sacred and profane respected by others, that they could not leave the course they had chosen and avoid tragedy. After they decided to commit a morally controversial act, their behaviour began to be directed by forces they could not resist. Their actions were already not subject to their own will, but to the mysterious forces, which do not release anybody, who attempts to use magic means for their own earthly ends. Another example of this is "wild Janko" from the best-known Slovak Romantic ballad "Zakliata panna vo Váhu and divný Janko" (*The Enchanted Maiden in the Váh and Wild Janko*) by Janko Kráľ. The balladic hero could have lived a happy life with loving parents in an idyllic country, if he had not decided to enter a world about which others only whispered with awe and fear. The decision to free the maiden enchanted in the Váh river entirely darkened his mind and distanced him from the closest people, as well as from his family environment and the sacred laws, which others respected. The desire to verify the truth of a ghost story entirely subordinated his action to one aim. This aim became fatal to him, since the mysterious forces of nature did not allow anybody in their power to return to

[9] Maria Janion, *Kobiety i duch inności* [Women and the Spirit of Otherness] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 1996), 120.
[10] Janko Kráľ, "Kríž a čiapka," in *Súborné dielo*, 109.
[11] Ján Botto, "Lucijný stolček," in *Súborné dielo*, 333.

the ordinary human world. Therefore, wild Janko could not learn the secret of the enchanted maiden or free her. A detail destroyed him: He forgot to reverse a pocket on his clothes. In reality wild Janko had no choice. He was already predestined to such a fate. The content of his life was not peaceful co-existence with his surroundings, but loneliness, estrangement, lack of understanding, romantic internal discontent, lack of a way forward, search for personal fulfilment and distance from the world of unproblematic figures: "*You cannot have peace, everything cries: Move!*"[12] His internal frame of mind already radiates from his external appearance: He is "*wild, never cheerful, / proud, cruel, wild and brave enough to go anywhere; / he respects nobody, he nedvojí´=nevyka nobody, / he does not seek love in people, he does not fear anger (...). He does not endure friendship, he relies on himself.*"[13] The feeling of being lost and alone is further emphasized by the wearing of a "long black hood,"[14] which intensifies the distancing of the hero from his surroundings and increases his mysteriousness.

Female figures in ballads often cross the dangerous boundary between life and death because of love, as in Gottfried August Bürger: *Lenora*, Adam Mickiewicz: *Ucieczka*, Karol Jaromír Erben: *Svadobné košele*, Ján Botto: *Žltá ľalija*, Janko Kráľ: *Bezbožné dievky*. The "demonism of passion"[15] and blasphemous contact with spirits also becomes the main cause of the destruction of the heroines of Janko Kráľ's ballad *Bezbožné dievky* (Godless Girls). The main stimulus for the actions of Kráľ's characters and the cause of their personal tragedy is desire for the satisfaction of bodily demands: "*We don't know what paradise is, / because we lack a young man." The Godless girls lost the meaning of their further existence: "Why is a girl in this world, / if the lads don't pay attention to her*." Therefore, when the usual methods of finding love failed, and when even prayers were not heard ("*Go kneeling, go at midnight / pray to the saints in a little chapel, / useless work, you don't get help*")[16], the Godless girls decided to unite themselves with demons. They used the traditional attributes of folk magic: "*from the ninth (...) of the parish three red (...) flowers, (...) from under the church altar (...), a splinter and sweepings (...), ears of wheat (…), green rosemary (…) a skull from a charnel house (…), seven canes, burnt rye and little scissors.*"[17] They curtain the windows with sheets and begin to call up devils.

The intimate bodily desires and cravings of these girls are not pointed out so much by the motifs of their bodies as by the way they perceive their external reality. Everything they encounter or do acquires a sexual meaning. Even flying insects have sexual connotations: "*Mosquitos hum, like lovers / they sit on the girls' noses, / and bite their faces a little, / and then the rascals fly away.*" The interest of the girls in the physical and bodily pleasures is also increased by the atmosphere of impatience and fear, emotional shakiness and excitement: "*the girls shake like aspen trees,*" "*this face, that voice changes.*"[18]

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[12] Janko Kráľ, "Zakliata panna vo Váhu a divný Janko," in *Súborné dielo*, 89.

[13] Ibid., 90.

[14] Ibid., 91.

[15] Janion, *Kobiety i duch inności*, 126.

[16] Kráľ, "Bezbožné dievky," in *Súborné dielo*, 112- 113.

[17] Ibid., 114.

[18] Ibid., 113-115.

The behaviour of these characters like their subsequent punishment fully derives from the aesthetic demands of the balladic genre. Like other female characters, who voluntarily go to destruction because they are madly in love, the Godless girls do not consider the moral or religious aspects of their actions. They have the courage to express their desires and achieve them. They throw away authority, reject faith and do not fear to commit sins. Their determination increases by swearing by the cross to keep secret the act of "invoking devils."[19] Anyone who breaks the oath will die. The passions burning their bodies finally bring them to destruction, since in Romanticism and especially in ballads the physical "acts in competition with religion"[20] and the moral laws. This is especially characteristic of Slovak romanticism, in which passions and urges belong to the sphere of destruction. Anyone who succumbs to the physical also succumbs to death and not only in the bodily, but also in the spiritual sense. This also concerns Godless girls. Their punishment is the definitive punishment, without claim to forgiveness.

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The magical, mystique and mysteriousness of the natural world, the environment in which the tragic events of romantic ballads occur, enabled the heroes of these compositions to express a wide range of feelings, desires, thoughts and loves. The continual presence of the metaphysical aspects of reality uncovered and deepened aspects of personal experience, which are unthinkable in other Slovak romantic writing. The communing with mysterious nature enables the natural realization and experience of the physical, especially in the case of female characters, who are only a mute supplement to the male world in national revivalist and celebratory poetry.

[19] Ibid., 113.
[20] Janion, *Kobiety i duch inności*, 113.

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GAZETTEER OF HISTORICAL PLACE NAMES

There are many geographical localities mentioned in the book that have several historical names or variants of the name in various languages. If there is an English name, it is in brackets.

Abbrevations:

AT Austria
BE Belgium
CS Serbia
CZ Czech Republic
HU Hungary
IT Italy
PL Poland
RO Romania
SK Slovakia

Present name & country		***Other historical forms and variants***
Abov [County]	SK	Abaúj, Abaujwar, Neuburg, *comitatus* Abaujvariensis
Alba Iulia	RO	Gyulafehérvár, Karslburg, Weißenburg, Apulum
Babiná	SK	Bábaszék
Banská Bystrica	SK	Besztercebánya, Neusohl, Neüsoll, Neosolium
Banská Štiavnica	SK	Selmecbánya, Schemnitz, Schemnicium, Stawnica
Bardejov	SK	Bártfa, Barthpa, Bartfeldt, Bardiov
Beograd (Belgrade)	CS	Alba Graeca, Weißenburg, Castelbianco, Nandoralba, Nandorfehérvár, Fehérvár
Bratislava	SK	Pozsony, Posonium, Pressburg, Pressporek, Prešporok
Bologna	IT	Bologne, Boloňa, Bolonia, Bolonja, Bolonya
Budapest	HU	**1**. Buda: Ofen, Budín, **2**. Pest: Pešť
Cluj Napoca	RO	Kolozsvár, Klausenburg, Claudiopolis
Ceangăi (Chango)	RO	Csángó
Černochov	SK	Csarnahó, Cschernaho
Debrecen	HU	Debrecín, Debreţin, Debreczyn
Dolný Kubín	SK	Alsókubin, Inferior Kubin
Esztergom	HU	Gran, Ostrihom
Gdańsk	PL	Danzig, Gedania, Dancka, Danţig, Gdanjsk, Gdaňsk
Gemer [County]	SK	Gömör, Gömörinum
Giraltovce	SK	Girált, Giralth
Graz	AT	Gradec
Kežmarok	SK	Késmárk, Käsmark, Kiezmark, Kesmarkium, Caseo-forum, Tyropolis
Komárno/Komárom	SK/HU	Komárom, Komorn, Comaromium
Košice	SK	Kassa, Kaschau, Cassovia, Kossicze
Kraków (Cracow)	PL	Cracovia, Krakau, Krakkó, Krakov, Krakiv, Kroke,Krokuva
Kremnica	SK	Körmöcz (-Bánya), Kremnitz, Cremnicium
Krupina	SK	Korpona, Karpfen, Carpona

Present name & country		***Other historical forms and variants***
Leuven	BE	Louvain, Löwen, Lovanio, Lovin, Léiwen, Lovaň
Levoča	SK	Lőcse, Lőcsche, Leutschau, Leuschovia, Lewucža
Lieskovce	SK	Lieszkocz, Léskowec, Mogyoród
Liptov [County]	SK	Liptó, Liptau, Liptów, Liptovium
Lomnička	SK	Kis-Lomnitz, Klein-Lomnitz, Malá Lomnica
Nitra	SK	Nyitra, Nytra, Neutra, Nitria
Padua	IT	Padova, Patavium, Pádua, Padwa
Petrovaradin	CS	Pétervárad, Peterwardein
Poprad	SK	Poprád, Deutschendorf
Praha (Prague)	CZ	Prága, Prag
Prešov	SK	Eperjes, Eperiesinum, Fragopolis, Pressow
Rimavská Sobota	SK	Rimaszombat, Groß-Steffelsdorf
Rožňava	SK	Rozsnyó, Rozsnobánya, Rossenau, Rosnavia
Sabinov	SK	Szebeny, Kisszeben, Zeben, Cibinium, Sabinow
Senec	SK	Szempcz, Szencz, Senecz, Wartberg
Slovenská Ves	SK	Tóthfalu, Szepestótfalu, Windschendorf
Smolník	SK	Szomolnok, Schmölnitz, Schmelnicium, Smolnyk
Sopron	HU	Ödenburg, Šoproň
Spiš [County]	SK	Szepes, Zips, Spisz, Scepusium
Spišská Belá	SK	Béla, Szepesbéla, Berl
Spišská Nová Ves	SK	Igló, Iglovia, Villa Nova, (Zipser) Neu(en)dorf, Spiska Nowa Wes/Wieś
Spišské Podhradie	SK	Kirchdorf, Szepesváralja, Podhradze, Podgrodzie
Svätý Jur	SK	Szomolnok, Schmölnitz, Smolnyk
Szeged	HU	Segedín, Segedyn, Seghedin
Székesfehérvár	HU	Fehérvár, Alba Regia, Stoličný Belehrad
Šamorín	SK	Somorja, Samaria, Sommerein
Šariš [County]	SK	Sáros, Scharisch, Scharosch, *comitatus* Sarossiensis
Šintava	SK	Sempte, Sintau, Ssintawa
Špania Dolina	SK	Úrvölgy
Štítnik	SK	Csetnek, Čžitnik, Sstítnik
Štós	SK	Stosz, Stoss
Timişoara	RO	Temesvár, Temeschburg, Temišvar, Tamışvar
Trausdorf an der Wulka	AT	Darázsfalva, Trajštof
Trenčín	SK	Trencsén, Trentschin, Trenchin, Trenchinium
Třeboň	CZ	Wittingau
Trnava	SK	Nagyszombat, Tyrnau, Tyrnavia
Turiec [County]	SK	Turóc, Turz, Thurotzium, *comitatus* Thurociensis
Veľký Slavkov	SK	Nagyszalók, Grosz-Schlagendorf, Welky Slawkow
Wien (Vienna)	A	Vindobona, Vienne, Vídeň, Viedeň, Vin, Beč, Bécs
Zemplín [County]	SK	Zemplén, Semplin, Zemplinum
Zvolen	SK	Zólyom, Altsohl, Veterosolium, Vetusolium