

Decizie de indexare a faptei de plagiat la poziția 00483 / 12.03.2024 și pentru admitere la publicare în volum tipărit

care se bazează pe:

A. Nota de constatare și confirmare a indiciilor de plagiat prin fișa suspiciunii inclusă în decizie.

Fișa suspiciunii de plagiat / Sheet of plagiarism's suspicion		Indexat la: 00483
Opera suspicionată (OS) Suspicious work	Opera autentică (OA) Authentic work	
OS	EPPEL, Marius. Untold Life Stories about Magic and Witchcraft (17 th -18 th Centuries). Transylvania Review 23 (2023), 4: 109-123	
OA	DELUMEAU, Jean. Frica în Occident (secolele XIV-XVIII). O cetate asediată. Vol. II. București: Editura Meridiane. 1986.	
Incidența minimă a suspiciunii / Minimum incidence of suspicion		
P01	p.110:02 r7-10	p. 313:02
P02	p.110:02 r11-14	p. 364:00-365:01-02
P03	p.110:02 r18-19	p. 313:02, 381:00-382:01, 347:00-356:00,
P04	p. 9:01, r21-23	p. 365:02
P05	p.116:01 r.12-17: „Women were still suspected of untrustworthiness in the relation between Man and Divinity, precisely because there was still evidence to the contrary. Women were still allegedly in contact with the damned powers of the earth: words whispered in darkness and the adoration of images or elements stemming from pre-Christian religions only made more problematic the power of seduction they wielded over the male sex.”	p.193 și următoarele Informația de la P05 / p.116:01 r.12-17, fără citare, este o sinteză a capitolului X din Jean Delumeau, Frica în Occident, vol. II.
Fișa întocmită pentru includerea suspiciunii în Indexul Operelor Plagiate în România de la Sheet drawn up for including the suspicion in the Index of Plagiarized Works in Romania at www.plagiate.ro		

Notă: p.72:00 semnifică textul de la pag.72 de la începutul până la finele paginii.

Note: By „p.72:00” one understands the text ending with the end of the page 72. By „p.00:00” one understands the taking over from the initial point till the last page of the current chapter, entirely.

B. Fișa de argumentare a calificării de plagiat alăturată, fișă care la rândul său este parte a deciziei.

Echipa Indexului Operelor Plagiate în România

Fișa de argumentare a calificării

Nr. crt.	Descrierea situației care este încadrată drept plagiat	Se confirmă
1.	Preluarea identică a unor fragmente (piese de creație de tip text) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără precizarea întinderii și menționarea provenienței și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	✓
2.	Preluarea unor fragmente (piese de creație de tip text) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, care sunt rezumate ale unor opere anterioare operei autentice, fără precizarea întinderii și menționarea provenienței și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	
3.	Preluarea identică a unor figuri (piese de creație de tip grafic) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără menționarea provenienței și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	
4.	Preluarea identică a unor tabele (piese de creație de tip structură de informație) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără menționarea provenienței și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	
5.	Republicarea unei opere anterioare publicate, prin includerea unui nou autor sau de noi autori fără contribuție explicită în lista de autori	
6.	Republicarea unei opere anterioare publicate, prin excluderea unui autor sau a unor autori din lista inițială de autori.	
7.	Preluarea identică de pasaje (piese de creație) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără precizarea întinderii și menționarea provenienței, fără nici o intervenție personală care să justifice exemplificarea sau critica prin aportul creator al autorului care preia și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	✓
8.	Preluarea identică de figuri sau reprezentări grafice (piese de creație de tip grafic) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără menționarea provenienței, fără nici o intervenție care să justifice exemplificarea sau critica prin aportul creator al autorului care preia și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	
9.	Preluarea identică de tabele (piese de creație de tip structură de informație) dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără menționarea provenienței, fără nici o intervenție care să justifice exemplificarea sau critica prin aportul creator al autorului care preia și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	
10.	Preluarea identică a unor fragmente de demonstrație sau de deducere a unor relații matematice care nu se justifică în regăsirea unei relații matematice finale necesare aplicării efective dintr-o operă autentică publicată, fără menționarea provenienței, fără nici o intervenție care să justifice exemplificarea sau critica prin aportul creator al autorului care preia și însușirea acestora într-o lucrare ulterioară celei autentice.	
11.	Preluarea identică a textului (piese de creație de tip text) unei lucrări publicate anterior sau simultan, cu același titlu sau cu titlu similar, de un același autor / un același grup de autori în publicații sau edituri diferite.	
12.	Preluarea identică de pasaje (piese de creație de tip text) ale unui cuvânt înainte sau ale unei prefețe care se referă la două opere, diferite, publicate în două momente diferite de timp.	

Alte argumente particulare: a) Preluările de poze nu indică sursa, locul unde se află, autorul real sau posibil.

Notă:

a) Prin „proveniență” se înțelege informația din care se pot identifica cel puțin numele autorului / autorilor, titlul operei, anul apariției.

b) Plagiatul este definit prin textul legii¹.

„...plagiatul – expunerea într-o operă scrisă sau o comunicare orală, inclusiv în format electronic, a unor texte, idei, demonstrații, date, ipoteze, teorii, rezultate ori metode științifice extrase din opere scrise, inclusiv în format electronic, ale altor autori, fără a menționa acest lucru și fără a face trimitere la operele originale...”.

Tehnic, plagiatul are la bază conceptul de **piesă de creație** care²:

„...este un element de comunicare prezentat în formă scrisă, ca text, imagine sau combinat, care posedă un subiect, o organizare sau o construcție logică și de argumentare care presupune niște premise, un raționament și o concluzie. Piesa de creație presupune în mod necesar o formă de exprimare specifică unei persoane. Piesa de creație se poate asocia cu întreaga operă autentică sau cu o parte a acesteia...”

cu care se poate face identificarea operei plagiate sau suspicionate de plagiat³:

„...O operă de creație se găsește în poziția de operă plagiată sau operă suspicionată de plagiat în raport cu o altă operă considerată autentică dacă:

- i) Cele două opere tratează același subiect sau subiecte înrudite.
- ii) Opera autentică a fost făcută publică anterior operei suspicionate.
- iii) Cele două opere conțin piese de creație identificabile comune care posedă, fiecare în parte, un subiect și o formă de prezentare bine definită.
- iv) Pentru piesele de creație comune, adică prezente în opera autentică și în opera suspicionată, nu există o menționare explicită a provenienței. Menționarea provenienței se face printr-o citare care permite identificarea piesei de creație preluate din opera autentică.
- v) Simpla menționare a titlului unei opere autentice într-un capitol de bibliografie sau similar acestuia fără delimitarea întinderii preluării nu este de natură să evite punerea în discuție a suspiciunii de plagiat.
- vi) Piese de creație preluate din opera autentică se utilizează la construcții realizate prin juxtapunere fără ca acestea să fie tratate de autorul operei suspicionate prin poziția sa explicită.
- vii) În opera suspicionată se identifică un fir sau mai multe fire logice de argumentare și tratare care leagă aceleași premise cu aceleași concluzii ca în opera autentică...”

¹ Legea nr. 206/2004 privind buna conduită în cercetarea științifică, dezvoltarea tehnologică și inovare, publicată în Monitorul Oficial al României, Partea I, nr. 505 din 4 iunie 2004

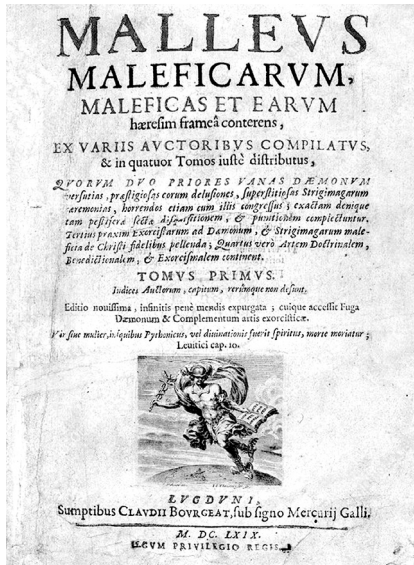
² ISOC, D. Ghid de acțiune împotriva plagiatului: bună-conduită, prevenire, combatere. Cluj-Napoca: Ecou Transilvan, 2012.

³ ISOC, D. Prevenitor de plagiat. Cluj-Napoca: Ecou Transilvan, 2014.

TANGENCIES

Untold Life Stories about Magic and Witchcraft (17th–18th Centuries)

MARIUS EPEL



Malleus maleficarum (1669).
SOURCE: <https://sciencephoto.com>.

Marius Eppel

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Introduction

UNDER THE influence of hermetical teachings, the medieval West witnessed the emergence of fantastic symbolism. This pervading current of thought thus occasioned the recording of a significant number of demons and angels, bestowing more complexity to the entire magical process. Pentacles, drawn and copied from manuscripts of debatable origins, populated for a long time both the scholarly imagination, and that of the European merchant.¹ To venture in such a field of knowledge, viewed as forbidden to Christians, brought with it infamy in the eyes of the Church and punitive actions from the state. We may of course ask ourselves nowadays how real the ever-present Devil in the nar-

A version of this study was published in *Justiție și superstiție: Procese de vrăjitorie din Europa (secolele XVII–XVIII)*, edited, introduction and notes by Marius Eppel (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2017), 7–55.

ratives of the condemned was, and where this attraction towards the master of the Abyss originated. Lengthy debates have focused on the factors which could have caused the adoration of infernal powers, in conjunction with the sentiment of endemic fear. Historians have striven to offer more explanations for the phenomenon and even to highlight the existence of a paradox: “The demons were unleashed precisely at a time when the West was gearing itself up to conquer the entirety of the world.”²

From the multitude of documents that help the historian to understand the atmosphere of those times, we have chosen some unpublished ones. The first document takes us to the beginning of the seventeenth century in *Ancien Régime* France, a state under the dominion of Louis XIII and his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu. This period was marked by both internal and external religious dissensions, as Catholic France entered the Thirty Years’ War in 1635 on the Protestant side, against the Catholics. **Therefore, in an era affected by social instability, pauperization and various other pressures exerted on the majority of the population by the agents of the clergy and of the nobility, a pressing desire arose to escape Christian mundanity. Many found it appropriate to return to the old forms of religious manifestation, which had been transmitted in parallel with the Christian faith from generation to generation, under the guise of incantations, magical formulas, amulets and primary forms of natural medicine.** While the idea of returning to the roots of human belief was not novel—it was present throughout the Middle Ages—during the seventeenth century it gained unexpected momentum in the context of the religious wars. **Witchcraft became, more than ever, a threat to a society that was vulnerable to ingressions about the truths of faith. In our opinion, during the seventeenth century, a false identity was emerging: the witch as an anti-Christian anti-social element. In other words, in the course of their religious struggles, both the Catholics and the Protestants transferred part of their responsibility on a category that had previously been practically nonexistent from a quantitative perspective. The means by which the witches as a category were artificially constructed, and ascribed blame for religious disorder, had precisely this effect. Thus, under the influence of the abovementioned factors, a significant number of peasants began to accuse their neighbors of witchcraft. This is also evident in the documents originating from the Paris Court, which attest to the fact that between 1565 and 1640 the great majority of denunciations came from the rural environment and over 57% of these were related to land ownership.**³

Jean Michel and Philippe Sanglant

OUR JOURNEY to the cells of those condemned for witchcraft begins with the interrogation of the carpenter Jean Michel. In 1623 he was 51 years old, and, prior to this, he had been condemned for magical acts and the invocation of demons. He was sentenced to public penance, wearing a rope around his neck as a sign of enslavement, and was exiled for several years from the kingdom of France. Having returned after seven years of exile to the town of Moulins, the capital of the province of Bourbonnais and the seat of the dukes of Bourbon, Jean Michel was arrested again. This time he was accused of having gained possession of occult books and practicing some of the rituals they contained. The volumes concerned were those of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, of which worthy of mention is *De occulta philosophia*, which circulated in manuscript form well before being printed, between 1531 and 1533, and even after this moment.⁴ Without going into detail, it may be stated that *De occulta philosophia*, like the *Heptameron, or Magical Elements* (1496) by Peter de Abano or *Arbatel: De magia veterum: Summum Sapientiae Studium* (1575),⁵ was a study in which several elements of occult philosophy, incantations and magic rituals proper to every angel and demon were recorded. It is understandable that these books were not intended for wider audiences, as the information contained within them required an extensive cultural background. Reading the account of the interrogation we may note that, in the matter of the invocation of spirits, Jean Michel would reproduce some teachings clearly received second or even third-hand, thus implying that his access to Agrippa's text was limited. Asked, for instance, what "Solomon's seal" was used for—meaning that hexagonal form composed of two overlaid equilateral triangles, one oriented upwards and one downwards—Michel responded that this protected him against evil spirits,⁶ a considerable simplification of Agrippa's explanations. However, it is highly difficult for us to reconstruct a complete profile of Jean Michel. We may only note, on the basis of the facts described during the course of the interrogation, that he was familiar with practical magic. We mention the spell by means of which Jean Michel could learn future events and which he cast with the aid of a demonic spirit held captive in a vial and fed twice a year with the smoke of whale spermaceti.⁷ That this substance was believed to be a good vehicle for fortune casting at the time, is also visible in its price: along with whale fat and teeth, it was one of the animal's most expensive parts. Thus, the price of buying a vial of spermaceti was highly exclusionary,⁸ because these kinds of products would arrive in the kingdom of France through the major European harbors, such as Venice. Within this context, we should note that around 1600, the commercial dominance of Venice in the Mediterranean area had begun to dwindle. Even if it lost its status as the most important industrial center of Europe, which

Fernand Braudel ascribed to it for the entirety of the fifteenth century,⁹ Venice remained an important commercial hub. It is therefore not unexpected that this also greatly increased the commerce with substances believed to have magical properties. Usually, the more difficult to obtain they were, the higher their price and, according to the wizards' testimonies, the more potent their effects.

The second part of the document evidences the dramatism of the whole affair. It is a tale of both friendship and betrayal. Jean Michel and Philippe Sanglant had learned the secrets of magic together. The two had cast spells together, tried to invoke the Archangel Raphael, and collaborated in many such endeavors, but, from a certain point onwards, things took a turn for the worse. The apothecary Philippe Sanglant, envious of the efficaciousness of Jean Michel's spells, decided to denounce the latter. This was the second such denunciation, as the first had been the basis for Jean's expulsion from France. During these troubled times for Jean Michel's family, it seems that he and his wife had promised each other to remember the despicable act and vowed to enact revenge. Fearful and insecure, once Jean Michel returned to France, Philippe Sanglant rushed before the authorities to add to his first denunciation other details he knew regarding Jean Michel's wizarding activity.¹⁰ At the same time, Philippe Sanglant would also denounce to the prosecutors two other practitioners of the profession: Roland Crullaud and the lawyer Charbonnier, a municipal judge in Moulins. What followed for them is easy to grasp.

On the basis of Philippe Sanglant's testimonies, Jean Michel was condemned to death and burned alive at the stake.¹¹ Jean Michel's tale is only a piece of the great mosaic of the seventeenth century. The magic rituals transpose the contemporary reader in an atmosphere brimming with fantastical symbolism, marred by the continual invisible battle between Good and Evil, and, more importantly, by the perpetual belief that demons or angels would be able to improve material situations and end poverty.

Marie Magdelaine du Coulombier

IN FRANCE, magic, astrology, witchcraft, and fortunetelling of every kind came under the category of crimes against religion, along with blasphemy. Punishments for magic and witchcraft became less brutal and more rational with the passing of the edicts of Louis XIV.¹² Among these, the most important was the royal edict of 1682, which transferred sorcery and witchcraft to the category of fraud.¹³ The repression against wizards would gradually but considerably diminish after this moment. With this decree, France took obvious steps towards the reformation of the judicial system, which would be established on the grounds of rationalism, to the detriment of preconceptions and judicial

sentences based on texts from the Old Testament or from Church authors, such as Augustine or Thomas Aquinas. Nevertheless, the third article of the edict still allowed the death sentence for those who, under the pretext of magic, committed other sacrileges. The eleventh article expressly prohibited any person who was not an officially recognized professor, doctor or apothecary (pharmacist) to own any chemistry laboratory in order to find the philosopher's stone.¹⁴

Thus, the apothecaries became an indispensable professional category in witchcraft trials in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century France. For instance, from the interrogation of the widow Gaillard in the Bastille, we learn that the apothecary Antoine Lenoire was required by the general lieutenant of the Paris police to investigate the materials used by Marie Magdelaine du Coulombier in the treatment of various afflictions.¹⁵

From the widow's narrative, we learn that various substances were sold on the banks of the Seine from the Île de la Cité, which were purported to lessen the suffering of those beset by venereal diseases or other sicknesses.¹⁶ The various powders from itinerant sellers were packed in small paper envelopes, on which the contents were described as "white powder," "flower of sulphur," etc. It should also be mentioned that, ever since the time of Louis XIII (1610–1643), drug stores and some other businesses on French territory could hold and sell some substances prohibited from general consumption, such as arsenic or vitriol, but only in certain legally set quantities.¹⁷

Marie Magdelaine's life is highly reflective of the mosaic of the French and particularly the Parisian society on the eve of the eighteenth century. Hailing from Belgium, where her father had owned a tavern, she had arrived in Paris in 1691 to fulfill her destiny. Thus, a short while later she had married the bourgeois Jean Gaillard. Their marriage did not last long, as Gaillard passed away, and Marie Magdelaine, then around 40 years of age, was forced to find some means to ensure her financial survival, lacking other sources of income or inheritances.

At the time, Paris was home to a myriad of so-called "learned men," such as "Monsieur Goupillière," "Monsieur François," "Monsieur Masson," "Monsieur de Merucare," who distinguished themselves on the streets by attracting their clientele with bombastic titles. They claimed to be healers, schooled in Italy or in other parts of Europe. Most certainly, this category of figures had nothing in common with the medical sciences, but only made use of well-known names in the Parisian medical field for self-promotion. Marie Magdelaine had been initiated by some these "gentlemen" in the preparation of "cures" and, from her accounts, she was apparently quite successful. Among her accomplishments were the parish priest of Sainte-Croix de la Cité, whom she had cured of an eye sickness, like she had also cured Monsieur du Moutier, a street merchant from the Champ Verrerie Street, located in old Paris, on Île de la Cité. Soon, she had gained notoriety on the streets of Paris. At one time, she was visited by a roof

building master from the Place de Grève, nowadays called Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville—Esplanade de la Libération, famous for the public executions which took place there. Despite the fact that she was most likely aware of the police supervision of her activities, Marie Magdelaine deftly managed to obtain her substances to produce cures from street salesmen, but also from the renowned Old Regime Parisian pharmacy named Le Mortier d'Or, located on Lombard Street.¹⁸ In the end, she would be arrested by the police in her home, located at the end of the street near the Saint-Pierre de Montmartre church, and sent to the Bastille.

The incarceration of those suspected of witchcraft in the Bastille took place according to the typical procedures used for other crimes. On the basis of evidence collected in the police file, the person in question would be brought to the Bastille castle in a special carriage, secured with metal bars, and accompanied by several officers who guarded the alleged witch for the entirety of the way. Inside the carriage, an officer also guarded the prisoner. Usually, along the way, the prisoner would enter into a conversation with the guard. Among the questions asked would be: who had denounced them, how long they would be imprisoned, what would happen to their family. The guard generally made the same non-committal replies: the arrest was made on the king's order, without offering any other details. The guard tried to maintain a relatively relaxed atmosphere, to ensure the safe transport of the prisoner.¹⁹ After routine checks, the carriage would enter through the great gate in the Bastille, then through a smaller gate, until it reached the first guardhouse. After renewed checks, the prisoner was driven by the governor's house, from where he or one of his employees observed the newcomers. A second guardhouse followed, and then the prisoner descended from the carriage, was registered, and taken to a cell. The prisoners were not allowed to keep other personal items than the documents which proved their identity and other annexed papers. Certainly, the treatment of prisoners differed according to their social status. The testimonies about life in the Bastille are very scarce, and generally came from those who were not native to the kingdom of France. During the Old Regime, it was almost forbidden to speak of this space, and those who were released had only one thought in mind: to never return there.²⁰

It seems that wizards were no longer in fashion in 1709 Paris. The king's edict left a mark on the collective mentality. The common folk took the example of the aristocracy and, consequently, the notion that one could solve one's life problems by resorting to spells became obsolete. Under the influence of the rationalism promoted by the writings of Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza, the Parisian society felt more attracted to the miracles evidenced by chemical reactions or by the cures offered by medical science. Even so, the desire to believe in the miraculous was not lost. A new obsession would stir the souls of many of Marie Magdelaine's contemporaries, namely, the quest for the philosopher's stone. When the police asked Marie Magdelaine if she had known individuals who had

pretended to possess the secret of the philosopher's stone, she led them to believe that she was too modest in knowledge for such a great thing.²¹ Numerous alchemical texts began to draw the attention of the public, and especially that of the aristocracy, which could avail itself of the necessary material resources to put into practice the secret formulas that would lead to the production of the most precious metal, gold. The police would receive numerous denunciations regarding individuals who had discovered the formula to transform metals into gold. Some of them were old wizards, converted to alchemy, and most of them proved to be frauds.²² The majority of the "seekers" of the philosopher's stone adopted the latest methods in their quest for enrichment. The infamous contact with the Devil had lost ground in the face of the philosopher's stone. The younger generation was increasingly convinced that an alchemical process could bring it unimaginable riches, without having to resort to the invocation of infernal spirits.

Eva Rosina Schwarzin

THE SIGNING of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 opened a new page in the political and religious history of Europe. Among the decisions taken then was that which concerned the equality of the Catholic and Protestant denominations. The notion advanced by some researchers, according to which Protestantism reduced the persecution of witches, seems to be contradicted by the documents of this time. In fact, historians speak about an increase in the persecution of witches after the end of the Thirty Years' War. One explanation would be that a great part of the combatants who had returned home had disseminated the fear of malefaction in the midst of their families through various tales. The result was easily foreseeable: the number of denunciations against adults by children rose.²³ The denunciation of a person did not entail a very complicated procedure, because the courts did not request supplementary evidence to confirm the seriousness of the initiators. As far as children were concerned, their denunciations were registered if they proved that they went to Church and knew the main prayers, such as "Our Father" or "Ave Maria."²⁴

The high occurrence of witchcraft trials can be seen in the statistical evaluations made for some regions of Western Europe. For instance, in the Duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg the number of punitive actions directed against alleged wizards and witches tended to rise between 1650 and 1670, exceeding the levels recorded during the waves of persecution between 1590 and 1625, and focusing predominantly on female witches.²⁵

The demonization of women was a process that had begun in the Middle Ages, and had inexorably expanded with the passage of time. These attitudes had

been informed by the doctrinal fundamentals promoted by the Church, an institution itself tributary to Judaism,²⁶ wherein the opposition between the two sexes had been sealed by the Divinity at the moment of the “tasting of the forbidden fruit.” Each of the three protagonists of this Biblical episode had been punished, sentenced to an existential limitation that they could never overcome. The snake and Adam had been associated to brute matter, to the earth, while Eve would remain bound to Adam: “To the women He said: I will surely multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children. Your desire shall be contrary to your husband, but he shall rule over you” (Genesis 3:16). Even if, according to the Christian religion, the woman had been released from this burden with the birth of Christ from the Virgin Mary, who stood for the “new Eve,” some theologians still espoused the image of the “old Eve.” Women were still suspected of untrustworthiness in the relation between Man and Divinity, precisely because there was still evidence to the contrary. Women were still allegedly in contact with the damned powers of the earth: words whispered in darkness and the adoration of images or elements stemming from pre-Christian religions only made more problematic the power of seduction they wielded over the male sex. On the other hand, even the magical thought itself was altered by these preconceived notions. Thus, while daytime and the sun symbolized life, force, and goodness, and were in close connection to the heavens, a male element and a symbol of paternity, they were opposed to the night, the moon and the earth, feminine elements associated with death, evil, and decomposition.²⁷

It is for all these reasons that the majority of denunciations—either publicly assumed or anonymous—concerned women. One such anonymous text was that addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657), in which the governor of Carinthia, Georg Sigmund Paradeiser, was accused of witchcraft along with his daughters. The invective-filled accusation referred to their indecent behavior, through which they had caused great damage to the entire community. The denunciation has homiletical overtones, and it is therefore possible that its author had been affiliated to the Church, or was perhaps the parish priest himself:

Oh, leaders from Klagenfurt, where are your ears that you do not hear or do not wish to hear what is being spoken here about witches or obstinate enchantresses, who give themselves to terrible acts with dead infants, charm the water by poisoning it, only to spread it all around the place, so as to cause the sickness of people who then cross it, or even their death? These and other ghastly things must be known in the community, and yet there no one to be found who can punish them. May the Lord have mercy upon us, He who will not be tardy with His punishment. Oh, great leaders, open your eyes, punish the evil! Otherwise, you deserve to be swallowed up

*by the earth. Send these devilish "huntresses" to the devil, should they not want to confess, or they will lead you to him themselves.*²⁸

Although we are not precisely aware of the reactions occasioned by this denunciation, we may assume that its author intended for the governor's family to be imprisoned, as the emperor's attention was drawn to the fact that the prison in Graz already housed several witches who had stated that the governor's daughters were "the Devil's huntresses."²⁹

The portrait of the witch as it emerges from documents differs from one area of Europe to another, from one age category to another. While for the young, the role of witch entailed an open and provocative sexuality, which eschewed the strict limits of matrimony, others saw witches as old women, living on the margins of society, self-exiled but in permanent contact with the demons. The clergy encouraged the perpetuation of these models through preaching and lectures. Among the destinies marked by these preconceptions was that of Eva Rosina Schwarzin. She was incarcerated at the age of 70 in the prison of the domain of Rottenbach in Upper Austria, in the autumn of 1687, under the accusation of practicing divination. Rosina's life had been a simple one. A mother of two children, who had established their own families at the time of the trial, Rosina had remained to live in Udisenbach after her husband's death. It seems that she had been imprisoned on the basis of the denunciations made by the shepherd of Großweißenbach and by a weaver of Eschenprugg. According to her statement, they were part of her clientele. They had in the past benefitted from Rosina's "science" for the protection of their animals and for obtaining a better price at the market. However, as soon as they had begun to register losses, the entire responsibility had fallen on Rosina.³⁰ From the unfolding of Rosina's trial, we may note that, within the European family—in its Christian essence—magical rituals designed to protect and to ensure wealth and prosperity had constantly taken place. We may even speak about a cohabitation of magical and Christian rituals within rural communities. Moreover, we may note that, parallel to official Christianity, a series of behaviors reminiscent of old agrarian, shamanic cults were still perpetuated, and that these would exert an influence well into the present times.³¹

Rosina's magic was an agrarian-pastoral one, as it shared elements with the spells cast by the shepherds in the south of France: the metamorphosis into wild animals, shamanism, divination, as well as the possibility to enact major interventions into the life of the community and that of individuals, as a result of a pact. This pastoral magic differed from that encountered in the great cities, such as Paris, where its cultured form predominated. Although both types of magic were underlain by an active belief which made it possible to cast certain spells under the protection of various spirits,³² while the magic practiced by Jean

Michel and Marie Magdelaine was based on elements learned from the pages of specialized literature, Rosina's enchantments and divination were limited to the use of plants, animal products, and simple magic verses, chanted to a certain rhythm. On the other hand, both Jean Michel and Eva Rosina's magic had common elements. The two witches send us to a popular area for the seventeenth century, namely, that of pacts with the infernal powers. Jean Michel could tell fortunes with the aid of a demonic spirit that he kept captive in a vial, while Eva Rosina possessed a bottle with the "evil enemy," which answered all her questions. The relationship between Rosina and the Devil had begun earlier:

the shepherdess Lijsel had made an agreement with the "evil enemy" for the duration of five years, and he had asked her to pledge unto him first the head, and then the toes or fingers, which Rosina had not agreed to, only allowing him her little finger from her right hand. Then, the "evil enemy" hit her so that blood gushed from her mouth and nose, and her finger became crooked. This is the sign by which it is known that after five years, she will belong to the evil one completely.³³

Witchcraft in Eastern Europe

AS OPPOSED to Western Europe where, towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Devil had lost in importance, in the Eastern part of the continent the feeling of his omnipotence still persisted. Certainly, the level of development of the societies in this region was different. In France, the technical revolution had led to the establishment of new production sectors and industrial centers. These would significantly spur the development of new capitalist relations to the detriment of feudal ties.³⁴ The advance of the West in comparison to the East can also be observed in the field of criminal law, and particularly in regards to the measures against magic and witchcraft. While in France their previous importance was diminished by their passing into the category of fraud by the royal edict of 1682, in Austria, for instance, the influence of rationalism was felt more than seven decades later, during the time of Maria Theresia.

An imperial reaction against the excesses of public authorities in Szeged in the matter of witch trials came from Charles VI in 1728,³⁵ when over 14 witches were executed. However, the effects of this reaction were less than had been hoped. During Maria Theresia's time, by means of the decrees of 29 January 1756 and 15 June 1758, it was decided that witch trials were to be conducted with the utmost circumspection. Moreover, they were to be reported to the higher courts, and the sentences needed to be approved by the same authorities.

Finally, through the decree of 28 May 1768, the empress forbade the initiation of trials for the accusation of witchcraft.³⁶

In Hungary and Transylvania, the realities were much more complex. This meant that the trials of witches had their own characteristics, both from a procedural perspective, as well as from that of the superstitions which underlay these trials. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in these geographical areas, those suspected of ties to demonic powers were sentenced on the basis of the Old Testament, the old laws passed by the kings of Hungary, such as Stephen I (c. 975–1038) or Coloman the Learned (c. 1070–1116), and local decrees. Moreover, the work entitled *Malleus maleficarum* (1486) by Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger had served to disseminate new concepts of witchcraft and magic. The work was instrumental in the commencement and the maintenance of the witch persecutions in Europe. The *Malleus maleficarum* was used as a guide to track down and punish those ‘pledged’ to the Devil.³⁷ The sentences were given by the courts, which included the town judges, as a first instance, and the town councils as a second instance, composed of craftsmen and merchants, and in the counties, the landlords with administrative attributions. Despite the fact that the persecution in Transylvania was not as bloody as elsewhere, as the majority of the punishments given were limited to public flogging and expulsion from the settlement, there are cases when these excelled in harshness. One such case occurred in 1646 in the Seat of Mureş (Maros), when the condemned, following torture, was tied to a horse’s tail and her body was then cut into four pieces:

*Seeing as the evil deeds of this malefic detainee were noted, because the accusation [the term Actor is used] has clearly proven that this woman was guilty of the death of János Tankó’s daughter . . . ; moreover, as she was guilty of fornication, theft and magic, the law wishes that the prisoner be tortured to reveal her accomplices, and afterwards to be tied to the horse’s tail and then pulled around the square, and then to be cut into four pieces and raised on four stakes.*³⁸

In the majority of cases, the women were blamed for having harmed others, by causing them illness, death, or the death of their livestock. The witness depositions were the most important part of the trials. These depositions had the result that, as was expressed in another sentence passed by the county court of Heves in 1681, the accused woman’s “nature as a witch, her communication with the devil, and the evil deeds that had hurt many” required her to “be tortured, so that she may reveal her accomplices, and then burned.”³⁹

The witches’ Sabbath, so often mentioned by Western documents, also took place on Hungarian territory. The entire ceremony would unfold in accordance with a typical procedure, in which each member of the witches’ circle had a part in preparing the climactic moment, the meeting with the Devil. The trial against

Kata Vernek from Ineu (Borosjenő), Arad County, which took place in 1755, reveals precisely such a hierarchy:

Our captain was the wife of Mihály Szabó from Nagyzerind. Our lieutenant was András Gellyén, and the ensign Ilona Nagy. The sergeant major was a woman from Nagyzerind [Zerind], who had a while ago built a house, named Kóbori the basket-weaver. The secretary was the wife of András Gellyén, who always walked before us. I was but a mere soldier. My reins were wide and made of hemp, and once we flew through the air with the witches of Salonta [Großsalontha, Szalonta], and fought with pieces of wood. We cast spells of the horses of people whom we met on the way, and rode on them afterwards.⁴⁰

The decline in the persecution of witches occurred in an irregular manner on the European continent, starting in the West and continuing into the East. This is why, in Hungary, we encounter for instance witch trials even in the second part of the eighteenth century, grounded, among other texts, on the decrees of Stephen I or on those of Coloman the Learned. In Hungarian legislation, witchcraft was included in the category of crimes against the Church or religion, similarly to its status among other Catholic or Protestant territories. Contemporary sources show that the punishments varied from a branding of the body with a red-hot church key to burning at the stake. It should be noted that, within the Orthodox denomination, adhered to by the Romanian population who held the majority of Transylvania, no persecution against witches occurred. The Orthodox Church had condemned the belief in charms and spells, but did not engage in a systematic persecution against those who resorted to these practices. Those who were involved in such actions were reprimanded by the Church and sanctioned spiritually, being denied the Holy Communion or receiving tasks or charges that were meant to rekindle the tie between the sinner and God. The Orthodox clergy would ground its actions against someone who was accused of being a witch in the standard set in the Book of Ezekiel: “Say to them, As I live, declares the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked, turn from his way and live; turn back, turn back from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O house of Israel?” (Ezekiel 33:11).

Another source that provided guidance to the Orthodox clergy in Transylvania during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when they were faced with various deviations from the Christian norms, was the *Pravila bisericească* (Ecclesiastical code of laws). This was a collection of laws extracted from the apostolic decrees, those of the ecumenical synods, and from the writings of the Holy Fathers. Until the advent of the *Statutul organic* (Organic Statute, 1868) drafted by Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna (1808–1873), this was the main constitutional act of the Eastern Church. Witchcraft was not regarded in Orthodox

spiritual milieus as a sin greater than others, but was deemed equal to the transgressions against the Holy Spirit. Without going into dogma and canon law more deeply, we only note that the *Pravila* regarded magical acts as a reason for which a couple could be separated: “Should the woman cast any charms that will be all-around revealed to be harmful, then the man is beholden to separate himself from her on his own without the knowledge of judges.”⁴¹

Conclusions

THE PRESENT brief account does not claim to systematically discuss witch trials in Europe, and even less to exhaustively present the magical phenomenon. We have focused on contextualizing the documents, and on a comparative presentation of how the European society, in its entirety, acted and reacted through its state and Church authorities towards the magical practices and especially towards wizards. Each document constitutes its own narrative, and creates a feeling of autonomy, at first glance. An in-depth reading of the documents will however reveal that the episodes narrated are connected both content-wise, and from a formal perspective. The journey in time and space that we suggest to the reader starts in France in the year 1623 and ends on the Transylvanian plains in the latter half of the eighteenth century. We hear the life stories of Jean Michel, Marie Magdelaine, Eva Rosina, and others like them, before they were extinguished on the burning pyre.



Notes

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7. Ibid., fols. 21–22.
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14. du Boys, 142–143.
15. BnF, Gallica, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, “La nommée Gaillard, 10 avril 1709,” fol. 25.
16. Ibid., fol. 39.
17. *Le Code Louis XIII, Roy de France et de Navarre, contenant ses ordonnances et arrests de ses cours souveraines pour les droits de sa Couronne, Police entre ses sujets; Reiglement de la Justice; Forme & abbreviation des procez. Recueillies, commentées, et conferees, avec celles des Rois Henry le Grand son Père, Henry III, Charles IX, François II, Henry II, François I & autres ses predecesseurs*, par Jacques Corbin, conseiller et maistre des Requestes de la Royné, Advocat en Parlement. Au Roy (Paris: Michel Soly, 1628), 226–238.
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29. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, fol. 14^r.
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40. Carl Göllner, *Hexenprozesse in Siebenbürgen* (Cluj: Dacia, 1971), 194.
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Abstract

Untold Life Stories about Magic and Witchcraft (17th–18th Centuries)

In this study, we aim to present some cases of witchcraft on the European continent. Based on unpublished archival information, the study shows how the state, the Church and the society reacted to magic, witchcraft, and alchemy. The life stories of the magical agents presented in these pages also provide an opportunity to revisit the political and social context from France to Transylvania throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Beyond the beauty of the magical symbolism lies the dramatic fate of those involved, who ended their lives tragically. Their testimonies, however, are important for the researcher who wishes to investigate the magical phenomenon.

Keywords

magic, witchcraft, life stories, 17th–18th centuries