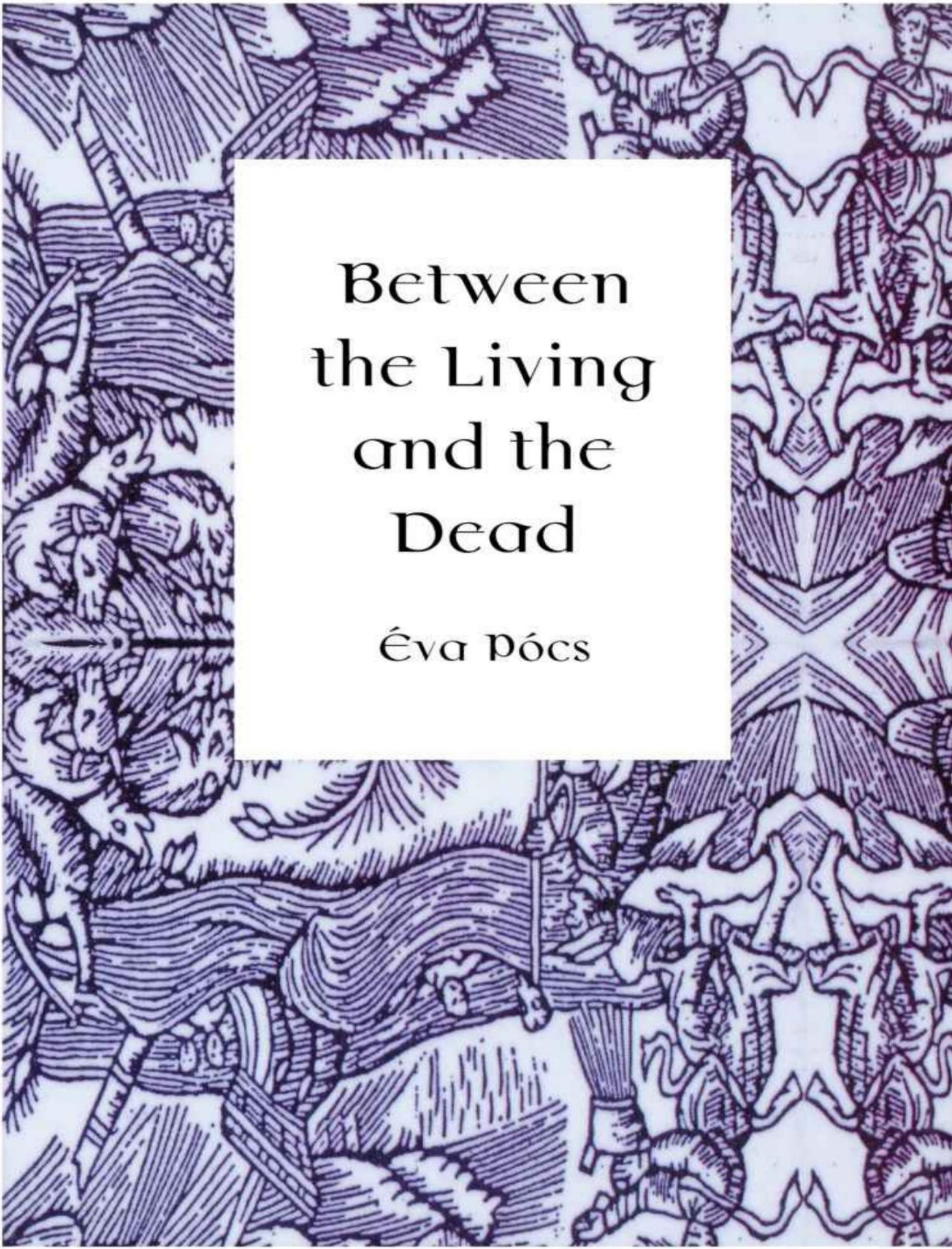

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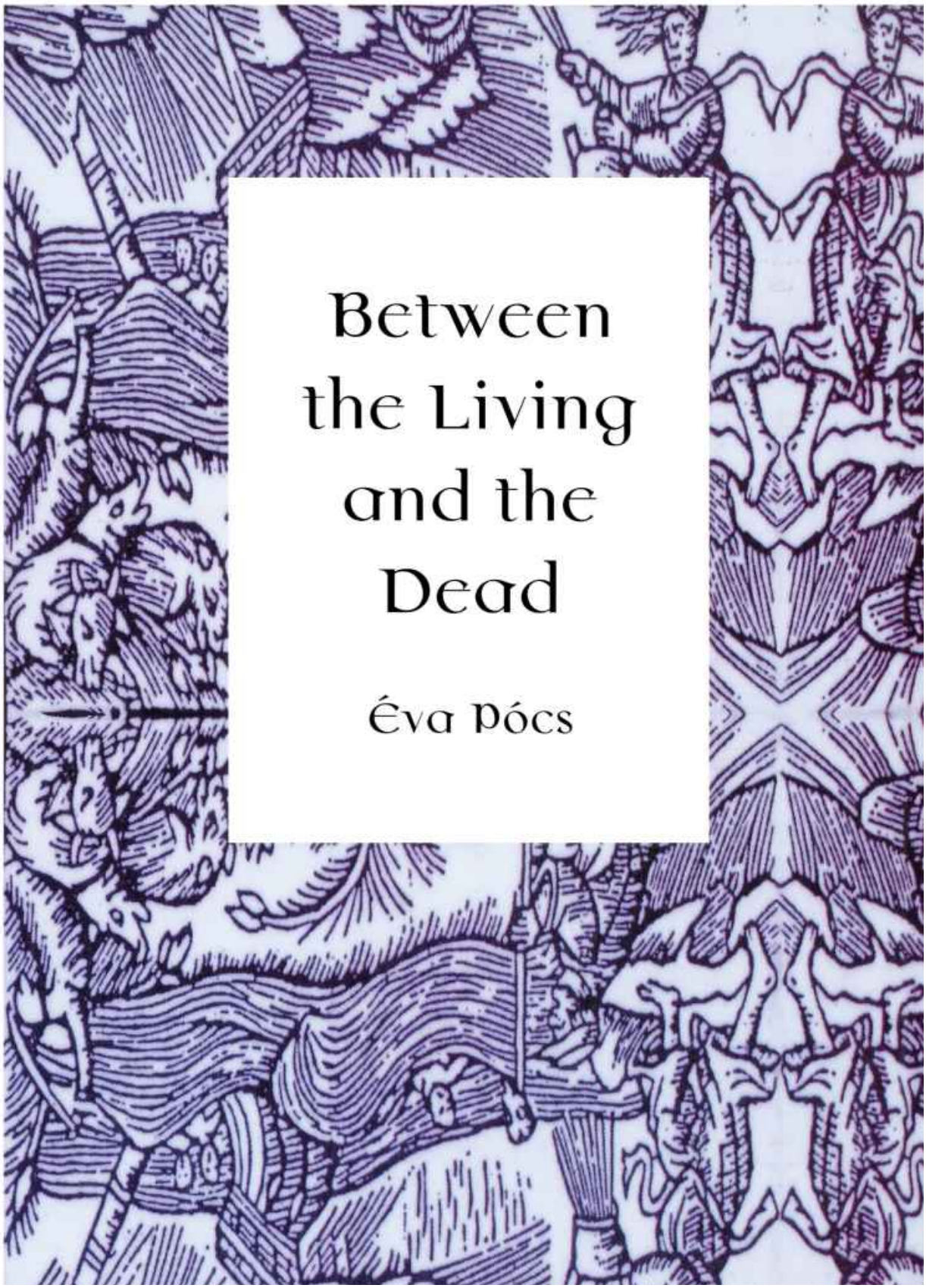

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Between the Living and the Dead

A PERSPECTIVE ON WITCHES AND SEERS IN THE EARLY MODERN AGE

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Introduction

This book is about the mediatory techniques and belief systems apparent in the documentary sources of early Modern Age, village and small-town cultures—that is to say, practices that were reported for creating connections with the other world. Mediators were the magical specialists of everyday village life, people who communicated professionally with the supernatural world.

However, some aspects of their techniques expand into a broader sphere. As researchers in the fields of ethnopsychiatry and religious ethnology repeatedly emphasize, ecstatic visionary experience on an elementary level is widespread, commonplace, and non-culture-specific. From some perspectives it seems that the inhabitants of European villages in the Middle Ages and early Modern Age were on this elementary level. In this sense the practices of both elite and popular culture were indivisible, as were religious visions and lay techniques,{1} the activities of the professionals, and instances of spontaneous visions. Anyone in an altered state of consciousness, in a trance, or whose visionary experience occurred through a dream, could directly communicate with the supernatural (the dead, the figures of Christian mythology, or with the spirit world of popular belief) through communication channels that were, given certain mental conditions, within anybody's reach.

The primary aim of my examination is to take stock of and survey the following: the communication systems that Hungarians of the early Modern Age were aware of; the role of these systems in everyday village life; and the contemporaneous European systems with which they might correlate. My subsequent questions relate to connections between defined systems

and their paradigmatic changes, among which the relationship among seers, magicians, and witches has a primary position.

I have relied for my principal sources upon a wealth of data, comprising several thousand pages of records, that pertain to the Hungarian witch hunts of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In addition to published documents relating to approximately two thousand witch trials,{2} several hundred more documents{3} were uncovered by the research of the workgroup that we established to reveal and analyze the sources on witchcraft in Hungary.{4} My attempts to explore Central Southeast European witchcraft as a belief system demanded that I take stock of the magical specialists who functioned within the system of witchcraft and who appear in its sources: magicians, seers, fortune-tellers, healers, and *táltos* (táltos are a characteristically Hungarian type of magician that a number of researchers regard as the Modern Age descendant of the pre-Christian Hungarian shaman), in addition to various kinds of professional sorcerers, diviners, and other magical specialists. Insofar as the sources shed light on the matter, these professionals practiced in every village or small-town society of Modern Age Europe. They attended to individual and communal, physical and spiritual needs in any area of everyday life that was not served by the barely existent official remedies of the citizenry, or by benedictory practice within the church, which fulfilled everyday needs through religious magic. {5}

The picture in Central and Western Europe that can be derived from the English, German, Austrian, Flemish, and French surveys{6} that we know of in this field is quite uniform. The most important roles of the village magical specialists were healing, fortune-telling, finding lost objects or animals, exposing thieves, "seeing" buried treasure or money, and communicating messages from the dead. However, there does seem to be some variety in the roles of the weather magicians and the fertility magicians. Generally speaking, the community magicians' tasks of obtaining rain and warding off hail seem to have been important in the central southeastern European highlands: the Alps, the Carpathians, and the Balkans. {7} In many more cases and aspects than research had generally assumed, and beyond their manipulation of supernatural powers as magicians, these village specialists were also mediators who contacted the other world through the technique of trance. Although the Hungarian picture corresponds to that in Europe generally, we are almost entirely dependent on the records of witch trials in order to study how magicians and seers fimctioned. Consequently, the only data at our disposal regarding magicians concern those who in some way or another came into contact with the system of village witchcraft and the witch hunts. Among the hundreds of people who were accused of witchcraft (bewitching or *maleficium),* there are only a handful of examples where documents were uncovered about a person exclusively charged with sorcery or "seeing"; among these are the records of twenty-six táltos. {8} Their roles, accomplished independently and outside of the system of witchcraft, only rarely emerge and even then only in a distorted mirror.

The nature of the sources dictated that the main focus of my examination would initially be to discover how these seers and magicians contributed to the development of the belief system of witchcraft that was rooted in Europe in the Middle Ages. Through this I intended to add to the research that had already examined the connections between the ritual and belief systems of witchcraft and magicians in recent decades. Within these spheres I aimed to place special emphasis on shamanism and witchcraft as paradigmatic changes of systems that assumed each other and were built upon one another.

According to the social-anthropological interpretation of the concept, witchcraft is both an ideology that explains human misfortune and an institution that regulates communal conflicts. It functioned within the web of relationships that existed between *malefactor, bewitched, witch*

identifier, and healer in early modern European village societies. {9} According to this ideology (that is, the belief system of witchcraft), calamities spring from human malefactors, enemies inside the community who are assumed to be able to harm humans and their economy, and who bewitch them with their supernatural powers. A witch is a person assumed to have been the malefactor in the case of a particular misfortune. The questions of whether the individual actually carried out bewitching acts as a "black magician," or whether they had any self-awareness of being a witch, are irrelevant.

A distinction was introduced between witchcraft and sorcery in Evans-Pritchard's key study, based upon his examinations of the witchcraft of Azande.{10} Sorcery was defined as a consciously carried out and verifiable action, be it "white" magic with a positive aim or "black" magic with a malevolent aim. According to this notion of witchcraft, the role of witch, within the web of relations in village witchcraft, could be attributed to anybody who could fulfill the operational rules of that institution. Evidently this institution cannot be understood by simply examining the witches that underwent trial; it is necessary to uncover the entire above-mentioned web of relationships—or, to use Alan Macfarlane's term, the "sociology of prosecution."

Macfarlane himself offers a detailed picture of the mechanism of accusation in the "village witchcraft" of Essex in Tudor and Stuart times (1970). The character of the sorcerer or healer who acts in opposition to the witch (recognizes and remedies maleficium and identifies the malefactor) was a focal point of his book. Unfortunately, regarding Europe as a whole, there are few such descriptions of the mechanism of village witchcraft as an institution,{11} although within the system of witchcraft, healers and witch identifiers were equal parties with the witches themselves. {12}

In Richard Kieckhefer's summary of European witch hunts, which examines the traits of those falling victim to accusation, three categories are defined. These are persons caught in the act of actual (positive or negative) sorcery; well-meaning sorcerers or healers who lost either the authorities' or their clients' trust; and a third group who did nothing and in whose cases the accusation of maleficium was merely an outlet for tensions that had arisen between neighbors. {13} Christina Larner, in summarizing information derived from the Scottish witch trials, expands this list by adding people reputed to be witches, that is, individuals surrounded by an aura of witch beliefs.{14} In my view, especially in the present context, the importance of the latter has to be emphasized: in European belief systems they are the witches par excellence, supernatural witches who, according to the beliefs traditionally attributed to them, are capable of maleficium in a supernatural way.

In a previous study based on the minutes of seventy-four witch trials conducted in Sopron County, Hungary, and on the witnesses' accounts of the maleficia in particular, I established the types of witchcraft evident in the Sopron area from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. These narratives tell us about the experience and knowledge, as well as the narrative stereotypes, the witnesses had of the witches. This is in addition to the form and manner in which the latter carried out their assumed or actual acts of maleficium. The witch figure of traditional local belief is defined within the texts. Also discernible are the acts of both the bewitched and the witches, as well as the kinds of interactions, especially the tensions and conflicts, that took place between them prior to the act of maleficium. On the basis of these, I isolated three principal types of conflict or interaction, which are essentially the same as those specified by Larner.

The first type, the "neighborhood witch" or "social witch," which I designate as type A, is identified with social or neighborhood conflicts. The source of the conflict is in the breaking of a norm of coexistence (for example, the denial of having borrowed an object or money). The maleficium itself, following the logic of the narratives, is the consequence of the curse of the witch. This was the way in which everyday people could fall under suspicion: anybody who was part of the financial and moral exchange network of a small community could feasibly become such a witch. {15}

In the case of the "type B" witch, the "magical" or "sorcerer" witch, the narratives refer to the magical acts of the witch or to acts that lend themselves to such an interpretation. These witches are experts in magic or sorcery; they may be healers, sorcerers, seers, or midwives; or they may be everyday people who practiced household magic and increased their fortunes through magic, to the detriment of a neighboring household. The ambiguity of magic and healing is the instigating factor for maleficium that is expressed in the own-alien opposition, i.e., the opposition between own households, communities, magicians, healers (that are good), and alien households, communities, etc. (that are bad), the healer-midwife rivalry, and in the witch's dual function as both malefactor and healer.

Type "C," the "supernatural" or "night" witches, are characterized in the court narratives as the demons of night visions and dreams. These narratives are memorates (that is, relations of one's experiences) of the conflict between the human and supernatural worlds, where witches as supernatural creatures attack their victims.

The expression of personal conflict within a community through type A witchcraft only occurs in certain socioeconomic circumstances—that is, in self-sufficient serf village communities whose inhabitants rely upon each other.{16} Types B and C are not simply or necessarily induced by social and neighborhood conflicts; indeed, type C is often solely and exclusively related to the tensions between the human and supernatural worlds. In other words, for a specific problem to have been attributed to the maleficium of a demonic night witch, it was enough to have a person in the community known to possess the hallmarks of a night witch, and who could therefore be assumed to be capable of using their supernatural power to cause harm.

This conception of the witch could also be adapted to fit any kind of social tension that brought types A and B into being; but in the absence of social tension, simple fear of the supernatural could lead to the identification of a type C witch. We conclude that in the absence of any expression of social conflicts, appearances of the night witch amounted to a dissolution of tension between the two worlds, a quasi-supernatural jurisdiction apparent from the beginning of the witch hunt at the very earliest known witch trials. Against this, my findings in the Sopron County studies placed the mass appearance of the type A witch narratives at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. This also underpins my assumption that more archaic misfortune explanations gained currency in the new social framework as compared with the system of village witchcraft correlating with internal tensions in self-sufficient peasant communities.

In this sense village witchcraft was already known at the beginning of the European witch hunt in the Jura Mountain region of the fifteenth century. The time of its inception is, of course, unclear; however, it is certain that the modern institution of village witchcraft has historical and geographical borders. Data from the early Middle Ages and antiquity denote the variants of the demonic figures of the supernatural witch, which had nothing to do with any kind of communal conflict. {17} A study of contemporary East and Southeastern European relations is also useful

since the effects of the witch hunt only partially reached that area. A multitude of demonic witch figures associated with a variety of harms were known there; however, the institution of village witchcraft barely existed in the Western and Central European sense. Misfortunes attributed to witches—unlike what we find in Western and Central Europe—were not, by and large, individual problems within the web of personal relationships (for example, illnesses) but rather injuries to the entire community. Within the framework of the new social institution of village witchcraft, *the* witchcraft, as an ideology explaining calamities, to a great extent remained on the level of the supernatural witch that was assumed to pre-date it, and adjusted itself to the new system to a certain degree.

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That aside, let us return to the characters of witchcraft. The various magical specialists could, and did, have a role in any of the four above-mentioned positions. In consonance with their original roles as healers, they entered the system, and the documentation of the trials, as those who remedied maleficia. The various seers and sorcerers (and the táltos) also occurred naturally in the role of the identifier, as the enemies of the witch within the belief system.{18} As for the position of the malefactor witch, many different aspects of magic, healing, sorcery, and

"seeing" could form the basis for an accusation of witchcraft, not only in the official hunt but also in the popular explanatory system for misfortune. The B-type witches are the healers, sorcerers, and other magical specialists accused of maleficium within the popular system; narratives referring to them are generally about positive magic being interpreted as maleficium. The activities of a housewife who healed or benefited her household through seemingly magical means were considered dubious and suspicious. Healing, in fact, was most likely to become the cause of a (new) accusation of maleficium if a problem caused by maleficium was remedied. It is not incidental that, according to the data from the Hungarian trials, more than half of the accused were healers. {19}

The question arises: did malefactor witches par excellence live out the role of witches? Were they aware of the assumed maleficium? Did they internalize an identity as witches? Research has asked these questions in various ways and contexts and the answer is usually no. As for sorcery as a verifiable technique, witches cannot be seen as black magicians because there is no evidence of their actually having carried out bewitching acts— that is, for their black magic. The acts of witches are only palpable within their roles as healers. Witches exist (characteristically the type C witch, or supernatural witch) as living healers who remedy their own maleficium. So the notion of the supernatural witch cannot be seen simply as a fulfillment of the role of maleficium but rather as a malefactor-healer witch acting in accordance with the maleficium-healing duality. If this is so, then only the actual roles of the witch or the sorcerer should be differentiated, and the two extremes are only valid here and now in the particular instance of village witchcraft. Evans-Pritchard's traditional witch-sorcerer differentiation, the division of "attributed witchcraft" and "carried out sorcery," is not valid in the more archaic system; the original unity of the two extremes, as well as the varying roles carried out, do not allow the differentiation to be upheld.{20}

The initial aim of my study was to extrapolate the belief systems of seers and sorcerers, and the mediatory systems and techniques found in the sources of witchcraft. I assumed that along with this analysis I would also be able to reveal the roots of witchcraft, at least as far as Central and Southeastern Europe are concerned. I thought that I had found these roots mainly in so-called European shamanism.

Over time, research has increasingly ordered mediatory techniques that play a role in the acts of sorcerers, or at least certain types of sorcerers, in the conceptual system of shamanism. The genus of European shamanistic sorcerers described as fertility sorcerers have gained a prominent place in research. Their Slavic variant was first presented in 1929 by the Polish researcher Kazimierz Moszyński, although he did not qualify the phenomena connected to them as shamanism (1967, 654-55). Roman Jakobson unearthed the shamanistic werewolf characters of the eastern and southern Slavic heroic epics (Jakobson and Szeftel 1947; Jakobson and Ruzičić 1950), who are closely related to the *benandantes* discovered by Carlo Ginzburg in the trial records of the seventeenth-century inquisition in Friul. Ginzburg founded his view of "the basis of shamanistic soul journeys as witch-Sabbaths" in his controversial book *The Night Battles,* published in 1966.

Some twenty years later, in *Hexensabbat,* his second book on the subject, Ginzburg made an attempt to outline the totality of the systems of European shamanism (which also embrace the Hungarian táltos) and, using archaeological and history of religion sources, to mark out the place of European witchcraft in the development of shamanism over time. Also worthy of mention here is Gábor Klaniczay, who expanded the circle of European sorcerers that can be called "shamanistic" and linked the Hungarian táltos with these systems on the basis of research on the southern Slavs. {21}1 myself, also following researchers of the southern Slavs, call attention to further types belonging here, as well as to fiirther references to the táltos (Pócs 1989b, 53-61; Pócs 1989a).

In the field of European shamanism, historians, ethnologists, and folklorists principally dealt with Central and Southeastern European phenomena judged to be Slav centered. Linguists, religious historians, Germanologists, as well as Celtologists have long been examining, from a different perspective, the literary and linguistic memories of an assumed Nordic and Celtic shamanism, as well as their surviving Middle Age and Modern Age vestiges. They have also touched on other types of European "seers" discussed in this present work,{22} and dealt with the interpretation of the traces from classical antiquity (Thracian and Greek) of the assumed Indo-European shamanism (Dodds 1951; Lommel 1965, 109; Butterworth 1966), and with the question of Indo-European and Indo-Iranian shamanism in general (Eliade 1957, 350-62; Meuli 1975; Closs 1968).

Among the other types of seers that emerge in the research from the line of shamanistic fertility magicians, the so-called fairy magicians have a significant role from the perspective of our subject matter. These were charismatic healers who maintained a ritual connection with a supernatural fairy world. Related to these, Gustav Henningsen's (1990) "fairy trials" in Sicily deserve a mention, as do Wolfgang Behringer's (1994) book elaborating on the cowherd Chonrad Stoeckhlin's trial in Austria in 1578 and my own study examining the Central and Southeastern European fairies (Pócs 1989b). Outside the region examined in this book, we also know of Scandinavian and Irish fairy magicians—in Ireland even in the twentieth century (Wall 1989; Ryan 1978).

It is a quasi-assumption of the recent research mentioned here that the social institution and belief system of village witchcraft that spread in the Middle Ages had adapted around systems of popular belief and religion that had lost their functions, and therefore the practice and mythology of sorcerers and mediators. In fact, compared with the latter, the social institutions and belief systems of village witchcraft were secondary and occurred later in time. (Actually, Margaret Murray started out with a similar assumption at the beginning of the century [1921].){23}

Initially I hoped my research would uncover the regularities, and in particular the Hungarian and Central European regularities, of the change of paradigm in the above-mentioned assumption.

Parallel with the above, it also became necessary to qualify certain phenomena, such as shamanism and witchcraft, and the need arose to distinguish between these two. Contacting the supernatural through trance techniques in order to accomplish community tasks was common among mediators connected with the system of witchcraft. This activity was aided and abetted by a helping spirit and corresponds to the criteria that are generally accepted for shamanism (Vajda 1959, 456-85; Lömmel 1965, 70; Hultkranz 1967, 27-58). Nonetheless, the examined magicians and seers cannot be seen as shamans in the strictest sense of the word, and neither can the mediatory systems be seen as shamanism (and this is not altered by demonstrating hereditary connections between Finno-Ugric-Germanic, Iranian-Slavic, etc., shamanism).

In connection with this, it seems appropriate to apply Eliade's (1957, 1987) differentiation between shamanism in general and shamanism in the strict sense, i.e., characteristic of Siberia and Central Asia. This means that in these places the religious life of the society was organized around the shaman, or the institution of shamanism. This is in contrast to Europe where, with respect to Germanic or Slavic shamanism, the function was not central, or at least this is not apparent from the data at our disposal. Consequently, using Lewis's (1971) definition of cults of possession, shamanism can be viewed as *peripheral,* in comparison to the phenomenon of "classical shamanism," which was *central.*

I n this work I refer to magicians who communicate with the other world through trance techniques as shamanistic rather than as shamans, and I use the term to encompass certain of their techniques as well. A number of the researchers mentioned above placed these, albeit inconsistently, under Slavic, Balkan, or Germanic shamanism, and táltos under Hungarian shamanism. I expressly regard these systems as phenomena of peripheral European shamanism, as opposed to central Eurasian shamanism, and I attempt to establish some characteristic features that differentiate them from the central type. The most important of these characteristically European features comes from the communal tasks connected to agricultural activities; consequently, we have the vestiges of a European agrarian shamanism before us in the files of the witch trials. However, I do not view and do not call the systems of collective "ritual trance" of

Southeastern Europe shamanism,{24} and hardly touch upon them in this book. They belong to the notion of cults of possession, which only incidentally and partly cover shamanism.{25}

As for the táltos that appear in the Hungarian witch trials, the question of a change of paradigms in shamanism and witchcraft simultaneously touches both the presumed Hungarian and

"archaic religious" shamanism. Gyula Sebestyén, Géza Róheim, Vilmos Diószegi, Mihály Hoppal, and others presumed that the Modern Age, legendary mythical figures of the táltos were pre-Christian and primarily maintained Turkic and occasionally Finno-Ugric traditions.{26} Personally, I harbor a number of doubts about the "eastern" origin of these traditions, but hurriedly add that I leave open the question of the origin of the táltos, as well as the other types of mediators in question— that is, beyond pointing out certain typological similarities and obvious relationships. The final unveiling of the origins of the Hungarian magicians, seers, and táltos, as well as a full description of their history, call for a separate study. This must be preceded, however, by a complete assessment to establish without bias "what there is."

Of course, Hungarians also had mediator specialists, even prior to the adoption of Christianity. Through particular system-specific or sometimes culture-specific techniques, they entered into contact with the creatures of the supernatural world—the pagan and Christian spiritual worlds, the worlds of demons and gods. Such specialists could be the táltos, who also play an important role in the current study but who are not alone. They are only one among numerous experts that communicate with the other world. On the other hand, this táltos is not *the* táltos because, as we shall see, the name *táltos* refers to several types of mediators.

My initial presumption and starting point regarding ancestry, integration, and chronology has changed. As I became more familiar with the source materials, I was forced to come to another conclusion. These mediatory systems should not be taken as the precursors of witchcraft but should be seen as coexisting or even tightly interwoven systems. It turned out that in the multilevel hierarchic system of witchcraft, the archaic and ambivalent "supernatural witch" is also a mediator, and with these particularities in mind witchcraft can be seen to share its roots with certain phenomena in European shamanism. From all of this it emerges that in the course of discussing mediators and mediatory techniques, not only sorcerers, fleetingly accused of taking a role in witchcraft, but also witches themselves need to be considered. Besides the "pure" sorcerers, the other main topic of this book is a description of the belief system of the supernatural witch.

The question will arise (it cannot be answered at least in relation to a presumably much older past) about whether these archaic, quasi-shamanistic witches functioned in reality, participated in supernatural communication as black shamans, and were self-conscious black magicians in this sense. Or were these activities simply attributed, in the sense that Evans-Pritchard meant?

The obvious and automatic answer here would be that they did not function in reality, but as we shall see, the issue is more complex than that. On the positive side, in the same system and in relation with the "other side" of the same belief figures, self-conscious mediators did function with experiences of the otherworld and the other accessories of supernatural communication.

Let us examine the case of the demonic ancestors of the witch. Witchcraft as a belief system primarily serves to explain calamities, and it offers a human alternative to the various types of Christian and pagan supernatural explanations (God's punishment, fate, punishment for breaking a taboo, illness demons, or dead creatures of the underworld in popular belief systems). The search for the demonic ancestors of the human witch is a trend that can be sensed in European research over the last twenty to thirty years. The presumption has been that misfortune explanations connected to humans spread with the expansion of village witchcraft. Additionally, this process partly dissolved the earlier principles of supernatural misfortune explanation, and ended the era of demonic creatures launching attacks from the supernatural world. Like magicians, these demonic creatures offered an ideology that served as the basis for the institution of village witchcraft as well as for certain witches' sabbat images. The latest findings were shown by the line of research represented by Runeberg, Eliade, and Henningsen looking for fairy ancestors, a line that I too joined by pointing out the central southeastern European fairy relationships of the witch. {27} The *mora/mara/ mare/mahr* type of "tormenting" incubi, or the figure of the demonic werewolf and vampire, received less emphasis, although as we shall see, all of them had an important role in the evolution of the belief figure of the European witch.

However, it is incorrect to name the demon world definitively as a witch precursor. As is true for the sorcerers, truth can be better approached here if we talk about alternative systems living

alongside and occasionally interweaving with each other, rather than following each other. In any case, assumed ancestors of the witch are often the archaic and demonic figures of the witches themselves, or their own "original" demonic side: a witch ancestor that a particular social setup attached to the human witch, that is, to the "neighborhood witch" of the early modern village communities.

5

1. The Limitations and Potential of Documentary Sources

Our sources, and consequently the historical scope of our examination, stretch across three centuries of witch trials and witch hunts. {28} The trial texts give us insight into several areas related to witchcraft because they reflect not only the mediatory techniques of seers, sorcerers, and healers but also the general, everyday practices of the common people. These contemporaneous documents from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries refer to a still-functioning system of witchcraft, as opposed to the rituals and beliefs of the modern era that we usually learn about from narratives. They are also a source of relatively homogeneous data spread throughout the language area because for several centuries data were noted down with the same aim and similar methods throughout the country. However, it is also true that those making written records were representatives of an elite culture, which of course is a disadvantage for drawing conclusione ~bout popular culture. Nevertheless, 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" (1981, 7).

The witnesses' accounts reflect the preconditions of an appearance before the law court with little distortion: that is, the functioning and the local belief system of village witchcraft.

Naturally, the situation in the law court influenced the statements of the witnesses, and to an even greater extent those of the accused. The motivations of the accused, the accuser, and the witnesses, as well as the strategy of the defense (denial or admission), are all important influences on the proceedings. {29} Both the "benign examinations" *(benignum examen)* of the witches, as well as the forced confessions extorted through torture, show the bewitching act from a particular viewpoint, that of the bewitching witch. The influence of the law court also comes across in this context: the prejudices and expectations of the elite's demonology concerning the attributes of the witch are the basis of popular belief systems that are closely interwoven with the doctrines of church demonology.{30}

The effect of witch-hunting demonology was to create God-denying heretics amongst the practitioners of popular magic and those who professed popular belief systems. The greatest hallmarks of these heretics were confederacy with the devil and participation in conspiratorial heretical gatherings—witches' Sabbaths, where devil worship, denial of God, and lewd orgies took place. {31} Thus was created a polarized worldview in which, at one extreme, stood the witch who denied God and conspired with Satan, and at the other the Christian church with its saints and the Christianized elements of the popular belief system and its rituals. The latter consisted of the new "saintly" enemies of the witches: the healers and sorcerers who gained a Christian connotation as well as being godly guardians and helping spirits. In the same process of Christianization, the demonic world gained satanic characteristics—especially the underworld night realm of demons that is so strongly linked to the roots of witchcraft.{32} The witches' sabbat itself was partly the invention of demonologists in the service of the prosecution. Obtaining a confession to the sabbat as a regularly occurring gathering of a heretical sect opened the way for prosecutors to expose further witches for taking part in it.

Nonetheless, conceptualizing group witch gatherings, or "merriments," was not alien to popular belief, either in Hungary or in other areas of Europe. As we shall see, this was of central importance in the belief system of the archaic supernatural witch. The demonologists of the church simply worked it together and then built onto it the doctrines of the witch conspiring with the devil; from this we then have logically to extract the original "popular" witches' sabbat. This problem accompanies this study throughout: the interpretation and unraveling of the original meanings of images of witches' sabbats is of central importance from the aspect of the mediators. {33}

The story of Satan giving the witches their magical power is another phase in the common, interactive development of popular and demonological imagery. In a demonological sense, the witches' magical ability is the consequence of a conspiracy with the devil. {34} I have no intention of going into great detail here about the diverse witch and devil studies of the church, nor about the multiple interactions of the ideology of village witchcraft, nor indeed about the witches and devils of popular belief systems. While I do deal with some aspects of these issues, it is only insofar as they concern our subject directly. The supernatural European witch does not necessarily go hand in hand with Satan since in several corners of Europe, even today, witchcraft exists without the devil's aid. Then to fill a void the devil was "delivered" to the villagers, probably by the prosecution itself. In a Hungarian context, Andor Komáromy has already alluded to this in his foreword to the first extensive publication of the witch trials in Hungary (1910, xvii-xxi). The position of the Christian devil that entered into a pact with witches was originally taken by some spirit being of popular belief; this is what is to be seen in the devil of demonology, armed with horns, claws, and hooves.{35}

The devil carrying a witch to hell, wood engraving from Conrad Lycosthenus' 'Prodigorum ac Ostentorum Chronicon' Basel, 1577

I t is singularly important to follow the process of demonologizing that often occurred outside the context of witch hunts. That the sorcerers became Christian, as I mentioned earlier, often meant that the Church's images of the devil took the place of the popular demons and spirits who were manipulated by sorcerers. The result was the development of the fictive figures of black sorcerers who entered into conspiracy with the devil and whose legends enmeshed modern Europe. In this study we have no dealings with what is, in truth, purely fiction: the quasi-mediatory figures of these black magicians, the Hungarian and Croatian *garabonciás diák* or *garaboncijaš* (traveling students who raise storms, hail, and the like), the Romanian *şolomonar,* or the Slovenian and Austrian *fahrende Schüler. {36}* We are now interested in authentic mediatory techniques and the genuinely operational seers and sorcerers of village communities.

Unfortunately, it is not easy to unravel authentic mediatory figures from the surrounding manifold of demonic narrative fiction of both demonic and nondemonic origins, difficulties that also haunt our examination.

Naturally, elite culture affected popular witchcraft beyond the web of relationships formed around the witch hunt, primarily through church preachers. However, the impact of ritual magic was also an important factor—the occult divination or magical practice of intellectuals, court magicians, and astrologers. This was an influence that spread mainly through magical literature and magic books, but we can also allow for some direct transmission in the church through the lower clergy and monks.{37}

As for the historical boundaries of our examination, what could these three centuries—which, from the perspective of belief, could be said to have been chosen at random—represent? To some extent it is possible to give a reassuring answer. By viewing the trial texts as an archival stock of concurrent modern witch belief, it can be said that its mainstream stayed essentially unchanged throughout the three centuries. It can consequently be handled as a single system that does, of course, have geographical and chronological variants. Within the system of witch beliefs, it seems a significant change in the rituals of mediators occurred after the end of the hunt: the substantial change in contemporary and early modern data can be assumed to be about the differences between the "still functioning" and "not yet functioning" systems. Consequently, it is problematic to call upon twentieth-century beliefs for help in interpretation, although we still do so for certain purposes, because even while these narratives are distanced from practice and experience, the twentieth-century materials concerning beliefs still represent the system of witchcraft and mediators more completely than the manipulated and selected material in law court texts. {38}

My primary aim is to give both a description and an interpretation of the systems: I only refer to other systems selectively and contrastively. Comparison is needed to lay down certain typological similarities, even if, on this level, I am unable to solve historical problems or questions regarding origination. The local Central and East European systems can be described best if the common European characteristics that generally prevail from the above are taken into account. Even so, the anticipation of certain historical problems cannot be avoided, and the temporal relation of typological similarities inevitably raises problems of continuity.

Ronald Grambo and Hannjost Lixfeld, during their search for the remnants of Nordic shamanism in contemporary folklore, questioned on what level continuity might exist: whether in texts, religious phenomena, or beliefs (Grambo 1975, 20-40; Lixfeld 1972, 60-107). The latest discoveries concerning our topic imply that the beliefs and rituals may be much more persistent than has generally been thought, only we do not clearly see the motivation for and regularities in their endurance. Jean-Claude Schmitt, for example, found the remains of the thirteenth-century cult of Saint Guinefort through a careful and thorough approach to source critique (1979). Wolfgang Behringer writes in his book (referring to Schmitt) about the persistence of a legend (the night troop of the dead, the *Nachtvolk* or *Nachtschar)* in a small region in the Alps (1994, 144-50). This was in precisely the place where these beliefs served as a mythical background to the rituals of sorcerers for creating contacts with the other world during the sixteenth century.

Behringer, following up this motif, and Ginzburg, in connection with the survival of shamanistic images found behind motifs of the sabbat, questioned the reason for the striking similarities: that is, how did major substantive similarities come into being throughout Europe? Among others Ginzburg suggested the possibility of either a common Indo-European inheritance or an European shamanism of Iranian origin (1990, 225-88). Eastern and Southeastern Europe, with which he is less familiar, offer further striking resemblances to the material he presents. This material reflates the possibility of his proposed route of transmission through the Iranians to Hungary and into the Slavic regions, even if it does not exclude an Iranian origin in general.

7

From the Celts to the people of the Baltic, the outlines of a common Indo-European inheritance seem to emerge. This is connected to the cult of the dead, the dead bringing fertility, to sorcery, and shamanism in relation to the different gods of the dead, which are linked to shamanism that ensured fertility by way of the dead. {39} Nonetheless, the subject of this book is different: I call

attention to a few striking similarities and concordances, but otherwise I think it too early to draw any historical conclusions. I consider my main task to be the description and interpretation of the system that emerges from the Hungarian materials. In doing that I attempt to validate the aspects outlined here and to consider the levels of inner interpretation, the differences between genuine or fictive, "original" or demonologized, attributed or self-conscious beliefs, as well as between practiced and narrated, real or attributed rituals.

8

2. General Conditions for Communication with the Supernatural

The Living and the Dead

Let us examine mediatory systems and the aspect of witchcraft that concerns this topic, the seers and sorcerers who worked both inside and outside the system of supernatural witchcraft. Our sources, reflecting on the mediatory techniques of the specialists as well as on everyday communicative practice, remark that early modern mediatory techniques (besides the common technique of attaining an altered state of consciousness) have certain general basic conditions that are common across the whole of Europe. The general characteristics of relationships between the living and the dead are a case in point. Mediatory practice (apart from visions with a Christian content) is primarily and fundamentally communication conducted with the dead as well as a predominantly "dead" demonic and spirit world. In the background (and differing from today) there was a close relationship between the living and the dead.

On the basis of rich contemporaneous and early modern source materials, English, French, German, and Russian researchers have recorded the characteristics of the relationship between the living and the dead in the Middle Ages.{40} Our data indicate that the Hungarian belief system may have shared similar characteristics. Paxton is of the opinion that in Western Europe from the fifth to the eighteenth centuries, "the living and the dead coexisted in close proximity, and in many ways death was a natural part of life" (1990, 17). In addition to this, Gurevich claims that the borders were passable in either direction; in the Middle Ages people had a wider receptive capacity in their sense of reality than in the eras that followed. In visions and dreams, they saw the invasion of the highest reality into everyday life; it was a way of discovering the secrets of the otherworld, or seeing into the future (1987, 222). The living could even temporarily enter the otherworld when the dead and the demons— corresponding to the realm of God and the spirits in Christian mythology—appeared on Earth and snatched them away.

Researchers analyzed the origins of Western and Northern European historical sources, and examined extant and more archaic traditions of Northeastern, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, which contributed to sketching out a general picture for the whole of Europe.

The dead, primarily individual or "personal dead" *revenants,* that is, the returning dead, arrived and stayed according to various time frameworks. The impersonal, communal dead also returned periodically: at the beginning of the year, in midwinter, and during other "death" periods.{41} Among the days of the dead, both the (Germanic) celebration of the winter solstice and

the Celtic New Year's Eve (November 1) were characterized by the various traditions of death sacrifice existing in Northern and Western Europe. The latter date was designated a commemorative death celebration by the Council of Cluny in the middle of the eleventh century, preparing the grounds for the doctrine of purgatory that emerged from the thirteenth century

onwards (Le Goff 1981). Easter and Pentecost were the most important festivals of the dead in Orthodox East and Southeastern Europe. The dead would continue to return home so long as tensions, conflicts, and unresolved issues remained between the living and the dead. They also came back as guardians and as creatures of taboo and sanction that influenced fate. As Keith Thomas writes about early modern England: "in a relatively traditional society... it is believed that in significant areas of life the behavior of the living should be governed by the presumed wishes of the dead" (1971, 719).

All across Europe demonic soul troops, which followed on from the "communal visitors," were known, particularly in the periods between Christmas and Epiphany, to visit the settlements of the living as hosts of "cloud-leading souls" swooping in tempests, or as repentant souls (or, in their most common Christian variant, unbaptized souls). {42} The common characterization of the otherworld of the hordes of the dead (among many local variations) is as a horizontal race above the Earth in storms or storm clouds, in an archaic netherworld neither in heaven nor on earth. {43} The development of the Christian variants was heavily influenced by the doctrines of purgatory from the thirteenth century. {44}

The returning dead were essentially ambivalent about the living. Through the diverse forms of ancestor cults, death cults, and death sacrifices, they were involved in exchange relationships with them. Apart from those variants distinguished as bad or good souls, they became either guardians protecting their families, nations, and villages; or malevolent demons—for example, tempest demons who brought hail, or demons of pestilence who launched attacks on their own nations. In ancient Europe the good spirits ensured the agricultural fertility of the community in return for sacrifices; the welfare of the community depended on their good will. {45} The Christian forms of appeasement—mass, feast, and alms—appeared in the twelfth century.

The archaic, kindred characteristics of the guardians of the good dead remain apparent in many peripheral areas of Europe to this day. (For example, in Eastern and Southeastern Europe storm-demon spirits protect the agricultural fertility of their villages. They are thought to fight battles in the clouds with the guardians of neighboring communities). {46} In several European

regions— in the Balkans, Ireland, and Scandinavia—a few attributes of the good dead have endured even into the Modern Age in a characteristic fairy mythology connected with death (Lecouteux 1992; Pócs 1989b).

During the festivals of the dead it was possible to contact the deceased as they visited the human world. Apart from sacrifices, the most important form of communication between the living and the dead took place in direct meetings—that is, in the soul-to-soul communications that occurred during altered states of consciousness. Both the hordes of the dead as well as individual souls could be encountered, and they appeared to the living as apparitions, visions, and dreams. The ritual mediatory techniques of professional seers were also bound to these occasions; even within Christianity their general framework was governed by the festivals of the dead.

Soul Images, Mara/Mahr/Mora, and Werewolves

The image of a soul that departs from its body is familiar in all European cultures, as is the belief in alter egos, or doubles, that appear during altered states of consciousness. Although the richest sources for this are Germanic and Celtic (from the Middle Ages), and from our perspective the most extensive studies are also based upon those sources, {47} we are actually talking about common Indo-European (and similarly Hungarian) beliefs. In essence these are

that humans have a double (to use one of the most frequently applied European terms, "shadow"; also ancient Nordic *fylgja* and Gaelic *co-choisiche,* and so forth) that can detach from, leave, or during a trance be sent by its owner, and after death live on as a dead soul. It can have physical and spiritual (soul) variants: the material variant being the "second body," an exact physical replica of the human; and the spiritual variant being a phantom body, a haunting figure visible during dreams or trances. It has permanent "escorting soul" variants too; it can also fulfill the role of a "fate soul." Both types of alter ego have the ability to metamorphose—that is, to take on the form of an animal. In this instance the double is not referred to here as a "free soul" (an otherwise more familiar term) that can detach from the body, {48} because of the existence of the second body, the physical alter ego. {49}

While the physical bodies of humans live on in the world, their alter egos are part of a different, alternative world. It is through the latter that an individual is able to communicate with the spiritual world and the dead, as well as to "see." Anybody could have a double, but seeing could only occur in certain situations or states, or in certain "death" frameworks: that is, an individual in a condition without status (i.e., in a state of transition), or while the souls of the dead made their terrestrial visits. During the death festival periods, more or less anybody could contrive spontaneous contact with the alternative world, but for several reasons seers were able to take this contact further. Seers were thought to have innate abilities (by their selection by birth) and knowledge gained through an initiation into this supernatural world; consequently they had closer and more permanent contact with the dead themselves.

The mara/mahr/mora and werewolf creatures have to be mentioned in several contexts: first, when referring to general characteristics; second, with the fundaments of the common belief system of the European witch; and also in the context of the conditions for supernatural communication. Mara/ mahr/mora creatures are the characteristic embodiments of double images, as well as of the creatures that have doubles—for example, the seers who are capable of trance. Slav researchers write about the assumed Indo-European relationship between the Germanic *maralmahrlmare,* the French *cauchemar,* the southern Slavic *moralmuralzmoralmorinalmorava,* the eastern Slavic *(kiki)mora,* the Romanian *moroi,* and so forth; one probable source of origin is related to the Indo-European word **moros* (death). {50} The same creatures can be known under different names—for example, the German *Alp* or *Trut.*

I will enumerate the most characteristic features briefly below without going into great detail about the rich and rather varied mara/mora images of Europe. The richest historical source about them is the Germanic literature of the Middle Ages, and in the Modern Age a wealth of data was collected about Swedish, northern and northeastern German, as well as southern Slavic belief systems. {51} These creatures (the term "mora creatures" is used from here on to refer to all European versions) are in close relationship with the images of doubles mentioned above: mora creatures are generally human beings who are able to send their souls out at night while in a trance. Thus they can make journeys by assuming the shapes of animals (snakes, butterflies, mice, hens, cats). They infiltrate people's dwellings as incubi, confinement demons, or even as vampires, and they "ride upon" or torment people.

A witch who is submitted to the water-ordeal does not sink. Beside her another witch is floating in a sieve. Apparently she too is unsinkable. Cover of the tractate entitled 'Witches apprehended, examined and executed' published, in 1613, in London.

A ccording to both Slavic and Germanic data, the mora creatures in general owe this ability to having been born with a caul, or in Eastern Europe even with teeth; the caul is the quasi-residence or embodiment of their alter egos. They are mostly female, as opposed to the mostly male werewolf; one of their southern Slavic names is *nočnica,* meaning "night woman." All the peoples of Europe are acquainted with mora creatures that appear exclusively as dead souls—as returning souls—but generally it is clear that the dead moras are the dead variants of those who were mora creatures during their lifetime. They are the double that lives on. On the other hand, there are variations of mora figures who became independent as helping spirits—for example, among certain Slavic peoples and the French. Dead moras usually attack (or more rarely protect) their nation as an evil (or good) guardian. As community guardians they have relationships with the periodically returning dead and, in many areas, with unbaptized souls. So-called analogical injury (whereby an injury to a double hurts its owner), as well as the characteristic forms of "soul journeying," such as walking on water or hovering above water, or traveling in a sieve or a bolter are characteristic motifs of the mora narratives.

Although it is evident that the mora figures were widely known as a result of several popular legends that spread throughout Europe, it is very likely that persistent local traditions are bound to variations of the creatures. At the same time, these possess several common European features among which the most important are their relationship with the dead and soul images, and with the figure of the witch. Characteristic features of the mora creatures vary from place to place and from people to people, as do the extent and manner in which they are connected to the figure of the witch (or identified with it completely). In considering the European witches, it

can generally be stated that the complexity of the mora creatures is important in that it served as the basis for a witch belief with similarly complex witch figures.

The European werewolf traditions are also closely connected with double images and with witches. The bedrock of werewolf (man wolf) beliefs is the existence of the animal alter ego—

that is, the double that leaves the body during a trance and becomes an animal. This phenomenon is often connected to individuals born in a caul or, in other cases, with a "surplus of body parts." In Eastern Europe, for example, werewolf creatures are thought to be born with a double set of teeth or, in many places in South and Eastern Europe, with two hearts. Werewolves with animal marks (tails, wings, or furry bodies) sometimes appeared. I mention only a few features of the werewolf that are essential to an understanding of the witch and sorcerer figures we are concerned with, as well as for recognizing their werewolf characteristics. {52}I consequently disregard the wealth of material about European belief in them; the Slavic, Germanic, Greek, Roman, and other variants.

Besides the wolf (and secondarily the dog), European werewolf images are also known to be connected with bears, snakes, cats, wild boars, and several other animals. Like the mora, werewolves are also double beings: their living and dead counterparts, as well as their independent helping-spirit variants—such as the "sent wolf—all exist in many parts of Central Europe, including Hungary. They also have close relationships with the returning dead and were thought to become active (become wolves) during the periods of the festivals of the dead. Dead, demonic werewolves can also be seen as guardians that attack or protect their tribes. In given cases in some belief systems (for example, in Swedish and Norwegian beliefs), they differ from the mora creatures only in that they are male. Despite this, they are seen as independent figures everywhere and exist alongside witches, even where their figures strongly merge with them (for example in Ukrainian and Romanian folk beliefs). As in Western, Northern, and Southern Europe, mora creatures contributed to the belief figure of the witch. In Eastern Europe this creature was the werewolf, and the Hungarian situation is peculiar in that the Hungarian witch was enriched by both.

10

3. The Belief Figure of the Witch

The documentary sources come from witch trials in which the system of village witchcraft is expressed through the charge and resolution of cases of maleficium in a court of law. This is why the belief figures of witches and their adversaries can only be described through this system. In this section belief attributes will be considered sequentially through the following functions: maleficium, diagnosis and identification, and healing. Only the type C witches, the witches par excellence who occupied the role of the malefactor witch, and their enemies are considered here. They are the senders and receivers of communication between the living and the dead. I do not deal with the everyday people or sorcerers who found themselves in the role —that is, the type A and B witches.

The belief figure of the type C witch can be primarily described through first-hand accounts of cases of maleficium. Witnesses speak of visions, apparitions, or dreams in which a supernatural creature or creatures appeared; or they recount how they had faced certain physical phenomena (noise, light, movement, pain), which they interpreted as the presence of the supernatural. The subject interprets the experience as an aspect of communication with the

supernatural world. The receiver presumes the sender to be a witch in supernatural guise or the witch's double.

Witches and Their Doubles

Hungarian witches had doubles. As was typical in Central and Southeastern Europe, these doubles could be either living or dead. This fact can be associated with the werewolf and mora characteristics of the witches. The female version of the type C witch can be generally seen as a mora witch. Hungarian trial records regarding mora doubles represent all three of the centuries examined, as well as the entire language area (but with a greater emphasis on the western part).

In numerous narratives concerning night apparitions, such phrases as "in the image of *{képében),* "in the face or figure of *{ábrázatjában),* and "in the person of *(személyében)* point to the image of the physical double: that is, to a second body. According to this documentation, the alter ego is imagined to be a physical reality. This means that it was not a soul but a second body; and while it was of a spiritual nature, it also had a physical reality and was an exact double of the owner's body, face, and clothes. For example: "a woman with the face and body of this Mrs.

Lakatos was sitting by the fireplace"; {53} she "that was throttling me was in your person and had a face like yours";{54} or "she had her own face, her talk, everything was hers."{55} The ability of the mora witches to appear in two places simultaneously (since the physical double is an exact copy of the original) belongs here: "She was kept captive in Várad and yet she was sweeping about in front of her own house in broad daylight." {56} And another person was seen to have split: "She gave herself into two parts, in that way she seemed to approach." {57}

Terminology clearly differentiates the spiritual body that became visible in apparitions from the physical double. The term "shadow" has been uniformly applied throughout Europe to the soul that lives on after death and the shadow-soul that becomes detached from the body. For example, "Not Mrs. Móricz herself, but her image or her shadow walked with her." {58} In another case, a woman went into the room, "and there she could not be experienced in her person, she just walked as a shadow."{59} Spiritual doubles could enter buildings through closed windows or keyholes, or through the ventilation holes in windows: "that night Kata Kántor came in through the ventilation in my window."{60} They appeared and disappeared as phantom images, and there is even a terminology for the way the specter appeared. A woman witness says she awoke in the night, sat up, and, "Mrs. Ferenc Szabó formed herself at the fire."{61} We get a uniquely precise and descriptive narration of a spiritual double in the minutes of a trial in Nagyvázsony in 1756. The image of Mrs. Móricz, a witch who was in captivity there, haunted somebody outside; she constantly followed her and once even bumped into her. {62} According to another eyewitness account, the witch's double, who invisibly follows her victim, "cannot be seen [in the courtyard in the daytime] by anyone else...than the *fatens* [witness] only." {63} We also encounter the medieval representation of the soul as a very tiny spirit. Witches snatched away Mrs. Marosi and put her in a swallow's nest so that she would whistle for their amusement. {64} "Very tiny" is symbolic wording for the soul that is nonphysical and invisible.

The double of the type C witches could carry out nighttime maleficium in two ways: they would appear either in their own image or in someone else's. When witches were said to have appeared in their own image, this meant that a double was sent out. This is borne out by data that refer to instances where somebody torments, but does so "in their own image." For example,

"two of those witches came in the night and one was the image of Mrs. Szeles.{65} But what does going "in someone else's image" mean? Often, the witnesses named the person whose image the witch had taken; for example: "His wife goes out in the image of Mrs. Székely András," {66} or, in another case, "she hastily came out from the weeds in the image of a woman in a green jerkin, and she grabbed me by the waist." {67} Some female witches appear in the image of men, even sexually harassing men: "in the evening she was mounted by the image of a man who treated her dreadfully.. .she had her suspicions of Mrs. Gergely Szász."{68}

At trial it could be convenient to argue that it was not the accused who had caused the offense but rather someone else who went in their image. The next example refers to a confession obtained through torture, from a trial in Hódmezővásárhely. The question "Did you suck István Kozma's navel for three whole days?" was answered: "His own wife sucked István Kozma's

navel in my image."{69}

The following complete dialogue between the law court and the accused comes from a trial in Tolna County. Its subject is a descriptive, experiential explanation of the alter ego, of how witches were able to be in two places at the same time, and how instead of themselves they placed a representation of themselves in their beds to deceive their husbands:

"[P]erhaps you are simply dreaming, and go to bed without prayer, that's why you have such funny dreams... "

"But I don 't dream because it's all so real. It cannot be noticed when the devil puts things into all their places like the ones who talk with him. "

"Neither is it Mrs. Faind who lies beside her husband on those nights but the exchanged body, which can be treated and done with just as the one in the real body. "

"But, see, if you got a good beating up that night it would show on you, your body would get blue and I bet you 'd moan too. "

"It would moan too just as ifit were me who was beaten, it would do all that it should but I'd not feel but know all that would be happening to me. " {70}

Documentation about going in "someone else's image" expands with references to empty bodies, masks, or puppets. Those who went in their own image left an empty body at home, and that was labeled with a word that carried the meaning of representation: "Sophi Kapta and Mrs. Csanádi carried in the image of a witch and they took [the soul of the witness] with them in a barrel, and although the body seemed like it was lying there, it was not the witness's but only its image. They put something there that stood for it."{71} Like a container, the physical double or second body fills up and becomes functional through their own personal spirit, or something else could possess it (like the devil). Demonological explanations of the alter ego, in addition to the interpretations of the accused complying with them, can be seen in the confessions of witches: and this is an interpretation of maleficium as a form of possession by the devil.

It seems most likely that in the confessions of witches' sabbats, the representations left behind are also an adjunct to demonology: to deceive their husbands they placed a broom, scuttle, or a flail in the bed instead of themselves. These "to him become practically as if the forms themselves were there." {72} An explanation connected to "witch ointment" also substantiates a demonological origin. One witch's confession in Szeged recounts how she smudged a broom

with ointment and put it next to her husband, where it turned into a woman, "but there was a devil in it" (Reizner 1900, 4:420).

These narratives make it clear that going in someone else's image refers, primarily, to a second body independent of the true body, the *double* of another person and not another person.

From this it also becomes clear that the physical alter ego is not a free soul but a body; and, what is more, if somebody walks about in something other than their own image, then they are a

"vacant" or "empty" body. The expression "dressed in forms," from Fölsöbük in 1730, emphasizes a puppet or mask character. {73} It is worth comparing this to the term *masca* from the Middle Ages and early Modern Age, where the term refers to a mask and is connected to Central and Western European witches. {74} But how was a witch or someone else supposed to possess another body? Obviously, they did not do this themselves, but instead their spiritual double did. Consequently, the spiritual alter ego that became detached from the body could use the physical alter ego, "image," or mask of another. To contemporary thought these random exchanges of bodies and souls seem rather fantastic, but witnesses at Hungarian trials talk about them as everyday experiences.

From a different perspective but still worthy of attention is the idea that here we are dealing with a particular variation on the theme of possession, that is, when the witch (a human) possesses another human. This is presumably based on the idea of being possessed by the devil: the witch, as a "devilish soul," is capable of this.{75} It is possible that identifying doubles as witches, or rather, that the replica itself is named as the witch belongs to the same imagery for which there is evidence in our documentation. "Behave, appear as a witch" means to take on the

image of a witch: "that Mrs. István Gál torments him in the image of a witch."{76}

Let us mention here one of the few examples of doubles following humans as guardians. In a witness account at a trial in Hungary an invisible escorting spirit warned the witness that she was seated in the wrong place.{77} There are also spirits nagging for maleficium: according to the confession of Erzsébet Tóth, a witch from Szeged, one stood behind her in a black dress.

{78}

Various levels of interpretation appear in law court dialogues. As for the interpretation of the alter ego, the dilemma of the law court is whether witches themselves go or if they "send"

someone else as an image instead; consequently, the "original" meaning of alter ego is unknown to them.{79} Of course, devils in demonological explanations are souls that trigger 11

maleficium. In his 1728 confession in Szeged, Ferenc Katona was encouraged by devils who promised that they would help him if he did not confess (Reizner 1900, 496, 408).

The voluminous documentation concerning the alter egos of the dead presents witches as a variety of "soul figures," as individual ghosts, or as members of soul troops. Clearly the doubles of dead people are perceived when witches appear in the images of the departed, as a 1718 trial documents. It concerns an injured party from Tállya who was tormented by the image of the late Mrs. Ferenc Szabó (Schram 1982, 304). Kata Pirka, a midwife, and two fellow witches went to a man in Fölsőbük, sometimes in the image of his wife, and at others of his child, and again at

others as "his own dead father, or even in the image of other dead people." {80} One particularly detailed document discusses a witch who transformed into a snake and haunted in the

image of a snake. Upon its death, "the spirit tore out of it," following which a flock of geese appeared on the meadow, which she—her dead soul—joined.{81}

Often a group of witches was identified by the most general idea of ghosts, which was the "communal" dead returning in troops under names like "evils," "shadows," and "ghosts." At a trial in Lédec a "great mass of evil people" is mentioned, among whom the witch walked about "like a shadow." {82} The same kind of dead groups are the "troops" of witches with flags, a mass of figures in white or black clothes. A troop that arrived at the festival of the dead, often at Epiphany, is particularly characteristic: the witches came with their "evil companions" with eight black and eight red flags on the night of Epiphany.{83} Sometimes the popular image of the conspiratorial bewitching company is associated with the appearance of the troops of spirit witches. The members of the troop, with the actual witches amongst them, are connected with each other. {84}

This is what the evidence indicates when a witness claims to have heard that the troop were calling the witch (with whom the witness was sharing a house) in the night. {85} Typically, ghosts of dead witches—the doubles of the dead people—can also be recognized among the witches seen in the troops of the dead. For example, in the trial of the witch Kata Pirka in Fölsőbük in 1730, the injured party "saw Mrs. Csonka, who had died, in that troop, but he recognized no one else among them."{86} "Once a great crowd went in" to a witness, at a trial in 1627 in Nagymegyer, after the death of her husband: after a death the dead person usually "returned," and in this period the apparition of the ghost is expected (according to our documentation from the twentieth century). It is no accident that the widow indeed "sees" a ghost troop at that point. However, since it concerns a witchcraft conflict, she saw not her husband but the actual witch, Mrs. Máté Kosa.{87} On the other hand, the troops of evil spirits can also remain on the level of impersonal ghosts who do not identify with the living witch. As an example, a document from Kolozsvár, dated 1733-34, states: "in the night my husband started shouting that he didn't feel well.. .he said that the evils were on him, the witches."{88}

Here some unique Hungarian documentation must be mentioned to show how closely the witch was associated with the dead. In a trial in Szék in 1723, the *late* Mrs. Péter Mezei was accused of witchcraft. Because there was an epidemic of plague, the accusation against her was no less than that she kept returning home and carrying away the people, who then died from plague (Kiss 1995, 120).

There are surprising references to ghost-witches, that is, to witches "in a sheet" or, less frequently, "in a white veil," which reflect the perception and naming of witches or apparitions as ghost figures in white garb. This evidently points to the picturing of the dead in masks, to its archaic aspect, and to an identification with the person that appeared in the mask. {89} For example, from Mrs. György Kurta's trial in Kisvárda: "one in a white sheet went up to the witness, who was dozing, hardly asleep...and she wanted to take the child away from her by force."

{90} Of special interest is material in which the witness said that the witch dressed up as a ghost and then bewitched as a real ghost: "the witch who tormented the fatens during the time of the previous night also had a male companion and covered herself with a sheet and dragged the maiden out... [and] there injured her." {91}

Identification with a mask seems evident even to the court of law. In several places court officials ask questions such as whether a certain witch is "a fright in a sheet."{92} Anna Németh, an accused from Szombathely, was asked whether witches covered their heads with a cloth and carried out their frightening acts in that way. It is evident that a real mask should not automatically be assumed to be behind all of this, nor some witch ritual. Compare this with when the local witnesses also differentiated the dead with a mask from humans dressed in masks:

"One in a sheet stood at the gate," someone says, to which comes the answer, "the sons of Mrs. Kovács frightened you in new shepherds' felt cloaks." She responds, "It was not that, because

the one in the sheet stirred around me, too." That is, it was not a figure of fright in a mask but a witch that appeared as a ghost.{93}

Witches appearing in dream torturing their victim. Cover of the 1716 edition of the tractate entitled 'Untersuchung der vermeinlichen und sogenannten Hexereien' by John Webster, (etching) (Soldan-Heppe II. 223.)

T hese apparitions of the dead indicate that there is a "dead witch" figure that, in Hungarian popular belief, is also closely related to the living witch: the double appears in the image of a dead person. In fact, this is a particular form of reincarnation of ancestors, which, as I see it in the light of my current collection of data, is only characteristic of the witch. The phenomenon 13

is, however, closely linked to the connection between the dead East European sorcerers and the (living) sorcerers: also to the opposition of the living and dead mora, werewolves, and other, as

yet unmentioned, magician figures. Although there are local differences in interpretation, it is clear that the relationship with dead ancestors, as with the shamanistic magicians, is also present here. Nevertheless, as opposed to those, in the instances we offer it is often expressed that these are bad dead ghosts that attack the family with evil intent since they appear as malefactor witches.

Witches in Animal Forms, the Mora Witch

In Hungary, as in most of the regions of the European witch hunts, the most significant variations on the living or dead, physical or spiritual doubles of witches are a variety of animal figures. Certain alter ego "subspecies" are not always obvious, and differentiation between the mora, werewolf, or ghost animal is not easy. In many cases it seems more precise to talk about certain variants of "witch animals." The most important of these are cats, frogs, and dogs, each of which is also an alter ego animal primarily in the sense of a physical double—that is, when the appearance of real animals is seen to be supernatural. Other animal species represented in a number of examples are horses, geese, snakes, oxen, and occasionally rams, pigs, cows, owls, jackdaws, and starlings, and more often bumblebees and wasps. I will present a few examples from the extensive material available simply to give an idea.

From the mass of data about cats is an example of sensing a real cat as supernatural, in which "a tortoiseshell cat outside the habits of nature" appeared to somebody.{94} Another example

concerns a transformation into a double: "Mrs. Varga stood in front of her, she got frightened and turned into a cat then and there, and jumping over a plank ran away."{95} In an account of

"dead" cats, the injured party testifies how he began to talk to two cats perceived as night apparitions, saying, "'I believe you are great spirits...but all [is] in vain, because we are not afraid of you because Lord Jesus Christ is with us,' to which words of mine they ridiculed back in the manner of humans: ha ha ha."{96} The cat in the apparition informed them itself that it was a double: "the first cat entered above the door, tormented her...then this fatens asked, ' Who are you?' and one of the cats answered 'I am Mrs. István Galgóczi.'"{97}

It is barely comprehensible to us today, but fairy-tale-like stories such as these were told in all seriousness by the witnesses, in matters that decided life and death. "When God would have given us this child, in the night around midnight, a large number of cats came into my house and I couldn't sleep at all and they all nicely took their places around the table; first that middle one started wailing and then they all began to scream something horrid. I got frightened and said nothing. One of them came beside me, took the child and gave it a good shake, threw it to that other one, which threw it back under me; after that the child was always terribly sick."{98} There are cats that definitively crop up as doubles when the witch appears "in the image" of a cat at another place. {99} We hear of owners who could not be away without their cats, who knew their whereabouts even from a distance and what they were doing. One owner "sets [a cat]

onto" the cows of another farmer. {100} A "sent cat" appears in the questions of a judge in Vas County: "What kind of witchcraft did you use for that transformed cat that you set loose on them, I mean with which you had his cows tortured...?" {101} Around sixty instances of witch-cat material put the Hungarian witch before us as the Hungarian version of the Central and Western European mora creatures.

The many types of alter ego represent several levels of interpretation in terms of the above "mora trinity." The butterfly, hen, rooster, and turkey alter egos lead us to the southern Slavic

mora. They have both tormenting-mora and helping-spirit variants, and they can even be found as "sent animals" or guardians living in attics.{102}

A rich variety of witch animals occurs throughout Europe, with many regional differences and varying prevalence among the diverse types (personal-figure variants, the sent animal-like alter ego, helping spirits, and others). {103} An assumption about a helping animal of devilish and "familiar" characters stretches across the literature of demonology like a red line, and it probably had a great impact on popular belief. It is all the more surprising that there are devilish helping frogs even in "trial free" Eastern Europe—for example, in Romania.{104}

Transformation into an animal was one of the main signs of the demonological witch (and of the witches' sabbat): this could have played a role in an assumed process in which animal alter egos turned into "witch animals."

With all these characteristics, the supernatural alter ego types of witches are partly mora creatures that have both southern Slavic and Central European features. Their doubles appear to the human world as messengers from the other world, and they bring maleficium with them. So the witches' doubles do what mora creatures do: they go on night trips to bewitch. There is a particular term in the trials that refers to these alter ego type witches of mora character: "night-goer" *(éjjeljáró).* In a 1627 trial in Komárom County, one of the witnesses commented that the night visitor, the actual witch apparition, flew in through the window "in a night-going manner," and "in a night-going state."{105}

Many consider the mora creatures to be one of the most important predecessors of the European witch in the belief system. One example is Arne Runeberg, who first attempted a

comprehensive description of the belief system of the European witch.{106} Claude Lecouteux devoted several studies and a book to the subject (1985, 57-70; 1987b, 1992) and, based upon an extensive (Germanic, Celtic, French) data set, clearly pointed out the close relationship between the dead (fairies), the mora creatures, and the werewolf in Western European belief systems. Our data clearly show these relationships. The mora studies referred to above, as well as the witch studies to be quoted below, are so similar in certain cases of maleficium, whether the incident involves a mora or a witch (except in terminology, of course), that they cannot be differentiated; that is, when somebody sent out their alter ego to bewitch, or when some illness occurred, the aggrieved party attributed the misfortune to the maleficium of a mora or a witch.

Werewolf Witches

The werewolf figure in the Hungarian belief system is rather heterogeneous and impoverished. No coherent werewolf images have emerged from the materials gathered that could serve as a background to the werewolf witch of the trials. It seems that only the image of the "sent wolf," seen in shepherds' belief systems (as a particular shepherd-guardian variant of the double), is persistently part of Hungarian popular belief. The same can be said about the werewolf data of our witch trials: we can only register traces of a few rather independent werewolf types from these. In Transylvania there was the image of the witch (born with a tail) that attacked humans in the figure of a dog more often than as a wolf, which was the relative of the Romanian werewolf —the *priculici*—and of a witch with a tail in a wider Eastern European area.{107} We have also found references to werewolves attacking in the form of dogs and to a dog guardian outside of Transylvania. {108}

Documents about werewolves that attack humans in the form of a wolf{109} refer to images of eastern Hungary, or Transylvania; the wolf that attacked the herd can be found everywhere.

{110} In the case of the latter werewolf type, there is often a secondary level present concerning belief in the legendary motifs of transformation into animals and of sent wolves, and not about animal doubles sent out during trances. Actually, this level obscures more archaic werewolf beliefs all over Europe. In his above-mentioned research, Claude Lecouteux considers this fact to be clearly the effect of witch-hunting demonology, at least with respect to the German and French trial documentation that he researched (1992, 134-37).

The shepherds who could send wolves have, in some cases, a helping demon too. In these cases the original double of the helping spirit and its demonologized variants are both present.

Following torture, one of them even confessed a conspiracy with the devil and reported that, with the helping company obtained through a pact, he managed to drive away seventeen pigs from a neighboring herd. {111} In connection with the werewolf, we should also mention the figure of the lord of the animals known in the Balkans, Italy, and the Alps. This mostly appears in the context of reports about werewolves and night witch goddesses.{112} One type of good werewolf among our documents points in this direction, since it refers to the image where the witch understands wolves, dogs, and snakes. {113}

The Hungarian witch is less of a werewolf than the South and East European witches. In that context werewolf witches and their enemies (that is, the werewolf magicians) constitute a more complete system. {114} The Hungarian system we examined is less complete, although both the positive and the negative sides are to some extent represented through the werewolf witch that attacks herds and partly through the táltos, which can be viewed as mora creatures or as werewolf magicians. As for our current subject, the most important common features of the mora, werewolf, and supernatural witch are that all of them can send their doubles to journey into the otherworld and they also have dead, demonic variants. As far as communication with the supernatural is concerned, in this field the werewolf characteristics of shamanistic magicians are clear. However, an evaluation of the mora as a mediator gives rise to further questions. From our data, a "reversed" and fictive mediatory activity of the mora creatures can be acknowledged. Their apparitions are perceived according to maleficium narratives, in which they appear as supernatural creatures. Underlying these is the belief that a demon that appears is the double of a living person. This living person employs their ability to use trance to send their doubles on bewitching journeys. In this sense, the fictive mediatory belief figure of the witch is, in essence, the same as that of the mora creatures. With these characteristics and beliefs the Hungarian witch embodies a negative, "black" variant of the shamanistic magician. In the knowledge of the werewolf variants, the question occurs, with still further legitimacy: Was there a positive aspect to the mora and the mora witch? Or in another sense, is the image of the black magician really only fictional? We shall get a positive answer to the first part of the question from the material concerning the Hungarian táltos with mora characteristics.

Lidérc, Hungarian Werewolf, and Mora Figures

In European belief systems, beliefs centered on the double of the supernatural witch often coincide with the mara/mare/mora images and also with certain werewolf beliefs, next to which independent mora and/or werewolf creatures are known in many areas. The case is similar in Hungarian popular belief (if anything, it is a bit more complicated), where there are supernatural witches with mora and werewolf characteristics, and furthermore, there is an independent belief figure: the *lidérc.* The lidérc are, with their triple character (human, double or guardian, and 14

dead, demonic figures), essentially a variation of the Central and Southeastern European werewolf (along with dragon, snake, rooster, chicken, and lizard alter egos), and they also have many mora characteristics. If we wished to research the historical background of their relationships, we would have to solve an equation with two unknown quantities: both the lidérc and the witch are primarily related to the Central and Southeastern European mora and werewolf creatures; however, as the trials unambiguously show, they have nothing to do with each other, and only the tormenting witch and tormenting (nightmare) lidérc show some affinity. In the current context it is not necessary to resolve this problem, and we restrict ourselves to an acknowledgment of the variations in form of the Hungarian lidérc that come up in the Hungarian trials.

Our most characteristic lidérc material refers to the helping spirits known from Modern Age legends and to two particular variants: fiery or flying light phenomena, and birds (chicken, owl) or reptiles (lizard, snake).{115} They are not always connected to the figure of the witch, although there are some reports of witches holding a "bird," meaning a lidérc. Here is a more complete example from a trial in Pozsony County from 1671 : "she heard that Mrs. Damasz had a lidérc and...the fatens found a shabby chick in front of her house with a crooked nose, and this chicken was said to be a lidérc"; and the same lidérc appears again in a fiery form: "twice fiery geese were seen to have flown to Mrs. Damasz's house and people said they were lidérc."

{116} However, we have some material that refers to guardians, even when they are more closely connected to a witch and a witch's abilities. According to a trial in 1693, Kata Nagy, a witch

from Debrecen, boasted that, "I have such a bird that if something is said of me I will know from it."{117}

The lidere, just as in the case of the werewolf and mora creatures, has "sent animal" variants, too: "Why did you torture Mrs. Rasai, in the images of your tomcat and rooster and even of a woman?" {118} Other helping spirits are closer to the figure of the legendary lidérc that enriched their owners and brought money; this version's evolution was probably prompted by church demonology, but in any case our trial materials often qualify this aspect of the lidérc as "demonic." {119} Transylvanian documentation mentions the demonic, "dead" lidérc, which, like the demonic witch, are also connected to unbaptized souls. The largest quantity of material concerning the striking living-dead witches is also from the eastern part of the language area, adding to the idea of the "dead lidérc" at the same time: the person who had a lidérc, or who was a lidérc themselves, lived on as a night vampire (Vajna 1906-7, 311-12).

The figure of the lidérc lover represents a sexual aspect familiar in connection with the Southeast European dragon werewolf (see Chapter 7 on magicians, especially the fiery *zmej/zmaj)* as well as the Central and Western European mora creatures. The basic belief is that the double of another creature can be summoned through strong thought or sexual desire. The various lidérc lovers of Hungarian popular belief (fiery, flying, with horse's legs, and so on) are the legendary aspects of this archaic belief (already observed in the Germanic mara material). There is witch-trial documentation that outlines this belief: A young lad told a young lady that she would catch sight of him in the sky, and this was really what happened: "he flew down and talked

with her a lot."{120}

This is, above all, the variation of the lidérc that demonology built into its doctrines about the devilish nature of the witch (beside the lidérc that procures money for its owner): the lidérc lover unambiguously became a devil lover (even up to this day, in twentieth-century legends), and the devils that made love to witches carried many lidérc features.{121}

Fairy Witches

Throughout Central and Southeastern Europe, the belief figure of the supernatural witch has many fairy characteristics. A frequently appearing character in daylight and nighttime apparitions is a fairy-like witch figure, especially in the documentation of Croatian, Slovenian, and (most of all) Hungarian witch trials. The main features of Hungarian fairy beliefs have Slavic and Romanian origins, and a particular duality is characteristic of them: they partly enrich the features of the Hungarian witch, the "beautiful woman" *{szépasszony)*\ and partly, in Hungary as with its southwestern neighbors, they have the characteristics of the night witch.{122} The fairies of the Balkans (southern Slav *vila, samodiva,* Greek *nereida,* Romanian *iele, zina,* and so forth) appear among humans as nymphs dancing in groups or as storm demons rushing about with the wind in troops. Their mythology incorporates a shining fairy world and the figures of certain chthonic goddesses that bring both fertility and death, as well as fate goddesses{123} or women who had a role in determining the fate of the newborn, even in the Southern and Southeastern European belief systems of the Modern Age.

Fairies, like fate women, also fulfill roles as community and personal guardians, and—due to their godly inheritance from antiquity—they often take on the role of the lady of the forest animals. They have an important position in the current context, which is seemingly in opposition to their connection with the dead who periodically returned to the community. During the death festivals, between the orthodox Easter and Pentecost, the fairies and the dead who seek out humans are practically the same creatures, those with whom it is possible to create ritual connections at such times. On the other hand, as creatures of death, they bring illnesses and give a characteristic "fairy disease" to those who break their taboos. This variation in their features is connected to the complexity of their origins as well as with the manifold inheritance of the figures themselves (Greek, Thracian, Celtic, and Slav, and so forth).

The complex figure of the fairy witch appears in some fifteen percent of the apparition narratives of the Hungarian trials. Music, dance, light, and glitter are characteristic motifs of the night fairy scenes, even if they often ended up in vulgarity and injury to one party or another. A characteristic example was reported by witnesses at a trial in Bihar, who said that in the night

"there was such whistling and dancing," and then in the morning they found the spoons left behind from the feast of the fairies. In another village in Bihar, "whistle and drum" were heard under the window of the witness, and then the drummer came in through the window and the witness suddenly noticed that three maidens were dancing in the house. {124} Another important fairy motif was the appearance of the fate women. The night demons who carry the faces of the fate women are not real malefactor witches but rather goddesses who give utterance to the

"voice of fate." Thirty-six documented examples of their appearances refer to a very definite "fate goddess" aspect in the Hungarian witch in the whole of the language area and from all three

centuries of the witch hunts.{125}

Demons of the Night and Goddesses of Death

The characteristics of the demonic figures of mora and werewolf witches, due to their association with death, were also enriched by certain night demons from the underworld, relatives of the demonic werewolf and the mora. The dead doubles of witches in particular appear in varying demonic guises: as unbaptized demons; the underworldly Balkan *karakondzuli,* which have a

werewolf character;{126} or even as the horses of Saint Theodore.{127} For example, the latter two guides appear in narratives of trials in Szatmár, Ugocsa, and Bihar.{128} Confinement

demons, which entered Hungary's belief systems from the Balkans in the form of the night witch, also have a major role. In the Balkans they are strongly connected to the supernatural witch, because these demons *igeilo, Ulit, striglos, strigla,* and others) have been identified almost entirely with the mora creatures in material from late antiquity and the Middle Ages.{129} The strength of this connection is demonstrated not only by the way in which the mora demons characteristically stole babies and injured women in labor, but also in that an important figure, the *striglos* or *strigla,* gave the name to the European witch. Belief in and fear of such demonic nocturnal figures persists in the Balkans even today. A Latinized variation of this, the *strix* (plural *striga),* spread through Italy as the official terminology for witches in demonology and law. In Greece it remains a current term for demon. {130}

As a result of this chain, a notion exists in the Hungarian trial minutes of the demonic dead witch that is not necessarily connected to living humans. A demonic witch figure with such

"mixed" roots appears primarily east of the River Tisza, in trials where witches were often impersonally referred to as "the bad" or "the evil ones," in a manner similar to the evil dead and spirits. This name sometimes marks the demonic figure of the supernatural witch, as in the examples above, as a notion of the impersonal demon that is not brought into connection with the living witch. This of course means that, besides the social institution of village witchcraft and at the same time, a more archaic calamity explanation played a role in which a demon witch took part.

Above we mentioned a fate goddess characteristic of fairies, and indirectly of night witches. Traces of the dead night goddesses of the underworld can be found in the figure of the Central and Southeastern European witch, next to and through the various demonic creatures, and similarly in other areas of Europe, correlating with the particular inheritance of local mythologies.

We know about such goddesses from data connected to church laws about witches: Diana and Hecate, then the Germanic Holda and Perchta, the Celtic Matrae and Matronae, and others.

{131} The death aspect of the figure of the early Modern Age Hungarian witch was enriched by certain Balkan goddess figures of Slavic or mixed origin, and these are present in the night apparitions of our trials. Carlo Ginzburg came to a Thracian-Greek-Iranian goddess figure, characterized by snakes and spinning, who had a role in initiating patrons to the shamanistic magicians and, as we shall later see, as patrons of the witch, too. Here we have to mention the Russian and Serbian Pjatnica, Ukrainian N'eďeľa, Romanian Marţi Seara, Hungarian *kedd asszonya,* which are considered to be the predecessors of the Slavic goddess Mokosh, as well as the Pannonian (Hungarian, Croatian, Slovenian, Slovakian, Austrian, and Moravian) Luca figures. {132} All of them are variants of demonic creatures that carry chthonic features of fertility goddesses and are associated with spinning. {133} In a wider area of Central and Eastern

Europe, a mythical creature with cow and spinning attributes is known; it lived on into Modern Age Hungary in the figure of a witch with similar characteristics (see Pócs 1993).

Besides their other roles, all these goddesses and demons crop up as demonic witches in night apparitions. {134} Although less frequently, apparitions of witches spinning, weaving, or

simply carrying a spindle in the night occur in Hungarian trial documents.{135} Thirty examples in our trials from eastern Hungary represent the "witch with a cow" who swoops around as a demon on saddled cows from stables. Along with the witch with a scutcher, this figure has a wealth of parallel material in the "beautiful woman" fairy material of twentieth-century Transylvania and eastern Hungary. {136}

4. The Malefactor Witch

When viewed from the aspect of the supernatural witch, witchcraft constitutes a communication system between this world and the otherworld. Certain types of misfortunes were thought to originate in the supernatural world, and as a communication between the two worlds the maleficium of the C-type witch became apparent in the apparitions of supernatural witches. Their spiritual figure variants (doubles) concentrate the characteristics of various demonic creatures that caused calamities. It was these that transmitted maleficium to the human world, where it was attributed to and identified with the "human form" of witches. Physical alter egos (that is, the idea of the physical double) made their identification uncomplicated. The physical double was connected to the person who was a part of the actual web of relationships around any given case of maleficium—that is, part of the institution of village witchcraft that induced and released community tensions and conflicts. Thus, certain types of human illnesses, the struggles of family life, failures in household work, or diseases among the animals— and anything in the calamities whose origins were connected with death that could be joined to the web of individual or neighborhood relationships— became part of the system.

Bewitching Humans

Judging by the witch trials, the most frequent accusation against witches in Europe was of maleficium. In most cases the maleficium of a witch was assumed in cases of unexpected illness that seemed to have no rational cause. In the case of the B-type witch, one of the ways that this could occur was through "simple" black magic—that is, through verifiable physical action. A significant number of the witch denunciations across Europe referred to objects buried or placed in the way of, or in a plot of land belonging to, the target of the maleficium. The maleficium of the C-type witches, the "witch maleficium" par excellence, represents a particular form of communication between the two worlds, involving the malefactor witches and the injured parties, a fictive sender and an authentic recipient. The maleficium of night witches arose in the world of visions and apparitions, that is, in the alternative world. We gain knowledge about the experienced apparitions as a kind of experience made palpable through their narration. These narratives offer accounts of everyday techniques, spontaneous trance reached without any inducing factor, and about "enchantment"; acquired ability or learned techniques are not a factor in these. In the Hungarian trials, about one-third of the witness accounts and maleficium narratives concerning the damage caused by witches refer to apparitions of the type C witch.

In principle, we have hundreds of documents that tell us about the lay practitioners who communicated with the supernatural in an altered state of consciousness. However, the

documents are not only narratives of individual visionary experience but at the same time traditional narratives about the supernatural. Experience lies behind the narrative stereotypes, but it can never be identified concretely. I believe the following examples constitute sufficient evidence to state that the early Modern Age Hungarian peasantry had visionary experiences of malefactor witches, although we should say that in their entirety these accounts refer to communication between the two worlds, and behind some variations among them experience of the other-world is possible but not necessarily certain.

A number of degrees of modality are involved in an awareness of the supernatural, beginning from the point at which perceivers face physical phenomena that they interpret as a supernatural presence (see Honko 1962, 88-103) and extending to out-of-body experiences and encounters with the otherworld in deep trance. The following example illustrates how, as a result of traditional knowledge about wind demons, somebody believed that a gentle breeze was a supernatural witch. The witness was traveling on water, the boat started to rock, and her head scarf flew off her head; "after her head scarf was snatched off her head she shouted to the boatman, Oh, my, István! They will surely snatch me away too now.'"{137} The perception of physical phenomena as supernatural most frequently involved the surrounding animal world. Dogs, cats, hens, and frogs were seen as doubles, the second bodies of witches. Below are a few examples of narratives about trance experiences or the enchanted state of injured parties.

An eyewitness in Mrs. György Ban's trial in Lédec in 1722 said that, in the days before Christmas, Mrs. Bán, the accused, entered his room, at which point he "was robbed of all his mind"

and saw the immensity of "evil persons" pressing into his room. A witness in another trial saw the witches appear in his house when he "left his mind so much." {138} Expressions like

"enchanted in the mind" or enchantment "to the mind" and "robbed of the brain" denote experiences of being out of body or on "soul trips."{139} There is also a record of the experience of being out of one's own body; the witness, when sensing a vision, felt him or herself to be "in the body of a phantom": "it seemed to this fatens that he could leave even through the keyhole if only he was let loose." {140}

Witch causing illness with arrowshot, from the tractate entitled 'De Lamis' by Ulrich Molitor, Cologne, 1489

I n the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, narrators themselves attributed phenomena perceived during altered states of consciousness to a deception of the senses; they discussed their

experiences with words like "it looked" and "it seemed."{141} When they spoke about "seeing" and "vision," they presumably did so on the basis of direct experience. Apparitions seen "in a

dream," "in their dreams,"{142} or "the first dream," and "pre-dream" are frequently mentioned. For example, "he had hardly dozed off...it instantly seemed to him as if he was dragged off 17

the bed... he saw a person in a hat at the head of his bed." {143} Another example, from Kolozsvár in 1584, concerns a speaking apparition sensed in the transitory state between being awake and dreaming: "As soon as I dozed off, as soon as that, it seemed as if Mrs. Lakatos was standing in front of me, [and] as for me I was not asleep because I heard her deep bellowing very well, but could see no one as I looked up" (Komáromy 1910, 59).

Witch doubles, whether living or dead, tortured their victims with amazingly varied methods. Having the experience of night apparitions—for example, being "realistically" injured, or physically tortured—and narrating that experience made the supernatural seem palpable, made it seem comprehensible in form. Everyday physical injuries are recounted here, but they are concentrated and exaggerated to an extreme. A good half of the trial minutes contain such scenes, some in a considerable number. Torture or torment is the most frequent kind of physical injury, but several types of common fights also appear, whereby victims are dragged, slapped, thrown off beds, pinched and kicked, or their arms are twisted. Not least of all, sexual molestation is also reported. These experiential narratives are strikingly similar to reports of *poltergeist* (destructive ghost) activities, with the difference that here ghostlike witch figures almost always corresponded to a living witch. {144} Here is an example from 1750 in Lövö, in Zala County: "Eörse Geczi was visible as if it had been daylight while she stood in front of her and with two hands to her throat pushed her to the door, and Jutka Harcz got hold of her foot, and while she stood they tortured her so much that the door fell with her, and then the neighbors in the house saw it and ran there to help, but because they alone could not cope they called for more help from the neighborhood, and they pushed her in and these evils pulled her out"

(Schram 1970, 2: 647).

Certain forms of maleficium characterize certain kinds of night witches or demon figures. Mora witches, confinement demon witches, women of fate witches, and the others can be interpreted as subspecies of the night witch. Tormenting, the most frequent harm caused by witches in apparitions, is a typical mora witch characteristic. General terms used throughout the country were "torment" *(nyom),* "go onto them" *(reámegy),* and "went on them" *{rajta ment).* Feeling unwell during the night, heart and stomach complaints with an accompanying sense of pressure or breathlessness, ejaculation, sexual fantasies, and childhood *pavor nocturnus* (waking in fear) are all explained in this way. {145} The existence of incubi is a worldwide phenomenon in which the psychological and physiological bases are the same everywhere; the explanations of their origin began with some traditional night demon in any given religion.

{146} As for their sexual characteristics, mora creatures were also incubus demons, which is clear from the "tormenting" documentation of our trials. In these apparitions, a figure variant of the mora witch sits on the fatens (victim) and torments, paralyzes, and chokes them. The apparition was stopped by a Christian casting-off gesture or by charming the house.

The tormenting witch is known throughout Europe and is connected to the widespread mora creatures. Tormenting at night is one of the main characteristics of all the variants of the mora, going as far back as the ancient Nordic *mara* witch (see, for example, MacCulloch 1930: 2:289-90). Even so, the mora creatures were often seen as independent, quintessential incubi (compare the "tormenting lidérc" of Hungarian popular belief).{147} The Hungarian term for witch, *boszorkány* (of Turkic origin; see Munkácsy 1887, 468), must have referred to such a

demon, as its tormenting character indicates, and even the Modern Age witch in Hungary retains features of the incubi.

A significant proportion of our maleficium narratives are about witches who appear as wind demons and snatch things away. Here is an example from Kamocsa in 1727: "it seemed to the fatens that in her dream somebody in the form of Mrs. Mihály Oláh went on her, and just like that she was lifted by a cold wind from a lying position and woke up in a great fear." {148} In 1737 a witness from Somogy talked about the wind demon that brought a storm and, "with whirling wind perils they bewitch one or two as they are in the midst of it" (Iharosberény, in Schram 1970, 1:542).

The collective maleficium of the death troops typically consisted of face slapping, hitting, and "beating to the ground." For example, "the evils beat him to the ground" (Schram 1970, 2:582), or "the evils came to her and wanted to bewitch her" (and they also sought to take her rosary from her neck, like devil spirits).{149} One form of maleficium by the death troops is conducted within the dance configurations of fairies: maleficium occurs by taking somebody into the dance. Here is an example from a witness account in Szeged in 1737: "straightway they took her to dance in the image of János Vadkerti, and three times they went round the pillar in the room. Then immediately she fell into an illness for nine weeks" (Reizner 1900, 510).

Witches with the characteristics of the confinement demon, who are often simultaneously fate women, tortured women in confinement and during labor, and also menaced their babies.

{150} There are numerous witness accounts of attempts to steal the newborn infant, such as this example of an attempted theft and substitution with a changeling: "by holding a naked child in her hands and pushing it persistently to the bed of this fatens, they wanted to take away the then-born child of this fatens by force, and exchange it, and they were pulling and pushing the poor newly born child for an hour, and if the husband of the fatens had not awakened she would probably have taken the child of this fatens."{151}

The wicked methods of the lively demon world of the Balkans are known up until the Modern Age and can be traced through their vicious tortures. (They attempt to remove the "marrow from the mother's brains" or the embryo from her womb.) In popular belief the ultimate danger to the woman in confinement is to be without status and in a near-death condition. In Fölsőbük, Sopron County, the spirit alter egos of a group of three midwives appeared to a mother awaiting the birth of her child; they were sitting at the table, "covered with linen," when "the fatens came to remember that these often hang around women...in confinement" (Schram 1970, 2:55). Maleficium directed at women in labor is also characteristic of apparitions of the women of fate witches.

We have quite a bit of documentation referring to the ability to fall into and use trance and mentioning cases of spontaneous trance among ordinary people who saw apparitions or visions.

Of course, we cannot know how generally this occurred in the era under consideration, and it is unclear what our data reflect in terms of the actual quantity and quality of such experiences, or even to what extent these could have been conscious and authentic trance experiences. A trance can be considered to be verified when outside observers report at the trial having seen the stiffened body of a person who lay in trance: "we did not feel any soul in her." {152}

This eyewitness account is unique in that the narrator witnessed her husband's visionary experience in her own vision, but as an external observer. This multilayered concatenation of

reality and dream indicates that the border between the real world and the other world could be crossed. In 1744, at the trial of Mrs. György Zselyó, a witch from Felsőtarcsa, a story was told according to which the witness lay down in the stable together with her husband, and "soon fell asleep. Once, as if in a dream, she heard her husband cry 'Marissa, Marissa, but my wife had no horns' [to which the woman] awakening answered...'husband where are you,'" and her husband answered from the manger where Mrs. Zselyó, the witch, had taken him—at which point his wife led him back to their place (Schram 1970, 1:468).

The Voice of Fate

"Transmissions" between the two worlds are a feature of the supernatural communication characteristic of witchcraft. One type occurs when the witch in an apparition conducts a dialogue with an enchanted person. In theory witches spoke through their doubles or in their dreams, as is noted in several documents. Witches would sometimes explain their maleficium through speech and would talk about their conflict with the victim as well as the root of their bewitching revenge, as if it were the conscience of the injured party that had spoken out loud. For example, the creatures in apparitions talk about how the offenders had broken the norms of coexistence: "we came to bewitch you because you gave no sack," as in refusing to lend it.

(Kőszeg 1679, in Schram 1970 2:525.){153} Type A conflict is named as the reason for a type C maleficium. In this the witch that represented the dead and the souls of fate, who regulated behavior, became adapted to the social system of village witchcraft, practically in front of our eyes. Apparitions were even more fatelike in cases when maleficium was presented as a judgment without a stated reason, or when the bewitched person's proximity to death, or often their fate—such as whether or not they would recover from an illness—was laid before them:

"do not worry, he would not die of that" (Milej, Zala County, 1751, in Schram 1970, 2:668); "but when you bear another child the other will be so bewitched."{154}

The latter cases give examples of the roles of night witches in behavior regulation and norm control, which are most likely to be due to their death and fate-goddess features. The roles of guardian and soul-of-fate doubles have to be mentioned here. In the known European mythologies, women-of-fate beliefs have historical connections to these variants of the soul of fate.

Witchcraft, through the type C witch, is basically also a system of jurisdiction sanctioned by the dead. One of the injured parties of Éva Boronyák's trial in Andráshida gives an example of a soul of fate practicing norm control. The injured party had stolen a necklace and claimed to have heard a voice in the distance that "cried to me by my name...I saw nobody, they called for me again, that I should take off the pearls that I took off Éva Boronyák's neck because otherwise I will suffer." In passing, the person in question saw an ugly frog, which simply added weight to the event and frightened her very much, as she said, "the little bugger jumped up onto [her]" (Zala County, 1741, in Schram 1970, 2:612). This is not the only example of a voice in the

distance,{155} but in this example it is clearly the voice of judicial fate in the supernatural communication of a soul-of-fate double.

The supernatural judicial role of witchcraft is embodied even more in the figures of the fate goddesses; they are the most legitimate embodiments of the voice of fate.{156} Fate witches sometimes appear in their "original" context at childbirth. {157} In the 1742 trial of Mrs. Kas (maiden name Judit Horváth), a midwife in Csorna, she and two of her companions were

reported to have debated bewitching a mother about to give birth: two wanted to hurt her right there and then, while the third proposed waiting until after the birth. Finally, according to the witness's account, the woman died in labor (Schram 1970, 2:175).

This phenomenon was connected to witchcraft in such a way that one of the creatures in the apparition, generally the third, announced the course of a type of maleficium as fate. In some of the narratives they not only condemned the injured party to bewitchment but carried out the maleficium as well. Otherwise, this third person was generally somebody from the village who was recognized as a witch by the injured party who witnessed the apparition. The double or triple judgment itself is a legendary topos. Its principal characteristic is that it refers to the archaic Indo-European mythology of triple death. {158} From the triumvirate of hanging, death by shooting or fire, and drowning in water, at least two were used, in a variety of combinations, in the sentences of Hungarian witches of fate. An example: "Let us take him under the waterfall and kill him in it....Let us take him onto the tower and hang him there....Let us take him to the Gadnais' barn and throw him over it and play with him like a ball." {159} Two astonishing documents verify the presumption about death meted out by fate in ancient Europe, where hanging is viewed as fate without any justification in the given context of witchcraft. In the example from 1731, it seems that witches that appeared in apparitions had wanted to hang a maiden from Nagybarom, in Sopron County; they left a noose on her bed when she was ill. Her family interpreted this as a message from the other world and feared that their daughter would indeed die

through hanging (Schram 1970, 2:65).{160}

Among night witches, the presence of the women of fate as well as of taboo creatures referred to a background system of sanctions connected to death and divinity, which system more or less adapted to the social conflicts of village witchcraft. First of all, punishment for breaking a taboo can be seen in fairy apparitions; this is a natural consequence of the taboo-creature characteristics of fairies and fairy witches. These phenomena were not about maleficium but about threats to the individual who broke a taboo. The apparent supernatural witch announced that the individual would be bewitched if they acted against the accepted norms. From Erdőtelek, Heves County, in 1741: "Do not go my friend because it is late. You cannot go in peace, we shall bewitch you" (Sugár 1987, 152).

Crops and Rain

Our data indicate that village witches in Hungary were rarely credited with denying rain or causing hail. Accusations and conflicts arose within the community and between individuals, while weather magic, both positive and negative, was an activity that affected the whole community, and it was usually associated with a magician of a bigger community and not with the neighborhood witch. In our trials, accusations of maleficium connected to precipitation are pretty exceptional. For example, witches from Vas took "stone rain" in troops to destroy meadows,

and they had the Szombathely area beaten by hail.{161} In the great 1729 trial, the main charge against the witches of Szeged was that they sold off the rain along with the crop, but this only came up when they were tortured and confessed to their sabbat, and not in local accusations. As we have mentioned, in some other areas of Europe, for example in the Alps, rain magician witches had a stronger tradition. There, just as in our rare documentation, certain of their

characteristics linked them to positive weather magicians who were related to cloud-leading souls,

and they are basically the negative versions of those.{162}

For similar reasons, there is little data about witches who bewitched or stole crops and herds, and took the milk from sheep and cows. This is noteworthy because an otherwise symbolic theft of fertility from the neighboring community through picking dew (on the days of Saint George, Pentecost, or Saint Lucy) is frequently attributed to witches in our trials. {163}

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Witch raising tempest, from Olaus Magnus, Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, Rome, 1555

H owever, this belief ascribed to the witch was always a general witch accusation that could not visibly fit into the framework of neighborhood conflicts. In contrast with this, southward and eastward from Hungary (among Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, and Ukrainians), one of the basic types of witch is the (werewolf) witch who hexed crops and milk, as mentioned above.

These witches, however, did not conduct their actions within the framework of village witchcraft in the Central European sense. They are accused of offenses against the whole community and of being "foreign" witches.

These witches picked dew, stole crops from neighboring fields, and obtained milk from the neighbors' herd at the summer solstice or on the days of Ivan Kupala, Pentecost, Saint George, and Easter. {164} All these were communal rituals that were based on bipolar magic, and were carried out in the name of own-alien: to damage the crop of the opposing community in order to increase their own profit. Besides, these kinds of activities were attributed to various demonic witch figures (dead *strigoi,* Bulgarian *brod' nica)* or crop-stealing demons, whose various types are discussed in the appropriate sections of the book. These demons visited the human settlements periodically and stole crops. {165}

Brodnica was an exemplary crop-stealing demon related to the underworldly goddesses, who were often characterized as spinning. Bulgarian witches stole dew from the fields, and they traveled on a weaving loom with a weaving frame on their backs; they picked dew with a spoon that was stuck in their bottoms, and then ate the dew with it, naked, on the nights of Saint George or at the summer solstice. Cows were protected from them with human excrement, which the witches were also thought to have consumed (Moroz 1989, 135-36). Here we can see the underworldly negative reflection of the divinity journeying the four corners of the earth bringing fertility, and of the sacrifices given to them. Otherwise, these demonic witches of the underworld are among the clearest embodiments of the above-mentioned chthonic goddess figures associated with hemp and spinning; I suspect they are the traditions of a death goddess that stole the crop and took it down to the underworld.

This mythical creature, mingled with the idea of the witch, is important to us because this was a great enemy of the shamanistic fertility magicians in their soul battles for regaining the crop; on the other hand, looking at it from the positive side, this was the patron of the magicians. The battle of magicians with demons or witches could coincide with the battle against the magician of the neighboring community, in which two guardians stood opposed to each other, in this case in the name of conflict between self and other. One's own soul is the good one, helping the magician in the battle against the neighboring other and the "bad" guardians, the crop-stealing dead.

When these images and rituals appeared within the framework of witchcraft as well, then their basis was the relationship between one's own witches and those of others. The living and the dead embodiments of Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian witches deal with damaging the animals and fields and stealing the rain from the neighbors in the village or in the neighboring village: in their systems both levels are apparent, but among Bulgarians and Romanians, for example, there is little trace of neighborhood witchcraft. These witches represent a more archaic stage of witchcraft that is characterized by the magical-mythical tensions between two communities. The mythical theft and restoration of fertility appears as neighborhood magic in the framework of village witchcraft. Its essence was to make one's own profit from damage to a neighbor—for example, stealing milk from the neighbor's cow (as the Hungarian type B witch did).

Bewitching Domestic Animals

Except for the cow, there are only a few documents in our trials that concern harm caused to domestic animals, namely, poultry, pigs, and geese.

Casting a disease on cows, and especially taking away their milk, was a frequent accusation, and, within the framework of neighborhood magic, this was a sign of the type B witch and was in connection with real magical acts. However, there was a supernatural "cow witch" image, as I have mentioned; evidently, this is what much of the evidence known from trials in the eastern parts of Hungary, even in the Modern Age, pertains to regarding "snatched away cows." {166} This witch could also be the subject of visions about the bewitching of cows, or of visions in which they were seen riding on steers or calves. These are more everyday variations of mythical thefts of milk in the context of the neighborhood witch accusations. Sometimes the scenes of cow milking appeared in apparitions, perhaps in archaic time frames, on the days of Saint George, Saint Lucy, or Pentecost. In these apparitions the witch milks the well sweep, the gate, or other objects in the yard. At other times, witches traveling on cows were seen as they dismounted their own beast and went off to milk someone else's cows. However, the most

frequent apparition was of a domestic animal that entered the stable; or a characteristic noise, such as bubbling or rustling, was reported. These were interpreted as the presence of the supernatural: as a witch-beast sucking at the cow, or as the sound of milking.{167}

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Witch putting a spell on milk. From the tractace entitled 'Tugendspiegel' by Hans Vintler, Augsburg, 486 (Soldan– Heppe I., 229.)

21

5. The Alternative World of the Witches' Sabbat

Journeys

In the witch trial narratives that concern visions, the terms "enchantment" and "abduction" have a range of meanings. In their primary senses they refer to an altered state of consciousness in which the supernatural is perceived, apparitions are experienced, and occasionally a journey is made to the alternative world. Bewitched individuals lived through experiences such as demonic witches entering houses and holding their merriments there, injuring their victims, or taking them to the witches' sabbat.

The enchanted person lying in trance may be observed by others, at the same time that both the injured party and the witches can travel on soul journeys. In the account of a 1747 witch trial in Kiskunhalas, Anna Hös reported seeing her husband in bed, "lying there stiff, barely drawing breath, and she called to her husband '.. .what happened to you, are you asleep?' For a long while she and her stepdaughter tried to awaken him...and after a long time he awoke and cried out, 'My Lord Jesus help me! Oh! fiery witches took me to Máramaros and they put six hundredweight of salt on me" (Schram 1970, 2:48).

At other times, enchantment and abduction are described as concrete physical acts, as real disappearances, or as "being taken out of bed." For example, "the witches took him from his bed during the night and took him to the Danube" (Schram 1970, 1:455). {168} Simultaneously, symbols of the other-world refer to stepping into the alternative world. Parallelism between the two interpretations, that is, soul travel and supposed actual physical experiences, is a characteristic to which the rationalizing and demonologizing view of the court is a third aspect. In reading multilayered narratives with a range of meanings, it is impossible to determine precisely who interpreted a given narrative in what way—that is, who had a 'genuine' otherworldly experience, or whose soul indeed took part in witch merriments or witches' sabbats. However, it can be stated that in early modern Hungarian witchcraft, the popular witches' sabbat, uninfluenced by demonology, was generally a gathering, merriment, or other social activity of the spirit witches, their doubles, and their bewitched victims, and it took place in the alternative world.

The witches' sabbats that began with enchantment and abduction are primarily communicative events between the two worlds. The witches themselves confirmed this because it was very rare in Hungary, as elsewhere, that the question of participation in the witches' sabbat would be neglected at court hearings. The accounts of witnesses who had been taken by witches, or of accused who had been taken by the devil or the society of witches, speak about a multitude of traditions at a variety of levels.

Those accused of witchcraft also had the common faculty for trance, as mentioned earlier in connection with the visionary experiences of injured parties. A significant proportion of the documented confessions referring to trance or visionary experience concerns witches who spoke about the way they came to be a part of the company or to be present at the gatherings. In her confession in 1721, Kata Barta, a witch from Madar, mentioned "being seized in her heart and soul as if for a couple of days and nights, her body being as a piece of wood, but who had taken her away and where she had been taken she did not confess" (Alapi 1914, 13). A witch from Bereg County "threw herself on the floor all of a sudden and became like a corpse... [then the soles of her feet were beaten with a cane, following which, after a long while] she jumped up and I said to her, 'Was your soul on a walkabout, you so-and-so witch,' to which she answered,

'Oh, my husband, I died.'"{169}

As I stated earlier, the narratives of witches' confessions were strongly influenced by the expectations of the court: witches had to confess to "witches' companies," or even to a pact with the devil, which obviously meant that their testimonies included the traditional demonological witches' sabbat doctrines along with any relevant personal experiences (for example, of the other world). A varied and multilayered relationship between experience and narration is characteristic of both types of confession. The narrations of the witches' sabbat report on a terrestrial world placed in a different dimension. They typically contain symbols of an archetypal otherworld or of death and rebirth. The types and actions of the narrative are characterized by various forms of duality, which are found in the parallel existence of elements of the terrestrial, realistic world and the symbols of the otherworld; the combination of experience and narration; legends that contain only symbolic references and the narration of experiences (that is, symbolic and realistic otherworlds); and the adventures of the soul and the body. It is as if, in the steps of virtual development of the narratives that distanced the experiences, a simultaneous process had been going on making the experiences more tangible as well as producing the opposite effect. In this respect the continual influence of elite culture has to be taken into account because not only the particular witches' sabbat doctrines of the demonologists would have had

an effect but also the visionary literature in which similar processes of simultaneous shifts towards the tangible and the abstract occurred within the duality of experience and narration, as well as narration and literacy. {170}

We can presume that, through the medium of sermons, the literature of visions substantially influenced local traditions concerning witnesses and the accused, and the visual experience of church frescoes also probably played a role. It is possible to trace Christian visionary imagery of heaven and hell in several themes in the terrestrial otherworlds of witches, although this is a subject that cannot be explored in depth here. While visionary literature lent Christian motifs of the otherworld to narratives on the witches' sabbat, witch-hunting demonology gained its place and influence over the participants in the trials through the court's questions to the accused. This mainly had the effect of making experiences tangible, rational, and "terrestrial." All this is because the alternative of experience, a "real" adventure in the otherworld or a narrative, was always present for the people at the trial, whereas looking at it through the eyes of the court, one form of witches' sabbat alone was what certainly existed: an authentic terrestrial gathering of heretic God deniers who actually and physically participated. If they flew, it was accomplished with the help of the devil, but they flew in a physical sense. The other demonological alternative was that the adventure of the witches' sabbat was nothing other than devilish illusion.

The fundamental problems with the images of the witches' sabbat that are raised both by demonologists and by modern research into witchcraft concern whether these were genuine rituals, a fantasy suggested by the devil, or whether the accusations of attending witches' sabbats were the pure invention and calumny of the demonologists. In light of the documentation pertaining to Hungarian witches' sabbats, we can unambiguously refute the assumptions that lie behind these questions. The sabbat experiences in witches' confessions bear a marked similarity to those offered by witnesses without torture: they could be the same personal visionary experiences. The references to maleficium or to evil acts carried out with the help of the devil generally followed leading questioning by a court accompanied by torture. The devil enters these narratives only at the instigation of the interrogators. The following passages deal with the most important motifs of the sabbat.

Scenes

According to hundreds of Hungarian witness accounts, one of the common scenes of witches' sabbats and merriments was in the house or yard of the injured party, where the bewitched was compelled to take part in the merriments of the witches. On other occasions the victims were transported farther away—they were dragged or carried—but only in a few instances were they taken beyond the borders of the village. "Carrying" *(hordozás)* is a particular form of abduction and a term that appears frequently in the trials. It refers to a rapid horizontal flight by the abducted to actual terrestrial sites, such as "Laposdomb" (Flat Hill), "the stove of János Vas," "Antal's pear tree," and so on. {171} This flight in pairs does not constitute the real witches'

sabbat, but its essence is the same. The abducted party arrives in an alternative world with the witches; the narratives also refer to a parallel world existing in terrestrial scenes. References to breaking away from earth are often attached to narratives about more "realistic" carrying; for example (from Otomany, Bihar County 1735), "her feet could not touch the ground" (Komáromy

1910, 478); and "she walked on the tree tops."{172} Another example, from Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, speaks of rapid horizontal flight: "with a speed like the wind's she was rushing down the road...Mrs. Mihály Sándor passed her at speed on a brownish horse" (Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in Schram 1970, 2:352).

The scenes of group witches' sabbats, if not in or around the house of the injured party, mostly occurred on a hillock, a hill, or a mountain top.{173} Presumably this is no accident, given that these are the symbols of the universal "sacred center of the earth" (Eliade 1958, 307-87). Specified hills, such as Gellért and Tokaj, as well as unnamed surrounding hillocks were commonly mentioned examples. {174} Going to Gellért Hill would probably have been a legendary topos in those days; even in Hungary's Modern Age legends, it is the most frequent scene of the witches' merriments. Every kind of landscape surrounding the village was represented: vineyards, meadows, gardens, {175} forests, fields, valleys, and waters. {176} References to cities and palaces are striking among village scenes.{177} It is not out of the question that the "vast, monstrous cities and vaulting arches," the "palaces and churches" (Lehoczky 1887, 303) raise the heavenly city of Christian visions through a series of linked stages of transmission (see McDannell and Lang 1988, 6989).

Faraway places, foreign cities and countries, were also brought into narratives through actual international events, especially wars: "Erdélyország" (Transylvania) and Turkey were the recurring scenes of witches' sabbats. {178} At these, people who migrated into the country at the end of the eighteenth century, after the Turkish occupation, could nurture their relationship with those at home in the motherland. A witch from Bátaszék confessed that their society was at a witches' sabbat "in Germany at the relatives of Mrs. Kolbert" (1782, in Szilágyi 1987, 507).

The court sought to confirm the fact of a Turkish witches' sabbat through the confession of Erzsók Pandit, a nine-year-old girl questioned during the trial of her mother:

"The court asked, 'How did you know it was Turkey?' 'Because we saw a Turk,' the child answered, to which the confirming question: 'What kind of robe did the Turk wear?' 'A long sheepskin tunic like the Poles,' replied the little girl" (Schram 1982, 303).

Flying was one of the most general symbolic expressions of a journey to the alternative world (see Eliade 1956). Its interpretation at various levels runs throughout the narratives about witches' sabbats. With the help of the devil, and through the use of flying ointment or magic, it was possible to fly "in soul" as well as physically, upon some animal or object and even on people. "Carrying" was also a particular metaphor for flying whereby rapid horizontal flight referred to a journey into the terrestrial, "parallel" (that is, an alternative) world. European trial documents indicate that this kind of horizontal flight of the souls of witches above the ground and "across the landscape" would have been a general phenomenon.{179} Being torn out of the

terrestrial framework of time and space and entering the alternative world was marked by supernatural speed. This speed was a characteristic attribute of many of our witches; for example, witches from Otomany, Bihar County, purported to reach Eszék (today Osijek, Croatia) in an hour (1724, in Komáromy 1910, 332). Or an accused person from Csurgó in 1729 "went all over to Turkey in one night" (Schram 1970, 1:533). Witch doubles flew like the wind or as birds and were related to their fairy and wind-soul attributes. One witch from Abauj "put on wings" and

flew out to the witches' sabbat through the shingles, {180} witches from Simontornya in 1741 turned into eagles (Schram 1970, 2:485), and the witches' company of Tállya was carried by the wind. {181}

In the eyes of the interrogator, who knew nothing about "soul trips," witches could not possibly fly except with the help of the devil. Therefore, admitting to flying constituted an admission of witchcraft and indirectly indicated participation in the witches' sabbat. So it was not accidental

that, in Hungarian trial minutes as elsewhere, a question about flying followed an accusation of witchcraft: "Did you fly about the rooftops?" was the question to the above-mentioned witch from Feketeardó in 1732.

The subject of flying ointment occasionally came up in Hungarian interrogations;{182} nonetheless, it played no real role in precipitating trance. In our trials no evidence underpins the assumption of some European research that witches, including the Hungarian witches, made journeys with the help of drugs. {183} Documents referring to altered states of consciousness clearly talk about spontaneous trance. References to flying ointment are generally traceable only in responses given to questions of the court and even then principally in confessions following torture. Flying ointment appears in the narratives as a metaphor for creating trance, in the context of flying with wings—that is, "really" flying—or in the legendary motif of turning into an animal. In Hódmezővásárhely, Mária Oláh confessed under torture, "if we wish to be dogs, we become dogs...we were in the images of cats, we smeared [ourselves] with certain ointment...and climbed through the window" (1758, in Schram 1970, 1:341).

There is documentation of a kind of spontaneous flight—that is, soul journey—with a symbolic, otherworldly means of transport familiar throughout Europe, the miniature vehicle. My assumption is that this legendary motif is connected to the invisibly tiny figure of the soul. Several Hungarian witches traveled to a gathering in a walnut shell on the Danube or the Tisza

rivers;{184} others could squeeze into even smaller places like the husks of millet (Diószeg, Bihar County, 1723, in Schram 1970, 1:105). Bushel, bolter sieve, fish basket, and withy were

also mentioned.{185} Among all these, the most common are the bolter sieve and the sieve: the mara witches of Western Europe traveled in them (as they do in Shakespeare's *Macbeth),* and they floated on water and did not sink. {186} It is possible that the demonological view on the weightlessness of witches is rooted in this image, and perhaps even the practice of trial by water. We have some nondemonological documentation that refers to witches that "walked on water" and did not sink (Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in Schram 1970, 2:392). {187}

The characteristics of certain species of supernatural witch can also be traced in their methods of "abduction" or "traveling." Fairy witches took possession of the living through music and dance; those who were abducted "went with them" for a longer period of time, joined the company, flew, danced, and made merry with them.{188} "Troops" or "groups" of dead also took the victims to whom they appeared or with whom they "met." What is more, we have documentation (from Katalin Bartha's trial in Madar, Komárom County in 1721) in which the precise meaning of the expression also becomes clear: "a big black troop went to her with flags, among whom the flag holder was...Gergely Jankus,...torturing this woman and taking away her soul."

Transformations

Those who were abducted became demons themselves, like their abductors. This is true of Hungarian demonic night witches too. In one descriptive example, Mrs. Márton Virágos, a witch from Bihar County, spoke to the women of the village about "whether [her illness] was caused by a human"—that is, whether or not it was maleficium. One of the women told her, "You bumped your head into the roof beams when you were a fairy," meaning that she had become ill when she was a fairy, and she was a fairy when the fairies visiting her house had enchanted her to dance (and caused her to bump her head against the roof beams) (Derecske, 1699, in Schram 1970, 1:46).

The most likely original interpretation of turning into an animal was that the double of those abducted entered the alternative world. Assuming an animal form signaled this transfer between levels of existence, and it was one of the most important physical-double variations of the demonic witches. Certain cases of transformation into animals could be connected to werewolf-like witches in the forms of dogs or horses. For example, according to a document from Szeghalom, witches appearing as dogs took away the witness at the Christmas festival, a werewolf period (Békés County, 1724, in Oláh 1886-87, 115).{189} At other times they would turn into dogs or cats while tumbling (1731, in Kazinczy 1885, 3:374), {190} like the *prikulics* of the twentieth-century eastern Hungarian legends. *{Prikulics* is the Transylvanian term for "werewolf; compare the Romanian *priculici.)* Assuming the form of cats also occurred,{191} but in Hungary people who were turned into animals most frequently became horses; the victim would be bridled or struck with a bridle. We have numerous documents referring to victims who were turned into horses, {192} and it must have been a popular legendary motif throughout Central Europe in this era. Riding or galloping on the animal alter ego of a transformed human was a characteristic attribute of European witch beliefs, and remained one of the most characteristic motifs of witch legends (Bihari 1980, 78-79. IX. 1/6).

The record of the 1747 trial of Mrs. András Gulyás, in Kassa, contains unique elements that suggest a probable visionary experience. Appearing in the text are spirit horses, victims who are turned into horses, and witches that saddled them, as well as a rather ghoulish company of riding witches. The other world is signified by the symbolism of encircling or losing one's way, and on another level there is a reference to the abducted victim's trance state. Mrs. Gulyás enters the house in the night, the witch from Göncz *saying "Do you know what I asked from you? You dog! Come here, dog!" With this she threw the bridle over her head and turned her into a horse there and then. Leaving the place with a mighty noise, she tied her to the door post,...then she mounted the horse, and by which time there were three waiting outside in front of the gate on black horses... thus they went to Szina. A black horse in fancy decoration preceded them everywhere, [and] it was glittering with light.*

T hen later the witch

just threw the bridle over her neck, [and] sat on the back of the fatens. Going toward the fields of Rosài the fatens saw a powerful steed and with grand preparations it glittered with light.

Following this steed while they were going to the fields of Rosài, the fatens still had her senses, but after that where the fatens was carried she did not know. Only as she finally came home to town did she come round once more, [as] Mrs. Gulyás made the fatens circle her own house three times. (The trial of Mrs. Andrås Gulyás and company, Kassa, 1747) A totally different way of traveling to the witches' sabbat was to fly on magical objects. The basis for this motif of legends was the demonological idea of "satanic help." The topoi of the literature of magic, as well as motifs from tales that referred to magical objects, magical spells, and magical transformations, constituted a rich source of ideas for such help.{193} Flying on objects created through illusion was a recurring motif of court narratives. Witches claimed (although mostly in confessions following torture) to have traveled on carpets with the help of the wind, a cannonball, or carts that rose into the air through magic, as in Erzsébet Hampa's 1737 trial in Sümeg: "The six horses mentioned previously were naught but cats in truth, two black cats belonging to Ilona,...the carriage was only a sieve and a bolter sieve thrown to the air, which were put together like wheels and were started with a whiplash...they traveled like the wind"

(Schram 1970,1:541). {194}

Other symbolic motifs went with traveling to the witches' sabbat. Traveling on narrow paths, crossing bridges, and passing through small gaps are all universal symbols of entering the otherworld. {195} A company of witches from Kisvárda that appeared at a trial in 1737 went on narrow planks (Schram 1970, 2:354-55). Others passed "through many small holes" (Schram 1970, 1:533) while some squeezed through wax grids (Schram 1970, 1:244-45) to reach the witches' sabbat. Tiny soul figures could press through small openings. Witches evidently went to house merriments in their "spiritual body" if they came through closed doors;{196} they could also press through small panes of glass, smoke holes, {197} or through closed holes and keyholes. {198}

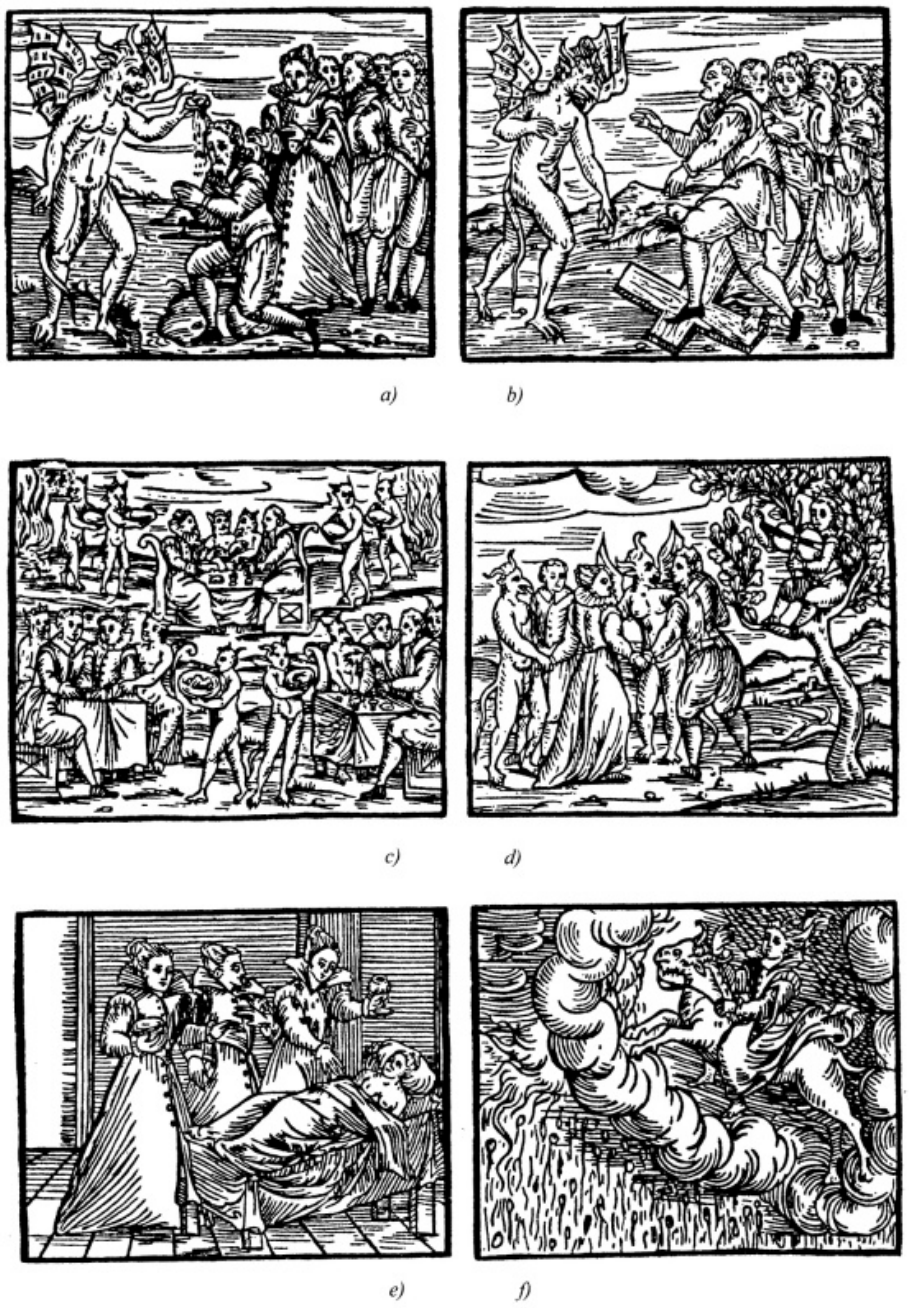
The court interpreted these acts rationally, such as pressing through a keyhole or many other metaphors of transfer between levels of existence. "Where and through what kind of holes could you pass?" they asked Ilona Vörös, a witch from Simontornya in 1741. She answered, helpfully attending to the point of view of the investigator, "I even went through drilled holes and gaps around doors" (Schram 1970, 2:483). To a question about pressing through a keyhole, a witch from Megyaszó answered that they could pass through the keyhole because they "stretched out like a rope" (1731, in Kazinczy 1885, 375). Trial participants had to rationalize these symbols of the otherworld not only to the court but also to themselves because it would seem at times that they did not make sense to them anymore. Mrs. Mihály Tóth, a witch from Körösladány in 1723, wanted to enter a house one night along with her company, but initially they did not succeed because the inhabitants pushed the door from inside. Then they decided to attempt an entry through a drilled hole, which they somehow succeeded in, and they sat on the chest of the person sleeping inside like true mora demons (Komáromy 1910, 320).

Sudden blindness could also be a sign of being abducted to the other-world (a symbolic death), {199} just as the motif of a time lapse: the witches' sabbat "is over very fast [like] a whirlwind" or is like "shadow images." {200} It is interesting that in the two examples above, the differing quality of supernatural time was compared to the supernatural nature of two typical soul figures, that is, the wind soul and shadow soul.

Initiations

The transitory death of those abducted into an alternative existence was, in one sense, an initiation. Being there meant belonging there. From that point on, using the knowledge acquired in the supernatural world, initiates commuted between the two worlds as authorized parties; the alternative was to die and never return. {201} This interpretation of the act of abduction by the dead can be traced to every known demonic creature in the Central European area. {202} These initiations had a common negative variant whereby the victims returned from the otherworld devastated or sick, and bringing illness instead of knowledge. In such cases, initiation was incomplete in that symbolic death was not followed by rebirth. Bringing illness from the realm of death is an idea that appears in a number of ways in the archaic strata of European belief systems, and it is a fundamental characteristic of the bipolar dead. {203} An example is where

illnesses were brought by disease demons who had belonged to that world from the outset. The positive attributes of the dead were that they initiated mediators, and the knowledge of enchanted seers, magicians, or healers came from them.



From Francesco Maria Guazzo's 'Compendium Maleficarum,' 1610, Milan a) The Devil baptizes a new witch; b) A God-denying witch is trampling on the crucifix; c) Feast on the sabbath; d) Dance on the sabbath; e) Witch flying in clouds, bringing nasty weather; f) Witch setting a town on fire; g) Witches appearing to bewitch a sleeper 25

g)

Nevertheless, the negative traits of the dead are most salient in the belief in abduction by supernatural witches. Those who were abducted returned with illnesses from the world of the dead

—that is, they became victims of maleficium, basically the maleficium of the type C witch perceived in apparitions and visions. Numerous trial documents refer to this negative aspect of abduction, although there are examples of its other face. The dual characteristic of the dead is present in the figure of the supernatural witch, although in an uneven way. It is marked by themes in which either initiation or torture, illness, and death appear. The theme of the summons to a witches' sab-bat, or coercion into the company of witches, would have earned these alternatives, and narratives always mention threats of destruction should the abducted person refuse to join. One abducted party testified to a threat of impaling during a 1733 trial in Csorna (Schram 1970, 2:97). {204} In the same context another initiation theme appears: the obligation to keep secrets (see Turner 1972). The witches' society promised "Muscovy leather and material for bodices" to an abducted person from Kisvárda in 1735 if she told no one (Schram 1970, 2:344); in another account the victim was warned that he would die if he let the secret out (Schram 1970, 1:248).

Removal of bones appears in some narratives as an act of initiation, or as initiation interpreted as maleficium. {205} In the maleficium narratives this concluded the act of abduction. It occurs most typically in the abduction apparitions of fate women. An alternative to triple judgment could be a sentence to the removal of bones: instead of death, "they voted for extracting his bones" (Hódmezővásárhely, 1739, in Schram 1970, 1:254).{206}

As creatures determining the fate of werewolves or the shamanistic abilities of werewolf magicians, fate women also play a role in a wider European context. It seems likely that the motif of extracting bones is connected to these figures through that context. This theme is part of several European demonic creature belief systems, and is primarily associated with fairies, or the

"Perchta" {207} that lead troops of the dead, all creatures with the attributes of fate women. Presumably this motif is a remnant of the Central Southeastern European imagery of the lady of the animals (Pócs 1986, 218- 19). It runs through all the areas where initiation beliefs featuring demonic creatures are found; these creatures, like fate women or fairies, had the characteristics of "lord of the animals." A more frequent variation of removing the bones was that a single bone or body part—for example, the little finger—had to be surrendered in exchange for initiation into witchcraft. At other times, the missing bone was simply interpreted as a sign or symptom of maleficium when identifying an illness. {208} Removing a bone could be cross-interpreted at a demonological level as the devil's mark, which also denoted initiation. In this the devil removed a bone as a symbol of the pact, or bit the finger of the individual forced into the company of the witches. {209}

Being torn to pieces or devoured can also be seen as motifs of initiation belonging with the same imagery. In Patak, Nógrád County, in 1759, for example, an abducted person was "torn to pieces" at the top of a tree and had to pledge to keep it secret (Schram 1982, 325). {210} The expression "was devoured" often appears in Hungarian trial records (as well as in current beliefs as a synonym for "was bewitched"). The Balkanic context of the documents reinforces this as a reference to an act of initiation. The series of motifs of cook-devour-regurgitate are known there in the context of the initiation of heroes in heroic epics as well as of magicians (Stojanović 1996, Chapter 4). {211} A very close replica of the documents from the Balkans with a clear meaning can be seen in a trial in Szentes in 1734, where, according to the narration of the witch, a suckling baby was cut into pieces, cooked in an iron cauldron, and eaten, following which the bones were collected and mixed with chaff (Schram 1970, 1:247). This is not only initiation but also the leitmotif of the aforementioned imagery of the lady of the animals. Carlo Ginzburg connected these motifs with the once-chthonic figures of goddesses who initiated shamanistic magicians ("Knochen und Häute," in Ginzburg 1990); we will return to these in the discussion of fairy magicians. What were the abducted actually initiated into? Into witchcraft? Did they win the power of maleficium, as demonologists thought? As we shall see, it was actually about shamanistic initiation: the initiation of an archaic "seer witch."

Abduction or entering the alternative world also had its demonological variation. Being summoned by the devil and "making a pledge" can be read in each interrogated witch's words.

Making a pledge basically meant entering into a pact. This, as I mentioned, was not elicited in each interrogation of the accused in this precise way. However, such questions as "when did you join them?" "how long have you been with them?" and "when did you pledge yourself?" reveal that the interrogating judges imagined the gathering of witches, under the mantle of a 26

provincial Hungarian demonology, as some kind of organized evil company that formed pacts for maleficium rather than devil worshipping. Documents of such "summoning in" or

"pledging", sometimes referring to companies of witches or sometimes to the devil, originated from the mouths of both witnesses and the accused. The party summoned was usually coerced, threatened with destruction or death, or promised money.{212} It is useful to examine the chronological spread of those seventy-seven documents about being summoned by the devil.

This theme appeared in the seventeenth century in Pozsony, Sopron, and Vas counties in western Hungary, from where it slowly spread toward the east. It never reached as far as Transylvania, then the easternmost part of Hungary, except for a few towns inhabited by Saxons.{213} It seems certain that the idea was spread by the demonology of the witch hunters arriving from the West, and became less a part of the popular imagery of the witches' sabbat. In about half of all cases the pact was actually made in different ways and on different levels; however, the details of these motifs fall outside our current subject. Merriments, dance, and fornication with the devil were frequently a feature of the confessions of witches. Nonetheless, it was also characteristic that the supernatural lover was not the prescribed "demonological" devil, but rather emerged from the familiar, colorfiil, and popular devil figures: devils in the shape of dogs or ravens who served witches, or at other times the demon Elisha wearing a pelisse, or a lad with horse's legs in a soldier's outfit (which was the previously mentioned lidérc lover), and so on.

{214} Here it seems as if the witches who were forced through torture to confess to having entered into a pact drew upon familiar devil figures based on guardians in fabricating their confessions, or even on their personal experience of desire or love.

Societies

The figure of the devil, particularly in the making of pacts, appeared only occasionally in narratives about witches' merriments or witches' sabbats. What was an indispensable part of the narratives was being together as a group, the actual society of witches. We can read about the society of witches in contexts at different levels, from narratives on experiences of death troops to confessions following torture where guilty partners were enumerated. We know that participation in the sabbat was a key focus of interrogation, in order to expose the assumed conspiracy (Trevor-Roper 1969, 41-42; Cohn 1975, 97-98). The company of witches, like other features of the witches' sabbat, was not invented by demonologists to serve the aims of interrogation. This society, just like the devil making a pact, had a popular basis. As we saw earlier, in the first century of the hunts there was no mention of the devil at all in the narratives about the witches'

sabbat. Apparently, the conspiring society of witches organized by devils did not exist then, not even in the minds of Hungarian judges. It seems probable that the peasant witnesses conceptualized only one type of company: the gathering of the dead with supernatural witches and their demonic relatives, fairies, and werewolves.

The ghoulish nature of these troops can often be traced to witches' sabbats: these witches are "the evils," "the evil souls," or children with fiery eyes in "the troop." {215} What was really connected to the dead was the troop's black or white flag, which grew to extraordinary supernatural proportions at night. That was a repetitive motif: witches came to the house at night carrying a flag, and as the "troop of the dead" they called their victims to them with flags (Szilsárkány, Sopron County, 1737, in Schram 1970, 2:105; Hódmezővásárhely, 1739, in ibid., 1:256.) The troop flags disappeared upon the dispersal of the group, but they were of great size and are described as "very beautiful and shiny" or "scarlet silk with golden dots," and as being made of silk, gold, copper, or embroidery. {216}

Like other accessories of the witches' sabbat, the flag may be understood through the eyes of the interrogators and the words of the tortured confessors as magical objects created through illusion. One, for example, "reached from the Hill of Tokaj as far as the River Tisza when it was unraveled" (Eger, 1711, in Sugár 1987, 49). {217} The flag is an emphatic object rich in

meaning, the positive symbol of the alternative world with its simultaneous connotation of death and heaven. The latter examples suggest that it had some connection with the fairylike

"heavenly" joys of the otherworld. Its parallels were the flags of Southeastern European fairy troops, or the heavenly flags of religious visions.

The flag had military character too: the "flag holder" of the group was often referred to among the military officials of the company, next to the "superiors" and the "head of the witches."

{218} Otherwise, a detailed enumeration of military ranks was only characteristic of the confessions of witches; {219} the confessions of witnesses contained no mention of rank.

Nevertheless, it is not highly likely that this fact would have had a demonological aspect. Military ranks are unknown in Europe within the companies of witches; thus unknown are the threads that have led to the groups of fairy mythology in the Balkans, often with military ranking (see Pócs 1989b, 50-51), as well as to the *zduhac,* a type of shamanistic magician who fought in groups over the otherworld.

Zduhac troops fought in military hierarchy against hostile magician troops, apparently in the manner of the Turkish wars. In that region a common pool of motifs around zduhac, fairies, and witches is also conceivable from the military-ranking perspective—and even more so, since there were frequently bagpipers and especially drummers among the military rankings, and drums were magical fairy objects similar to the flag. {220} This thread also leads toward the fairy musician troops of the Balkans, and the carefully guarded magic drum and toward the *rusalia* rituals of the fairy cult; and all of these enrich the stock of the fairy motifs of the Hungarian popular witches' sabbat.

Battles

Above we mentioned the battling soul of the zduhac magician in connection with the military rankings of witches' companies. A characteristic motif on many levels and in manifold belief contexts, the motif of battles and fights in the otherworld extends fiirther than that and is connected to shamanistic magicians and witches. Generally speaking, the conflict is about good and evil, about the opposition between one's own and alien guardians. Battles to defend one's own interests against the aliens arose in connection with practically all the guardians studied here.

The individual battles between one's own guardian and the spirit of an alien—that is, the "bad" guardian (see Chapter 6)—do not fit the context of the witches' sabbat. The group battles of witch or spirit troops naturally do involve the society of witches. However, these battles are essentially the same kinds of conflicts as the paired battles between one's own and alien guardians or doubles. The most grandiose versions occurred between the souls of magicians or spirit patrons of two neighboring communities over rain or crops. In our region, these are also recorded in the mythical frameworks of narratives of witches' sabbats, although not to a great extent in the Hungarian trial narratives.

Battles for stealing and recovering crops only appear in the trials in Szeged: the gatherings of the demonic witches there stole the fertility, or "fat of the land," from the neighboring people and settlements, through "picking dew."{221} A substantially richer set of examples can be found in the witches' sabbat imagery of the Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, Ukrainians, and especially the Romanians. The Romanian *strigoi* figures stole the milk and crops of neighboring villages, or

recaptured them, in the context of soul battles. The doubles of witches in trance took part in these battles with agricultural tools and scutchers, distaffs, or shuttles (harking back to the fertility goddesses associated with spinning). In other cases the point of the battle was to ward off disease demons, for disease would strike the villages of the losing party while the villages of the winner would escape unscathed.

The image of the scutcher battles occurs sometimes in Hungarian sabbat narratives, too. The participants of the witches' sabbat in the trial in Nagykároly in 1745 "had wooden scutcher-shaped swords [like the witches of Romanian battles] and they were brandishing them and calling out the following words: 'I cut and parry but do not injure you'" (Szirmay 1809, 82). In 1743, in Kisvárda, the witch Mrs. Mihály Sándor confessed that "I went with my grandmother to Halastó hegy [Fish Pond Hill] on the blue dog of István Hegedűs, and we brandished our scutcher branch in the night, and sometimes we went to Encsencs [a village] on the treetops, too" (Schram 1970,2:352). Another example comes from the confession of Kata Pásztor, a witch from Biharugra, at her 1755 trial in Borosjenö. A company of witches from Ugra flew out to the witches' sabbat and, on meeting the witches of Szalonta, as she put it, "we brandished some pieces of wood" (Komáromy 1910, 578). All these are quite precise descriptions of strigoi battles, but the objectives of the battles themselves are never mentioned in Hungarian trials.

Referring to another type of battle, István Lengyel, a witch with werewolf characteristics, stated in his trial in Örvend, Bihar County, in 1716, that they "were brandishing" their weapons in panther skins in the night on Saint Gellért's Hill, where they were battling with devils (Schram 1970, 1:49). Presumably, documentation of own and alien troops also belongs here. {222}

Documentation is sparse, and these group soul battles are not particularly characteristic of the Hungarian witch. However, each battle motif is in some way the negative complement to the battles of shamanistic magicians. Witches were the enemy who stole crops and rain, and the magicians had to recover the crop or rain for their own villages. On the other hand, when the witches' troops gain something for their own community from the neighboring village, they brandish their weapons as magicians. Whether in a positive or a negative role, witches doing battle "in their souls" fulfill the same mediatory roles as shamanistic magicians. Of course, the usual question arises here too: was it a genuine or fictive mediatory activity?

Fairy Merriments

Witches with fairy attributes are mentioned several times in the trial records. They brought glittering beauty to the houses in which they appeared, and they abducted their victims into their companies and their fairylike witches' sabbats by making music and dancing. Negative witch characteristics are totally absent from some of these source narratives, which depict an alternative world füll of beauty and joy that contrasts with the miseries of the terrestrial world. So, fairylike witches' sabbats also belong in the world of desire. One account from Hódmezővásárhely reports, "in the group they all seemed of beautiful and gentle colors, and even if they are in rags at home, there their clothes are all of straight beauty" (1739, in Schram 1970,1:254). {223}

Feast on witches' sabbath, from the tractate entitled 'De Lamis' by Ulrich Molitor, Cologne, 1489

T he most important motif of the fairy sabbats was the merriment with dance. Around sixty narratives concerning fairy merriments emerged from Hungarian trials across the country (excluding Transylvania), where, as in Romania, it was the witches with a werewolf or unbaptized demonic character who attended sabbats.{224} The heart of fairy merriments was the feast, and the stories about it refer to cooking and baking, food and beverages, cooks and servants. At times we are witness to a wonderful range of dishes and drinks: from ten seeds of millet they 28

feed "the entire company" as guests, or three thousand of them drink from a single drilled vine root. The mythological topos of magic food from antiquity and the Middle Ages was often broadened with the motif of the magically timed harvest (for example, wheat harvested before Pentecost or grapes harvested at Christmas time). These themes are known from the elite literature of magic, as well as from village crop magic{225} (once the motif of conjuring grain appears) (1707, Kőhalom, in Müller 1910, 148). The accessories of a fairylike witch feast were

golden and decorative, as in Southeast European or Celtic fairy heavens. According to confessions made in a 1728 trial in Komárom, the company of Mrs. Mihály Oláh enjoyed themselves with silver and golden glasses while they traveled over water on a bolter sieve. On another occasion, "they comforted [the injured party] with an extraordinarily sumptuous feast" (Schram 1970, 1:253).

This fairy world of desire realized in dreams and apparitions was characteristic of the fairy beliefs of the Central Southeastern Europeans—it also has close parallels in the Celtic, Italian, and Scandinavian regions (see Wall 1989; Henningsen 1990)—and it lent particular fairy attributes to the witches' sabbat in many areas (see Pócs 1986). Something fairylike is always closely linked with the archaic and demonic witches' world of the dead—so much so that at times the shiny, heavenly features are missing from the image of the feast, and a "black" fairy world of the dead appears before us. The following example concerns a "black" troop of fairies with whom, however, it was possible to have a good time. From Mrs. György Gémes's 1739 trial in Hódmezővásárhely, we learn that her husband, when she fell ill, asked that she "take me in that black troop, how long is it since I was there? ...my dear dove, it is an age since I drank from that good old wine of Tokaj, that we drank in the black troop, give me a glass of that" (Schram 1970, 1:259).

The alternative world of fairies can, to some extent, be identified with the Christian heaven, the heavenly Jerusalem of visions, and at the same time with a terrestrial paradise—all of which bear a resemblance to the narratives about fairylike witches' sabbats. {226} The topos of the Schlaraffenland legend (the land of plenty), known from the fifth century, could also be significant in the development of the fairy witches' world of desire. This topos became very popular in the late Middle Ages and early Modern Age (Wunderlich 1986). It seems likely that the figures of fairy guardians ensuring fertility could also hide behind the narratives about feasts of plenty. However, the literature of magic may have played a more important role since it could have had a direct as well as an indirect effect through demonological doctrines. Several narratives of witches' sabbats contain the topos of "feast of illusory plenty," known from contemporaneous literature of magic.{227} In these narratives, the palace and magic table brought about through magical trickery were simply illusions, which turned into nothing after a little while. At her 1782 trial in Bátaszék, Tolna County, Éva Frekkin, an accused gypsy girl, described the creation of a fairy world through magic. She explained that Mrs. Faind, a witch, beguiled and enticed her companions into attending the witches' sabbat: "throwing out her arms and shaking her body, she formed a very beautiful house, then there came all kinds of beauty, and joy... it appealed to me too and that is how I came to join myself with them" (Szilágyi 1987, 505). {228}

In the Hungarian trial narratives, the theme of objects created through magic appears in this context, such as conjuring up a silver goblet from an ankle bone, a drum from a horse's hoof, cutlery from a cow's leg, and so on.{229} Regardless of whether the magic objects returned to their original form at the end of the feast, their appearance was always the result of magic.

Demonologists and preachers also often used this motif of "satanic illusion": demonologists thought that the fairylike otherworld was, of course, the invention of the devil to tempt away believers (see Alsheimer 1974, 502, 508). The devil often enticed those who hesitated to join him with such words as, "you see... we have a nice life, come and join us" (Hódmezővásárhely, 1758, in Schram 1970,1:341).

The worlds of fairies and witches are connected organically and practically in the context of witch trials. However, in the narratives concerning witches' sabbats, they were increasingly polarized as witchcraft became more and more demonologized during the hunts. The worlds of fairies and witches are interwoven with each other due to their archaic death characteristics, but they came into opposition: the satanic, hellish, and witchlike faced the godly, heavenly, and fairylike. Witches generally stood on the dark, satanic side, although this was never exclusively so, as documentation about "good" witches proves. More examples are offered below.

This process of polarization in the fairy world is effectively reflected in scenes of unmasking in the narratives about feasts. The motif of illusory plenty created through magic put the narratives about fairylike witches' sabbats into quotation marks. It deprived them of their reality and identified them as satanic deceit. Let us quote one example of this unmasking from the 1711 confession of Mrs. János Csizmadia, a witness in Sempte. This woman went to the mill, "lay upon the hopper [most likely she fell asleep too, and in her dream she saw that] soon enough all kinds of food appeared on the table, the glasses were mere stars, their table was white like snow, and as the fatens noticed that it was not a table, she wanted to cross herself (Schram 1970, 1:490). The reference to crossing herself indicates that she perceives the illusory table as a satanic trick.

The Underworld and Hell

In certain sabbat narratives, the fairy feasts are not simply revealed as illusory but as something infernal. Demonologists imagined the feast of the desired world to be naught but a dinner in hell with lizards, snakes, and frogs, as the French demonologist Pierre de Lancre described the end of an illusory feast (De Lancre 1613, 171). In narratives about witches' sabbats, the glittering table became "a tussock in the meadows," the golden glass turned into a shinbone, and the girl who had been taken to dance was transformed into a boat. {230} These are motifs from legends about witches and fairies known throughout the region. They are presumed to have been very popular in the early Modern Age, and have had their enduring formulation in legends dated as early as the trial documents. {231}

Hell appeared in narratives about witches' sabbats as a consequence of these processes—for example, in the demonological context of the illusory feasts of plenty, if the fairy banquet had an infernal ending. On the other hand, there was also a "popular" hell present in the texts, which was on earth (as were all the other worlds of the witches), and only certain symbols of hell referred to its connection to the underworld or the devil. From these symbols the most frequently occurring were the scenes of the feasts: mill, cellar, wine cellar, pub, stable, pigpen, oven, or cauldron. {232} These symbolic terrestrial hells are known mainly from the narratives that refer to the hellish merriment of the Balkan and Central European underworld demons—werewolf demon variants—mentioned earlier. Presumably they entered the narratives about witches' sabbats through those demons. {233} Chimneys and chimney flues also represent hell; witches of

the underworld used them as a passageway to reach the sabbat.{234}

Certam food types could also signal the satanic, infernal nature of the feasts. Examples are the stone bread and stone pears that witches ate at their merriment in wine cellars.{235} Animal

bones, stones, and animal or human excrement, which appeared as the transformed food and trappings of illusory feasts, are the antithesis of the appetizing dishes of golden banquets.

Repugnant actions occurring in the context of witches' sabbats could also denote the underworld or the devil: for example, the serving of slurry or manure dinners, defecating into dishes, or urinating or vomiting into barrels at the end of feasts (1619, Nagyszombat, Mrs. Ádám Wrablo's trial; 1714, Mocsa, Komárom County, in Alapi 1914, 4). A great number of the dishes possessed the character of the underworld, consisting of such things as water animals or creatures that slither and slide—that is, hellish animals and concoctions from visions and demonological literature. Examples melude references to a "sliding animal" and the "inside of a snail," and to frogs and turtles. {236}

References that explicitly connote death also appear in testimony. These include mention of malodorous or putrid food, murky liquids, "black slop," and forcing someone to drink from a

"black mug" {237} or to consume raw meat and eggs.{238} Sometimes the abducted parties were forcibly fed, but at other times victims were simply offered an undefined "bewitching meal"

or "bewitching water" instead of medicine. {239} Documentation of the death of victims due to forced feeding, or by "being called to them"—that is, to a symbolic death resulting from it—

illuminate the symbolic significance of forced feeding. {240} Messages from the dead bore even more importance if they were said aloud. "Eat because you must fall ill!" was the voice of fate expressed through "food language" (Borsova, Bereg County, 1724, Komáromy 1897, 351). {241}

Levels and Crossings

Physical evidence—whether carried into and left in the otherworld, or brought back into the terrestrial world—was used as proof that the borders of the two worlds had been crossed. These motifs from visionary narratives were known internationally. Such evidence could, for example, be injuries brought back from the other side: wounds on the mouths of those who had been

"behorsed" and "saddled" were traces of the bit; blue marks, blueness in the face, tiredness, dizziness, or sweat were signs of having been "carried." In Bágyog, Bihar County, "there came János Váradi, pale and trembling to his bones. He said to the fatens that he had been taken...and carried up to the treetops" (1712, in Schram 1970, 1:52). Objects also ended up in the other world: a few witnesses offered the court proof of maleficium in that their tethers had been left in the otherworld after galloping over there (Hódmezővásárhely, 1758, in Schram 1970,1:338; Doboz, 1717, in Oláh 1886-87,145).

Objects brought back from the alternative world were most likely to be a general legendary topos known from the religious visions of the Middle Ages and from authors of the church who mentioned the night journeys of witches (see Lea 1957, 1:182-83; Flint 1991, 195). Witnesses often talked about such things in the framework of retrospective allusions; these were voiced when the victim encountered the witch in normal life and were expressed as if both parties held the mutual adventure to be a reality. In one narrative example, a witch apparently forced the witness to drink wine in the night and then later asked if he had vomited up that drink in Czenk. (Vaszar, Györ County, 1758, in Komáromy 1897, 677).

Once again this confirms that the alternative world that appeared in visions or dreams was part of "normal" existence and that there was a path between the two. The smooth continuity of events and the web of cause and effect interwove between the two worlds, and the motions of both were seen as the same reality. Here is one example of the other world being embedded in everyday life: a behorsed man "pulling his head out of the bridle, instantly became human again, and remembering that dawn was almost there and that the pigs would have to be put out immediately, he set out to Gacsáj" (Nagykároly, 1745, in Szirmay 1809, 80). The presence of the supernatural, and the otherworld, at one level of their perception, were physical realities and part of everyday life, and arenas for the manifestation of physical alter egos. In this context, it was just as likely that somebody would enter the other-world in their physical reality (that is, with the use of a physical double) as it was for the "manifested" dead to come here. What is more, objects were carried over in their physical reality, since existence could be perceived at several different levels in both worlds.

In narratives about witches' sabbats, all supernatural phenomena had a more rational level of meaning. The two levels interchanged in dialogues conducted with the court, as various quoted examples have shown above. However, rationalizing explanations did not only serve as clarifications for the judge, who had no understanding of the supernatural. For the village community of the accused and the witnesses, both levels were simultaneously real; therefore their rational selves also sought an explanation. Because of our focal subject, we have concentrated our 29

presentation of Hungarian witches' sabbats on the motifs of the otherworld, possibly too much so. The colorfiil motions of everyday life in villages or small towns were missing from this sketch. Those pulled the actions of the night witch into the daylight of reality and are fully present in our narratives about the sabbats. Harvest, hunt, market, war, common fruit picking, or trade with the Turks are all there, even though generally only to the extent of one or two motifs; nonetheless, those few motifs seem to be in their natural settings. {242}

"Real" devil worship, which was created and sought by demonologists, did not leave many traces in Hungarian narratives about witches' sabbats. Neither do we find such traces among the indispensable motifs of witches' sabbats that were laid down in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which include such elements as the devil-worshipping antimass, nocturnal flight, transformation into an animal, copulation with the devil, sexual orgies, feasting to satanic music, and others. Flying and turning into an animal were exceptions: both are evidently motifs with their roots in popular belief systems. There is no devil worship, with the exception of the famous scene of the great trial in Szeged in 1728 (Reizner 1900, 205); there is no reference to group sex with devils or to the antimass. At most there were a few small sins of sacrilege, such as spitting on the calvary or playing with a ball above the church (Eger, 1724, in Sugár 1987,102; Kassa, 1736, Mária Balogi Kis' trial).

As we saw, the process of entering into a pact did not fit the "expectations" of demonology because the various popular devil images of contemporary belief systems served as a referential framework for the court's inquiries. There were also popular ideas about pacts with the devil, which were more to be thanked for these popular legends than the demonological doctrines, which in Hungary had most of their impact through the channel of sermons. Hungarian versions of the Faust cycle were widespread (Erdész 1992), which would have been the case in the centuries of the hunts. The Faust chapbooks were very popular in the Central and Western Europe of the early Modern Age, and there were many ways for their contents to filter into

Hungarian oral traditions.{243}

Attention also has to be called to the Theophilos and Cyprianus legends, which are (as, for example, Frank Baron, Palmer and More, and Leopold Kretzenbacher found in their research) the eastern Byzantine forerunners of the Faust legends. These legends lived on in popular Eastern and Southeastern European oral traditions and have remained popular into the modern era (Baron 1982; Palmer and More 1966; Kretzenbacher 1968a). Legends about *garabonciás, fahrende Schühler, şolomonar,* and other Hungarian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Croatian, German, and Romanian legends are widespread even today. They are evidence of the many different legends about pacts with the devil in circulation in the Carpathian basin. {244}

The witch entering into a pact with the devil was only one among the many magicians, traveling students, and wise men to do so. It seems that the witch has much more to do with these legendary figures than with the sacrilegious, God-denying heretics of demonology. Besides the pact, Eastern and Central European sabbat motifs are connected to the Faust cycle in many other ways. Common themes include illusory feasts, which, as mentioned before, are also present in legends; flying with magical means or the help of devils; or the rapid transport of fruit from one side of the Earth to the other, an elite version of a crop ripening before its time; and the roles of magic and magical objects in general (Palmer and More 1966, 80-109,218-19).

The Origins of the Witches' Sabbat

Tracing the origins of the witches' sabbat in all their complexity would be an impossible task. The few connections between the texts mentioned only hint at the linkages that interwove around Europe in the Middle Ages and the early Modern Age. However, the search for the foundations of the witches' sabbat in popular belief is more promising ground since these elementary images are astonishingly homogeneous throughout Europe, as we have emphasized several times. The sabbat was in essence a visionary experience, an "alternative adventure."

Carlo Ginzburg, in tracing the origins of images of European witches' sabbats, came to the conclusion that the ancient European basis of these was the journey to the realm of the dead (1990).

{245} His findings were confirmed by our detailed research in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as by Gustav Henningsen with his research on fairy cults in Sicily (1990), and later by Wolfgang Behringer in his book about the Stoeckhlin fairy magicians (1994). Visions of the dead and witches (Ginzburg did not emphasize the latter, since he focused on the precursors) offered the common European fundaments of images of the witches' sabbat. The most important basis for these was European belief in doubles, mahr/ mara/mora, and werewolves. All of this of course refers to the un-demonologized popular witches' sabbat. That can be much more clearly understood from the Eastern and Central European documentation than elsewhere in Europe because in this region theological doctrines did not overshadow that sabbat to such a great extent, and consequently the doctrines are easier to peel away from the "original" images, as mentioned earlier. I think that the references here constitute enough evidence to assert that the following phenomena, among the general European elements of the sabbat, had a strong

"predemonologic" foundation in this region: flying, turning into an animal, gathering of the dead and demons, and the sabbat itself as a trance and dream experience.

The main question of demonologists was whether the witches' sabbat was a reality or a fantasy, the devil's mockery. {246} The dilemma that has haunted research is whether it was an experience or narrative, communication with the dead or literary topos? We have to assume a permanent duality and interrelationship between the two possibilities, as researchers of religious visions have done for a long time in connection with visionary literature.{247} The basis of the maleficium of the type C witch, as well as the images of the witches' sabbat, was communication with the otherworld. As we have seen, the basis of that communication could be of different natures: receivers— ordinary people or witches—communicated with the witchlike otherworld of the dead. In light of the Hungarian narratives on witches' sabbats, the question we have raised several times is whether or not the witch as a sender existed—that is, a witch as a quasi-shamanistic "black" mediator, or one who experienced "bewitching" nocturnal journeys. Were the night witches' "night-going soul flights" during their bewitching journeys just calumny— that is, one of the many witch accusations lacking any basis in reality?

Although in the witches' confessions under torture demonologial motifs are plentiful, a few witches confess about the soul trips of the night witch. A witch from Bátaszék felt that she was turned into the "smallest worm" (1782, in Szilágyi 1987, 507), and another from Tolna believed that "we could squeeze through even a gap" (1741, in Schram 1970, 2:481). In 1737, Erzsébet Hampa in Iharosberény confessed to bewitching a cow in "the form of a soul": "they changed into the images of very tiny people" when they milked the cow (Sopron County, in ibid., 1:541).

All of these could conceivably be interpreted as out-of-body experiences. In 1756, Katalin Szabó from Nagyvázsony talked about her bewitching nocturnal round trips and "being totally deprived of my senses, I became an exile...during the night, to the will of destiny I should have set fire to the houses of four inhabitants: István Már, Cseke, Széderi, and Baranyai." Squeezing through the smoke hole, she set fire to two of them, but then she felt bitterly sorry. Why had God allowed her to "carry out such evil deeds?" (Veszprém County, in ibid., 2:551). This amount of documentation is not sufficient to prove self-conscious bewitching soul journeys, but it is enough for us to assume that they were not utterly unknown, at least as belief motifs or topoi of court narratives.

Illustration of witches ' sabbath, cover of Johannes Prätorius' 'Blockes Berges Verrichtung,' Leipzig, 1669

D emonology envisioned a journey made in physical reality with the aid of the devil and using witch's ointment prepared at the devil's behest. Mária Oláh confessed under torture, "We smudged [ourselves] with ointment...we went in the images of cats, we cast a big dream on her...and took out her side bone" (Hódmezővásárhely, 1758, in Schram 1970, 1:342). According to another witch's confession, witches "blew [a child] up by pushing a bobbin of straw up [the child's] arse" (1756, Röjtök, Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 2:256).{248} Documentation of this

type was almost without exception the result of confession through torture, and always referred to concrete terrestrial journeys, where the otherworld with all its usual elements—like flying, turning into an animal, traveling as a double, squeezing through a small gap—and maleficium itself were related in their "rationalized" form.

In these confessions, according to the usual practices of court narratives, the witches explained the supernatural to the court (or indeed to themselves). They certainly did not travel in the ways they reported. How they did it, if they did it at all, we cannot know. What we can certainly register as a self-conscious activity are the techniques of the positive versions of mora and werewolf creatures, the seers of mora and werewolf character, and the táltos—that is, the activities of the "good" magician, or if you like, the "good" witch. The dilemma is caused by the relationship between the creatures conducting positive and negative activities. This relationship is there, due to a common ancestor or an archaic witch, even if we understand that all known characteristics of the negative creatures amount only to calumny or denunciation. This creature exists in the context of Hungarian trials, too, as an antagonistic good-bad, malefactor-healer witch. It is evident that the attributes ascribed to this creature can only be evaluated through a simultaneous study of both sides.

32

6. The Healing Witch

Village witchcraft functioned within a system of bewitchment, identification, and healing. If a misfortune was interpreted as bewitchment, establishing the identity of the malefactor was a necessary step in devising a remedy for the injury, or for forcing the bewitcher to withdraw the maleficium. This system had different patterns across Europe, and a method, parallel to other systems and relating to the figure of the supernatural witch, can be traced through Hungarian trial documents. Essentially, witches remedied their own bewitchment, meaning that the same witch fulfilled both the roles of malefactor and healer, which were otherwise polarized and separate. (Systems that varied from this differed in that the finder and healer were not the same as the malefactor.){249} In this context, as Robin Briggs put it, the healer was not an "anti-witch" or witch doctor, so healing was the "good side" of witchcraft itself (1989,25-26).

There is considerable documentation relating to this system from many areas of Europe. Willem de Blécourt came to the conclusion that it was known throughout Central Europe from the earliest trials in the fifteenth century.{250} Consequently, it concerns an ambivalent or bipolar witch, or, in other words, the "original" system of bipolar magic uncorrupted by the witch hunts, as well as being about its relics in belief systems. {251} According to Hungarian trial documents, these witches were, in actual fact, healers accused of witchcraft. From the point of view of their roles in the belief system, they were type C witches in the narratives describing maleficium— in other words, the dual mora and werewolf witches of Central Europe. In one sense they had B-type conflicts and therefore also possessed the characteristics of the type B witch with respect to the fimctions they fulfilled in the belief system of village witchcraft. Black sorcery and bewitching were attributed to them because of own-alien duality, unsuccessful healing, or rivalry with other healers. On the other hand, they could have C-type conflicts because their healing, magical functions, and activities were all associated with their supernatural abilities: that is, they were reputed to be witches.

Our trial documents indicate that, through all three centuries of the witch hunts, the general view was that bewitching had to be remedied or withdrawn by the witches themselves.

Interrogations and court dialogues refer to that belief in many ways. For example, it was widely believed that a witch would refuse to heal an injury because an accusation of witchcraft would follow the act. From a hearing in Görgény in 1684: "we cannot heal her because we did not bewitch her"; or from Kolozsvár in 1584: "the devil from whence came the child's sickness, that devil be its healer" (Hemer 1988a, 70; Andor Komáromy 1910, 70). Many similar documents point at the same general principle. Bewitching and its remedy occurred together in the phraseology of the court in accusations of witchcraft. A witness from Nagykörös was asked in 1679, "[W]hat do you know of the enchantment and wisdom of Mrs. Mihály Csonka, which she used to bewitch the health of others and then remedy again?" (Novák 1986, 301). {252}

Therefore, the side of the polarity upon which emphasis was placed was a question of perspective and depended on the particular function, but the malefactor witch was always the *other.*

This ftinction itself also held this same duality: witches healing in the context of maleficium signify it. For example, in a document from Szeged in 1731, Mrs. István Molnár appeared after an A-type conflict in a context typical of bewitchment, and yet she claimed not to have bewitched the child in question because "who would wish to injure such an innocent?" Twice she stroked the head of the child, at which point the little one recovered (Reizner 1900, 490). Following a conflict, another witch bewitched as if to punish when a woman "did not want to pay for her midwifery"; she twisted the woman's shoulder but then instantly healed it (Szeged, 1728, in ibid., 390). {253}

About half of those brought to court were bewitching-healing witches of that kind, indicating that we face a general phenomenon that is connected to instances of B- or C-type bewitchment (supernatural or magical conflicts) of the type C supernatural witch to a much greater extent than to maleficium of other types (for example, an injury due to a curse coming true).

How did witches heal? In two ways. If they were professional healers, they would go to the patient if they were begged or threatened and would prescribe a bath, steaming, or some other purposeful healing process. However, what was typical of this type of witch was "withdrawing maleficium." This was not a practical method or technique—the trial confessions refer to nothing of that sort; rather, according to the narratives, misfortunes vanished after the entreaties of the witch. These witches healed by supernatural means in the same way that they bewitched, which means, if you like, that both these activities were simply roles, or calumny. On the other hand, both actions demanded the mediatory abilities of witches: bewitching, identifying, and healing all went on in the alternative sphere as part of the same mediatory system. In all these cases, witches communicated with the otherworld through their doubles.

The duality of the belief figures of supernatural witches was due to their relationship to the bipolar dead and, in connection with this, their mora and werewolf characteristics. Eastern European witches with werewolf characteristics also possessed this bipolarity, and their ability to use trance could also indicate the capabilities of shamans and seers. The South and Eastern European terminology also refers to the common seeing characteristics of werewolves and witches. {254} Most striking is the belief figure of the *strigoi,* the Romanian werewolf witch, which embodies positive and negative connotations at the same time. The strigoi possessed the characteristics of a wise man and seer, and because they were born in a caul they also had the faculty of trance. As mentioned before, the narratives about strigoi witches' sabbats concern quasi-shamanistic soul battles.

Mora beliefs describe a seer with trance abilities likewise born in a caul. On the basis of the characteristics introduced so far, these creatures, along with the mora witch, were considered up to this point as the negative fiction of malefactor witches, "black" magicians, and seers. However, an identification of the ambivalent witch with the mora witch would shed light on the positive side of this creature, that is, the mediator that carried out genuinely positive activities. The characteristics of both creatures are present in the figure of this archaic supernatural witch.

In a framework of own-alien opposition, the Eastern and Southeastern European witch with (largely) werewolf characteristics is an adversary to the witch identified with the alien magician.

In the system of Central European mora witches, polarity or own-alien opposition occurs within the framework of neighborhood conflicts. On the basis of all this, we can also establish that there is an archaic type of witch, from which we can come to the common root of certain seers, magicians, and European witches with shamanistic abilities; a type which, to some extent, represents this common past. {255}

Good Spirits, Good Witches

Polarity is also characteristic of the mythical background of the supernatural witch because of the presumed original duality of guardian and helping spirits. The spirit world that offered the belief system of witches is principally composed of the bipolar dead who are neutral, good, or bad depending on their actual role. As I mentioned earlier, Claude Lecouteux, when examining the documentation from the Middle Ages on mora creatures and the dead connected with them, managed to draw up the process of differentiation that made a dead person into a good dead, that is, good guardian, or into a bad dead, that is, bad guardian (1987b, 1992). A recent example of this duality comes from the Balkans. In the 1960s, a peasant claimed that if Greek "light-shadowed ones" (a term applied to people with a double and the ability to see) were used to good purposes by their owners, then they conversed only with saints; but if the owner had bad intentions, then their communication was only with demons. This was the same seer who, through his double, saw the "stringlos," the demonic night witch (Blum and Blum 1970, 50).

In the context of witch trials, the guardian and helping spirits of the witch, or their doubles performing in these roles, were basically bad, demonic creatures with only a few exceptions.

However, this was exactly the point in the witch trials, where witch-hunting demonology and the elite culture in general is rightly presumed to have had a strong influence. (Reflect for a moment upon the above tracts on the devil and helping spirits.) During our investigations, it turned out that something else was behind this stratum of demonologized, satanic bewitching spirits: the figures of the "good" dead and "good" guardians.

There are numerous references to witch apparitions in Hungarian trial documents—night witches who departed from their usual behavior and did not bewitch but healed or gave advice for healing. Witches, or their guardian spirits—that is, their living or dead alter egos—cropped up in these roles themselves. We have examples of both cases. During the 1715 trial of Éva Túróczy and company in Kassa, one witness testified that "the evils, as if in a dream, went to him at night and asked, 'My good fellow, what ails you, and what have you put on your leg?'...as if in shadows, the next day the evils again visited him and, as if in a dream, suggested to him that he simply wash his leg in sweet milk and it would heal." (However, the patient did not follow the advice, "being scared of a greater danger") In another account: "My husband fell asleep. When he woke up, he said that this Kata Kádár and three others brought vine leaves for him and

smeared him all over with them. The swelling on his legs and mouth calmed down" (Kolozsvár, 1733, in Komáromy 1910, 469).

Night witches gave various pieces of advice. They would recommend bandaging with red onions and inquire in their next appearance about the well-being of the patient. They suggested baths, which the witches then prepared in their "daytime form." They advised washing in a brook or taking a curative bath in the holy well. The witch prescribing the latter treatment appeared in a dream and gave the patient a pail with which to draw the holy water; but there was no trace of the pail when the patient awoke. {256} Another spirit witch gave the patient snow water to drink. A witch from Abauj took oats and wheat for a healing bath in her dream, and the same witch, who was actually active in her village as a healer, suggested a bandage with bitter burdock leaves to one of her patients in her dream (Gyáva, Szabolcs County, 1727, in Schram 1970, 2:315; Jablonca, Abaúj County, 1736, in ibid., 1:17). It is worth pointing out the interesting opposition between the cloudy black drinks associated with malefactor witches and the holy spring water, (white) snow water, and (white) milk that came up here in connection with the "good" witches. Perhaps the coincidence is not accidental. In another black and white opposition, the southern Slav "bad" mora was born in a black caul while the "good" magician was born in a white one. {257}

Every now and then good spirits or guardians appeared in apparitions or at witches' sabbats in the role of helping spirits who gave advice to witches or encouragement for bewitching or healing. The "evil ones" helped Mrs. Kökény (née Anna Nagy, a defendant from Szeged) "in healing...because they can also see the devils in fancy dresses," which meant that they could communicate as spirit creatures and "see" in the alternative world (Reizner 1900, 388). Mrs. László Nagy from Debrecen also confessed that "the evils sent her in order to cure." In an example of "good" spirits that appeared as Christian guardians in the form of doves, the patient heard a voice (telecommunication by means of alter egos) and simultaneously two doves flew in to tell him to get up and drink because his mouth had dried out (Szentes, 1734, in Schram 1970,1:247).

Actually, the partner of the healing witches and their "good" helping spirits show a great similarity to the fairy magicians and their guardian spirits. The reason for this lies in the presumed relationship, a collateral relationship, so to speak, between Central and Eastern European fairies and witches of the early Modern Age. Due to their connection with the dead, they are descendants of fairies, in a "positive line," of the aforementioned bipolar dead and their witch ancestors.

Battles in the Night

33

The ambivalence of the dead and the witches manifests itself most clearly in the battles of the guardian spirits. These battles also illustrate that malefactors and their healers were both mediators who acted in the same system. As seers they were the owners and beneficiaries of their doubles, who acted in the functions of both bewitcher and healer as guardians and helping spirits. Therefore, they saw the entire battlefield of the spirits, they knew about each other's maleficium, and on this level they were able to support or hinder each other. Mrs. Mihály Kis from Ártánd accused another healer (contemporaneously a witch), saying, "you are a bigger devil than the devil because you can see the devil."{258} They knew about night maleficia, they saw who injured or healed whom, they went to the scene, and they sent their doubles to do battle and hinder bewitchment or healing. Similarly, in the group spirit battles of the witches'

sabbats, the contesting parties were also the good and the bad dead, guardians, or the dead or living doubles of the witches in the opposition of own-alien.

The battles of good and bad witches or their alter egos went on in pairs in the alternative world as parts of apparitions or visions. In a certain sense, the outcome of these contests and battles decided the fate of humans by determining whether it was the good or the bad that reached the human world from the otherworld. Here too we are essentially talking about the function of the world of the dead that determined fate in the human world. The Christian Satan also appeared in the role of the bad spirit, as did Christ, God, or guardian angels in the offices of the good spirits. Following are a few examples of each type from the numerous trial documents on "battling."

Mrs. István Molnár's confession, in 1731 in Szeged, told how a hostile spirit wanted to stop the healing experienced in dreams or visions, "and I went on that woman from Léva in the night. I struggled with her and had I not been stronger she would have won over me" (Reizner 1900, 481).{259} According to a document from Szentes (1757, in Árva 1927, 17), the alter ego that followed an injured party, and which was seen by her alone, wanted to take her away. She was pulled by her hand, "but a gray old man did not let her be pulled out." An example of a guardian spirit that appeared as a guardian angel was Pál Kovács, a beggar judge who confessed in Szeged in 1728, "when they are in their gatherings they set out who should bewitch whom, but the guardian angel does not always let them be bewitched" (Reizner 1900, 395). In the next example, from Katalin Szabó's 1721 trial in Szántó, Abaúj County, Christ appears as a guardian spirit. At around sunset they wanted to poke out the eyes of the witness who gave the account, in which he said, "I am a human wearing the image of Christ, you will not defeat me."

According to another witness, he said, "The Lord God is with me and you cannot harm me." {260} This person wore the image of Christ as witches wore the "figure of the devil." Christ was evidently a guardian spirit connected to doubles; "wearing the image of Christ" refers to that. A defendant from Rimaszombat claimed that she was "God's daughter," meaning that she was

not a devil. The Christian God is identified with the alter ego guardian in this case, too.{261}

These battles often corresponded to terrestrial rivalries, as if they were justifications or explanations for them within the belief system. Consider the 34

A patient on his way to the witch accompanied by devils: the witch gives medicine with their assistance. Fresco from 1847 in the monastery of Rila (Bulgaria). Photo by Ivo Hadjinishev

w itches that represented the ambivalent duality of bewitching and healing; or the conflicts that emerged from the real rivalry between midwives and the healing and bewitching witches that stimulated maleficium; or ambivalence rooted in the own-alien opposition of magic motivated by agricultural success. {262} The examples below, drawn from the documentation of battles between spirits, show these parallel real-world rivalries. In one case, a witch did not effect a cure because "he that bewitched [the patient] is greater than I." In an equivalent report from the alternative night world, someone noticed the injured arm of the accused, and he was asked what had happened: "Oh, tonight they wanted to kill Mrs. István Kis, there were five of them. They all went for my arm, and now I cannot even lift it up so much have they hurt it." {263}

We also have numerous documents illustrating soul battles in which someone's bewitchment was to be hindered. There are common recurrent motifs, an example being injuries brought from the alternative world that could be displayed in the human world as verification of a battle that had occurred. {264} The bulk of our documents refer to the impediment of healing. The attacks of bad spirits affected good spirits, or the healer and their patients, and the attack was resolved in battle. "The witches almost killed me and my daughter in the night as I was healing you," reported one witness (Debrecen, 1693, in Komáromy 1910, 166). {265} We also know of fifteen documentary examples where the patients themselves struggled—that is, their alter egos battled with the malefactor spirits, usually incubi, to fend off an attack.

We have a peculiar witch's confession made by the healing woman Mrs. István Szathmáry (née Anna Belényesi) from Hajdúszoboszló (Balogh 1958, 312-18). The minutes report on numerous examples of her healing and detecting bewitchment while evil spirits were torturing her. On the other hand, complaints also arose against her bewitchery, and, what is more, she was accused of hindering another healer as a night-spirit alter ego. According to one witness, she was practically pulled out of bed in the night after she had bathed her sick child. She identified one of these evils as Mrs. Szathmáry, who the following morning admitted, "I visited you three times in the night." In this way she took on the role of the bad guardian spirit who hindered healing.

Doctors could block the paths of each other's patients, or, with the help of their doubles, "tie them up," just like the figures from twentieth-century legends about wise men. Such acts could start a storm of mutual harassment. {266} The alter egos of the rival witches could also harm a witch at court during a trial. One of them felt like her tongue was being cut with a blade, while

another's heart was pinched by those whom they were denouncing.{267}

In one special document concerning a battle, it turned out that the healing witch had made a sacrifice to the bad spirit to influence the outcome of the battle positively. This detail, the sole Hungarian example, is paralleled only in the Balkan and Transylvanian documentation of the fairy cult:{268}

I had my son András Szabó bring a capon.. J had it tied near the fire because I Mew that the evils that tied it would come onto him in the night... I asked for four polturas [coins] from my son, Andris, a candle, and a loaf of bread because I knew that if the evils came upon him I would have to give them something to eat, and I was not going to give from mine... [and later]

thrice the evils fell upon him; they wanted to pitch him into the fire, but I fought with them hard and they could not win over me.

The mother had to struggle with them the following two nights and finally she cured the patient (Debrecen, 1693, in Komáromy 1910, 152).

Another unique document, where a father stepped into the role of the family guardian spirit, should be mentioned here. It comes from Mrs. András Szabó's 1629 trial in Kolozsvár, the same trial as above with different characters. This man fended off the bad spirit that fell upon his twelve-year-old daughter in the "image" of a witch. The child explained that she called her father in the night when a frightening figure appeared, whom she alone could see: "My father began to beat upon it and my voice was instantly taken from me, and I could not speak until sunrise" (Andor Komáromy 1910, 97).

The good witches and ambivalent witch figures that appear in the accounts of spirit battles belong to a period older than the belief system of village witchcraft. This archaic system evolved to become village witchcraft as a system to account for misfortune and to resolve conflict. Through this process it almost completely lost its positive aspects, which were un necessary for the explanation of misfortune. Some traces of these aspects remained as anomalous elements within the system.

Identification, Summoning to the House

Identification and bewitching, as institutions for resolving conflicts in village witchcraft, did not only remedy the injury attributed to maleficium; first they had to smooth over the conflict itself. The mechanism of identification denoted the person with whom the injured party had a conflict. Alan Macfarlane sketched out this process on the basis of trials spread over eighty years in Essex (1970). His study illuminated the way suspicion drifted toward the person indicated by neighborhood conflicts, how the "witch finder" or "witch doctor" pointed precisely toward the person about whom the injured party had suspicion or proof.

Trial documents show that this system also existed in Hungary, where village witchcraft based on neighborhood accusations also flowered. However, as we have emphasized, the more archaic misfortune explanation system of the supernatural witch existed beside it and was interwoven with it. Modes of identification correlating with the above system were based on the mediatory techniques of "seeing." The modes of finding were the same seeing techniques as those of bewitching and healing witches: a communication between doubles in the alternative world. In some particular instances of the type C witch, there was no need for an outside finder. Since maleficium was also a form of supernatural communication, the victims "saw" the bewitchers in apparitions and identified them as persons who lived in the community, persons with whom the victims had a conflict. On the other hand, as we saw above, when there was no underlying conflict that would have induced maleficium, the bewitching cases of the type C witch could also serve to explain misfortune. A clash between the two worlds could also occur simply as a result of fear of the supernatural, or the ambiguity between magic and healing. In such cases a reputed witch, who had the attributes of supernatural witch belief, had to be denounced, and the injured party would automatically see the witch in an apparition. This witch did not have to be identified by either the injured party or anyone else, and naturally there was no need for a distinct witch finder.

Consequently, seeing as identification partly coincided with the seeing of the bewitcher. Both belonged to the category of spontaneous seeing or everyday communication. However, the process of identification was not over with the recognition of the malefactor's double in an apparition. Suspicion became certainty when the owner of the double faced the victim.

This would reinforce the suspicion and remedy the injury. One method of finding was summoning to the house, which belongs to the system around the type C witch. This meant that the witch that had been seen in the apparition was forced to appear personally the next day and

to remedy the bewitchment. In other documentation, the emphasis was on daytime recognition of 35

the human figure of the malefactor who had not been recognized in their supernatural form: that is, to connect the double with its owner. According to narratives, bewitchment was often rescinded simply with the appearance of the witch; in other cases some healing process was required, which always came from the witch. Evidently these methods are closely related to the healing methods of the ambivalent witch mentioned in the previous chapter.

"Calling for salt" is associated with the Central European mora witch as a process for summoning to the house, inasmuch as the night incubi of apparitions were addressed with a stereotypical rhyme and invited for "salt," for "salty bread," or for "salt and iron." One example was, "Come on, you whore! I'll give you iron and salt," and there are other variations on the same theme. {269} Several narratives shed light on the matter; in such instances the double of an apparition was addressed. {270} Another method of summoning to the house involved the smoking of possessions, and it was applied in cases of bewitchment of humans and livestock. This involved using something tangible that was associated with the bewitched human or animal. Perhaps the urine or milk from a cow, the dung from a horse, or some article of clothing would be placed in a boot and hung up in a chimney. {271} The witch might also be summoned to the house and forced to "let go" or resolve the bewitchment. Some of the bewitcher's belongings, or anything that had been in contact with the witch, could also be used to similar effect. These examples were methods of so-called "analog injury" connected to the mora witch, a notion that was familiar throughout Central and Western Europe right up to the twentieth century. {272} This was basically a form of magical coercion based on the principles of sympathetic magic. Hurting a belonging was a way to hurt its owner. For example, in Mezőkövesd, Borsod County, villagers set fire to the straw in a stable that a bewitching cat had scratched (Schram 1970, 1:139); in Marosvásárhely they stepped in the footprints of the bewitcher (Komáromy 1910, 554). {273} The outcome of these actions was that the witch, in their own r jysical reality, appeared at the house. In these procedures, the belongings fulfilled the function of the images: that is, the images that manifested the alter ego connected to which it was possible to carry out certain analog actions. Belongings were apparently embodiments of the doubles, in a "part-whole" relationship with their owners. Through them the original relationship could be conjured up: the owner would come.

Summoning through doubles had another form, when the double itself, and not its owner, was called to the house. In one example, villagers in Szalonta, Bihar County, in 1717, put the padlock of the suspected bewitcher in the smoke, and the owner of the lock "showed herself in a clearly visible form." In the night, she came as a double in a new apparition and asked for the padlock to be taken off "because it is greatly against us" (Schram 1970, 1:83). In such cases the identity of the bewitcher was discovered by "making the double appear."

Another important variant has to be mentioned here, in which the divinational method was coupled with a sacrificial offering to night witches. In Kismacéd, Pozsony County, in 1618, one witness testified, "I heard from Kertheli that they cooked up a black soup, János Cenne put it to his head and if night women went through the window he could tell who they were" (Schram 1982, 233). If we interpret the documentation correctly, in this case this sacrifice of "black soup" was for mora witches, probably a consequence of their "fate women" features.{274}

References to "night women," as we have said, definitely denoted mora creatures. There the sacrifice was a divinational procedure too, or perhaps largely that: identifying doubles with divine

intervention.

7. The Enemies of the Witch: Seers, Magicians, and Healers

Two distinct principles applied to bewitchment, identification, and healing in the village witchcraft of the early Modern Age. One was that maleficia were healed by the witches themselves; this is the system of the ambivalent witch described in the previous chapter. Independent identifiers and healers also fulfilled the functions of the enemies of the witch. As I discuss later in this chapter, it seems that there were also special witch seers and, in the Hungarian Great Plain (Alföld) at least, the function of remedying and bewitching was fulfilled by the táltos, along with other community tasks.

Nonetheless, diagnosing the maleficia of witches, identifying their person, and healing the injury were part of the varied community tasks of seers and magicians, which also included fortune-telling, seeing the dead, locating treasure, and so on. Almost every magician dealt with the first three tasks. Our documents describe the roles magicians played within witchcraft, but it is rare to see them in a wider context in the belief system. Consequently, our starting point with magicians is also in the roles that they fulfilled within witchcraft. References are usually brief and patchy, and often we have to rely for help in interpretation upon noncontemporaneous or non-Hungarian parallels.

The activities of each type of seer and magician were based on general communicational techniques. Within the general European systems, each type was divided from the others by their contexts in relation to particular local belief systems and pre-Christian mythology. The differences might manifest themselves in a number of ways: in dead, divine, or spirit creatures cropping up as guardians or the helping spirits of magicians; in characteristic otherworlds; or in the features of their so-called selection by birth. This latter instance is a key issue because it determined the relationship among the ancestors who became guardian spirits, dead alter egos, and the living magicians.

This connection is an additional characteristic of professional seers, in comparison to lay techniques. Basically, they were aided in their communication with the other world by the spirits of their ancestors. The actual varieties of seer types fitted into the system of witchcraft, more or less, but always according to its rules due to the fundamental death characteristic of witchcraft. The characteristics of witchcraft itself in any given era and location determined the roles apportioned to the characters of witchcraft, and not solely their function in the belief system. For example, where stealing rain was not attributed to witches, rain magicians could not take on the role of the enemy of witches, as in Hungary.

Seers of the Dead and Wind Magicians

From several perspectives we have touched upon the fact that the ambivalent witch figures evolved from the archaic strata of the European belief systems of witchcraft. These figures are simultaneously "positive" seers and witches. In this way, by following one thread, we find they are the common ancestor of seers with shamanistic abilities and European witches. In the following pages we shall consider these types of seers and magicians from the "positive" side, as enemies of the witch that nevertheless share the same roots.

A few Hungarian witch trial documents refer to the first type of seers when talking about ritual initiation and "seeing" techniques. Collectively, the methods are called "Saint Lucy's stool techniques" because of one type of these rituals, which was known throughout Central and Western Europe, and is still known in the area once known as Pannonia, as "making Saint Lucy's stool." The name is connected to the initial date of the ritual, December 13 or Saint Lucy's Day, which was the longest night of the year in the Gregorian calendar. The rituals unambiguously adjoined with the dead returning on the winter solstice and, in Western Europe, on November 1, formerly the Celtic New Year.

Essentially, this was a ritual concerned with making connections with the dead, or of gaining knowledge from the dead through an expressly under-worldly ritual by sitting on a seat, known today by the legendary term "Saint Lucy's stool," or with the help of other symbolic objects made between Saint Lucy's Day and Christmas. The person carrying out the ritual, even according to some twentieth-century documents, saw spirits, demonic witches, the dead alter egos of witches who "took" and initiated the entranced seers. Sometimes the motif of bone extraction appears as well. The inauguration expands to features of the underworld: seeing the dead, seeing treasure, discovering theft, foretelling the future concerning the coming year's dead, and, in Central Europe, recognizing witches or initiation. {275}

We have just one solitary reference to actually making Saint Lucy's stool, and it is surrounded by other related rituals. A fire had to be made on Saint Lucy's Day or at Christmas, with wood collected on the same day. Whoever came to the house after that was a witch. Another example: the unwashed wooden spoon used to cook peas on Saint Lucy's Day had to be tucked into a belt and taken to church; with its aid, witches would be seen there.{276} Such references are relatively scarce compared to the richness of Modern Age sources, but the point is clear:

Hungarians knew these rituals in the early Modern Age.{277}

As Géza Róheim established (Róheim, 1920), these symbolic methods, of seeing witches and the dead remind us of the *seid* rituals apparent in surviving Nordic sources, and presumably there is some historical connection. Religious historians usually categorize this ritual as a remnant of a presumed Nordic shamanism (besides the warrior shamanistic features related to Odin, as well as the ecstatic trance cult of the *berserker).{278}* The basis of the mediatory practices of the seid-seers was the same as that of the techniques around Saint Lucy's stool. This practice was to make connections with the dead at the time of the winter solstice through ritually induced trance, mainly with the aim of obtaining information about the following year. A characteristic part of the ritual was an ecstatic song that evoked helping spirits. However, there has been no reference to that since the saga of Eric the Red. {279} It seems from Modern Age documents that obtaining helping spirits must have occurred using this method of evoking the devil, which was borrowed from ritual magic, and of course it was not a shamanistic helping spirit but a helping devil. Nevertheless, in essence it did not change; its aim was to enter into contact with the dead. Heinz Meier to Bernd, for example, demonstrated the continuity of ancient Nordic techniques of seeing using many Germanic documents from the Middle Ages (1952, 134-35). The Germanic memories of the seid are usually connected with the figure of the goddess Freyja. As Davidson put it, a "seeress who traveled alone or in companies and went round to farms in Norway and Iceland, may have been the final representatives of the fertility goddess in the north" (1964, 121). The cults of the underworldly gods and goddesses of the dead from antiquity, like Hermes, Hecate, or Selene, can also be traced in initiation through Saint Lucy's stool

techniques, besides the Nordic inheritance that is considered to be the main line of extraction. {280}

Remnants of other Germanic mediatory techniques for contacting the dead, other than the seid, have also survived from the Middle Ages. One of these was the *útiseta* ("sit out," in the Icelandic language) (Buchholz 1968, 39), which has its Modern Age equivalent in rituals for making contact with the dead in burial grounds or on actual graves. There were a number of phenomena that lived on as mara beliefs, such as doubles, animal alter egos, and the rapid journeys of physical alter egos over huge distances on the horizontal plane. These played a

significant role in the techniques of seeing outlined above.{281}

In our present context, it is important to note that "black magic" also crops up in the same texts from the Middle Ages, for example, "sending out" doubles and bad spirits with malicious intent. Witches themselves went in the form of mara, or sent their helping spirit—that is, their mara figure—to bewitch, spy, and battle. Good and bad magicians (witches) were in opposition under the mantle of own-alien. We know of weather magicians who competed with each other, causing storms and calming them down; or of pairs of witches and their enemies who caused illnesses and healed them; and of battles among their spirits or doubles. In the same documents, the essential similarity between witches, seers, and magicians also becomes apparent (Benedikz 1964-65; Davidson 1973; Adalsteinsson 1993).

So Nordic shamanism and witchcraft were presumably the same systems and coexistent, which is reflected in Modern Age Central European witches and mara/mora figures. If we do not call it shamanism, then we can say the same things about the relationship between witchcraft and the techniques of seers and magicians with a "positive" and "negative" orientation. Basically, several of the aforementioned researchers of Nordic shamanism saw this question in this way and made no significant distinction between magicians, witches, or shamans, even if their research reports did not explicitly state it.

Saint Lucy's stool, as a method of seeing witches and the dead, and as a form of initiation, corresponded to the duality of the archaic mora and werewolf witches. "Good" witches inaugurated on Saint Lucy's stool were enemies, seers, and finders of "bad" witches who remedied their bewitchment. This witchcraft was closely connected to the dead because communication with the dead and the dead forms of witches was possible through precisely the same methods. Other documentation from the Middle Ages and the Modern Age concerned seers who were initiated while visiting the dead. They talk about a midwinter initiation of seers, usually women seers. These types of seers with mora characteristics were the "good" witches mentioned above who were closely related to the system of witchcraft due to their "archaic ancestors." The negative "branch" is the malefactor witch with mora features that could be found in the system of village witchcraft. Having seen many revealing signs around this negative branch, we suspected the existence of a positive version and, as predicted, these shed light on a genuinely functioning mediator with positive actions.

These seers had particularly Germanic and Celtic historical roots, but they existed in the village communities of several European peoples between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age.

Their principal representatives from the early Modern Age are known from witch trials in the Alpine region between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. These were women who were taken and inaugurated into the soul troops around Christmas time, and who kept regular contact with the dead. {282} We know of documents, mainly from Scandinavia and Finland, about the

above-mentioned burial-ground rituals (Simpson 1977, 6; Salo 1974, 39-90). The activities of the seeing women have had a rich tradition during the present century, especially in Scandinavia, the Alps, northwestern German areas, Ireland, and Scotland. {283} Their most important characteristic was communication with "terrestrial otherworlds" through their doubles: seeing the dead, fortune-telling, and recognition of distant objects.

The beliefs around their initiation connect them to the midwinter dead, and beliefs around being born in the festivals of the dead were also significant. To mention only the most widespread example, a "Christmas child" would be a seer. Also frequent were the motifs of birth in a caul, which, as a "second body," was a sign of the existence of a double—that is, the ability to use trance. {284} In Modern Age Hungary, references to them, or sometimes their living manifestations, could be found: in the persons of the táltos, seers of the dead, seers of money, finders of lost objects; in the beliefs and legends of predicting the future and seeing the dead at Christmas. {285}

This seer corresponds to Carlo Ginzburg's second, "female" type. In his 1990 book on the witches' sabbat (and see Ginzburg 1983, 333-38), he distinguishes between two types of European shamanistic magicians. One type, mostly male, were the fertility magicians whose souls traveled to the otherworld, and who fought soul battles to bring good crops and weather for their community. The other type were usually female magicians, who were initiated during the procession of the dead visiting humans. Their mediatory activities did not often involve soul battles; rather, their community roles were concerned with healing, seeing the dead, and with seeing treasure. This female line lived on in the cult of Artemis and Diana up to the Middle Ages, in close relationship with the shaping of the belief system of the witches in the early Middle Ages. {286}

Other chthonic figures of antiquity, Celtic and Germanic goddesses, appeared as the leaders of the march of the dead and as the guardian and initiator spirits of the seeing women. They included Hecate, the Austrian and south German Perchta, Holda, the Swiss Frau Saelde, the Slovenian Pehtra Baba, and so on. {287} We have mentioned the relationship between the 37

Germanic seeing women and Freyja, the fertility goddess who also functioned as leader of the dead. In Eastern and Central Europe, these goddess figures vacated their positions for the Pannon, Czech, and Moravian figure of Saint Lucia or Lucy. Although leading soul troops was not one of Lucia's attributes, in many ways she fulfilled the same role as the above-mentioned goddesses and as a creature who carried out initiation into seeing the dead (consider the rituals around Saint Lucy's stool). She was often given sacrifices of flour for fertility on the night of Saint Lucy.

It is important to mention here the roles of these goddesses with respect to spinning and other feminine occupations, to poultry and cows, and their attributes of distaff and spindle. Let us remember the apparitions of the night witch spinning, or the goddess of the underworld flying on a weaving loom in the Bulgarian rituals around crop conjuring. Perhaps even the house-spirit figure of the eastern Slav mora with spinning and distaff attributes belongs here. Carlo Ginzburg traced the cults or quasi-cults of these goddesses back to Celtic, Thracian-Illyrian, and Cretian-Asia Minor cults, as Waldemar Liungmann did a good half a century ago (1937-38). More precisely, Ginzburg thinks that through these they were of Iranian origin because of the links mentioned above, and eventually, he connects them to a Scythian fertility goddess of the dead with a snake attribute ("snake goddess"). {288}

From the Caucasus to the Alps, motifs of sacrifice to the lady of the animals, as well as to the cow raised from its bones, ran through the beliefs that lived into the Modern Age and could be connected to the line of the mother goddesses with a snake attribute—Artemis and Diana. {289} We have encountered references to these in Hungarian documents. It is to be noted that male-female duality is present in the aforementioned Nordic roots of European shamanism. The same can be observed in the "warrior" werewolf shamanism related to the figure of Odin and

simultaneously to the seers of the dead with mora characteristics who belonged to the female soul leaders, such as the genuine and fictive goddess figures of Freyja, Perchta, and Holda. {290}

From a Hungarian perspective, a few witchlike variations among the characteristics of initiation into the troops of the dead can be mentioned. A witness from Heves County talked about a little girl from Nagykunság in 1740, "in a place called Kisujj Szálas,...even today, there is a little lass who saw the witches from the beginning and went with them, and still sees them

everywhere."{291} The little girl who went with the witches that appeared as a troop of the dead acquired the ability to "see." This is the customary means of initiating European seers with mora characteristics. A woman from Hódmezővásárhely, Mrs. Horváth, alias Mrs. András Ontó or Olá, was also taken by the dead at Christmas in a conventional way: "[this was] a vast colossal troop...in human forms...[and] from among them one leapt out in the image of Mrs. András Olá." Another witness, who denounced her, found her lying in trance with her eyes turned up, and "for a while she was not in this world." Among the witnesses it was also touched upon that another person "asked for information from her" and about what she had seen in the otherworld (1750, in Schram 1970, 1:283-85, 290-91).

She did not enter the otherworld with an aim connected to witchcraft: that must have been mentioned in the context of the trial. Most likely she was a seer of the dead. In Central Europe, a number of those initiated through "going with the dead," specialized in seeing the dead. Another likely reference could be detected in our documents. Several of the witnesses against Mrs.

Andras Vezendi, a defendant from Debrecen in a 1730 trial, mentioned that she was lying unconscious for a while, "stretched out like a dead body." As she awakened she first declared that she had been in hell, then later denied it. It is possible here that we have a seer initiated among the dead in hell in a manner similar to an eastern type of twentieth-century Hungarian seer of

the dead from the Moldva area.{292} It can be demonstrated that certain types of Hungarian seers of the dead belong to this group of "mora seers."

An important European type of shamanistic fertility magician who was active on behalf of their community is the *wind magician,* who was also initiated in the troop of the dead—or to be more specific, among the wind souls traveling in storm clouds. It was a generally known feature of the European mythologies, as mentioned earlier, that the ancestors—that is, the "good dead"—of the community ensured fertility. The returning dead also had a significant role in regulating the weather. These were the troops of wind souls, atoning souls who became identified with the "cloud-leading souls" and the unbaptized souls. These wind souls were the patrons of the wind magicians, who were automatically the enemies of the bad dead who stole crops and rain and the demonic creatures and witches who associated with them.

Among the types that Carlo Ginzburg established, they belong to the mostly male "battling" fertility magicians. However, Ginzburg made no subdivisions, whereas we shall divide wind magicians from the "werewolf magicians" discussed later, on the grounds of the difference between their guardian-calling spirits. Admittedly, this division is often theoretical, and several concrete examples from our documents demonstrate that some magicians and seers could possess werewolf and mora features simultaneously. Wind magicians are close (male) relatives of the seeing women, mentioned above. The two different seers or magicians constitute a characteristic dual system. The symbolic equivalent of this duality is the already-mentioned feature of southern Slavic mora beliefs: magicians were born in a white caul, and moras in a black one.

The southern Slavic *vetrovnjak* ('windy'), the type of *stuha* or *zduhac* that was *not* born in a caul, just like the Eastern European *planetnyk, chmurnik,* and their other fellows named after wind, belong to the circle of wind magicians that spread throughout the whole of Central Europe. {293} French documents speak about similar magicians. The enemies were the magician souls of alien villages or rain-stealing witches; the two are essentially the same (Multedo 1982; Ravis-Giordani 1979; Bouteiller 1958). It is very likely that the "cloud leaders" in sources from ancient Greece and the Middle Ages in Central and Western Europe denoted such mediators, too. The *nephodioktai, tempestarli,* or *tempestatum ductors, {294}* and the above shed light on an agrarian shamanism palpable among the ancient past of several European peoples. Hungarian documents describe the doubles of wind magicians as "wind" or "shadow," and their initiation as flying up to the wind souls who are striding in storms. The doubles or shadows of magicians who had fallen into a trance and who flew with the wind played the central roles in shamanistic battles. Rain was the prize of group soul battles: it had to be won from the magician souls of neighboring areas or villages, or from their patrons, the "bad dead" wind souls; or hail would be chased back to those who sent it to destroy their meadows.

The fimctions that wind magicians fulfilled do not seem to have had a large arena within Hungary's system of early Modern Age village witchcraft, which was based upon neighborhood conflict, as we mentioned in Chapter 4. There we referred to narratives about witches' sabbats in the Szeged trials, with special reference to the motifs, relevant here, of stealing or selling rain, or picking dew. There are some trial documents that probably refer to this type of magician. Mihály Szvetics, tried in Pécs in 1752, was a táltos, a treasure seeker, a healer, and a weather magician who fended off hail (Szentkirályi 1917). He was born a seventh child, and could predict fire. The solitary piece of concrete evidence for Szvetics's summons to court on accusations of sorcery, charlatanism, theft, and carrying out táltos and weather-magician activities was a spell, uttered in the open air, for sending away hail. This reflected the texts and practices of Church benedictions for sending away storms that were and still are popularly invoked (Pócs 1983). However, the fact that he used the spell against magicians who were sending lightning refers to shamanistic soul battles, that is, to the storm battles of the wind magicians that were accompanied by storms and lightning.

We can surmise that wind magicians were behind the guardian spirits who protected crops (perhaps from hail) documented in the Szeged trials. Mrs. György Hódi, a witch, portrayed a dialogue in her confession in 1737: "Have you seen that one of the rows of grape vines has a bigger crop...? The reason is that one has better protectors than the others and they do not take away so much of its profit" (Reizner 1900, 519). From the trial in Vas County, in 1654, we know of Kristóf Szauer, a "meadow watchman" who protected seedling crops from "stone rain" in Szalónak (Schram 1970, 2:724). It is not out of the question that this trial documented a wind magician for posterity.

Returning once more to the European parallels, the relationship between wind magicians and the system of witchcraft is marked not only by battles against witches, but also in that these magicians dealt with finding witches (for example, in the case of the *mazzeri* in Corsica), as well as fulfilling the role of seeing the dead. This latter fact indicates that the duality of the male function of fertility magicians and the female function of seeing the dead is not absolute. Since it is all part of one system, the functions, *usually* divided, could be fulfilled by the same person in given instances. We will see this in the case of the Hungarian táltos women.

Werewolf Magicians and Snake-Seers

Several types of European shamanistic magicians could be characterized as *werewolf magicians.* They belong in this category as "battling" fertility magicians and "treasure seers."

According to Hungarian witch trial documents, all of these were present in Hungary, as well as in the entire Central and Eastern European area. Let us briefly examine them on the basis of our European sources in order to facilitate the interpretation of the Hungarian trial documents.

A characteristic of one of these types was that they fought battles in the otherworld *in groups* in order to capture or regain stolen crops. These magicians were born in a caul or with a double set of teeth. These "surplus body parts" ensured their ability to achieve trance, as well as being the symbolic manifestations of their animal doubles. {295} The patrons and calling spirits of these magicians were the "good" werewolf demons, {296} the variant of the Serbian and Croatian *stuha* and *zduhac,* born in a caul, and the *benandante* from Friuli of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century witch trials (discovered by Carlo Ginzburg) who belong to the line of fertility magicians that fought in military orders. From the witch-hunt era we know of trials of werewolf magicians in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Livonia and Latvia.{297} Roman Jakobson and his coauthors described related types from eastern Slavic and southern Slavic heroic epics (Jakobson and Ružičić 1950; Jakobson and Szeftel 1947).

The combative nature of werewolf magicians ties them to Indo-European "warrior" shamanism. {298} In the case of Germanic peoples it is connected to the warrior function of Odin (Dumézil 1985). The *stuha* had an animal alter ego that fought with them, and these battles were fought with various household and agricultural tools. The enemies were alien magicians, or the dead and "dead" werewolves who were stealing crops, as well as demonic witches with werewolf characteristics. The enemies would often be identified with current military enemies of other countries; for example, we know of battles between Turks and Serbs, and Albanians and Montenegrans. Soul troops with military ranks marched on the battlefields of the other-world in military order and with flags. As we discussed in relation to crop-stealing witches, soul battles coincided with the days of Saint George, Saint John, and Saint Lucy, as well as Christmas and other death festivals and werewolf days. {299}

Another important type of werewolf magician is the Croatian-Slovenian magician referred to as *kresnih, krsnih,* or *vedomec,* first mentioned in Hungarian literature by Géza Róheim (1984, 191). Gábor Klaniczay (1984) called attention to these figures as a possible parallel to the táltos in his work following the study of Maja Bošković-Stulli (19 5 3). {300} The alter egos of these magicians fought battles in couples with the magicians of the neighboring village, clans, and region. The prize of battle was the recovery of stolen crops. The appearance of an underworldly "snake goddess," as mentioned earlier in connection with demons stealing crops, is in line with these.

The Serb, Bulgarian, and Macedonian *zmej, zmaj, zmija,* and *zmajevit čovek* (snake, dragon, snake man) magicians were reputedly born in cauls, and even more frequently in a snakeskin, or even as a snake. Many were said to have wings. They might be an eagle, or their fathers might have been snakes, eagles, roosters, ganders, and so on. This constitutes a form of reincarnation because the animal father was a guardian spirit embodying the ancestors of the community. A contemporary Bulgarian document speaks of a big eagle sitting at the top of an oak tree and watching out for the whole village. Sometimes the shamanistic abilities of magicians were already apparent in infancy. At times when there was a storm or approaching hail, they fell into trances, and their souls, leaving their bodies, took the form of the animal corresponding to their fathers and their birth marks. They were said to fight battles with the leadership of

"fiery," heavenly, and lightning guardian spirits against underworldly "watery" dragons and other hostile demons who brought hail. In this watery-fiery battle, the antagonists shot lightning and ice at each other, and this exchange was followed by a storm with a tremendously powerful noise. Their animal souls often fought along with them as alter egos. {301}

This image of battle can be connected to the Baltic and Slavic variants of one of the reconstructed fundamental myths in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian mythology. The topic is a mythological universe, wherein the fiery heavenly gods fight with the watery monster from the underworld.{302} In the basic opposition of the reconstructed myth, on the side of the gods stood the Baltic Perkūnas or the Slavic thunder god Perun bringing fertility. This is the predecessor of the Indo-European storm god who lives on in the figure of Saint Elisha (who also appears as the guardian spirit of the zmej magician). The other party was the dragon of chaos, who withheld the water or brought flood. When this creature was conquered, the waters were freed and the rain began to fall. According to another variation on the same theme, a captive cow became free from the enemy cow thieves. Compare this with the known Thracian, Old Indian, and Greek myths: it was all about liberating rain or milk.

These two aims ruled the activities of the Modern Age magicians and the soul battles of shamanistic magicians against the witches discussed here. The reconstruction draws demons who steal milk and rain, and their enemies, the heavenly and fiery gods, into the same mythical context. It can be presumed that legends of soul battles of zmej magicians are connected to the *sujet* of the reconstructed myth. They simultaneously point to the mythical context of shamanistic practice. The latter leads to suspicions about a certain shamanism that was connected to the figure of Perkūnas or Perun, {303} although this has not cropped up among the research on the myth so far.

One of the mythological enemies of the thunder god was the cattle-stealing monster, which could be connected to the figures of the crop-stealing demon as well as to the Eastern European witch of the Modern Age who fought with a scutcher and had cow, hemp, and spinning attributes. As cited in the discussion concerning the night witch, as well as in the previous chapter in connection with Saint Lucy's stool, it was thought that in the same creatures traces of the aforementioned Scythian, Thracian, and Greek spinning goddesses had been found, and furthermore, the figure of Mokoš, the Slavic goddess connected with hemp, spinning, water, and the dead. {304}

The researchers of the reconstructed myth came across literary and linguistic data referring to shamanism in the context of the Baltic and Slavic Velnias or Veils, and Volos or Veles "death"

cattle god, {305} and not in the context of Perkūnas or Perun. I connected the watery enemies from the underworld of the zmej dragon magician with a shamanism linked to the god Veles, and with the Middle Age and Modern Age Baltic and Slav snake, devil, or helping spirit incarnations of Velnias or Veles. {306} Following this, the traces of Veles shamanism would have survived parallel to the presumed Perun shamanism, as the "white" and "black" branches of the same mythical and ritual system (Tolstoj and Tolstaja 1981).

Contemporary belief legends, as well as the reconstructed myth, seem to underpin the presumption that the two systems are connected or identical— legends where magicians and witches associated with heaven and the underworld oppose each other, or fiery and watery guardian spirits from heaven and the underworld fight. As far as "black" shamanism goes, the witches and magicians known from eastern and southern Slavic witch beliefs who were initiated in the underworld among snakes, and also the goddess figure with the underworld characteristics of snakes and spinning, as ambivalent creatures guarding fertility, could also be considered as connected. This goddess figure is the crop-stealing enemy of shamanistic magicians ensuring fertility, and, on the other hand, the creature of Modern Age belief legends who carried initiation into knowledge. The folklore motifs of the snake belong to this latter group of motifs, which are connected to snakes and other watery animals from the underworld, and are used before Saint George's day for knowledge, "seeing," conjuring, or "freeing" milk and cows, all within the context of the dragon (as the enemy of the heavenly conqueror) that was conquered by Saint George.

At the same time, all this again proves the common roots of European shamanism and witchcraft. It seems (also from a Slavic perspective similar to Germanic past history) that it is about two opposing aspects of the same system. Many of the researchers of Slavic witchcraft and shamanism—for example, Tolstoj and Tolstaja—handled this question in this way, even if they did not classify the phenomena discussed here as quintessential shamanism. The Russian researcher N'ikit'inoj (1928) talked about the relationship between shamanism and witchcraft as the

"black" and "white" sides of the same system.{307} True, he did not, or could not, enter into the problematics of possible historical connections.

There are several reasons to stop here to give this point a little more thought. One of these is that we have already seen this duality within a system in the discussion of mora-type seers and wind magicians. Carlo Ginzburg called attention to the same phenomenon concerning *all* European shamanistic magicians when he talked about the duality of battling male fertility magicians and nonwarrior female seers. However, a dividing line should not be drawn between the facts of the "combatant" or "non combatant" because combat, as we have seen, could be a feature of the most underworldly of mora witches. The duality is marked by the persons of the guardian and initiating spirits, or the mythological context of the magicians. The main evidence of the duality of werewolf magicians is to be found in the figures of the táltos and the magicians of the Hungarian witch trials, as well as in certain beliefs referring to seeing and gaining knowledge.

Let us examine the latter first: the correspondence of the Central and Eastern European werewolf ? id mora seers' initiation with the Saint Lucy's stool to the initiation with a snake.

According to a 1717 document from Tolna County, a snake's head had to be cut off "with Saint Elena's coin" on the day before Saint George's Day, stuffed with garlic, put onto the rim of a hat,

and then worn to church the following day. The wearer would, as a consequence, see any witch leaving the church, blushing (Schram 1970, 2:463, 465). It is evident, both from the

initiation with Saint Lucy's stool and its contemporary parallels,{308} that in this we witness the doubles of demonic "dead" witches and simultaneously an initiation into "seeing."

Contemporary parallels refer to rituals for gaining knowledge carried out on the "werewolf days" around Saint George's Day and Easter. These were connected to eggs and lidérc chicks, and were frequent in areas of Central and Eastern Europe where witches with werewolf characters dominated. {309} The richest materials referring to the methods quoted from the trials of Tolna County are also known in connection with the Romanian strigoi. The snake-seer saw a dead strigoi as it was stealing milk or crops, or a cow-witch as it was going to the witches'

gathering on cowback, a scutcher, or a distaff (Pamfile 1916). Interpreting the above, we could say that this witch was initiated with the help of the snake spirit by an underworld goddess with spinning or cow attributes.

The documentation about Romanian and Bulgarian magicians and witches gives a guideline for the way in which these legendary wordings were reflections of (former) genuine practices in folklore. These women got their abilities to use trance by obtaining snake or chicken helping spirits. Their tasks as seers spread from healing and things connected to giving birth, to seeing

treasure, thieves, and the dead.{310} Through these features, the figure of a black magician, with the ability to "see" and maintain contact with the underworld, is sketched out. Based on the above analogues, the Hungarian lidérc witch and magician, which have chicken, nzard, or snake-helping spirits, belong here as *watery* creatures, in opposition to the *fiery* lidérc.{311} The Hungarian lidérc owner was a seer with underworld and nocturnal connotations, and they embody the black, watery, and mostly female variants of werewolf magicians. At the same time, they are related to the mora creature. The lidérc, as an incubus *(lidérc-mare),* is more of a mora creature. We shall offer fiirther examples for the mora-werewolf relationship.{312} It seems that this night seer is hidden behind the satanic connotation of the witch holding a lidérc in Hungarian trials, as well as by the secondary process of demonologization.

Let us examine the trial documents that refer to functioning specialists rather than witch beliefs. János Somogyi, a wise shepherd from Sopron County who was a werewolf, had a lidérc (Schram 1970, 2: 188-93). He himself was a seer and healer, saw lost horses, and identified thieves. With the help of his lidérc, he could see "by their person" whomsoever he wanted, meaning the doubles or, in certain cases, the alter ego of the thief. In his confession under torture, he admitted to a little helping devil. In this demonologized version of the lidérc, it is interesting that it kept the characteristics of the "double." János Somogyi "and his devil know who hurt him," and as the alter ego of its owner this devil also guarded his herd in his absence.

We have to mention a unique document referring to the positive and possibly shamanistic aspect of the lidérc. A lidérc hen that was kept at a house in Nagykároly was mentioned in a 1745

trial as the beast of burden of the witches flying to their sabbats (Szirmay 1809, 81). Transmogrifying a shamanistic soul-animal into a beast of burden is practically the rule in epics.

Nevertheless, we cannot claim that this lidérc legend is about a genuine shamanistic soul trip, or about an actual magical activity. However, even as a legendary text, it contains a significant

motif: these witches from Szatmár, traveling on the back of a lidérc, were dueling with "swords shaped like scutchers" on their witches' sabbat. This links them to the group of underworld snake goddesses who spin and are connected to werewolf magicians. This, at the same time, is the Hungarian concordance of the motif closely related to the Romanian strigoi. The object of doing battle with scutchers is clear in a Romanian context: the strigoi souls of two neighboring villages fight to prevent the demons of disease from entering their villages. This motif of a battle against diseases coming from the underworld with the tools of breaking hemp reemphasizes the relationship of the underworld goddess with hemp attributes with the underworld black werewolf magician. What is more, the motif makes all of these a part of the figures of Hungarian magicians and witches with a lidérc.

Among the táltos written about in our trials, several could be classified among the black werewolf magicians on the grounds of their activities, which included seeing treasure; discovering thieves, lost objects, and animals; and healing. These were the "semi-táltos," who did not fight battles and only healed. The same is true of some of the treasure seers. These táltos and seers will be discussed in the next section.

Battling Táltos

The twenty-six táltos trials among the Hungarian witch trials offer a complex picture. {313} A diverse array of táltos figures are revealed from the perspective of their activities and their belief contexts. Their main functions in the community were healing and seeing treasure, but they often took on the other roles of seers, such as fortune-telling, finding lost objects, and so on.

An exception is that the task of protecting the town or village was characteristic only of the táltos; some Hungarian female táltos virtually ftilfilled the role of a guardian spirit. Twentieth-century táltos legends often contain the motif of a shamanistic battle for rain, but this is largely absent in early Modern Age documents, with the exceptions of the táltos from Pécs, mentioned earlier, and three táltos women. According to our documents, and almost without exception, the Hungarian healing táltos carried out their functions within the institution of witchcraft as healers of bewitchment, or less often as the identifiers of it. Some of them belong so closely to the system of witchcraft that they even practice the double function of the malefactor-healer witch—that is, they were involved in cases of bewitching too.

The picture of táltos positions within the belief system is even more varied. As mentioned earlier, a significant number represent the variety of types of mora seers and werewolf magicians.

The bulk could be defined as underworld, "black" female seers of the werewolf magicians whose mediatory abilities were determined by their werewolf characteristics. Extra body parts were a feature—an extra tooth, or two sets of teeth—as was supernatural communication through doubles. At other times, we see attributes in the foreground similar to those of mora seers. A general tendency was for the táltos to develop Christian connotations and the qualifications of holy healers who were initiated in heaven. This is often in direct opposition to the satanic nature of the enemy witches. In a peculiar way, some of our táltos figures represented the aforementioned types of underworld seers and the ones "battling in heaven" all in one person. First we shall discuss the "battling" táltos that fulfilled a double function in the sequence of dualities, and later the other types of seers.

Erzsébet (Örzse/Erzsók) Tóth, a táltos from Jászberény who was tried in 1728, will serve as a first detailed example. This trial record stands out in its detail and descriptiveness among táltos references, which are often discernible only with difficulty. Erzsébet Tóth belonged to the táltos

figures with a twofold fimction, but her position as an underworld black seer is most apparent. Werewolf and other characteristics can be detected behind her ability to "see."

Örzse Tóth communicated with the alternative world through her double. She could send her alter ego far away, "and her husband thought that she lived next to him, yet she was away over 300 miles, even farther away than Turkey." These abilities were connected with her three "double teeth," present from birth—that is, she was born with the double set of teeth characteristic of werewolf magicians. She gave one tooth to Christ, which could possibly be interpreted as an initiation act of extracting a bone. Her denouncers referred to this when they said that Örzse Tóth 39

was a "half-táltos." Insofar as it is possible to judge on the basis of other "semi-táltos," that term referred to her seeing and healing activities. She obtained the medicine with which she healed from Jesus Christ, a feature of the "holy healer" and her guardian spirits, and her alter egos also possessed Christian characteristics. For her, being a táltos largely meant that she was "God's daughter," "Christ covered her with his mantle," and that "she was a second person for God." She also claimed that every Wednesday the Happy Virgin talked to her. So she was the terrestrial representative of the heavenly patron; she herself expressed this by saying, "I am a táltos with two heads." Her "two heads" represented the duality of her own person and her alter ego, and at the same time God and herself—that is, guardian and the shielded.{314} The spiritual alter ego manifested in surplus body parts becomes identified with the guardian spirit. Erzsébet Tóth saw treasure, "she knows everything in the world that is buried in soil," she identified thieves, and predicted fire and death. She knew all that happened in the town: "the whole night she roams the town and knows all things, how everybody is living." As the terrestrial representative of her guardian spirit, she protected the town. In connection with a recent earthquake, she remarked, "had I not gone round this town, it would have sunk." What is more, she claimed to be the guardian of the country: she protected a third of Hungary from an earthquake, it "would have been lost.. .were it not for me" (Jászberény, 1728).

Simultaneously with this grandiose town-protection program, she also fiilfilled her community role as a healer within the system of witchcraft. She healed and found maleficium, in several instances using procedures similar to those already mentioned for summoning to the house. All this was expanded by her bewitching cases. The trial minutes present her as a personality incorporating great antagonistic features. She was a charismatic woman who was initiated in heaven and who was on speaking terms with Christian mythology in its entirety, who protected a third of Hungary while involving herself in common neighborhood conflicts, and also bewitching those whom she had to bewitch in accordance with the logic of maleficium cases. She self-consciously confessed to her bewitchment: "that your daughter died is thanks" to Örzse's not being invited to the wedding. Her confession indicates she was one of the self-aware malefactor witches. Here common revenge motivated her, while at other times rivalry with other healers prompted her actions. She once said that a patient would not recover because it was not she who had afflicted her. When she was well paid, she healed as the "daughter of God." However, she consciously took on the status of "daughter of God" even in the context of her bewitchment: "I am the daughter of God. If somebody threatens me, I look into the eyes of that person, and they have to die." Through this, she labeled bewitchment as heavenly justice. Thus, as we saw with the ambivalent fate-women witches, this táltos was both a bewitcher and healer, which corresponds to that archaic ambivalence. (Jászberény, 1728) Her activities in bewitching, healing, and identifying went on within the same system and on the common spiritual battlefield of the various doubles, and helping and guardian spirits.

These beliefs, as opposed to the previous ones, refer to her mora characteristics. The death troops known in connection with the malefactor witch appear here as hostile spirits hindering the healing of the táltos. The táltos saw these spirits around the patient: "The evils go in front of Mrs. Lénárth like buzzing ants, but she does not see them." At other times they appear as a flock of birds, but again only Erzsébet Tóth could see them, and in this manner, many cases of healing that were hindered by bad spirits came to light. Beside the evil dead, fate women appeared too. They arrived as spirits who negatively influenced the fate of a patient whom she refused to heal, making reference to their judgment: "I would heal you, but one of them said 'to the bottom of hell with her,' and the other, 'do not!'" (Jászberény, 1728)

Let us examine her role as the protector of the town. There she had to face the town council, who "know not how much good I do to the town." The tensions between them resembled the rivalry between competing healers. As she was quoted saying at the trial, "half of the council and Mihály scribe, who is a witch to the core, want her to die... but if they send her from the town, it will be lost. As the Jews chased Christ, so do Bartai and two others chase her." (Jászberény, 1728) On another level, with heavenly help, she fought for the town as a táltos patronized by her Christian guardian and calling spirits: "As the skies lighten I have to go immediately, and the holy cross will be placed on my shoulder"; "God's key," with which the skies open, was around her neck. The cross has a double meaning here. On one hand, we are witness to a mystical identification of the táltos with Christ carrying the cross: she looked upon her táltos obligations as a cross to be borne. On the other hand, a wooden cross held high in the air has been a holy

sign used against storm demons since the Middle Ages.{315}

Let us investigate Erzsébet Tóth as a táltos fighting heavenly soul battles. She left to do battle at God's beckoning, and it was a heavenly lightning battle, characteristic of both the zmej type of fertility magicians, where the position of the pagan thunder god was often later taken by Saint Elisha, or, in Erzsébet Tóth's case, by the Christian God himself. "As the lightning began and many táltos were locked in struggle, she was present, too. She went there through the air with the help of God and fought there." Besides her divine patrons she also had a dragon helping spirit. It is documented that "she took the dragon that the *garabonciás* could not take," which also connects her to the dragon magicians. After the battle she showed "cuts and wounds" on her arm—that is, injuries brought back from the alternative world. She protected her town from hail in the lightning battle: "I kept the seedling crop and grapes around the town safe, I protected, I fought...when the evils wanted to bewitch." Her enemies were the same bad dead, referred to as "evils," with whom she had to fight while she was healing. Death troops, however, appeared in a different context as her "soul companions," who called her among them: "I am, at all times, to go out as soon as they call me out and summon me." These are the ambivalent guardians of the ambivalent mora witch, the death troops known from witches' sabbats. They appeared as the enemies of her táltos battles as well as her summoning companions.

According to a witness, Örzse Tóth once said, "We have won [the battle;] there will be no rain for a while." So her troop "took" the rain. A little maliciousness could place her on the side of the enemy: she was ambivalent even in her táltos character. From this perspective, she fits into the line of Eastern European werewolf magicians and witches who were rivals in the framework of own-alien opposition.

In many ways, the case of Mrs. András Bartha, née Erzsébet Baiasi, parallels that of Erzsébet Tóth.{316} She was tried in 1725, chronologically close to Tóth's 1728 trial. She was also a double táltos: simultaneously a seer of the underworld and a soldier of heaven. From the

perspective of her concrete activities, she was primarily a healing woman. She remedied the bewitchment of witches, but there was also talk at her trial of seeing money. She foretold fire, the outcome of illness, and death, and (as several of the táltos from Debrecen also did) she dealt with identifying bewitchment. She was also "taught [how to be a táltos] by God," and she was born with teeth. She reckoned that "God formed [the táltos] in her mother's womb" (Komáromy 1910, 360). (Compare this with the fate women's function in determining fate.)

In Mrs. Bartha's case, it seems that a táltos dynasty is revealed. The dead brother of Erzsébet Baiasi was a táltos, too: "there has not been such a great táltos in this country." Additionally, her twelve-year-old daughter, Erzsók, was a táltos who carried out a kind of helping-spirit role at her side in her night battles. As with Örzse Tóth, her calling and guardian spirit, at least in her heavenly battles, was the Christian God. The enemies of her terrestrial night battles were various spirits and spirit troops. The battles were an accompaniment to her healing and bewitching activities.

She, like her táltos colleague in Jászberény, bewitched if she became embroiled in inducing maleficium. The best-known case of bewitchment began with an unsuccessful attempt at seeing treasure. She should have repaid the deposit accepted for locating the treasure, but instead she apparently "sent" three fate women after the aggrieved client. (Recall the "sent" doubles of werewolf and mora creatures.) However, hostile spirits "came to her" also, in the form of three fate women, to hinder her while healing. Consequently, her function was also ambivalent: that of the archaic bewitching-healing witch, but with divine connotations in this case.

There is not sufficient space here to quote the numerous colorful accounts of her night battles as she warred with various individual and groups of doubles and "evil ones." In these fights, her child helped her. Indeed, her antagonists would have beaten her, "if my sweet little daughter had not turned around next to me." On another occasion, her young daughter fought on her side with a dagger between her teeth. The child brought home injuries from the battles: in the morning, she was visibly "scratched, sliced, and cut all over." At the same time, a woman in a veil and black dress came to ask her whether they fought that night. On another occasion of her ministration, "witches tortured her." This last case is truly based upon her rivalry with another healer. There were practically no instances when her enemies would not have attempted to hinder her in her healing. They made use of almost every species from the surrounding animal world, tame and wild—dogs, cats, crows, bumble bees, and others—to appear in their image, but there is also an example of a fairylike apparition, a beautifiil woman in a green dress (Komáromy 1910, 360-362).

The other level was that of the heavenly soul battles. Erzsébet Baiasi fought in a táltos troop, "they fought at the hill of Szendelik," and their chief was János Nagy. In this instance the role of collective battle was not connected to precipitation, but had a political nature linked to the Turkish and German wars, similar to that of the Balkan wars mentioned in connection with the *stuha* magician. In her "heavenly" battles, this táltos was closer to the *stuha* or *zduhac* "combative" werewolf magicians born in a caul, and she also had the hallmarks of a dragon or eagle *zmej* magician. Under torture she confessed that, "God took [her into the heavenly battle] under his wings, and gave her wings like birds" (Komáromy 1910, 362). These could be most naturally interpreted as the eagle wings characteristic of the winged táltos. The presence of the zmej-type táltos in Hungarian popular belief can be asserted on the basis of several contemporary legends. {317} In the place of the heavenly thunder god, who also appeared as an eagle, the summoning spirit here is the Christian God, just as in Erzsébet Tóth's case.

Here we mention Mrs. István Fejes, née Erzsébet Ormos, a táltos only briefly mentioned in the trials (1626, in Komáromy 1910, 91). She appeared before the court accused of murdering her husband. Little is known of her except that "the dragons are her company," a characterization that defines her, unambiguously, as a zmej-type táltos with dragon guardian spirits.

In our trials, there is one more táltos who fulfilled two functions in the same person: Mrs. Mihály Szaniszlai from Debrecen, who was taken to court in 1711 (Komáromy 1910, 249-54).

She mainly dealt with seeing treasure, but she also spoke about a battle against the German táltos figures: "they thrust about on the meadows of Körtvélyes." in her testimony she stated that the heavenly soul battle was "for the empire." The battle over weather transformed into a political war, perhaps more present for that moment. Mrs. Szaniszlai's predictions also centered around events in the war. Like Erzsébet Tóth, she proclaimed that her power as a táltos extended over the whole town; however, this power was connected to her most significant role, seeing money. "If she wished it, the whole town would not be able to dig up the money." She referred to herself, considering her principal táltos activity, as at once "half-táltos" and "seer."

The document concerning a táltos called Péter Vecsési possibly refers to a "heavenly" warrior and fertility magician. He testified that, at the time of his confession, "two of his companions were down in Turkey for the fat of the land." The 1741 trial in Miskolc of three táltos from Borsod County— Suska Kőműves, György Tapodi, and Judit Szűcs—reflects another aspect of battling (Bogdál 1960). The three were healers, but based on the accounts of a few witnesses and Tapodi's personal confession, the various aspects of battling were the focus of the trial. There is a reference in the text to their ability to transform into animals: they assumed the fonns of doves, fish, or foxes if they wanted to, and from time to time they also "vanished." (This latter feat could be a rationalized reference to trance.)

In this same trial we find the only documentary evidence of ritually induced trance connected with a Hungarian táltos. As one of the witnesses testified, on the day of Pentecost "Judith, the daughter of Mr. János Szöcs, went out into the yard at dawn on the last day of the feast and took a plate in her hands. She looked into it and turned into a fish. She vanished and was gone for three days" (ibid., 309). A parallel for this ritual could be found in the divinational practice of looking into water.{318} The táltos from Miskolc battled on the days of Pentecost and Saint John. Both occasions were days of the rituals and beliefs pertaining to crop stealing (see Chapter 4), and this fact alone indicates that it may have been a battle over crops. Otherwise, the text does not mention the objective of the fighting. The motif of returning with injuries from battle appeared here, too: Suska Kőműves "said herself she was a táltos, and she showed on her body how they had been thrusting about in that battle, and the witness saw that too, that her body was so blue all over" (Bogdál 1960,310).

All the characters talked about a battle in a troop, and the groups were formed of men and women separately and according to their districts in the town. There was talk of a troop of seven hundred, and about girls who were the strongest in their group, amongst whom Suska Kőműves herself be longed. These motifs connect her to the aforementioned stuha magicians, but another one placed these táltos troops in opposition as the enemies of the stuha and as the troops of witch souls with a black flag, which were also familiar among the trials of Borsod County.

Suska Kőműves "said that they had such a flag [and] that its shine lit the whole world" (Bogdál 1960, 310). Could we perhaps infer a witch-táltos opposition? This would establish the táltos among the kinship of the stuha-benandante.

At her trial a swindling money seer, Mrs. Lajos Jámbor, née Jutka Virág, was said to have taken part in battles (1767, in Schram 1982, 220-23), during which she obtained money.

However, she seems only to have been aware of the beliefs around táltos battles and used the (evidently positive) reputation of the táltos in her own defense.

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Ilona Borsi, a semi-táltos from Cegléd and the last in our sequence of táltos characters, was summoned to court in Munkács in 1735 (Lehoczky 1887, 304-6). She learned healing and acquired a knowledge of herbs from a woman whom she had served for three years. As a semi-táltos, she was born with a molar tooth on the left side of her face—wisdom she got in her mother's womb from God. An interesting feature of her trial is a detailed account of a sky battle between two táltos figures who had taken her there to watch (or perhaps to study) the battle.

However, she only became a semi-táltos and never a battling táltos. She claimed in court that "all the táltos from around the whole country are battling, and the half-táltos only heal and bewitch nobody, they also recognize the witches and know of their deeds" (ibid., 305).

We also discover from this battle that the táltos had to amass in the months of Pentecost, Saint Jacob, and Saint Michael. Once more this refers to a group battle, but with the motif of paired combat: two men rose and turned into bulls, and Ilona Borsi saw them battling in the sky "for an hour and a half with no outcome"—a vision within a vision. Flying down from the skies, they assumed human form once again. They approached on horseback, the horses clearly fulfilling the function of helping spirits. The point of the battles is not revealed, but as a group soul battle perhaps it belongs to the aforementioned stuha-benandante circle. The question of the dual battle is more problematic. As opposed to most Modern Age táltos legends, where táltos battling in pairs are dominant, this is the only documented heavenly battle fought between two males in Hungarian historical documentation. We cannot say whether this hiatus is accidental, or if paired combat really only gained preeminence in the latter part of the Modern Age, taking the place of mass combat.

This kind of paired combat may link the táltos to the Balkan *kresnik* type of werewolf magician, mentioned above, who also fought in pairs. However, we cannot draw any wide-ranging conclusions since there is only one solitary reference. {319} On the other hand, we have to consider that a modern táltos motif is connected to this type of dual combat. A motif, peculiar in virtually being characteristic of the modern táltos alone, is being born with teeth, but not with the double set of teeth characteristic of the werewolf magician. This is possibly a singular local characteristic of the Hungarian táltos, independent of the European werewolf magicians. However, we do not have enough room, nor indeed sufficient historical data, to go into the exciting question of the origins of the táltos. What is important in this particular trial, in this present context, is that the two types of táltos (the "táltos proper" battling in the sky, and the semi-táltos of healers and seers) definitely lived alongside each other as parts of and alternative forms within the same system.

The references to Hungarian táltos fulfilling battling functions and seeing are examples of the mythical duality discussed above which was embodied by pairs of zmej magicians and their underworld enemies. This duality was in many ways present in the rituals, beliefs, and activities of Europe's shamanistic magicians, and around both magicians with mora as well as werewolf characters. The system may have been very widespread: Carlo Ginzburg observed this same duality in Caucasian parallels. As Ginzburg also showed through the example of the

benandante, the two systems could function simultaneously in the same community (1983). In Corsica, quite distant from the dual-function táltos figures, a parallel example of an individual carrying out the two functions at the same time existed in the *mazzeri.* Although the practical activities of our táltos were complex, the theoretical division between the two kinds of functions is also valid in Hungary. The terms "táltos proper" and "semi-táltos" descriptively express the duality. An inherent heaven-underworld opposition exists in their abstracted symbolism.

Connected to these dualities, we have to refer back to a kinship phenomenon: to the fiery-watery or heavenly-underworldly polarization of Hungarian lidérc creatures. If it is true that the lidérc were a kind of Hungarian werewolf variant with mora characteristics, then the lidérc dualities are closely related to the magician and táltos couples discussed here. In Hungarian popular belief, "fiery" and "watery" helping and guardian spirits are connected by one name: the lidérc. These are partly the relative of the "fiery dragon" of the zmej magician (we have references to fiery lidérc flying in the sky), and partly they are a watery underworld helping spirit variant (a helping spirit lidérc hatched from an egg, or procured from a puddle or a ditch in the forms of a "soaking chick," lizard, fish, or the like). The werewolf connections of the lidérc are clear, although it is not clear how and why this belief figure, with its obviously shamanistic context, came to be here independently of and parallel to other werewolf creatures, or how it lives on (also independent of the táltos) in the system of Hungarian popular belief To return to the duality of our táltos, it seems that the Hungarian táltos cannot be identified solely with certain types of European shamanistic magicians, but is at home within the systems of this functional duality too. Here I deliberately avoid saying "fitted in." The history of the Hungarian táltos remains opaque; we know nothing about the circumstances, time, or place of a presumed "fitting into" Europe. What we can observe accurately is the outcome of the process: the fundamentally European types of the Hungarian táltos. The characteristic European types are the "purely seer" táltos—that is, the semi-táltos par excellence, and the seeing specialist with a different title, examples of which appear in the next section.

Seers, Semi-Táltos, Witch Identifiers

Most of the specialists in the villages and small towns of early Modern Age Hungary emphasized revealing concealed objects. For example, some specialized in seeing the dead or were primarily healers, like the táltos discussed above. Here, we shall discuss those whose practices were primarily concerned with "seeing." The sum and substance of their activities is also expressed in the term "seer" that refers to them. As is clear from our investigations so far, both werewolf and mora creatures had seer variants par excellence. Various types were contextualized in the belief system, including "night women" (distinguished by initiation techniques using Saint Lucy's stool); "mora seers"; werewolf variants (characterized by underworldly

"snake-initiation"); and Hungarian witches, magicians, who were in possession of lidérc, and their East European relatives, the "black" branch of the above dual systems, including the Hungarian semi-táltos.

The majority of seers and táltos in our trials were seers of money. They helped the villagers—or often, in eighteenth-century Transylvania, their noble clients—to find buried treasure and money. {320} This activity was not sharply divided from locating lost animals, discovering the fate of people who were away, foretelling the future, helping to catch thieves, or predicting death, birth, the outcome of illness, or fire and war in a town. In brief, their speciality was in seeing things that

were distant in time or space, or that were concealed underground. In one definite and a number of less certain cases, there are also reports about seeing the dead.

Among the seers who practiced lay techniques, specialists stood out who engaged in more complex activities and embraced many areas of seeing, as we saw in the previous section with respect to the dual-function táltos. Our trial documents range from a seeing woman in Kolozsvár in 1582 to a swindling money seer in Eger in 1768, and they encompass the entire language area. Seers occurred in greater numbers in the eastern part of the country, and most frequently in Debrecen and various Transylvanian towns. Thirty-two were actually referred to as seers or were not given titles at all (documents sometimes talk about more than one seer without mentioning individual names), and eleven were dubbed as táltos excluding the reference to the aforementioned táltos with complex activities. We do not know to what extent these numbers represent the true proportions because references to seers and táltos independent of witchcraft only randomly became a part of the documentation of the witch hunts. Foretelling the future or looking for lost animals never became cause for an accusation of witchcraft, and in itself neither did seeing money, unless there was a swindle involved or some other impropriety. Fortunately for our purposes, many of the seers dealt with witch identification too, and consequently came to be documented in the trials.

Below I present some characteristic and highly descriptive examples of seers that include details either of techniques or of background beliefs. As a first example of a seeing táltos, Mrs.

István Szathmári (née Anna Belényesi) was a woman from Hajdúszoboszló whose activities were discussed at her trial in 1715 (Balogh 1958). She was a characteristic táltos with mora features. She confined her own abilities to reading the stars, but she also had a guardianlike "táltos landlady" from whom she learnt the art of the táltos during her captivity in Turkey, and she was, as she put it, her "real landlady." She had remained in a "double" relationship with her ever since, and her landlady knew and could hear from great distances what she was saying.

Generally her community used her knowledge to recover lost animals, and besides that she healed her patients and predicted their fate. She also "saw" money, but only in her maiden years; following marriage she was not permitted to do it. (Compare this with the southern Slavic mora, who could only remain a mora while a virgin and before marriage.) We have three táltos from Debrecen who, according to our documents, "saw" only money. One was János Csillám (Széli 1892, 110); another was Péter Késcsináló, a swindling money seer.

Their methods were not revealed, though it is possible that Késcsináló had none at all, and simply spread his own fame for seeing money: "he claimed to be the prince of the táltos characters"

(Komáromy 1910, 203). The defendant of the final táltos trial was Erzsébet Barna, who also saw only money, using a steel mirror that she obtained from Mrs. Szatmári, whose daughter was a táltos (Széli 1892, 110). She carried out her seeing with her female companions, and she taught them the mirror method; it seems here that generations of táltos bequeathed their nowledge of seeing money to each other. A third táltos money seer, Judit Nagy, a woman from Debrecen, mostly remedied bewitchment, and only carried on seeing money as a sideline (ibid., 112-13).

Also worth mentioning is Mrs. Szaniszlai, numbered among the battling táltos, who had a multifaceted money-seeing activity conducted at a high level (1711, in Komáromy 1910, 249-54). It was not incidental that she was active in Debrecen, where it seems that this was a flourishing profession during the embattled eighteenth century. She gave advice to a large number of

people and had others dig. Her methods included judging from fingernails, pouring wax, divination procedures with hanging bread, and bread put on a wooden pláte, using salt and soil.

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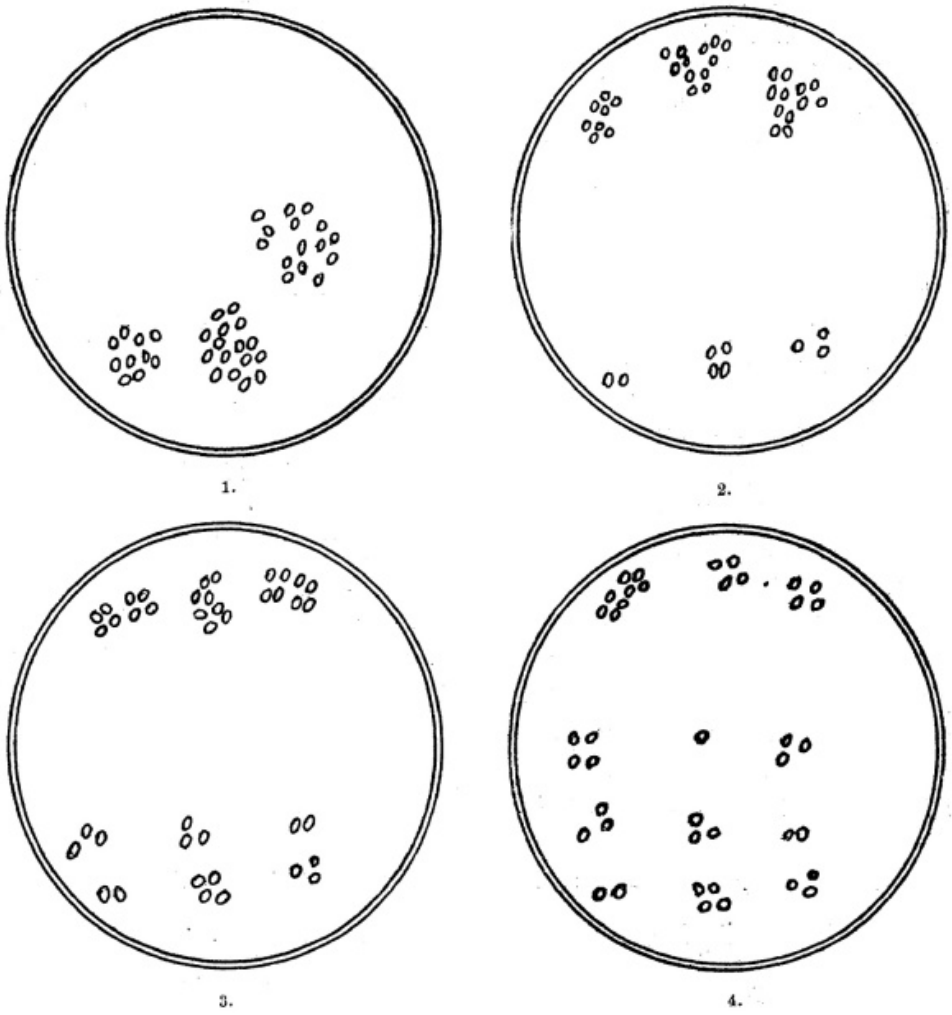

The four positions of beans by which prophesying takes place. (Beginning of 20th century, Hungarians in Moldavia) A nók Fejér, a semi-táltos who cropped up in many settlements around northeastern Hungary between 1716 and 1732, belongs here because of her title. She was a healer and half-táltos, and had been "since the tartars bewitched her"; nevertheless, there are no known specific references to her precise activities, such as whether she remedied maleficium. {321} The scarce material

does not necessarily present this woman as a seer, although considering her label it seems likely that she was.

As for the "non-táltos" seers, there does not seem to be much difference in their activities or methods. For example, in 1748 Demeter (alias András) Farkas, a seer from Eger, saw money, together with his companions, from his fingernail smudged with white poppyseed oil and with the help of his book of treasure-hunting magic; additionally he saw lost animals and the dead.

To find a missing animal, he had himself tied up and then he fasted; in due course he would see the lost animal in a vision (1748, in Sugár 1987, 174-75). This is rare documentary evidence from our witch trials of deliberately induced trance.

"Spontaneous seeing" and instances of direct communication were presumably not considered to be worthy of recording, and so we have no idea of their true proportion in comparison with ritual techniques. It was probably the case that it was reported only when somebody could see, as in the case of Mrs. Demeter Páskuly, a seer from Szászrégen, Maros-Torda County. She saw money and stolen animals, and moved rapidly like the wind, in the fashion of the mora creatures. She could bring herbal grasses from the snowy mountains within an hour, and "she was there and back from Bucharest town in a third" (Szászrégen, 1734). János Czigány's aunt saw money in Kecskemét and found out about the state of health of a person away from home by reading beans, and also by using a coin swimming in water and an egg placed onto her palm (1691-96, Kecskemét, in Schram 1970, 1:458-59). A document recorded spontaneous seeing in Zala when a seer from Pölöske dreamt about the person of a thief (1740, in ibid., 2:594).

The methods mentioned here more or less reflect the whole. Among divinational methods, the most frequently occurring were reading a bolter sieve; turning a bolter sieve; pouring wax (predicting the future or the circumstances from the shape of hot wax poured into water); and using hanging objects, most commonly bread. Reading beans was also prevalent, especially in Transylvania. Other recurrent methods were reading the stars and various modes of cathoptromancy, that is, mirror divination, which constituted an important group among the methods, such as applying mirrors or other objects used as mirrors, or seeing treasure from a fingernail covered with saliva, also used as a mirror. All of these procedures were general European divinational methods, and most had a long history. They are also known to number among the practices of elite magicians, with the exceptions of using a fingernail smeared with saliva, reading beans, and pouring wax. Reading beans spread widely in Central and Southeastern Europe, especially in the Balkans (see Wichman 1907). Pouring wax was known throughout the whole of Europe as a popular diagnostic experiment. Methods using mirrors were also part of the general early modern European practice of digging for treasure. {322}

Two things are striking here. One is the wide and varied use of the magical and divination techniques of elite magic, and the other is the use of spontaneous seeing, mediation techniques, and divination techniques that created only a symbolic connection to the supernatural, but were used together and were evidently considered to be equal. Beliefs surrounding the procedures 42

underpin this idea, too. If, for example, hostile spirits hindered those who were looking for treasure through symbolic methods, then they too "battled" in their souls; therefore they could enter the alternative world through symbolic methods. {323}

Some of the Hungarian táltos and seers were active within the institution of village witchcraft in the detection of bewitchment. These figures cannot really be separated from the references to "independent" witch seers. It can be established that there were witch-seeing specialists who functioned in small numbers within the system of witchcraft. They were most frequently dubbed "seers" and "wise men" or "wise women," It seems that their techniques were based on the spontaneous seeing of their doubles. On the other hand, they used a variety of divination procedures. There are references to identifiers within the village in roughly one-fifth of maleficium cases, whereas there is less mention of seers from alien or other villages. There is even a parish priest among them (1713, Csorna, Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 2:98; Kossuth, Pozsony County, in ibid., 1:498).

Every now and then, there are seers in the trials who came from abroad. In a trial in Kisvárda in 1742, a German soldier crops up who stayed in lodgings and who was a healer and finder (Szabolcs County, in Schram 1970, 2:353, 369). At other times there were German, Turkish, and Romanian seers, {324} and even a pilgrim who dealt with recognizing witches (Vác, in ibid., 1:472). In one instance, there was a foreign seer who could point out, by name, the witches in the village. However, most of the time we know nothing about the techniques of these identifying people; usually they were just referred to without names, as in: "she said who the witches in Farkas Street were" (Komáromy 1910, 110; Kisújszállás, 1749). There were only a few of these "wandering seers," {325} yet they still regularly cropped up all over the country.

The bewitched went to seers themselves, or were taken if they were seriously ill; but often a relative could determine whether the root of the trouble was a maleficium, and if it was, then who the bewitcher had been. If they could ascertain only the fact of bewitchment ("the harm comes from the evils," "from a human," and the like), even that was important information because it meant that the bewitchment could not be remedied by the usual healers from the village. If the trouble "came from a human," action had to be taken against the human and not against the illness.

According to our documents, seers from other villages naturally established only the fact of bewitchment and not the originator, although there are exceptions. From the methods apparent from the trial documents, the following is an excerpt from the aforementioned case of the parish priest's identification, a clear description of communication through an alter ego. Connected to the maleficium case of Mrs. Erdős, née Erzsébet Szekér, at her trial in 1734, there was talk of a witness who went to the holy well of Tét, and who then went to the parish priest to make her confession. All the way along a black dog followed her, "which dog the priest confessor...saw well, and...he told me that it had bewitched the fatens, that is, the woman in black from the upper neighborhood of Csorna," meaning that her alter ego followed the bewitched. Then the priest "set a trial" and summoned the woman with smoke. She came and "instantly the fatens said that it [the alter ego, i.e., the dog] had bewitched her. Then the priest answered: yes." The priest then asked why she had come, [as part of the summoning ritual] and she answered that it was to ask for flour, to which the priest replied, "I can give you flour, but then let go of this woman" (Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 2:98).

The applied techniques correlate to the aforementioned divination procedure used for seeing. Among a few descriptive examples we might mention Mrs. Antal Dávid, a woman from Nagykőrös, who saw the "deed" (the bewitchment buried in the ground) with a steel mirror, the instrument of money seers. She herself was also a money seer (1754, in Novák 1986, 298).

Another seer figured in the hearing in Gyulafehérvár in 1685. Ilona Lénáit told the future of people far away: she predicted the outcome of a war, found a thief, and saw money, and she could recognize a bewitching "tie." She had several approaches to doing these things, including reading the stars and various ways of tying a kind of thread on her fingers (Herner 1988b, 224-27).

A method involving the pouring of wax was documented in Kolozsvár in 1584; the purpose was to aecide whether the trouble came from a human or from God (Komáromy 1910, 29). A seer who came to Békés from Kecskemét in 1717 "threw withy," which was a magical twig that twisted over treasure (Csákabonyi 1960, 22-23).{326} And so it goes in the thirty-five citations of non-táltos seers; a few more references mention only techniques that concern bewitchment and witch identification.

Treasure seers, fortune-telling táltos, and seers who came from the "outside," and who could find witches when necessary, were fewer in number than these perhaps independent witch seers. Nevertheless, they gained that role automatically, since their techniques of seeing were suitable only for finding supernatural witches without any further demands, and indeed they did not alter these methods, just like witch seers, using divination and symbolic techniques, and the means discussed above to summon to a house. On the other hand, divination techniques were rather expedient for selecting bewitchers, and deciding whether bewitchment had occurred. They were based on "marking out" answers from the supernatural to the identifiers' questions. To the degree that the scarce documentation allows us to draw conclusions, seers, seers of the dead, and shamanistic magicians were allocated the role of identifying witches automatically. The most detailed French analysis also points toward that. There, seeing the dead and witches went on in the same system of communication with the supernatural, and through the same methods (Delcambre 1951, 27-41; Pinies 1983,153-202).

The names of the Hungarian táltos who were simultaneously witch identifiers should appear here—that is, besides the above-mentioned "battling táltos," who could also find witches. At the 1743 trial of Mrs. János Tótika in Simontornya, mention is made of a táltos from Dunapataj who identified bewitchment (Schram 1970, 2:507). At Mrs. István Szűcs' 1749 trial in Hódmezővásárhely, a "táltos woman" who identified a bewitcher is referred to. Péter Vecsési, a táltos who carried out a divinatimi procedure in Kecskemét, observed the steam arising from a bath in order to predict the outcome of an illness. He also healed and gave advice on countering the maleficium of witches (1691, in Schram 1970, 1:459). Mrs. János Tóth was reading (presumably bewitchment) from the stars in Turkey, but a witch hindered her (Túrkeve, 1743). (Compare this account with the battles of alter egos.) The roles of these seers fit the system, which is why it is striking how rarely they appeared as táltos identifiers. The core of their activities against witches was healing.

Fairy Magicians and Holy Seers

In Central and Southeastern Europe, fairy magicians, generally female mediators, have been familiar up until the late Modern Age. They maintained ritual connections with the mythical otherworld of the fairies, and as village healers they remedied illnesses caused by fairies. In addition, they had other seeing tasks. They could be seers of the dead, fortune-tellers, and occasionally they could take on the mantle of the "enemy of witches," since they recognized and remedied witches' maleficia. Fairy magicians were initiated by fairies who had the attributes of the "good dead" (guardian spirits, goddesses of the dead). Consequently, their features bore a significant similarity to the figures of seers initiated by the dead that were discussed above, in the section "Seers of the Dead and Wind Magicians."

They were localized variations of these seers who adjusted to fairy mythologies and cults. For example, within the framework of Central and Southeastern European fairy cults, "fairy goddesses" were the inhabitants of a "heavenly," fairylike otherworld where lavish merriment with music feasting and dancing occurred. Magicians, as "enchanted" figures initiated by fairies, took part in these events and learned about healing and the use of herbal grasses there. {327} Initiates were allowed to get in touch with the fairy world in a spontaneous or direct way (by means of visions and apparitions— that is, in trances and dreams) and through rituals. At the heart of ritual contact was the giving of sacrifices of a deathly character.

Ecstasies induced through music and dance played an important role too, and they also accompanied the themes of heavenly "initiation." Slavic-Balkan fairy beliefs and rituals were

differentiated from the Central European cults of "death goddesses" by precisely this ecstatic music and dance, although some images were known in the Alps that referred to the fairylike music of the deathly Nachtschar. A tendency seemed to appear in the parts of Europe where fairy beliefs were characteristic and widespread. The otherworld of the fairies—underground places and caves, originally the domain of chthonic goddesses (for example, the snake-goddesses mentioned several times, who also left vestiges on the Balkans)—was replaced by a Christian heaven where the creatures of mythology were resident, instead of (or along with) fairies.

In the meantime, fairy magicians retained their other fairy characteristics, and in this way healers were perhaps led on their initiatory paths by saints or guardian angels; their heavenly journeys passed through the scenes of Christian visions. This is what happened in the case of Conrad Stoeckhlin, noted by Wolfgang Behringer (1994), as well as on the occasion of Ingeborg Jonsdotter's healing woman's initiation, published by Jan-Inge Wall on the basis of a witch trial in Gotland in 1705 (1989). Fairy magicians had strong religious connotations due to their charismatic healing activities, and they often also won reputations as holy seers or living saints. These processes of becoming heavenly and Christian went on in the Hungarian regions too.

Hungarian fairy magicians existed between the varied fairy regions of Central and Southeastern Europe. Consequently, several types appear in our trials. Some are related to the táltos, and others to holy seers, and they could have both mora and werewolf characteristics. Hungarian references seem hazier and secondary in comparison with their Balkan parallels. We should suspect a strong Balkan influence in the scanty early modern ritual and belief system of Hungarian fairy magicians (see Pócs 1989b).

The first example from these witch-trial documents is a woman whom researchers have treated as a táltos because of her being "taken." Mrs. Mihály Antal, a healer from Eger, "lay dead for nine days while she was taken to God in the otherworld. Once there she was among great joy and hospitality, and had a delightful time. However, she returned because God sent her to remedy ills and heal. God also gave a written message about her wisdom, which was found under her neck, between her shoulders, when she was resurrected on the ninth day" (Diószegi

1958, 77).{328} We hear nothing more of her, but on the basis of this fragment of text, this woman can certainly be considered a fairy magician because of the motif of "joy and hospitality"; she has no táltos characteristics whatsoever.

Similar fairylike initiations can be deduced in many cases from narratives about witches' sabbats. Examining the records of confessions under torture, one finds that three sabbats are a demonologized version of a journey to the otherworld, either in the company of fairies or for the purpose of visiting the fairies. Mihály Csordós, a cowherd from Gyalóka, "bumped into the evils... and went with them" for three nights of merriment with music and dance. There was eating and drinking, and "the violinist was Geci Oláh." Mrs. István Csáki from Ebergőc gave a similar confession in 1745, as did Mrs. György Tóth in Csorna in 1742 (1744, Kapuvár, in Schram 1970, 2:203-4, Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 2:228). These constituted a "popular basis" of initiatory trance journeys for the images of witches' sabbats and witches' gatherings, along with the above-mentioned narratives about fairy existence.{329} We can also find more distant examples in Henningsen's research in Sicily (1990), Jan-Inge Wall's Swedish documentation (1989), and Margaret Murray's Scottish fairy trials.{330} If the mythical images of fairy otherworlds that appear in a witch context are clearly based upon trance and visionary experiences of being taken to the alternative world, then the Central and Southeastern

European fairy cult offers answers to the questions (cited above in connection with witches' sabbats) of both the witch-hunting demonologists and the ethnographers researching witchcraft.

In a previous chapter we mentioned János Somogyi, a herder from Peresznye, who was initiated by fate-women fairies. For this he can also be considered a fairy magician. According to his story of being initiated on Saint George's Night, recounted by a witness (1743, Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 188-93), he was lying in a furrow when the fate women appeared. They decided upon his destiny and carried out a sacrificial ritual for the lady of the animals: they slaughtered a cow, ate its meat, stuffed its skin with oakum, and resurrected it again. Otherwise, János Somogyi was a werewolf holding a lidérc, who dealt with seeing thieves and finding witches.

As noted earlier, the roles of fate women, who determined the destiny of yet-to-be-born werewolves, were known in several parts of Europe. Bur-chard von Worms' notes from 1025, and current *strigoi* beliefs, offer evidence for that. {331} Werewolf magicians and táltos figures being "chosen in the womb" are also visible in the framework of fate-women beliefs. The connection of magicians with werewolf characters to fairy guardian spirits is not unique, and is presumably due to the characteristics of the fairies and fate women connected to the lady of animals. The Croatian and Serbian *vilenjak* or *vilovnjak* was just such a werewolf fairy magician (Zečević 1981, 42).

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From the scarce Hungarian documentation it is difficult to draw conclusions about the frequency of this type, which was undeniably present. We can refer to another person, the already mentioned Mihály Csordós, who was initiated by fairies. He admitted in the course of his *benignum examen* in 1743 that he kept contact "with [certain] women" who helped him to recognize bewitchment, and furthermore that he had a "string" that they had given him, which he used in healing. In his confession under torture he also admitted to maleficium, but he had these women carry out his bewitchments for him, as it were. The women were not his fellow witches, as perhaps the court thought, but evidently his fairy patrons (Schram 1970, 2: 195-96, 204).

{332}

The most important role that can be detected from the witch trials was that of the healer. Healers remedied the bewitchment of others, although in the few cases of the presumed original correlations that are available to us, they appear as the healers and often identifiers of "fairy illnesses." At the same time, they themselves often have characteristic fairy attributes, such as flying, turning into a bird, or appearing in a whirlwind. {333} Some of them in the position of the malefactor witch, that is, in the nighttime "fairy" apparitions of the type C witch, {334} were

the originators of fairy illnesses, which they then remedied in their professional roles.

An example is Mrs. János Horváth, née Katalin Horváth, a healing woman from Nemeskér who was seen to fly up as a bird at around midnight. What is more, witnesses refer to her as a

"beautiful woman," which is one of the most widespread terms for a fairy in Hungary (Schram 1970, 2:261-63). Mrs. Letenyei is mentioned as being seen in apparitions as part of a fairy group of three. She caused fairy illnesses such as shrinking, paralysis, or muteness, and she appeared as a "warm wind" and in other fairylike forms. However, as a healer (in that instance as a fairy), she cured injuries caused by the evils.{335} Mrs. Horváth, mentioned above, was

also an identifier of fairy illnesses. She, and only she, could say who the perpetrator had been (174849, Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 2:257-69). {336} This concerns the archaic ambivalence mentioned in Chapter 5. Initiates belonged there, and to some extent they emerged as demons similar to their enchanters; they would have certain features typical of mythical creatures. So it was in every area of Europe where fairy beliefs are found. Fairy magicians in Sicily, for example, were "fairies" and designated as such, as were the mythical inhabitants of the otherworld of fairies, whom they visited regularly on their dream journeys (Henningsen 1990).

With these features, fairies manifest distinctive, fairylike versions of the bipolar mara and werewolf witch. Essentially we see a version of the archaic bewitcher and healer witch mentioned in Chapter 6. This version scarcely departed from the "original" toward being a fairy. It is also a sign of equality that these fairy women also appeared, in two documents at least, as healers in dreams, just as those other witches had. In Mrs. Andras Hegedűs' deposition about her bewitchment, there is an episode after the maleficium: "in the middle of the night as the fatens was lying in bed, it seemed to her that the witches went to her bed with music and violins and trod on her a great deal, saying 'thank the Dudás [drummer].' She woke up and found herself to be healthy and without pain" (1742, Barbae, Sopron County, in Schram 1970, 2:169). Another fairy healer, Mrs. Mihály Horváth, bled the patient in her "seeing," while treating her kindly and gently. The patient was better by the next day, and the wound vanished from her head (1750, Hódmezővásárhely, in ibid., 1:285).

The heavenly initiation and wisdom that fairy magicians gained from fairy goddesses could also develop a Christian hue, as it was with the healing táltos. A connection could be made with the Virgin Mary, various Christian saints, or the heaven of Christian visions, instead of, or along with, the fairies. For example, Erzsébet Bartók, a defendant in Eger, won her knowledge of healing from God as a child (1711, in Sugár 1987,46). There was a type of healer with fewer fairy characteristics but with more, or even exclusively, Christian connotations, which presumably existed across the whole of the closely studied Central and Eastern European region. It is difficult to identify this type of the healer from the Hungarian trial documents, because wisdom from God, or a charismatic personality, were not necessarily the subject of the minutes of a witchcraft trial. There could be many among the healers who were mentioned in the minutes and who worked with, or knew about, herbs and grasses, and gained their knowledge in their dreams, {337} who not only remedied bewitchment but were accused of witchcraft as general healers. They were the ones who would not admit to having had anything to do with maleficium, even under torture; they cured only with herbal grasses. Kata Boda, a witch from Simontornya, was an example (1741, in Schram 1970, 2:475-78). Here are a few examples from trial documents: "the grasses talk to them";{338} they healed "following God" and "in the name of Jesus." {339} Perhaps the two táltos figures from Miskolc and Dés, about whom we know only that they cured, belong to this group (1686, in Herner 1988a, 86; J. Szendrei 1904, 648). In the eyes of the court, holy healers often gathered their demonic reputations precisely because of their Christian connotations.

All these fairylike and holy healers were mediators, and their healing capacities were closely related to their abilities to "see." They supposedly cured through their helping spirits or doubles, like the mora and werewolf witches remedying bewitchment. It is not incidental that we regard them as relatives. According to my assumptions, the Hungarian word *javas* (healer), with its variants coming from the same stem *jós* (fortune-teller) marked this kind of "seeing-healers" (cf. Pais 1975). The double meaning of the word *néző* also underpins this assumption: it means

"healer" in Transylvania, {340} and in Hungarian trial documents it stands for either "seer" or a healer who could also "see" things like treasure, thieves, or the maleficia of witches.

Considering all this, it seems obvious that these holy or fairylike seers played a role in both possible positions as the enemy of the supernatural witch: both as healers and as identifiers of bewitchment.

"Holy" seers were a general European type. They are the ones who are usually described as the "white witches," the enemies of the "black witch" who worked with Christian helping spirits. Hans Sebald, for example, wrote about white witches in a Frankish-German area who had Christian connotations and who were seers and simultaneously witch finders (1984). The existence of "holy healers" is the result of the drift toward Christianization, which was mentioned several times in connection with the various types of seers. During the Middle Ages, healers and seers became the enemies of demonologized witches, and could simultaneously gain divine connotations in a process running parallel with the polarization of the demonic world. {341} In

this process they were allocated Christian patrons instead of their dead guardian spirits, which were presumed to have been the original; however, this role of the dead also remained.

Concurrently, another process, contrary to this one, continued to follow the lay roles taken by "holy seers" or "living saints." Documentary records of living saints from the Middle and early Modem Ages shed light on charismatic personalities who showed signs of saintliness and had already gained this reputation in their lifetimes. They kept a mediatory contact with the otherworld through their Christian visions, and they were often the spiritual leaders of their community. At the same time they would fulfill the roles of the lay seer and healer of the village.

For example, in addition to healing they found thieves or "saw" the dead, and could pursue antiwitch actions. Besides their fundamental Christian connotations, along with all the mythical and ritual characters in these roles, they could well have had shamanistic features, too. {342} The living saint was a widespread type in the context of witch trials throughout Europe, largely in the functions of identifying and remedying maleficium. We have German, Scandinavian, Italian, and French documents from the era of the witch hunts, and today we know of these

figures, particularly in the Orthodox Balkans, but they were also there in twentieth-century Hungarian Catholic communities.{343}

As a result of processes with multiple starting points and directions, syncretistic mediatory techniques (and beliefs) evolved with pagan and Christian elements, such as the guardian and helping-spirit functions of dead saints, or healing and recovering in dreams. This last technique, mentioned in connection with several types of mediators, is none other than incubation, which gained an important role at pre-Christian cure sites from antiquity (for example, in the tabernacle of Asclepius), as well as at shrines in the Middle and early Modern Ages. People who slept at a holy place were given advice or medicaments for their ailments by the gods or saints who appeared in a dream. When they awoke, they were cured of their ills. Besides the above-mentioned witches and fairies, the dead that appeared in a dream could also have a similar role in the popular techniques of the Modern Age. {344} Given all this, an unequivocal categorization of the "holy" táltos and fairy magicians into the classes of religious or lay seers would obviously seem troublesome. It would also be difficult to establish what was first: a holy seer or a lay "shamanistic" magician.

Finally, we have to take a short detour, which, while still part of our discussion of fairy magicians, goes into an area not otherwise discussed. We have to say a few words about the Balkan

"fairy societies" that came into existence to heal the fairy illnesses known as *rusalia* and *căluşarii.* These societies, which are in close relationship with the fairy cult, practiced a kind of possession cult known in a variety of forms from the Mediterranean to the Near East. The main communal function of the societies known in Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria was remedying the illnesses caused by fairies. Their members, following their initiation, established contact with the fairy world during death festivals, when fairies walked among humans. Through collective ecstasy with music and dance (as well as through sacrifice) they made contact with them. The most important feature of their healing rituals was that fairies would possess them, which might result in illness just as in its resolution. Fairies were present in the form of the ambivalent dead, and as evil spirits they possessed the sick. This "bad" possession was a kind of opposite to the heavenly possession of those initiated into ecstasy through music and dance. The latter is the "good" heavenly aspect of the same fairies. {345} Healers fell into a trance together with their patients, and in their altered state of consciousness they fought, supported by their good spirits or good fairies, against the bad spirits or the bad fairies' beleaguered victim.

As far as we know, similar rituals played no part in the practices of the Hungarians. There are, however, a few references in our trials that point to these rituals as a presence in some form, at least as a belief, in Hungarian popular culture. One such "suspicious" document dates from 1745 and the confession of Erzsébet Rácz, a witch from Csorna (Schram 1970, 2:240). She claimed, and witnesses backed her up, that those who were called witches "held themselves to be of the convent of Saint Helen" and not to be witches. Of course, it was not about a real convent but about a secret pact that could perhaps indicate a secret society of the rusalia type. These women might have been the initiates of the fairy goddess who was often called Saint Helen in the Balkans.

A single reference is nothing in itself, but we have another. András Suppuny, "the bell founder" táltos from Békés, was a typical witch judging by his various characteristics, which included maleficium perpetrated in the image of animal doubles. Usually, his figure is seen as a matchless "black shaman." {346} Nonetheless, he does have a close parallel in the male counterparts of the ritual fairy societies so frequent in the eastern Balkans. This man, according to the records, was a "Godless, evil táltos, who gathered his society around him in the darkest of woods under the darkness of night, and heated up the fires of beliefs and superstition. He sang in a pagan manner, prayed with them and made pledges and had the others make vows to the prince of darkness...[and] he swore by the prince of darkness, which he did adorned with a sacrifice." All these motifs are known to be a part of the twentieth-century practices of rusalia societies. The "prince of darkness" was probably the equivalent of their fairy goddess with deathly connotations, whom the members of the society swore allegiance to in the darkness of forests, dressed in their masks. The mention of the group and its leader also links András Suppuny more closely to these fairy societies through geographical proximity.

Fairies with whom the societies maintained ritual connections were also imagined to be part of societies. The merriments with music and dance of the fairy societies of the otherworld, led by a fairy queen, corresponded to the dance rituals of societies on the ground, and vice versa. The members of rusalia and căluşarii were the terrestrial representatives of those in the other world. Now, returning to the purported witches' society of Erzsébet Rácz: it could have been a terrestrial fairy society, or a replica in the otherworld, a heavenly fairy society, the community of demonic death fairies in the alternative world. From the fairy trials published by Henningsen

(1990) or from the earlier publication of Charlotte Chapman (1970), we know of a similar terrestrial-heavenly duality among the societies from Sicily. According to her, for example, the night-going troop of *donni di notti* came into houses to heal and take care of children, and as bipolar fairy witches, also to bewitch. Women who belonged to the organizations of the "living" fairies maintained contact with them through trance and in dreams. As we mentioned, we know of images of the fairy societies of otherworlds from Celtic-language areas of Western Europe, but the collective possession rituals of Southeastern Europe did not spread there.

Approaching the question from the angles of fairy cults and mythology, we again face the problematics of the popular foundations of witches' sabbat images. As Mircea Eliade also pointed out (1974), the images and rituals of fairy societies serve as an important ideological precursor to and explanation for Central and Eastern European witches' sabbats. Similarly, in his publication of the documents of Sicilian fairy cults, Gustav Henningsen talks about these as "white sabbats" and as potential forerunners of the witches' sabbat. Sicilian fairy images did not develop into witchcraft; they simply failed to spread in Sicily, in the Central and Western European sense of the term "village witchcraft." The Hungarian data point at a number of phenomena that were incorporated into the images of local witches' sabbats, or more precisely of popular witches' merriments: the beliefs and topoi of the merriments of demonic fairies, mentioned numerous times, and also the ceremonies of ritual possession cults—that is, the genuine practice of the societies. To demonstrate the latter, I brought specific examples from 44

Hungarian witches' sabbat narratives, taken from a previous study of mine (1989b, 61-66). Adding further precision to the wording, the motifs of terrestrial and heavenly rituals were present together, parallel with each other in the various semantic strata of witches' sabbat narratives.

As in all aspects of the fairy cult, here we have to emphasize its death character, too. This was apparent in a strong relationship between the guardian roles of fairies and the dead; in their

"good" and "bad" features, which both aided and attacked human communities and their mediators; and, likewise, in the images of the otherworldly troops of fairies and the dead. Each of these, as we saw, were important elements in a type of image of witches' sabbats and narratives about them. We suspected otherworldly troops, essentially the same as the heavenly fairy groups, to be behind certain nocturnal witches' societies with flags and ranks, a night group of the dead that fulfilled the functions of good and bad guardian spirits for individuals, families, or communities. We also found material, (for example, descriptions of the battles of guardian spirits) that leads us to surmise that this troop of the dead was imagined as some kind of autonomous, informative society whose members communicated with each other. As Daithi O'hOgain wrote about the society of Irish fairies, they are "the community of the living dead" and

"a kind of spiritual community" (1990, 185). The demonological version of the witches' society of fairies, spirits, and dead communicating in the alternative world was the terrestrial, conspiratorial society of witches. That formed the fundamental demonological precept that ran through the centuries of witch hunts across the whole of Europe, the witches' society that has been believed, again and again, even by researchers and almost up to the present day. It is this for which the images of fairy societies offer an important popular predecessor and explanation.

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Afterword

How can we summarize the most significant lessons of our studies? We have examined the mediatory systems of the early Modem Age in the light of witchcraft, relying for documentation upon the minutes of witch trials. While this approach imposed some limitations on an investigation of the relationships of mediatory systems outside witchcraft, it also allowed an intensive scrutiny of their fimctions within witchcraft. Instead of the entire system of village witchcraft, we have focused on the supernatural witch, which is present in belief systems throughout Europe as an archaic fundament.

Supernatural witches were also mediators from the perspective of their mythical context and their belief attributes as moras or werewolves. They were human-demons who maintained contact with the dead, double creatures with the ability to use trance and to gain entry to the supernatural world through doubles. They could fulfill their societal function in the institution of early Modern Age village witchcraft through this human and demonic duality. At the same time, in matters of communal cohabitation and morals, they embodied the normative role of the dead, meaning ancestors in their demonic form, and through their communication with the dead. As mediators, they were chiefly fictive belief figures with attributed features. But they cannot be viewed as simply that because their ambivalent characters have another aspect, that of positive magicians, the healing witches and mediators. Their belief system has many archaic and mythical marks. The witches' historical relationship within village witchcraft with seers and magicians is palpable on this mythical level. Both parties are the mediators of the dead. Magicians and seers who are initiated by the "good dead" appear as the enemies of the witch, who is fictive and initiated by the "bad dead." This mythical antagonism, evidence of common historical roots, is present in the images of the various soul and spirit battles.

An archaic, fundamental stratum of European witchcraft, also significant to Hungarian interests, proved to share many of its origins and stands connected with the kind of European shamanism we reluctantly refer to as peripheral shamanism. Every deciphered mediatory system, each type of Hungarian magician, seer, and táltos is, in some form, related to witchcraft.

These connections are partly the consequence of a common past. For example, mara seers and mara witches, or wind magicians battling against crop-stealing demons and witches can be associated with Nordic shamanism. On the other hand, they are certainly the result of secondary adaptation and interlacement; examples are the roles of crop or fairy magicians in remedying bewitchment or identifying witches.

Of course, there is a great deal of uncertainty in this area due to the distorting mirror of the witch trials. We cannot be sure, but we presume that there were shamanistic kinds of magicians who originally had nothing to do with witchcraft. Perhaps the Hungarian táltos of the Middle Ages was one such, and the "holy" seers and healers, along with fairy magicians, may also belong here (although there is a thread in the past of the latter that leads to witchcraft). However, in the known context of the trials, they all emerge incorporated into the system of witchcraft.

Here they are not the shamanistic forerunners of witchcraft but shamanistic accomplices. Consequently, the belief systems of European shamanism and witchcraft developed as twin siblings from common parentage and were closely bound to each other. This is how we see things in the light of both German and Slav documentation.

In the meantime, elements (such as the fairy mythologies) entered the system from alien schemes or from a presumably uniquely Hungarian shamanism with eastern (perhaps Turkic) origins. Nonetheless, from the sources that we do have, we cannot disentangle anything from these alien systems beyond and before witchcraft. As a result, and in the current stage of our

research, we cannot see what all this means in terms of the past of certain unique types of mediators, like the Hungarian magicians and táltos figures. Nor can we see where we stand with the uniquely Hungarian mediatory techniques in this almost entirely European environment. What, for example, was the role of the Hungarian táltos or seer before it intersected with European witchcraft, or with European mediatory techniques in general? Our quest in source analysis could not answer these questions. Instead they necessitate further research with a historical approach, and most of all, other source materials beyond witchcraft.

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Túrkeve, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, 1743, Mrs. István Kelemen and Mrs. István Vámos,

JNSzmL Túrkeve v. [town]. Prothocollum inquisitionalium 1742-1783. 1743, p. 30.

Abbreviations

AL – Állami Levéltár [State Archives]

BAZmL – Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye Levéltára [Archives of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County]

HBmL – Hajdú-Bihar megyei Levéltár [Archives of Hajdú-Bihar County]

JNSzmL – Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megyei Levéltár [Archives of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County]

Szoml – Szolnok megye Levéltára [Archives of Szolnok County]

KOTÁL – Komáromi Területi Állami Levéltár [Regional State Archives of Komárno]

KTÁL – Kassai Területi Állami Levéltár [Regional State Archives of Košice]

MÁL – Marosvásárhelyi Állami Levéltár [State Archives of Tîrgu Mureş]

PTÁL – Pozsonyi Területi Állami Levéltár [Regional State Archives in Bratislava]

RIÁJL – Rimaszombati Állami Járási Levéltár [District State Archives of Rimarská Sobota]

Discoveries of the trials were conducted by József Bessenyei, Ildikó Kristóf, Sándor Pál-Antal, Mihály Szikszai, and Péter Tóth.

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{1} For an ethno-psychological summary, see Arbman, *Ecstasy or Religious Trance* esp. vol 2. "Essence and Forms of Ecstasy." On the ethno-psychiatric aspects, psychological types, and the importance of altered states of consciousness in history of religion, see Siikala, "The Siberian Shaman's Technique of Ecstasy." Based on his research results Holm emphasized the universal nature of these phenomena. See Holm, "Ecstasy Research in the Twentieth Century." On trance techniques in relation to Christian visions, see Benz, *Die Vision,* 83-222, and Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter,* 28-56. For trance techniques as well as the general aspects of altered states of consciousness, also consider near-death experiences.

For the most important anthropological summary on this, see Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys.*

{2} For the most important published records of witch trials used as sources for my research, see: Reizner, *Szeged Története;* Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára;* Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529-1768;* Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében;* Hemer, *Bornemisza Anna megbűvöltetése;* and a reprint publication that contains shorter trial records from Gábor Kazinczi's publication in 1809 to the latest (apart from Hausel, "Micsoda bűjölést, bájolást tud hozzája?" M. Szilágyi,

"Boszorkányperek Tolna vármegyéből," 437-513); see also Klaniczay, Kristóf, and Pócs, eds., *Magyarországi boszorkányperek*

{3} For some of the newly discovered witch trials, see the list of sources. Because of space considerations, I only cite the trials that I mention or quote from. In the notes I refer to the manuscripts by noting the time and place of the trial.

{4} From the changing staff of our working group, let me mention Gábor Klaniczay, Katalin Benedek, Ildikó Kristóf, and Péter G. Tóth. They deserve the most thanks for their cooperation in the research, for their commitment, and for giving inspiration.

{5} On the rivalry between religion and popular magic, as well as the activities of the clergy and the monks in satisfying the magical needs of the peasantry, see: Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter,* and Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic.*

{6} Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* chapter titled "Magic"; Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials* and *Magic in the Middle Ages;* Peters, *The Magician, the Witch and the Law;* Muchembled, *La Sorcière au village;* Frijhoff, "Prophétie et société dans les Provinces-Unies aux XVIe-XVIIIe siècles"; Kramer, "Schaden- und Gegenzauber im Alltagsleben des 16.-18.

Jahrhunderts nach Archivalischen Quellen aus Holstein," 222-39; Dienst, "Magische Vorstellungen und Hexenvervolgungen in der österreichischen Ländern," and "Lebensbewältigung durch Magie"; Valentinitsch, "Die Vervolgung von Hexen und Zauberern im Herzogtum," 314; Behringer *Hexenverfolgungen in Bayern',* Labouvie, *Zauberei und Hexenwerk,* 57-154. Where no research has been conducted in this direction, information can be derived from the records of the witch trials. See, for example, Novombergskij, *Koldovstvo Moskovskoj Rusi XVII-ogo stoletïja,* on Russian witch and sorcerer trials, where a very similar picture emerges.

{7} Previously mentioned surveys tell us less about this, but a lot of indirect sources prove it, not least the data of witch trials that refer to weather magicians who had been taken to court.

See, for example, the statistics for Styria by Valentinitsch, "Die Vervolgung von Hexen und Zauberern im Herzogtum Steiermark."

{8} The *táltos* trials and the *táltos* mentioned in other trials, all together. The *táltos* is a type of Hungarian magician which some Hungarian researchers considered to be the successor of an assumed ancient Hungarian shaman that originated from the pre-Christian times and lived on until the Modern Age. See: Diószegi, 1958.

{9} In reference to this, see first of all Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England,* 205-6, who applied the findings of social anthropology (primarily the findings of Evans-Pritchard,

"Witchcraft," about African witchcraft) to early modern witchcraft in Essex.

{10} Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft,* applies the term "sorcery" to magical techniques, whereas witchcraft is an occult activity and those practicing it rely upon inner psychological energies.

{11} For a few important studies (mostly French) that describe village witchcraft in the system of maleficium, identification, and healing, see: Favret-Saada, *Les mots, la mort, les sorts;* Larner, *Enemies of God,* 81-119; Pinies, *Figures de la sorcellerie languedocienne;* Camus, *Pouvoirs sorciers;* Briggs, *Communities of Belief*

{12} For a study on witch doctors, see Blécourt, "Witch-doctors, Soothsayers, and Priests."

{13} Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials,* 42; Larner, *Enemies of God,* 114.

{14} From her three types, one draws together two of R. Kieckhefer's types, thus she has three types as opposed to R. Kieckhefer's four. Three types of the course of "processing a witch" are as follows: cursing and quarrels; sorcery, healing, and fortune-telling; and association with a reputed witch.

{15} This type, based on neighborhood accusations, is the main subject of Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England.* It is based on the mutual interdependency of neighborhoods in the early modern self-sufficient peasant homesteads.

{16} Macfarlane reinforces this; compare his reflections on the ending of the trials: ibid., 205-6.

{17} For a comprehensive summary about this, see: Soldán and Heppe, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse,* 13-126; and Caro Baroja, *Die Hexen und ihre Welt,* 40-92.

{18} For the South and East European shamanistic sorcerers as well as the táltos, see: Klaniczay, "Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft." He called attention to the way these sorcerers, having integrated into the system of witchcraft, inevitably take the place of the identifier.

{19} Several studies show similar findings: according to Horsley's, "Who were the witches," half of the accused were healers. According to Blécourt this figure is imprecise and overgeneralized; there are great fluctuations between countries and ages, and all of these are also dependent on the degree of official accusation and punishment. See Blécourt, *Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests,* 289.

{20} Blécourt, ibid., 397, supports this with his study dealing with the relation between witch and healer, and the system of maleficium and healing.

{21} Klaniczay, "Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft." Also see Róheim, "Hungarian Shamanism," who emphasized these relationships.

{22} Not all of the people cited below considered the examined phenomena to be shamanism in the same way, but they examine the same complex of phenomena: Strömbäck, *Textstudier i nordisk religionshistoria;* Ohlmarks, "Arktischer Schamanizmus und altnordischer Seidr"; Ellis, *The Road to Hell;* Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte,* 2:94-106; Glosecki, *Shamanism and Old English Poetry;* J. Pühvel, *Comparative Mythology;* Siikala, "Shamanic Themes in Finnish Epic Poetry," 103-21. For memories of Germanic shamanism that live on in folklore, see especially: Buchholz, "Schamanistischer Züge in der altislandischen Überlieferung"; Grambo, "Sleep as a Means of Ecstasy and Divination"; Lixfeld, "Die Guntramsage"; Róheim, "Lucaszék."

{23} Murray assumed the existence of a pre-witchcraft fertility cult that was led by a people before the Indo-Europeans. She thought she had found the continuation of this cult in data from the trials referring to societies of witches and the witches' sabbats from sixteenth to eighteenth century Western Europe. For an important rebuttal of this theory, see Cohn, *Europe 's Inner Demons,* 114-61.

{24} See the portion of Chapter 7 that discusses ritual trance. This is precisely what the Serb researchers like to call shamanism. See, for example, Zečević, *"Šamanistička komponenta rusalskog rituala. "*

{25} For the similarities and differences between possession and shamanism, see in particular: Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion;* de Heusch, "Possession et chamanisme."

{26} See, for example, Sebestyén, "A magyar varázsdob"; Róheim, *Magyar néphit és népszokások,* 7-40; Diószegi, *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben;* Diószegi 1958; Hoppal,

"Traces of Shamanism in Hungarian Folk Beliefs."

{27} Runeberg, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic;* Eliade, "Some Observations on European Witchcraft"; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons,* 231-49; Henningsen, "'The Ladies from Outside': An

Archaic Pattern of the Witches Sabbath"; Wall, *Hon var en gång tagen under j orden...*\ Ginzburg, *Storia notturna;* Klaniczay, "Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft"; Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe;* Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe"; Behringer, *Conrad Stoeckhlin und die Nachtschar.*

Chapter 1.

{28} The 1529 trial of Bernhard, a German cowherd from Sopron, was the first known witch trial in Hungary. The last was the trial of Mrs. Mihály Dul, née Anna Ágos, a woman from Tiszapüspöki, in Eger in 1781, thirteen years after their prohibition. For the number, distribution, and types of trials, as well as the kinds of accusations, see Klaniczay, "Hungary: The Accusations and the Universe of Popular Magic," which explores the Hungarian witch hunt in its entirety. Also see Iklódy, "A magyarországi boszorkányüldözés történeti alakulása."

{29} Based on a large number of examples, I examined this question in detail in my study of the witch trials of Sopron County, Hungary. See Pócs, "Maleficium-narratívok—konfliktusok—

boszorkánytípusok (Sopron vármegye, 1529-1768)." For the characteristics and source value of witch-trial narratives, see also: Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate,* 153-166; Briggs, *Communities of Belief* 77-40.

{30} From the vast body of literature on the development and role of witch-hunting demonology, I suggest a summarizing chapter: Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons,* 16-34. It follows the evolution of church doctrine on demons beginning with the views of Augustine and the system worked out by Thomas Aquinas, as well as the changing beliefs of theologians about Satan and his power, his influence on humans, his role with respect to heretics and to witches who carried out acts believed to be evil, and in the manifestation of their supernatural abilities. Heinrich Institoris and Jacob Sprenger, in *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), gave only the final touches to doctrines that were expressly adjusted to the hunting of witches. For the most important published sources on demonology, including other church sources on witch hunts, see: Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und Hexenverfolgungen im Mittelalter;* Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft,* vol. 1. For sources on magic in the Middle Ages, see Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* 36-59; and for the changing attitude of the church toward magic, see Peters, *The Magician, the Witch and the Law.* For literature on demonology in Hungary, see: Makkai, "A középkori magyar hitvilág problematikájához," 106-16; Kristóf, *Boszorkányüldözés Debrecenben és Bihar vármegyében* (in press).

{31} For a sabbat stereotype that developed by the fifteenth century, see: Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* 41-42; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons,* 10-102; Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials,* 22-23, 31, 78-80.

{32} Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* draws up these processes in their development in the Middle Ages and from European perspectives.

{33} Studies on sabbat images, their popular or demonological origins (and on other questions of origin) cover the last century of witchcraft and witch hunt research. Carlo Ginzburg's two books— *I Benandanti* and *Storia notturna*—which have already been mentioned for other

reasons, are relevant here. In these he summarizes the literature and problematics of the question.

See also: Eliade, "Some Observations on European Witchcraft"; Henningsen, "The Ladies from Outside," 191-215; Klaniczay, "Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft"; and Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe," for the popular origins of sabbat types and their archaic forerunners.

{34} I do not intend to discuss the numerous perspectives on the relationships between the witch, witchcraft, and the Christian devil, either here or later. (I will mention a few questions relevant to the subject, but only in passing.) There is not even space for the most important parts of the enormous amount of literature. I refer again to Cohn, *Europe 's Inner Demons,* and his earlier study, "The Myth of Satan and His Human Servants." These discuss the question from a historical perspective and from many angles (from the demons of the heretic movements to the devil that played a major role in the development of the great witch hunt, that belongs to the fiction of the witches' sabbat and witches' mass, the devil that is "adored" in the witches' society).

However, the popular devil images and the folklore roots of the "conspiracy" are missing from the studies, which is exactly what would be most interesting for us in the current context. For an important summary of the latter, in a Central and Southeastern European setting, see Kretzenbacher, *Teufelsbünder und Faustgestalten im Abendlande.* See also Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe." For devil narratives from the Reformation that refer to a large amount of devil literature from the era, see the catalogue of Alsheimer, "Katalog protestantischer Teufelserzählungen des 16. Jahrhunderts," 417-519, and di Nola's book *Il diavolo,* in which the author gives an extensive overview of the "ethnic" characteristics of the notion of devil, as well as about the popular images of the devil.

{35} European folklorists studied these popular demons many times, as the predecessors of the particular syncretistic devil figure of popular Christianity and popular belief. See, for example: Runeberg, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic;* Röhrich, "Az ördög alakja a népköltészetben"; Woods, *The Devil in Dog Form,* 15-21, 84-85, 90-94, 100-16. Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact," published a lot of data connected to these archaic, "pagan"-rooted images of the Central and Eastern European popular devil as well as to devil conspiracy.

{36} For these figures of popular belief, as fictive magicians, see Pócs, "Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében," for the most important Central and Southeastern European literature.

{37} For the most important discussion of ritual magic connected to witchcraft, see Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science.* For literature on the elite magic and superstitions of the Middle Ages, see Harmening, *Superstitio.*

{38} However, because of space considerations, I cannot publish here the large number of sources for the known and used data on beliefs and narratives in the twentieth century. I can only refer to some summarizing works, and I have to be satisfied with referring to catalogue numbers.

{39} Following Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée,* on the roles of Odin and other gods of the dead that fulfilled magical functions in the Germanic and Celtic folklore, as well as the question of the dead and the "third function," see: Ward, "The Threefold Death"; Pühvel, *Comparative Mythology,* 191-93; Lecouteux, *Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter,* 240-48; and O'hOgain, *Myth, Legend and Romance,* 213-23.

Chapter 2.

{40} K. Ranke, *Indogermanische Totenverehrung;* Lecouteux, "Mara—Ephialtes—Incubus," 1-24; Schmitt, *Les revenants;* Gurevič, *Problemy Sredn'ev'ekovoj narodnoj Kultury,* chapter 4; Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead.*

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{41} I have no room to quote the enormous quantity of literature concerning this question. A few important summaries: K. Ranke, *Indogermanische Totenverehrung;* Murko, "Das Grab als Tisch"; Ränk, *Die heilige Hinterecke;* Straubergs, *Die Epiphanie der Seele;* Pentikäinen, *The Nordic Dead-Child Tradition.*

{42} In Croatian, Serbian, and Hungarian there is reference to them as "unbaptized"; in Bulgarian, Romanian, and Greek as "shadows." The Germanic *wütendes Heer, Nachtvolk, Nachtschar,* and *arme Seelen* represent a similar spirit host, as do the Slovakian and Macedonian *nav, navi,* and the like. Their Hungarian versions are *gonoszok, rosszak,* and also "unbaptized." A few important sources are: Liungmann, *Traditions-Wanderungen Euphrat-Rhein,* 2:618-19; de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte,* 1:448-50; Zečević, *Mitska biča srpskih predanja,* 123-25; Strausz, *Bolgár néphit,* 173-74; Dukova, "Die Bezeichnungen der Dämonen im Bulgarischen," 9; Candrea, *Folklorui medical român comparat,* 152-56, 163-64; Vlachos, "Geister und Dämonenvorstellungen im Südosteuropäischen Raum griechischer Sprachzügehörichkeit," 235-36; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion,* 288; Hahn, *Albanesische Studien,* 161-62; Waschnitius, "Perht, Llolda und verwandte Gestalten"; Meisen, *Die Sagen von Wütenden Heer und wilden Jäger;* Schmëing, "Das Zweite Gesicht im Schottland und Niederdeutschland," 110-18; Kuret, "Die Zwölften und das wilde Heer in den Ostalpen," 80-92. For a brief summary of the Hungarian data, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 16-17.

{43} The transitional world between heaven and earth was a general characteristic of all Indo-European mythology. See, for example: Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slovian,* 651-53; Rohde, *Psyche,* 1:248-49; Schell, "Der Volksglauben im Bergischen an die Fortdauer der Seele nach dem Tode," 315. The late antiquity and early Christian syncretistic demon world also populated this area: Hart, *Images of Flight,* 89-135.

{44} Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire;* Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visions literatur im Mittelalter,* 74. It has naturally changed *from where* the dead returned from the other world, or from a transitional place of penitence, *to where* one had to go in order to meet them.

{45} Rohde, *Psyche,* 246-49; Christiansen, "The Dead and the Living"; Ränk, *Die heilige Hinterecke;* Lecouteux, *Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter,* 240-48.

{46} For an outline of the subject, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 33-34, and *Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében,* 150.

{47} Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight;* Rohde, *Psyche;* Schmëing, "Das Zweite Gesicht im Schottland und Niederdeutschland"; Meier To Bernd, "Das Zweite Gesicht im Volksglauben und in Volkssagen"; Peuckert, "Der Zweite Leib," 11-35; Paulson, "Die Schicksalsseele"; Belmont, *Les signes de le naissance,* 52-63; Meyer-Matheis, "Die Vorstellung eines Alter Ego in Volkserzählungen"; Strömbäck, "The Concept of the Soul in the Nordic Tradition"; Grober-Glück, "Volksglauben-Vorstellungen über die scheidende Seele"; Lecouteux, *Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter,* 229-30.

{48} In this aspect Lecouteux's argumentation has to be accepted; see his *Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter,* 177-78.

{49} The richest traditions for this are in Celtic and Germanic areas in particular, even in the twentieth century. However, mora and witch beliefs also maintain the image of the physical double elsewhere—for example, among the Slav peoples.

{50} Toporov, "K drevn'ebalkanskim svjazam v oblasťi jazyka i mitologii"; Dukova, "Die Bezeichnungen der Dämonen im Bulgarischen," 30-36. The other source of origin, though less well supported, is **mer* (drive out) (Dagmar Burkhart, *Kuturraum Balkan,* 87).

{51} The most important sources of the data are Krauss, *Slavische Volbforschungen,* 14651; Mansikka, "Demons and Spirits," 624-25; Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slovian,* 633-36; Đorđević,

"Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 2-32, 132; Candrea, *Folklorui medical român comparat,* 152-56; Tokar'ev, *Religioznyje verovan'ija vostočnos-lavjanskich narodov XIX. i načala XX. veka,* 102-4; Zečević, *Mitska biča srpskih predanja,* 114-20; Georgieva, *Blgarska narodna mitologija,* 168-69; Dagmar Burkhart, *Kuturraum Balkan,* 87-89; MacCulloch, *The Mythology of All Races,* 2:288-90; F. Ranke, "Mahr und Mahrt," 1508-11; Runeberg, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic,* 137-38; Tillhagen, "The Conception of the Nightmare in Sweden"; Peuckert, "Der Zweite Leib," and "Die Walriderske im Siebrand"; Raudvere, *Föreställningar om maran i nordisk folktro;* Lecouteux, *Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter* and *Fées, sorcières et loup-garous au Moyen Age.* A Hungarian version of *mora* is the *nora;* see Barna, "A nora."

{52} From the most important literature and sources of data, see: Hertz, *Der Werwolf;* MacCulloch, *The Mythology of All Races,* 2:291-94; Odstedt, *Varulven i Svensk Folktradition;* Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das Hellenische Altertum,* 15765; Abbot, *Macedonian Folklore,* 217; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion,* 239-0; Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung,* 128; Mušlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului,* 227-29; Zečević, *Mitska biča srpskih predanja,* 126-37; Dagmar Burkhart, *Kuturraum Balkan,* 95-96.

Chapter 3.

{53} Kolozsvár, 1584, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 57.

{54} Mrs. Mihály Zselyó's trial, Felsötarcsa, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, 1744, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:467.

{55} Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, 1751, in Schram, ibid., 2:402. For materials further emphasizing physical similarities, see, for example, Szalonta, Bihar County, in ibid., 1:44; and Miskolc, 1716, in ibid., 1:187.

{56} Kismarja, 1715, in B. Molnár, "Boszorkányperek Bihar vármegyéből," 363-69. For a similar case of a witch in captivity, see Magdolna Rubány's trial, 1721, Puchov, Trenesen County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára, 297.* For an image double in order to deceive a husband, see the trial of Mrs. János Szűcs and companion, Kisújszállás, 1749, ara thee more documents. I have had to restrict myself to indicating the quantity of the materials of the documentary examples without referring to their sources.

{57} Éva Fasing's 1691 trial in Kőszeg, in Schram, "A levéltárak jelentősége a népszokás kutatásban," 183.

{58} Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:547.

{59} Mrs. György Ban's 1722 trial, Lédec, Sopron County, in ibid., 2:30.

{60} Szentes, 1732, in ibid., 1:238.

{61} Kiskomárom, Zala County, 1741, in ibid., 2:607.

{62} Ibid., 2:547.

{63} Mrs. István Ördög's trial, Szentes, 1757, in Árva, *Boszorkányperek Csanádvármegyében,* 16.

{64} Nagyvárad, 1766, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 696. For a similar recording about a "soul of a child-like form" that could slide through a keyhole, see Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, 1715, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 311.

{65} Mrs. Miklós Szeles's trial, Kolozsvár, 1584, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 63.

{66} Ugocsa County, 1707, in ibid., 211.

{67} Debrecen, 1694, in ibid., 171. For more witches appearing in the image of others, see Hódmezővásárhely, 1734, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:241; and Fölsőbük, Sopron County, 1730, in ibid., 2:57, "in different and different figures."

{68} For example, Hódmezővásárhely, 1750, in ibid., 1:285; Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, 1715, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 304-5; and another forty-three references.

{69} Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:338.

{70} Mihály Szilágyi, "Boszorkányperek Tolna vármegyéből," 507.

{71} Keserű, Bihar County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:58.

{72} Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, 1737, in ibid., 2:355. Similar accounts come from Eger, 1781, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok,* 214; Hódmezővásárhely, 1788, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:345; Szeged, 1728, in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 399; and another five documents from Zemplén, Vas, Sopron, Szatmár, and Heves Counties.

{73} Sopron County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:57.

{74} For *masca* in the sense of "witch," see, for example, Gervasius of Tilbury in the thirteenth century: Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft,* 1:173.

{75} There are examples for similar phenomena connected to obviously demonic "soul witches" in the Russian domain. See Mansikka, "Demons and Spirits," 626, the "possessed kikljuši."

{76} Kismacéd, Pozsony County, 1614, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:237. A similar case occurs in Esztergom County, 1677, in Schram, ibid., 1:378; and three more documents.

{77} Mrs. István Ördög's trial, 1757, in Árva, *Boszorkányperek Csanádvármegyében,* 16.

{78} Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 406. A similar instance occurs in Hódmezővásárhely, 1759 (Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 343).

{79} See the questions of the court in Mária Linka's trial, Hódmezővásárhely, 1750, in Schram, ibid., 1:283, or Mrs. István Molnár's confession in Szeged, 1731, in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 490.

{80} Sopron County, 1730, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:54. For a death alter ego—that is, one appearing in the image of a dead person, see Sempte, Pozsony County, 1730, in ibid., 1:526. "Spirit" in Felsőtarcsa, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, in ibid., 1:468.

{81} Sajóvámos, Borsod County, ibid., 1:153.

{82} Hódmezővásárhely, 1750, in ibid., 1:285; Lédec, Sopron County, 1722, in ibid., 1:3031; Hódmezővásárhely, 1740, in ibid., 1:267; and an additional ten soul troops.

{83} The last data: Fölsőbük, Sopron County, 1730, in ibid., 2:57; also Salgótarján, 1722, in Hausel, "Micsoda bűjölést, bájolást tud hozzája?" 330; Hódmezővásárhely, 1739, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:253; and other data mentioned another eleven times.

{84} Hódmezővásárhely, 1739, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:259.

{85} Fölsőbük, Sopron County, 1746, in ibid., 2:247, 249.

{86} Ibid., 2:52-53. Similar accounts come from 1739, ibid., 1:259, and two additional documents (tittering spirits).

{87} Komárom County in Rómer, "Adalékok a boszorkányperekhez II-III," 162.

{88} Kata Kádár's trial, Kolozsvár, 1733, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 469.

{89} Meuli, "Maske, Makereien"; Peuckert, "Der Schodüvelstein," 54-62. Compare the terminology of doubles as images or puppets, and the idea of an empty mask. Here this is the other way around: if the one with the mask is dead, then the dead can be represented by the mask in its entire reality.

{90} Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 96. Further mention of sightings "with a sheet": Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, 1715, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:409; Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 359; and eight more documents.

{91} Hódmezővásárhely, 1730, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:235.

{92} Szombathely, 1768, in Bencze, "Két újólag előkerült akta a boszorkányperek

idejéből," 915; Eger, 1766, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok,* 211; and four

more documents.

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{93} Otomány, Bihar County, 1742, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperekoklevéltára,* 314; Borsóvá, Bereg County, 1714, in ibid., 346.

{94} Fölsőbük, Sopron County, 1730, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:58.

{95} Rozsnyó, 1676, the trial of Mrs. Kristóf Varga and companions.

{96} Hódmezővásárhely, 1740, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:267.

{97} Balkány, Szabolcs County, 1702, the trial of Mrs. István Galgóczi and companions.

{98} Kolozsvár, 1584, Mrs. Ambrus Zöld's trial, Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 68.

{99} Horpács, Nógrád County, 1692, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:206.

{100} Taksony, Heves County, 1727, in ibid., 1:395; Hódmezővásárhely, in ibid., 1:283-84; Sorkitótfalu, Vas County, 1768, in ibid., 2:542.

{101} Szombathely, 1768, in Bencze, "Két újólag előkerült akta a boszorkányperek idejéből," 916.

{102} Kisdobrony, Bereg County in Lehoczky, "Beregmegyei boszorkányperek," 303-4; Debrecen, 1735, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 497; and three more hen references.

{103} There is an independent study about the Scandinavian witch animals; here, the specific types of the *familiáris* clearly correspond to the various types of doubles. For physical and spiritual doubles, as well as for "sent" animals, see Nildin-Wall and Wall, "The Witch as Hare"; and Grambo, "Traces of Shamanism in Norwegian Folktales and Popular Legends," 42.

{104} For the Romanian helping frog see Pamfile, *Mitologie românească,* 157. In a 1686 Hungarian trial document, Mrs. Mátyás Padis, a witch from Nyék, has a frog: Schram,

Magyarországi boszorkányperek, 2:26.

{105} Lak and Szakállas, Komárom County, in Rómer, "Adalékok a boszorkányperekhez," 227-28. For further documentation of "night goers," see Kismacéd, Pozsony County, 1618, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:234; Bornemisza, *Ördögi kísértetek,* 810.

{106} Runeberg, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic,* 137-38. However, in the Hungarian context, Szendrey, "Hexe-Hexendruck," dismissed it when giving a summary of the Hungarian references to tormenting demons and tormenting lidérc, even though he mentioned mora and lidérc in the discussion about witches.

{107} Dés, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 507; Gyulafehérvár hearing, 1685, in Hemer, *Rontás és igézés,* 230; and three more documents from Transylvania.

{108} Kisvárda, Szatmár County, 1709, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:371; Marosvásárhely, 1752, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára;* and Eger, 1727, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok,* 110.

{109} Köröstarcsa, Békés County, 1756, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:145; Kiskunhalas, 1734, in ibid., 2:430; and another six documents.

{110} Nógrád County, in Török, "Történeti adatok a küldött farkas mondáihoz," 279; Horváth, "Boszorkányok és boszorkánypörök Szombathelyen," 32, 648; and eight more documents.

{111} Vaszar, Győr County, 1758, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 688; Vas County, 1653, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:718; Keresztúr, Sopron County, in Schram, ibid., 2:189.

{112} For the European references on the image of the lord of the animals, see Leopold Schmidt, "Der Ήβη der Tiere' in einigen Sagenlandschaften Europas und Eurasias"; Bárkányi, "Az

'állatok királya' a magyar népmesében"; and Paulson, "The Animal Guardian." Röhrich, "Europäische Wildgeistersagen," 150-53, notes that images originating from hunting cultures were present in the Artemis and later Diana cults in Europe in antiquity and the Middle Ages. This was a direct route to the belief system about night witches.

{113} Dés, 1742, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 507; Nagykároly, 1745, in Szirmay, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, történeti és polgári esmérete,* 8081.

{114} I have no room for referencing all of the documentary sources used and mentioned at various points of the text around the European witch. A few important summarizing studies that I relied upon, besides the published documentation, are: Weiser-Aall, "Hexe"; Künzig, "Typensystem der Deutschen Volkssage"; Bonomo, *Caccia alle streghe;* Marinov, "Narodna vjara i religiozni narodni običai," 215; Zelenin, *Russische (ostslavische) Volbkunde,* 395; Kovács, "Die Hexen in Russland," 51-82; Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slovian,* 344; Đorđević, "Veštica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 5-255; Dagmar Burkhart, *Kulturraum Balkan,* 90-93; Bošković-Stulli, "Hexenprozesse und Hezensagen in Kroatien," 494-513; Kurocskin, "A boszorkány alakja az ukrán folklórban"; Candrea, *Folclorul medical român comparat,* 106-52; Muşlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din răspunsurile la chestionarele,*

244-77. For a description of Eastern and Southeastern European (Serbian, Ukrainian, and Bulgarian) witches and shamanistic magicians functioning in the same system with double souls and as each other's enemies, see Tolstoj and Tolstaja, "Zametki po slavjanskomu jazyčestvu," 44-120.

{115} For a recent summary of twentieth-century documents on lidérc, see Pócs, "Néphit," 563-67, along with additional important bibliographic references.

{116} Sempte, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:488, and in 1790, in ibid., 1:508; and another eight documents.

{117} Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 170. Similar accounts come from Ugocsa, 1526-27, in ibid., 385; and from Debrecen, ibid., 479.

{118} Hódmezővásárhely, 1750, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:283.

{119} Regécvára, Abauj County, 1683, in Majláth, "Levéltári adatok Regéczvára történetéhez," 8.

{120} Debrecen, 1694, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 171.

{121} See, for example, Kürt, Pozsony County, 1711, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:495.

{122} From the most important literature on South Slavic, Slovenian, Austrian, and Romanian fairies, see: Candrea, *Folclorul medical român comparat,* 157-83; Muşlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din răspunsurile la chestionarele,* 206-28; Zečević, *Mitska bica srpskih predanja,* 31-49; Krauss, *Slavische Volksforschungen,* 37-44; Kelemina, *Bajke in pripovedke slovenskego ljudstva z mitološkim uvodom,* 96-97. For Celtic and English fairies, see: Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries;* Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature,* 243-73; O'hOgain, *Myth, Legend and Romance,* 185-90. For the Central and Southeastern European relationships of the Hungarian fairies, and for the parallels between the origins of the fairy world of the Balkans and Celtic and Slavic fairy mythologies and rituals, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe.*

{123} Greek *moira,* Serbian, Croatian, and Bulgarian *urisnici, nerusnici,* and *sudnice* or *sudjenice,* Slovenian *rojenice,* Romanian *ursitoare, ursaie,* Albanian *fatite,* or *fatije,* and others. For fate women in Southeastern European belief systems, see the relevant data and bibliography in Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 32, 75. For a summary, see Brednich, *Volkserzählungen und Volhglaube von den Schicbalfrauen.*

{124} Telegd, 1756, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 635; Konyár, 1716, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:79. I published a lot of materials on fairy apparitions in my summarizing study, Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe.* These appeared in the entire language area, but we only have a few documents from Transylvania.

{125} Examples are: Esztergom, 1721, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:356; Kőhalom, Nagyküküllő County, 1707, in Heinrich Müller, "Zur Geschichte des Repser Stuhle,"

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{126} Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 376; Hódmezővásárhely, 1750, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:291. For these demons and the most important literature on them, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 22-3; and Dagmar Burkhart, *Kulturraum Balkan,* 102-3.

{127} The latter were spirit horses with demonic werewolf characteristics (and with Perchta and fairy connections) known in Slavic and Romanian areas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

See Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 25, for the most important literature.

{128} Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, 1715, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 358. Similar accounts come from Kornádi, Bihar County, 1724, in B. Molnár, "Boszorkányperek Bihar vármegyéből," 369; and Feketeardó, Ugocsa County, 1732, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 460.

{129} See the confinement demons of Hungary and the Balkans, and their connections with the mora and witches in Pócs, "Lilith és kísértete," 110-30.

{130} See Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 17, 69; Bernhard Schmidt, *Das Volhleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Altertum,* 136-37; Heiter, "Böse Dämonen im frühgriechischen Volksglauben," 118.

{131} The living on of these ancient goddess figures in the form of the night witch is discussed extensively in the literature. See Soldán and Heppe, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse,* vol. 1, chaps. 1-7; Caro Baroja, *Die Hexen und ihre Welt,* 83-92; and Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons,* 162-81, for the night witch in popular imagination.

{132} From the vast literature on Tuesday's woman, see: Róheim, "Kedd asszonya," 90-95; and Imre Szabó, "Az oláhok kedd asszonya," 167-72. For Mokoš and Paraskeva/Pjatn'ica, see: Haase, *Volksglaube und Brauchtum der Ostslaven,* 83-84; and Ivanov, "A pogányság emlékei az orosz ikonokon," 237-51. The most important summaries on *Luca* are Kretzenbacher, "Santa Lucia und die Lutzelfrau"; Róheim, "Lucaszék," 29-227; and see also Chapter 7 in this book.

{133} This striking persistence was recently pointed out by Bíró, "The Unknown Goddess," 217-29.

{134} For witches spinning and traveling on scutchers, spindles, or looms, as well as fighting with scutchers or spindles, see: Muşlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din răspunsurile la chestionarele,* 251-68; and Đorđević, "Veštica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 28.

{135} Szentes, 1734, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:248; Dés, 1722, in T. A. Szabó, "A boszorkányhit XVIII, század végi dési emlékei," 579; and another two documents.

{136} For beautiful women with a cow or riding about on scutchers, see Salamon, "Gyimesi mondák," 102-14.

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{137} Mrs. Mihály Horváth's trial, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, 1751, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:394.

{138} Sopron County, ibid., 2:30, and Nagykároly, 1730, in Szirmay, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, történeti és polgári esmérete.* At other times, simultaneously with living through an appearance, they experience "losing their mind": 1724, Kornádi, Bihar County, in B. Molnár, "Boszorkányperek Bihar vármegyéből," 368.

{139} "[W]hen [the witness] was not at their mind, [the witness] was always at Mrs. Máthás Nagy's: Doboz, Békés County, 1716, in Csákabonyi, "Békés megyei boszorkányperek a XVIII században," 12. Similar accounts come from Vaszar, Győr County, 1758, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 679; and Lédec, Sopron County, 1722, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:30.

{140} Becsvölgye, Zala County, 1747, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:629.

{141} Szeged, 1728, in Reizner, *Szeged története,* 376; Nagymegyer, Komárom County, 1627, in Rómer, "Adalékok a boszorkányperekhez 1," 165; Frankó, Sopron County, 1730, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:47.

{142} Kismacéd, Pozsony County, 1618, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:240, 242; and eight other documents.

{143} Nagyvázsony, Veszprém County, 1756, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:549. A similar example from 1734 appears in ibid., 1:245. Mention of an apparition seen "in pre-dream" comes from Akasztó and Lak, Komárom County, 1627, in Rómer, "Adalékok a boszorkányperekhez 1," 228; and nine other documents.

{144} See, for example, Gauld and Cornell, *Poltergeists.* The authors report on cases when poltergeist phenomena were attributed to the maleficium of witches who happened to be away, or to the activities of doubles.

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{145} See Chapter 2, note 11, in this book.

{146} For an important summary on incubus demons and mora creatures as incubi, see: Hock, *Die Vampyrsagen und ihre Verwertung in der deutschen Literatur* (on vampires and within vampire creatures on *mora* creatures); Ranke, "Alp," 281-305, and "Mahr und Mahrt," 1508-11; Raudvere, *Föreställningar om maran I nordisk folktro.* For the psychological and physiological basis and explanations, see: Roscher, *Ephialtes;* Jones, *On the Nightmares;* and Hufford, *The Terror.*

{147} For a summary of the Hungarian incubi, see: Szendrey, "Hexe—Hexendruck"; and Pócs, "Néphit," 565-66.

{148} Kamocsa, Komárom County, 1727; Mrs. Mihály Oláh's trial, Szilsárkány, Sopron County, 1737, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:100-9. Further documents are: Árva, *Boszorkányperek Csanádvármegyében,* 14; Felsőtarcsa, 1744, in Schram, *Magyarországi*

boszorkányperek, 1:467; and 1750, Lövő, Zala County, in Schram, ibid., 2:647; and five additional documents.

{149} Madar, Komárom County, 1724, in Alapi, *Bűbájosok és boszorkányok Komárom vármegyében,* 55. From the large quantity of documents about the "evil ones," see, for example, Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, 1715, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 358; and Gyula, 1756, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:146.

{150} For example, Lövő, Zala County, 1750, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:647; Kolozsvár, 1584, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 63-64. See also the references to fate women mentioned in the last chapter of this book.

{151} Mrs. János Oláh's trial, Szala, Abauj County, 1750. Similar accounts come from Eger, 1714, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok,* 94, and another twenty-one documents.

{152} Mrs. András Sós's trial, Kolozsvár, 1584, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 39.

{153} Similar reports come from Miskolc in 1716 (Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:176), and another eight examples.

{154} Similar cases are reported in Barbae in 1740 by Schram *(Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:113), and another five examples.

{155} A similar case occurs in Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in 1731 (ibid., 2:333).

{156} Examples from the ones that have not been mentioned in other chapters: Esztergom, 1721, in ibid., 1:356; and Kőhalom, Nagyküküllő County, 1707, in H. Müller, "Zur Geschichte des Repser Stuhle," 146.

{157} For example, Kisköre, 1733, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok,* 140; Dunaföldvár, Tolna County, 1714, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:458; and another eight cases.

{158} We know this from the research of Donald Ward, who looked at the correlation of the three functions established by Dumézil in Modern Age Eastern European folklore ("The Threefold Death"). The three types of death are three kinds of sacrifices to the gods of the three functions.

{159} The trial of Mária Kis, Kassa, 1736 (there are two dead people here).

{160} The other document, from 1742, appears in Széli, "Törvénykezési adatok alföldi babonákról," 110.

{161} Catarina Augustin Filghin, Szalónak, Vas County, 1648, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:711-12, 721, 724. The three additional accusations related to hail that we know of come from Iharosberény, Somogy County, 1737, in ibid., 1:542; Darázsfalva, Sopron County, 1665, in ibid., 2:14, 20; and Kolozsvár, 1629, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 97.

{162} For "tempestarli" as rain-stealing magicians and witches in the Middle Ages around the Alps, see Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* 108-13. For a rain-stealing, hail-

bringing witch, see Wittmann, "Die Gestalt der Hexe in der deutschen Sage," 50-56 (German); Bošković-Stulli, "Hexenprozesse und Hexensage in Kroatien," 505-6, and Tkalčić, "Izprave o

progoni vjesticah u hrvatskoj," 88 (Croatian); Pajek, *Crtice iz duševnega žitka staj Slovencev,* 2:26 (Slovenian); and Pamfile, *Mitologie românească,* 189 (Romanian). See also the section on wind magicians in Chapter 7 of this book.

{163} For the procedure of picking dew, see Róheim, *Magyar néphit és népszokások,* 26566.

{164} Đorđević, "Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 24; Krauss, *Slavische Volbforschungen,* 38-41, 71-77; Arnaudov, *Studii vrchu blgarskite obredi i legendi,* 1:384-407; Tokar'ev, *Religiozn'ije verovan'ija vostočnoslavjanskich narodov XIX. i načala XX. veka,* 24-25; Kurocskin, "A boszorkány alakja az ukrán folklórban," 515; Muşlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din răspunsurile la chestionarele,* 248-49.

{165} For example: Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volb-dichtung;* Muşlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din răspunsurile la chestionarele,* 195-96, 248; Kelemina, *Bajke in pripovedke slovenskego ljudstva z mitološkim uvodom,* 93-94; Đorđević, "Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 251-57; Zelenin, *Russische (os ts lavis che) Volhkunde,* 394; Drozdowska, "Istoty demoniczne w Załęczu Wielkim, pow. Vielun"; Arnaudov, *Studii vrchu blgarskite obredi i legendi,* 1:384-407.

{166} A few examples: Bércei, Szabolcs County, 1726, in Illésy, "Adalékok a hazai babonaság történetéhez," 354; Csetfalva, Bereg County, 1722, in Lehoczky, "Beregmegyei boszorkányperek," 296; Pályi, Bihar County, 1715, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:68, 17.

{167} For apparitions, see: Kolozsvár, 1629, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára, 97;* the trial of Mrs. András Gulyás, Kassa, 1747. For voices see Fölsőbük, Sopron County, 1746, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:297; and four additional documents.

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{168} A similar report comes in 1712, from Bágyog, Bihar County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:52; and (for being picked out of bed) another six documents.

{169} Hete, 1766, Mrs. Péter György's trial, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltóra,* 714. Similar accounts come from 1731 in Megy aszó, Zemplén County, in Kazinczy, "Megyaszói boszorkányok 1731-ben," 373; and two other documents.

{170} For elite connections and for the processes in visionary literature, see Le Goff, "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys in the Otherworld in the Middle Ages"; Petschel,

"Freunde in Leben und Tod"; Patch, *The Other World,* 147; Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter,* 30, 122-23; Benz, *Die Vision,* 353-75, 506; Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys,* 89-90; Gurevič, *Problemy sredn 'ev 'ekovoj narodnoj kultury,* Chapter 4.

{171} Kiskunhalas, Mrs. Gergely Bosér's trial, 1734, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:431; 1724, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 120. For other similar rural places a further fifteen documents are available. Usually they are "earned" without mention of a specific place. For this there are a further fifteen documents.

{172} This was a frequent remark in connection with carrying. See, for example, 1715, Kismarja, Bihar County, in Balázs Molnár, "Boszorkányperek Bihar vármegyéből," 367; and six additional documents.

{173} In twenty-three cases, hills, mountains, etc., are unspecified. For example, see 1766, Kiskunlacháza, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:486; 1724, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 101.

{174} For a summary of the documents on Saint Gellért's Hill, see Sándor Dömötör, *Szent Gellért hegye és a boszorkányok.* Some of the twenty-five documents that contain references to Saint Gellért's Hill are in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek:* 1735, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, 2:344; and 1734, Kiskunhalas, 2:431.

{175} 1734, Szentes, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:248; 1715, Mád, Zemplén County, in ibid., 3:298; and ten additional documents.

{176} Kolozsvár, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 60; 1724, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 101; and fifteen additional documents.

{177} Between 1745 and 1750, Hódmezővásárhely in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:279.

{178} Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 116; 1728, Mád, Zemplén County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:303.

{179} Flying witches from the Middle Ages were clearly identified with the demons that lived in proximity to the earth. These demons glided about with supernatural speed. For this, see Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* 125.

{180} Regécvára, 1683, in Majláth, *Levéltári adatok Regéczvára történetéhez,* 11. Similar examples come from 1732, Feketeardó, Ugocsa County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 455, and five additional documents.

{181} Zemplén County, in Hódossy, "Feltételes ítéletek boszorkány-perekben," 221; or 1619, Nagyszombat, Mrs. Ádám Wrablo's trial; and four additional documents.

{182} Hódmezővásárhely, a confession under torture in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:337; 1755, Borosjenő, Arad County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 574; 1727, Bagota, in Alapi, *Bűbájosok és boszorkányok Komárom vármegyében,* 45; and twelve other references.

{183} Harner, "The Role of Hallucinogenic Plants in European Witchcraft." This view, which came from witch-hunting demonology, was a commonplace of Western European interrogations. With his series of experiments questioning the existence of the witches' sabbat, Alonzo de

Salazar Frías, an inquisitor sent to Pays Basque, refuted the use of flying ointment as early as 1609 (Henningsen, *The Witches'Advocate).*

{184} 1758, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:345; ibid., 1:343, 345; 1769, Halmi, Ugocsa County, ibid.; and six more documents.

{185} Nagyszombat, Mrs. Ádám Wrablo's trial; 1619, Pannonhalma, in Szulpicz Molnár, "A Pannonhalmi Főapátság története," 237, and five more documents.

{186} For the mahr in the sieve, see, for example, Peuckert, "Die Walriderske im Siebrand." For the floating of the mara, see Strömbäck, "Ein Beitrag zu den älteren Vorstellungen von der *mara."*

{187} See also 1709, Miskolc, in Szendrei, *Miskolcz város története 1000-1800,* 642, 644.

{188} 1679, Németújvár, Vas County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:725, 1715; Hencida, Bihar County, in ibid., 1:75; 1734, Szentes County, in ibid., 1:244.

{189} For further references on dogs, see Pályi, Bihar County, ibid., 1:69. For witches who abducted in the images of horses and dogs, see 1750, Hódmezővásárhely, in ibid., 1:271; and 1722, Miskolc, Éva Balog's trial.

{190} For additional dog-werewolf references, see 1748, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:343; and 1756, Borosjenő, Arad County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 595, 597.

{191} For documentation on people who were transformed into dogs or cats, see, for example, 1731, Megyaszó, Zemplén County, in Kazinczy, "Megyaszói boszorkányok 1731-ben," 372; and 1728, Szeged, in Reizner, *Szeged története,* 402. We have about ten references to turning into a cat.

{192} 1731, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek, 2:* 338-340; 1734, Szentes in ibid., 2:237; and thirty-five additional documents.

{193} See, for example, magic words in 1576, Simontornya, Tolna County, in Mihály Szilágyi, "Boszorkányperek Tolna vármegyéből," 512; and 1728, Szeged, in Reizner, *Szeged története,* 417. For the motif of the magical flight of magicians and witches, see Herold, "Flug."

{194} For similar motifs of magic flying carriages and magic animals, see, for example, 1653, Szalónak, Vas County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:716-17; 1726, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 107; and nine other references to flying carnages.

{195} It is familiar from both visionary literature and near-death experiences. See Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys,* 61 -62.

{196} 1627, Nagymegyer, Komárom County, in Rómer, "Adalékok a boszorkányperekhez," 77; 1722, Lédec, Sopron County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:30; 1752, Marosvásárhely, in Friedrich Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens und des Hexenprozesses in Siebenbürgen,* 50.

{197} 1715, Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 354; 1700, Debrecen, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 191; 1724, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 102; and eleven other documents.

{198} 1782, Bátaszék, Tolna County, in Mihály Szilágyi, "Boszorkányperek Tolna vármegyéből," 506; 1745, Nagykároly, in Szirmay, *Szathmár vármegye fekvése, történeti és polgári esmérete,* 82; and eight more documents from Pozsony to Küküllő.

{199} See, for example, a case in 1729, in Csurgó, Somogy County, in Schram *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:535, and another in 1733, in Csorna, Sopron County (ibid., 1:239).

{200} 1741, Simontornya, Tolna County, in ibid., 2:485; and 1732, Szentes, in ibid., 1:239.

{201} Basically, after the example of the examined demonic world, they remained forever in the march of the dead which they nad joined, meaning that they become permanently dead. See, for example, in connection with the "Nachtvolk," Meier To Bernd, "Das Zweite Gesicht im Volksglauben und in Volkssagen," 91-92. This view is familiar especially in connection with the fairies as an explanation for death. They became fairies for good; therefore they died. For this see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 38-39; or O'hOgain, *Myth, Legend and Romance,* 185.

{202} Connected to this, see the references to the táltos and their documentation in Central and Southeastern Europe in, for example, Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of SouthEastern and Central Europe,* 39-44; and Pócs, "The Hungarian Táltos and His European Parallels."

{203} It is especially characteristic of fairies to cause their abducted victims to fall ill or to destroy them; "fairy illnesses" were punishment for those who had broken taboos. Compare Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 20-21. For the death symbolism of initiation rituals, see, for example, Eliade, *Initiation, rites, sociétés secrètes,* 162-80; for dying for good as an act of rebirth in the ritual of initiation, see Eliade, 162-63.

{204} Comparable references occur, for example, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:25 (from 1676); Ulmic, Moson County, in ibid., 1:438 (for 1665); and twelve similar documents.

{205} Compare with the series of motifs of Eurasian shamanism: cutting into pieces, extracting bones, and resurrection. This is known from the context of initiating a shaman. See Eliade, *Schamanismus und archaische Ebtasetechnik,* 43-76. However, it has to be noted that cutting up and putting together also occur in Christian visions, as infernal punishment. Of course, the roots of that can also lead us to the images discussed here. See, for example, Mikházy Szécsi János's vision in 1645, in Sándor V. Kovács, ed., *Tar Lőrinc pokoljárása,* 295.

{206} A similar account appears in Fekete, *A jászkunok története,* 165.

{207} See Waschnitius, "Perht, Holda und verwandte Gestalten"; the motif of removing a bone is present in the whole work. See also Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of SouthEastern and Central Europe,* 42.

{208} 1743, Simontornya, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:500; 1756, Borosjenő, Arad County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 586; and fifteen

additional documents.

{209} 1676, Oszlop, Sopron County, in Eckhardt, *A földesúri büntetőbíráskodás a XVI-XVII században,* 135; 1643, Szalónak, Vas County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:718.

{210} For children being torn into two at a crossroad, see Mrs. András Gulyás's 1747 trial in Kassa.

{211} See it as initiation of a witch in Bošković-Stulli, "Hexenprozesse und Hexensagen in Kroatien," 501. Compare Eliade, *Initiation, rites, sociétés secrètes,* 118-26.

{212} We have about thirty documents where this "mildly demonologized" version of abducting the witnesses is present. Examples are: 1734, Szentes, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:248; and 1721, Réde, Fejér County, in Schneider, *Fejérmegyei boszorkányperek,* 11.

{213} For Saxon references, see: 1671, Segesvár, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 122; and 1707, Kőhalom, Nagyküküllő County, in Heinrich Müller, "Zur Geschichte des Repser Stuhle," 147.

{214} 1619, Nagyszombat, Mrs. Ádám Wrablo's trial, and 1665, Darázsfalva, Sopron County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:485; 1728, Bicske, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 506; and ten similar documents. Gábor Klaniczay also dealt with these devil figures; see his "Hungary: The Accusations and the Universe of Popular Magic," 252-53. Also compare Tekla Dömötör, "A magyarországi ördög-ikonográfia problémái."

{215} 1728, Szeged, in Reizner, *Szeged története,* 376, 379; 1744, Egyházasfalu, Sopron County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:203-4.

{216} The references show a spread in northern Hungary from Pozsony to Zemplén, except for one document from Szeged, which is different from the others in that it refers to a flag with the image of the devil Dromo. See 1619, Nagyszombat, Mrs. Ádám Wrablo's trial; 1727, Bagota, Komárom County, in Alapi, *Bűbájosok és boszorkányok Komárom vármegyében,* 46; 1714, Tállya, Zemplén County, in Hódossy, "Feltételes ítéletek boszorkány-perekben," 222; 1728, Szeged, in Reizner, *Szeged története,* 410; and six further documents from northern Hungary.

{217} For an illusory flag made of a great burdock leaf, see a 1737 account from Sümeg, Somogy County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:542, and three additional documents.

{218} We have ten references to a flag holder. See, for example, 1711, Kürt, Pozsony County, in ibid., 1:49; and 1727, Kamocsa, Katalin Bessenyei's trial. For superiors and captains we have nine references. See, for example, 1638, Pozsony, in András Komáromy, "Listius Anna Rozina bűnpöréhez," 641; and 1728, Hajdúnánás, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:384.

{219} In sixteen cases. See, for more depth, Korner, "Boszorkányszervezetek Magyarországon." In one troop, according to the confession of an accused in 1724, in Otomany, Bihar County, they had a flag holder, a violinist, a second lieutenant, a captain, and a male devil. See Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 346.

{220} For references to drums and drummers, see (in 1741, in Simontornya) Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:485, 494. For pipers with fairy attributes, see (in 1734, in Hódmezővásárhely) ibid., 1:255, 256. An accused person from Hencida whom the witches' troop abducted to be a whistler in order to make music for their merriments in the form of a "small soul." See (in 1715, in Bihar County) ibid., 1:75.

{221} For Hungarian (especially Szeged) references to this, as well as the appropriate Romanian, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian parallels, see Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe," 332-33.

{222} "Those from Palánk go in a different troop and occasionally face conflict" (1728, Szeged, in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 401). Similar accounts appear in ibid., 395, and Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:486.

{223} Witnesses and accused alike spoke about a good life, beautiful clothes, and joy. Another example: Dániel Rósa, an accused from Szeged in 1728, in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 407.

Similar accounts come, for example, from 1640, Lipót, Trenesen County, in R. Kiss, "Történeti adalékok a boszorkányság és ördöngösség hiedelméhez," 212; and from 1753, Halas, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:444.

{224} For a few examples see 1755, in Borosjenő, Arad County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 567; 1730, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:232; and 1724, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 102.

{225} For magical food and drinks at a feast, see, for example, 1758, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:338; 1724, Csesznek, Fejér County, in Schneider, *Fejérmegyei boszorkányperek,* 11 ; 1747, Simontornya, Tolna County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:519; and six additional documents. See also note 80 of this chapter.

{226} These narratives could arrive there through many different sources, such as visionary literature, or as a motif of legends or tales. Or compare the terrestrial otherworlds of the sagas, filled with joys and strange feasts, and similar images of the otherworld in Celtic literature from the Middle Ages. See H. R. Patch, *The Other World,* 102-49; and Delumeau, *Une Histoire du paradis.* For the heavenly characteristics and the roots of the otherworld of the Balkan fairies, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 39-44. For twentieth-century visions by seers of the dead in Hungary, where a beautiful terrestrial garden heaven also occurred, see, for example, Fekete, *A jászkunok története,* 293; Grynaeus

"«Látomások»—Túlvilági élmények a mai magyar népi szájhagyományokban," 65.

{227} For the feast of "illusory plenty," which is well known in the Hellenistic literature on magic, see, for example, Kákosy, *Egyiptomi és antik csillaghit,* 286-87; and Kákosy, *Varázslás az ókori Egyiptomban,* 78-80. European magical literature from the sixteenth century and Eastern and Western European legends both reflect the ancient topos. See, for example, the Theophilos legend, where a desired feast is the subject of the temptation of the devil, in Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition,* 80-109. It is also known in Orthodox visionary literature.

See Lettenbauer, "Russische Visionsliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert," 403.

{228} A similar floating table was evoked in a glittering palace. See 1715, Tállya, in Hódossy, "Feltételes ítéletek boszorkány-perekben," 221.

{229} Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 49; 1758, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:34445; and 1728, Bicske, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 410.

{230} 1727, Bagota, Komárom County, in Alapi, *Bűbájosok és boszorkányok Komárom vármegyében,* 511 ; 1734, Szentes, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:246-47; and ten additional documents.

{231} Bihari, *Magyar hiedelemmonda katalógus,* 35, 80-81; For Serbian and Croatian legends about witches and fairies, see Krauss, *Slavische Volbforschungen,* 37-55; Đorđević, "Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 42; Bošković-Stulli, "Hexenprozesse und Hexensagen in Kroatien," 449. For Austrian and German legends, see Weiser-Aall, "Hexe"; and Wittmann, "Die Gestalt der Hexe in der deutschen Sage," 22-23. For Slovakian legends, see Krupa, *A délmagyarországi szlovákok hiedelemvilága,* 313.

{232} 1612, Kolozsvár, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 77; Kocs, Komárom County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:191; 1734, Halas, in Schram, ibid., 2:430; 1711, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 49; and seventeen additional documents.

{233} For Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian demon beliefs, see Marinov, "Narodna vjara i religiozni narodni običai," 211-12; Lawson, *Modem Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion,* 193-200; Richard Blum and Eva Blum, *The Dangerous Hour,* 121-22; and Zečević, *Mitska biča srpskih predanja,* 169-70. For example, according to Slovenian and Croatian trials, the witches of the underworld made merry in cellars and mills, ate raw meat, snails, and snakes, and urinated into the barrels and dishes similarly to demons. See the 1743 trial in Tkalčić, "Izprave o

progoni vještican u Hrvatskoj," 23. For trials between 1531 and 1546, see Pajek, *Crtice iz duševnega žitka staj Slovencev,* 25; and Bošković-Stulli, "Hexenprozesse und Hexensagen in Kroatien," 499-500.

{234} 1745, Kőrispatak, Udvarhely County, in Vass, "Adalékok udvarhelyszéki boszorkányperekhez," 161; 1732, Szentes, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:240; and nine additional documents.

{235} For the connotation of death carried by stone food, see Pócs, "'Nyers és főtt,' Halál és élet." For stone bread that appeared in the scenes in hell in religious visions, see, for example, Mikházy Szécsy János visiting hell in 1645, in V. Kovács, *Tar Lőrinc pokoljárása,* 293, 297.

For the trial documents, see 1714, Mocsa, Komárom County, in Alapi, *Bűbájosok és boszorkányok Komárom vármegyében,* 4; 1715, Tállya, Zemplén County, in Hódossy, "Feltételes ítéletek boszorkány-perekben," 222; and 1709, Sajóvámos, Borsod County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:151.

{236} 1707, Tivadar, Ugocsa County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 211; 1715, Balogszeg, Bihar County, in ibid., 264; 1737, Sümeg, Somogy County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:542.

{237} 1734, Szentes, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:247; 1584, Kolozsvár, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 49; 1707, Tivadar, Ugocsa County, in Komáromy, ibid., 212; 1712, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 62. The reference to the black soup in Kolozsvár is clearly connected to the mora witch or the "night woman."

{238} 1753, Horpács, Nógrád, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:446; 1715, Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 361.

{239} 1602, Pozsony in Horna, *Zwei Hexenprozesse in Pressburg zu Beginn des XVII. Jahrhunderts,* 35; 1712, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és Külső-Szolnok vármegyében,* 62; 1618, Sempte, Pozsony County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:234.

{240} 1584, Kolozsvár, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 51; 1723, Ladány, Bihar County, in ibid., 321. He was taken and forced to drink; in 1758, Vaszar, Győr County, in ibid., 679.

{241} Here, as a parallel to the "death message," attention should be called to the mealtime taboos in the otherworld of the fairies. Food should not be "carried over" to the human world, and people who ate there were not able to return. These are apparent in legends of Ireland (e.g., Lehmacher, "Die irischen Elfen," 128; O'hOgain, *Myth, Legend and Romance,* 189).

{242} 1679, Németújvár, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:725; 1739, Hódmezővásárhely, ibid., 1:252-53; 1735, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in ibid., 2:347.

{243} Erdész (1992) called attention to the store of legends that were brought by students from Debrecen who then studied in the West. Compare these with one of the central figures of Hungarian Faust legends, Professor Hatvani of Debrecen, who lived between 1718 and 1788.

{244} For popular legends about the garabonciás, see Pócs, "Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében." (See as well the sources cited in this article.) For legends about pacts with the devil in Central Eastern European folklore, see Zelenin, *Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde,* 395-96; Hnatjuk, "Znagobi do halicko-ruskoji demonolohiji,"

1:96,199; Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren,* 18-19; and especially the summary of Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung,* where every type of pact, including that of the Hungarian garabonciás, is described in detail. Woods *{The Devil in Dog Form,* 7688) published the legends about pacts independent of witchcraft, which were made with "obtained" aiding devils; compare the devil versions of lidérc chickens hatched from eggs.

{245} Ginzburg, *Storia notturna.* In his work on Basque witch hunts, Gustav Henningsen analyzed experiences of witches' sabbats and emphasized the role of stereotyped dreams. See

Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate,* 119, 172-96,280.

{246} For a recent summary of the views of demonologists and the questions of historical research, see Préaud, "Le Rêve du sabbat."

{247} The issue is not whether it is an experience or a topos, but that the experience was narrated as a stereotype. See Gurevič, "Problemy sredn'ev'ekovoj narodnoj kultury," 226. For similar viewpoints, see Benz, *Die Vision,* 267-77, 313-21,468-72. For similar interpretations of the Hungarian Sabbat narratives, see: Klaniczay: "Le Sabbat raconté par les témoins des procès de sorcellerie en Hongrie."

{248} For similar documentation, see 1728, Szeged, in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 406, 408. Eight additional references discuss this kind of "rationalized" method of maleficium.

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{249} This, for example, is almost exclusive to England, where Alan Macfarlane carried out a detailed survey. See his *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England.*

{250} See Blécourt, "Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests"; and Sebald, "Shaman, Healer, Witch." The latter came to a similar conclusion in his study of the witchcraft of a German principality. For the same conclusion in Scotland, see Larner, *Enemies of God,* 141-42.

{251} See Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* 435^49. For the balance breaking in popular magic, see Muchembled, *La Sorcière au village,* 104; and for the collapse of the "magical universe," see Klaniczay, "Hungary: The Accusations and the Universe of Popular Magic."

{252} For examples of similar interpretations, see 1729, Somogy County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:533; and Sopron County, in ibid., 2:35.

{253} Similar examples appear in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 403, and (from 1739 in Hódmezővásárhely) in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:254.

{254} Roman Jakobson collected forms of the word family with the meaning "seer" and "wise," such as *vescica, viscun, vedomec, vešče, wieszcz,* and similar examples in the various Slavic languages. These are used interchangeably or separately by location for people born in a caul, wise men, werewolves, vampires, or witches. The term marks an archaic, ambivalent "wise"

witch with werewolf characteristics. See Jakobson and Szeftel, "The Vseslav Epos," 57.

{255} This type can be detected in sources other than the Hungarian documents. It was recorded in several parts of Europe, as the "black" and "white" witch that kept contact with the bad and good dead, and that had quasi-shamanistic features and trance capabilities. For example, see (for Finland) Klemettinen, *Mellastavat pirut,* and Siikala, "Shamanic Themes in Finnish Epic Poetry"; (for England) Brown, *The Fate of the Dead,* 46; and (for Lithuania) Vėlius, *Mitines lietuviu sakmių hüübes,* 300. In his book about the Stoeckhlin fairy magician, Behringer also contrasted the healer who gained knowledge from the good dead and the witch connected to the bad dead. See Behringer, *Chonrad Stoeckhlin und die Nachtschar,* 90.

{256} 1756, Körösladány, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:157; 1732, Szentes, in ibid., 1:238; 1692, Horpács, Nógrád County, in ibid., 3:206; 1717, Dunaföldvár, Tolna County, in ibid., 2:468-69.

{257} See the sources listed under note 12 of Chapter 2.

{258} 1726, Bihar County, in Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 371; 1748, Gyula, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:132; 1737, Sümeg, in Schram, ibid., 1:538.

{259} Similarly, Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 489; 1718, Tallós, Pozsony County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:510. Mrs. Mihály Jóna's trial, 1730, Debrecen, and four additional references.

{260} A similar case comes from Gernyeszeg, Maros-Torda County, in 1740; see Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:198.

{261} Mrs. István Dersi's trial, 1748, Rimaszombat. Similarly, 1618, Kismacéd, Pozsony County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:228; 1751, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:402.

{262} For a few examples of genuine rivalry (such as: she would take up healing "unless someone bigger than she" bewitched), see 1693, Debrecen, in Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 153; and Mrs. Kökény's confession in Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 384. For competing midwives, see, for example, 1676, Komárom, in Gregorics, "Kun Anna boszorkánypöre," 25; 1756, Körösladány, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 3:155.

{263} Mrs. Ignác Villás's 1693 trial in Debrecen, in Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 154. Similar cases are reported in 1754, Átány, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:424; and 1741, Madocsa, Tolna County, in Schram, 2:498. For a soul battle accompanying the rivalry of healers, see 1734, Halas, in Schram, 2:431.

{264} For similar references to battling, see 1751, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:391; 1710, Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, in Abafi, "Felső-

bányai boszorkánypörök," 353; and three additional references.

{265} For similar references, see 1756, Borosjenő, Arad County, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 586; Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:97; and seven more references.

{266} 1744, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:270; and 1714, Cseklesz, Pozsony County, in Schram, 1:505-6. For Modern Age Hungarian references for similar battling, see, for example, Grynaeus, "Engi Tüdő Vince," 168; and Ferenczi, "Adalékok a látó (néző) alakjához," 438.

{267} 1724, Eger, in Sugár, *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok,* 101; 1741, Simontornya, Tolna County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:481. For torment for a similar reason, see Reizner, *Szeged története IV,* 387.

{268} For fairy sacrifices, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 49-50.

{269} Kolozsvár, in Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 42-43. Similar accounts come from 1683 in Nagyenyed, in S. Szilágyi, "A boszorkányok történetéhez," 1:33; the trial of Zsófia Kenyeres and Katalin Kenyeres in 1728 in Rimaszombat; and five other, mostly Transylvanian and eastern Hungarian references. The closest parallels are connected to the south Slavic mora and mora witch; see Szendrey, "Hexe-Hexendruck," 15052. Northern European mara and witch features are also very similar; see Tillhagen, "The Conception of the Nightmare in Sweden."

{270} For an example in which the butterfly form of the mora witch is called, see Lehoczky, "Beregmegyei boszorkány-perek," 303; or, for when the ghost witch in a "white sheet" is summoned, see: 1754, Kisvárda, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:410.

{271} For example, 1726, Artánd, Bihar County, in Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 371; 1752, Marosvásárhely, in ibid., 542; and fourteen additional eastern Hungarian and Transylvanian references.

{272} For a summary of references for the Modern Age, see Bihari, *Magyar hiedelemmonda katalógus,* 71-76. For European examples, see Tillhagen, "The Conception of the Nightmare in Sweden"; and Weiser-Aall, "Hexe."

{273} Similar accounts come from 1700, in Mezöcsát, Borsod County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:139, and four other references.

{274} The sacrifice offered to a mora creature had its parallels. See Mansikka, "Demons and Spirits," 625; it is also mentioned in connection with the Russian mora, which was a kind of positive house-spirit creature.

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{275} For a summary see the rich documentation of Géza Róheim for the whole of Central and Western Europe, in Róheim, "Lucaszék," 174-77, 229-33. See also Weber-Kellermann, "Der Luzienstuhl im deutschen und ungarischen Volksglauben"; and Kovács, "Das Erkennen der Hexen in der Westeuropäischen und der russischen Tradition." For similar Western European methods, see M. Pühvel, "The Mystery of the Crossroads"; and Seidl, "Das Kreisstehen." For references for "seeing" and "initiation," see Pócs, "Tér és idő a néphitben," 194-201; and Pócs,

"The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe," 325-326; or in documents about the Slovakian Germans' Saint Lucy's stool, see Karasek-Langer, "Lucienglauben und- brauche aus der Krem-nitz-Probener und Hochwieser Sprachinsel in der Slowakei."

{276} 1718, Kassa, the trial of Éva Orosz and Katalin Tóth; 1722, Salgótarján, in Hausel, "Micsoda bűjölést, bájolást tud hozzája?" 329. A similar reference: 1674, Gyöngyös, in Papp, "Egy boszorkányper tanúkihallgatási jegyzökönyve 1674. július 16," 226.

{277} The essence of symbolic techniques was to create a symbolic other world, within the framework of feasting and spaces of the dead. "Conjuring up" the other world with a magic circle

belongs in this context. Symbolic techniques did not mean a direct communication, but they could induce it; an actor could fall into trance, could experience a vision in the magic circle drawn around themselves. For this and similar symbolic divination and initiation methods, see Pócs, "Tér és idö a néphitben."

{278} The members of these societies were werewolves capable of ecstasy. See O. Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen;* and Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe,* 66-70.

{279} Eiriks Saga Rauda. For a description of divination rituals among Icelandic inhabitants of Greenland, see, for example, Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe,* 117-19.

{280} For example, Hecate's sacrifice at the crossroads, which is also documented in the early Modern Age; see M. Pühvel, "The Mystery of the Crossroads," 173; Lecouteux, "Mara—

Ephialtes—Incubus," 24.

{281} See Strömbäck, *Sejd;* Ohlmarks, "Arktischer Schamanismus und altnordischer Seidr"; Ellis, *The Road to Hell,* 151; Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte,* 2:94-106; Chadwick,

"Dreams in Early European Literature"; Buchholz, "Schamanistischer Züge in der ausländischen Überlieferung"; Meyer-Matheis, "Die Vorstellung eines Alter Ego in Volkserzählungen"; J.

Pühvel, *Comparative Mythology;* Glosecki, *Shamanism and Old English Poetry,* 96-103, 184-87; Lecouteux, *Fées, Sorcières et Loup-garous au Moyen Age,* 102-6.

{282} See, for example, the trial at the Bludenz court in 1525, where the defendant was destined "from the womb" "to go with the dead"; or a trial in Lucerne in 1573 against the

"Seelenmutter zu Küßnacht": Brandstetter, "Die Wuotansage im alten Luzern."

{283} For important published documentation for the whole of Western and Northern Europe, see Meier To Bernd, "Das Zweite Gesicht im Volksglauben und in Volkssagen." For Scottish and Irish documentation, see Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight;* and Macrae, *Highland Second-Sight with Prophecies of Coinneach Odhar and the Seer of Petty.* For Scandinavian documentation: Simpson, *Scandinavian Folktakes,* 121-28. For German and Austrian documentation: Peuckert, "Spökenkieker"; Schmëing, "Das Zweite Gesicht in Schottland und Niederdeutschland"; Ebermut, "Künden und zweites Gesicht in Vorarlberg-Tirol"; and Grober-Glück, "Zweites Gesicht und Wahrsagekunst." For Britain: Camus, *Pouvoirs sorciers,* 38-40.

For Serbia: Zečević, "Samanistička komponenta rusalkskog rituala." For Greece: R. and E. Blum, *The Dangerous Hour,* 48-68.

{284} For the traditions of the caul connected to seeing or to European shamanism, see Weiser-Aall, *Über die Glüchhaube in der norwegischen Überlieferung;* Belmont, *Les Signes de la naissance.*

{285} For a brief summary of documents of the early Modern Age, see Bihari, *Magyar hiedelemmonda katalógus,* 94-98; Ferenczi, "Adalékok a látó (néző) alakjához."

{286} For the sources of those who joined Diana's train, see Lecouteux, "Hagazussa— Striga— Hexe," 66. For these features of the Western European witch and the here-relevant

documentation of sources from the Middle Ages, see Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons,* 206-20. For further significant published documentation, see Crecelius, "Frau Holda und der Venusberg"; and Zingerle, "Frau Saelde."

{287} Waschnitius, "Perht, Holda und verwandte Gestalten"; Liungmann, *Traditions-wanderungen Euphrat-Rhein,* 2:596-670; Kuret, "Die Mittwinterfrau der Slowenen," and "Die Zwölften und das wilde Heer in den Ostalpen"; Rumpf, "Spinnstubefrauen, Kinderschreckgestalten und Frau Perchta," 218; Lütolf, "Zur Frau 'Selten' (Saelde)."

{288} For Iranian origin, see Ginzburg, *Storia notturna,* Chapter 3. Ginzburg primarily relied upon the research results of Karl Meuli in his theories about an Iranian origin (see Meuli,

"Scythica"). For a refutation of these, see Closs, "Die Ekstase des Schamanen," 8788.

{289} In connection with the lady of the animals, see note 60 of Chapter 3.

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{290} Some researchers, without sufficient evidence, have suggested that the figure of the Scandinavian Lucy may be connected to the "women's line," which would be interesting for us because of Saint Lucy's stool. See M. Höfler, "St. Lucia auf germanischen Boden"; Ström, "Vorchristliche Weihnachtsgäste."

{291} The witches also have fairy features: the witness, who told the story, was there with the little girl, and she claims that there was hospitality and dance too. See (from 1749 in Földvár, Heves County) Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:412.

{292} For this type, see Moldovan, "Erőst fáj a fejem, ha megyek látomásba, pokolba vaj mennyországba."

{293} For a summary, see Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slovian,* 652-53. For the most important published documentation, see Đorđević, "Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 237-50; Zečević, *Mitska bica srpskih predanja,* 149-51; Udżiela, "Świat nadzmyślowy ludu krakowskiego, mieszkającego po prawym brzegu Wisły"; and Dagmar Burkhart, *Kulturraum Balkan,* 83-84. The legendary figures of the Croatian and Hungarian *garabonciás* and the Romanian *şolomonar* also have the features of wind magicians, which once carried out mediatory activities. See Jagić, "Die südslavischen Volkssagen von dem Grabancijas dijak und ihre Erklärung"; Gaster, "Scholomonar"; and Erdész, *Kígyókultusz a magyar néphagyományban,* 114-38. For further detail and connections with one of the Modern Age Hungarian táltos types, see Pócs, "The Hungarian Táltos and His European Parallels."

{294} A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter,* 2:28-29; Platelle, "Agobard, Évêque de Lyon (+840), les soucoupes volantes, les convulsionnaires," 87. In connection with the rain-stealing witch, see also note 26 in Chapter 4.

{295} For being born in a caul as a werewolf characteristic in eastern Slav heroic epics, see Jakobson and Szeftel, "The Vseslav Epos," 345—46.

{296} For summaries on various types of magicians, see Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slovian,* 654-55; and Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 53-61, "Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében," and "The Hungarian Táltos and His European Parallels."

{297} For Livonia and Latvia, see O. Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen,* 34551; and Straubergs, "Zur Jenseitstopographie," 88.

{298} The "combative seer" with shamanistic features can also be found in Irish heroic epics. An example is Fionn Mac Cumhaill, who was born in a caul and made journeys to the otherworld as a combatant along with his combative troop. See O'hOgain, *Myth, Legend and Romance,* 213-23.

{299} For a more detailed description of the various types of magicians, see Ginzburg, *I benandanti;* Bošković-Stulli, "Kresnik-Krsnik," 288-89; Klaniczay, "Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft"; Đorđević, "Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 237-50; Zečević, *Mitska bica srpskih predanja,* 149-51.

{300} For Slovenian documents, see Kelemina, *Bajke in pripovedke slovenskego ljudstva z mitološkim uvodom,* 35-40, 89-90; and for a wider context of the magician, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 53-55, and "The Hungarian Táltos and His European Parallels."

{301} For the documentation of the zmej magician, see Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa slovian,* 654-57; Đorđević, "Vestica i vila u našem narodnom verovaniju i predanju," 248; Zečević, *Mitska bica srpskih predanja,* 149-51; Marinov, "Narodna vjara i religiozni narodni običai," 208-9; and Georgieva, *Blgarska narodna mitologija,* 79-83. For its Albanian relative, the *dr angue,* see Hahn, *Albanêsische Studien,* 163.

{302} Besides Germanic, Thracian, and Celtic traces, Baltic-Slav variants were reconstructed by the linguists Jakobson and Ružičić, "The Serbian Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk and the Russian Vseslav Epos"; Ivanov and Toporov, "Le mythe indo-européen du dieu de l'orage poursuivant le serpent"; Civjan, "Balkanskije dopolnen'ija k posledn'im issledovan'ijam indo-evropejskogo mifa o Gromoveržce."

{303} For details on this assumption, see Pócs, "Maleficium-narratívok—konfliktusok—boszorkánytípusok."

{304} For the belief figures Mokoš, Saint Paraskeva, and *kedd asszonya* (Tuesday's woman) interconnecting with each other, see note 80 of Chapter 3.

{305} The main point is the *vel-* stem of the term "Veles" and its relationship to words associated with the shaman Odin, such as *Valkyrja* and *Valholl* (Valkyrie and Valhalla, the realm of the dead) and with the Celtic word *fili* (poet), which also has a shamanistic context.

See Schütz, "Veščii Bojane, Velesov v'nuče"; Jakobson, "The Slavic God Veles"; Ivanov and Toporov, "Le mythe indo-européen du dieu de l'orage poursuivant le serpent"; and Ward, "On the Poets and Poetry of the Indo-Europeans."

{306} For more details on these presumptions, see Pócs, "Maleficium-narratívok—konfliktusok—boszorkány típusok." For the connections of the Baltic Veils/Velnias and snake— swamp devils, see Gimbutas, "Lithuanian Velnias (Velinas) and Latvian Vels: The Important Christian God of the Baits"; and for the Latvian witch trials from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Straubergs, "Zur Jenseitstopographie," 88.

{307} I discuss this in more detail in my study of a presumed Salvie dual shamanism; see Pócs, "Le sabbat et les mythologies indo-européennes." On the questions of black shamanism, see, for example, Eliade, *Schamanismus und archaische Ekstasetechnik,* 180.

{308} For a more complete summary of current parallels, see Füvessy, "A boszorkány felismerése Szent György-nap előtt talált kígyó segítségével."

{309} For more detail, see Pócs, "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe," 326-27. For Central and Eastern European documentation on the methods, see Róheim, "Lucaszék"; and Kovács, "Das Erkennen der Hexen in der Westeuropäischen und der russischen Tradition."

{310} For the documentation of the Romanian, Bulgarian, and Serbian witch, see Marian, *Serbatorile la Romàni,* 3:96-97; Muşlea and Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului,* 174-81; Marinov,

"Narodna vjara i religiozni narodni običai," 213-14; and Zečević, *Mitska biča srpskih predanja,* 114-19.

{311} For more detail about this aspect of Bulgarian and Romanian witches, the Hungarian lidérc chick as a watery, underworldly helping spirit, see Pócs, "Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében."

{312} For lidérc, wise man, and witch connections, for lidérc figure variations, and for Hungarian and Slavic relationships, see in more detail Pócs, ibid., and "The Popular Foundations of the Witches' Sabbath and the Devil's Pact in Central and Southeastern Europe," 323-25.

{313} Aside from six documents (one táltos from Pécs, one from Dés, and four from Miskolc), our documents refer to táltos figures from the Alföld (Hungarian Great Plain) and mainly from the eighteenth century.

{314} This could be compared with the views of the Middle Ages that refer to the duality of the "two bodies" of the king, the political and the natural: that is, divine and immortal, and mortal and human. Compare Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies.*

{315} Compare with the sign of the cross in Church benedictions for fending off storms: Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* 173-88.

{316} Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 354-63; and Mrs. András Bartha's 1725 trial in Debrecen.

{317} For these relationships, see Pócs, "Sárkányok, ördögök és szövetségeseik a délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok tükrében" and "Le sabbat et les mythologies indo-européennes." For documentation of the "táltos with wings" or contemporary táltos figures with eagle or dragon calling and helping spirits, see Erdész, "Kígyókultusz a magyar néphagyományban," 62; and Diószegi, *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben,* 77, 194, 228. Usually, the werewolf characteristics of the táltos were strongly present in twentieth-century legends: for example, snake, wolf, dragon figures; animal ancestor; "sending a wolf," and others. For many references like these, see Diószegi, "A táltos alakjának földrajzi elterjedéséhez," 191— 96.

{318} Compare with the procedures of mirror divination; there is reference that the reflection of water could also get a trance-inducing role. See Dodds, "Supernormal Phenomena in Classical Antiquity," 216-17; Delatte, *La Catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés.*

{319} For the connection between the Modern Age Hungarian táltos beliefs and legends and this type of werewolf and magician, see Róheim, "Hungarian Shamanism"; and Klaniczay, "Le sabbat raconté par les témoins des procès de sorcellerie en Hongrie." For a more detailed presentation of these connections, along with an analysis of the werewolf features of the táltos, see Pócs, "The Hungarian Táltos and His European Parallels," 266-68.

{320} For documents about money seers at witch trials as additions from the Modern Age, see Füvessy, "Tiszafüred környéki kincskereső történetek." Money seeing and the methods used for it that can be seen from the trials were widespread in the Alföld as legendary motifs even in the twentieth century.

{321} 1728-29, Nagyszöllős, Ugocsa County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 420; 1737, Kisvárda, Szabolcs County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:356. For the destiny of Anók Fejér, who also appeared in Debrecen, see the study that discusses the trials of Debrecen in Kristóf, *Boszorkányüldözés Debrecenben és Bihar vármegyében,* 115. She was expelled from Debrecen in 1716 and later she appeared in many trials as a healer, including: Borsova, Bereg County, 1724; Tiszaújlak, Ugocsa County, 1726; Hegyközpályi, Bihar County; Apagy, Szabolcs County, 1731; and Feketeardó, Ugocsa County, 1732.

{322} See Róheim, *Spiegelzauber;* Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* 217— 25; Delatte, *La Catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés;* Dodds, "Supernormal Phenomena in Classical Antiquity." For turning the bolter sieve and other methods connected to sieves, see Fehrle, "Das Sieb im Volksglauben"; Gunda, "A rostaforgató asszony."

{323} The trance-inducing function of *cristallomantia* and *catoptromantia* procedures were known in antiquity and the Middle Ages. In these a mirror or a crystal was employed to "see" or create visions for predicting the future. See, for example, Dodds, "Supernormal Phenomena in Classical Antiquity," 191-217.

{324} Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:229; 1715, Felsőbánya, Szatmár County, in Abafi, "Felsőbányai boszorkánypörök," 302; 1728, Rimaszombat, the trial of Zsófia and Katalin Kenyeres; and 1723, Bagos, Bihar County, in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára,* 314.

{325} We have altogether ten references for seers who were not of foreign nationalities but came from abroad.

{326} For a brief history of treasure hunting with a magic stick and its Hungarian references, see Pócs, "Néphit" 683.

{327} For references to fairy magicians of the Balkans, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 47-53. We know of fairy magicians in Scotland, Ireland, and Sicily that are very similar in their main characteristics, but seers initiated in the regions of the Alps or in Scandinavia too. For a few important sources, see Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature,* 119-210; Ryan, *Biddy Early;* Henningsen, "The Ladies from Outside"; Blöcker, "Frauenzauber—Zauberfrauen"; Behringer, *Chonrad Stoeckhlin und die Nachtschar;*

Kelemina, *Bajke in pripovedke slovenskego ljudstva z mitološkim uvodom, 96-91* \ Wall, *Hon var en ging tagen under jorden.*

{328} The original text of the copy of Ákos Szendrey from the archives, which he handed over to Vilmos Diószegi, was lost.

{329} I brought examples of each of these types from Hungary and the Balkans in my previously mentioned study. See Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe.*

{330} In the Scottish trials that Murray cites only motifs not entire rituals of otherworldly fairy existence can be found, but no evidence of the existence of rituals before witchcraft. See Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe,* 238-45.

{331} The three fate women could make the child be born a werewolf; see Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft,* 1:186. Fate-women midwives, present at birth, could make a child born in a caul into different types of strigoi and seers; see Marian, *Serbatorile la Români,* 2:95.

{332} For further variations on fairy helpers of magicians, especially for fairies who helped in witch identification in the regions of Great Britain, see Purkiss, *The Witch in History,* 15961; and Brown, *The Fate of the Dead,* 46. It seems that this phenomenon was a fairly general tendency in the European regions where fairy beliefs were widespread.

{333} Mrs. Czigán, 1737, Szilsárkány, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:100109; Ilona Forgó, 1740, Tótkeresztúr, in ibid., 2:206-18; Mrs. Letenyei, 1744, Pál, in ibid., 2:257-69; Mrs. Horváth, 1748, Nemeskér, in ibid., 2:274-76; all are from Sopron County.

{334} For example, Mrs. Czigán, née Ilona Tóth, an accused from Szilsárkány, 1737, Sopron County, in ibid., 2:100-109; Mrs. István Csáki, née Katalin Major, a défendent fram Ebergöc, 1745-46, Sopron County, in ibid., 2:219-29, 241-50; and many others, especially in western Dunántúl (the western side of the Danube in Hungary) and the Alföld.

{335} Similar creatures with a double face are the above-mentioned Mrs. Csáki and Ilona Forgó.

{336} Ten accused stand out, from among the healers with fairy-magician attributes, as maleficium identifiers. Among them are Mrs. Komunczki, 1729, Horvátgyirót, Sopron County, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 2:40-44; and Mrs. János Horváth, 1748, Nemeskér, Sopron County, in ibid., 2:257-69.

{337} For this we have one example from a trial in Debrecen. See Mrs. Mihály Kiss, a defendant in a 1715 trial there; "an old man with gray hair taught him in his dream, that is how he prepares the bath" (in Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevél-tára,* 265).

{338} For example, Mrs. Lukács Csonka, 1681, Debrecen, in ibid., 135; Kata Gyarmati, Szatmárnémeti, 1709, in ibid., 226. We know of about forty healers of this type from Hungarian trials.

{339} For example, Mrs. János Vörös, 1755, Hódmezővásárhely, in Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek,* 1:315-18; Mrs. György Horváth, Körmend, 1751, in ibid., 2:728.

{340} See, for example, Vajkai, *Népi orvoslás a Borsavölgyében.*

{341} For this process, see Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe,* 59-169, 270-72. Compare with the references mentioned from the various parts of Europe in connection with the healing witch.

{342} See, for example, the here-relevant features of Saint Columba's life, along with his quasi-shamanistic initiation, which we know of from Adomnan's notes. See MacQueen, "The Saint as Seer: Adomnan's Account of Columba."

{343} For a few examples for Europe: the Swiss Catherina Fagenberg, in Edsman, "A Swedish Female Folk Healer from the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century"; the German Sophia Agnes von Langenberg, accused of witchcraft, in A. Burkhart, "La radice č infetta," 132-47. For references from the Balkans, see Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 47-49; for Austria, see Valentinitsch, "Die Verfolgung von Hexen und Zauberern im Herzogtum." The French published a number of documents from witch trials; see Bouteiller, *Chamanisme et guérison magique,* 201-35; and Delcambre, *Le Concept de la sorcellerie.* From the many current Hungarian references, see István Orosz, the saint man, in Bálint, *Egy magyar szentember,* 18-21; or Vince Engi Tüdő, described in Grynaeus, "Engi Tüdő Vince."

{344} See, for example, Salo, "The Structure of Finnish Shamanic Therapy," 120-25. For incubation see, for example, Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World,* Chap. 1, "Asklepios the Healer."

{345} For the most important summaries of Rusalia and Căluşari rituals, see Majzner, "Dubočke Rusalje"; Kligman, *Calus;* Puchner, "Zum Nachleben des Rosalienfestes auf der Balkanhalbinsel"; and Pócs, *Fairies and Witches at the Boundary of South-Eastern and Central Europe,* 63-64; and for further literature see especially the bibliography of the latter.

{346} Oláh, "A boszorkány perek Békés vármegyében," 149–157.

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