

THE SALAZAR DOCUMENTS

CULTURES, BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PEOPLES

VOLUME 21



THE SALAZAR DOCUMENTS

*Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías and Others
on the Basque Witch Persecution*

EDITED BY

GUSTAV HENNINGSEN



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2004

Illustration on the cover: Section of Ian Ziarnko's etching in Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance*, Paris 1613 (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen).

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Salazar documents : Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías and others on the Basque witch persecution / edited by Gustav Henningsen.

p. cm. — (Cultures, beliefs, and traditions, ISSN 1382-5364 ; v. 21)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-13186-8 (hardcover)

1. Inquisition—Spain—País Vasco—Sources. 2. Witchcraft—Spain—País Vasco—History—17th century—Sources. 3. Salazar Frías, Alfonso de, 1564-1635. I. Henningsen, Gustav. II. Series.

BX1735.S28 2004

272'.2'09466—dc22

2004052329

ISSN 1382-5364

ISBN 90 04 13186 8

© Copyright 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic Publishers,
Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface	ix
Note on Editorial Principles and the Translation	xiii
Abbreviations and Conventions	xv
List of Illustrations	xvii

PART ONE: THE CONTEXT

The Salazar Documents	3
The Witchcraft Policy of the Spanish Inquisition	7
The Return of the Witch-Burning	13
<i>La Suprema</i> in 1608	13
BERNARDO DE SANDOVAL Y ROJAS	16
The Witch Trial at the Logroño Inquisition	17
ALONSO DE SALAZAR FRÍAS	21
ANTONIO VENEGAS DE FIGUEROA	29
The Mountains of Navarra	31
The Road to Zugarramurdi	31
Urdax and Zugarramurdi	31
JUAN DE LA BORDA	37
The Valley of Baztán	39
The Valley of Santesteban and Las Cinco Villas	40
The Basque Witch-Craze	46
The Anatomy of the Craze	46
WITCH BELIEF AND WITCH-CRAZE	47
Propaganda and Rumours	51
HERNANDO DE SOLARTE	56
The Dream Epidemic	59
The Forced Confessions	62
WITCHCRAFT AND CHARIVARI	68
The Child-Witches	74
Who Were the Accused?	79
The Interpretation of Witchcraft	81
The Philosophical Context	81
The Two Epistemologies	82

PART TWO: THE DOCUMENTS

Chapter One: The Discovery of Witchcraft	99
Introduction	99
Document 1. Letter from the Inquisitors to Philip III	102
Document 2. An Account of the Persons at the Auto de fe	104
Chapter Two: The Disclosures of the Jesuit	143
Introduction	143
Document 3. First Letter of Father Solarte to Gaspar de Vegas	146
Document 4. Second Letter of Father Solarte	172
Chapter Three: The Recommendations of the Bishop	183
Introduction	183
Document 5. First Letter of the Bishop of Pamplona to the Inquisitor General	186
Document 6. Second Letter of the Bishop	196
Document 7. The Bishop's Report	202
Document 8. Father Solarte's Letter to the Bishop	226
Document 9. Father Solarte's Report to the Bishop	230
Chapter Four: The Instructions of the Inquisition	
Council	237
Introduction	237
Document 10. The Instructions of the Council	240
Chapter Five: The Investigations of Inquisitor Salazar	251
Introduction	251
Document 11. First Report of Salazar	253
Document 12. Second Report of Salazar	266
Chapter Six: From the Battle over the Witches	351
Introduction	351
Document 13. Third Report of Salazar	354
Document 14. Fourth Report of Salazar	366
Document 15. Fifth Report of Salazar	430

Chapter Seven: The Final Resolution	455
Introduction	455
Document 16. Sixth Report of Salazar	458
Document 17. Seventh Report of Salazar	462
Document 18. The Council's New Instructions for Witchcraft Cases	472
Bibliography	493
Index (names, places, subjects)	499

PREFACE

The reports of Alonso de Salazar Frías on the great Basque witch persecution of 1609–1614 are unique in the history of witchcraft. No other contemporary source has analysed the persecution of witches so thoroughly, and in no other trial have the proceedings been submitted to such scathing criticism by one of the trial judges. The first time I became aware of this material was when I read Geoffrey Parrinder's book *Witchcraft* (1958). It immediately struck me that there was a leak here in the 'conspiracy' of the sources, which exclusively described the witch-hunt from the viewpoint of the persecutors and the believers in witchcraft, for this Spanish inquisitor had for once also allowed the witches to have their say.

During a three-year scholarship in Spain in the 1960s I began to look for Salazar's reports. I visited Julio Caro Baroja, who had published one of the reports after a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional (1933). The distinguished anthropologist and historian admitted that he had not seen the other reports, but he assumed that they were still in Simancas, the Spanish national archives near Valladolid, where Henry Charles Lea had found them at the beginning of the century and used them in his monumental *History of the Spanish Inquisition* (1906–7). I went off to Simancas, but there I was told that all the Spanish Inquisition archives were now in the *Archivo histórico Nacional* in Madrid. Pleased and expectant, I returned to the national history archives in Madrid, but it now emerged that in connection with the transfer of the material in 1914 the several thousand Inquisition files had been re-catalogued. Lea's reference "Inq. de Logroño, Leg. 1, Procesos de fe, n. 8" was therefore outdated, and no one could tell me under which archive reference Salazar's reports were now hidden. Only after a systematic study of the disposition of the Inquisition archives in Simancas and in Madrid was I able to use the American historian's source references, and one day in December 1967 I opened an archive capsule weighing several kilos and rediscovered Salazar's reports, which had been lost to international scholarship for more than half a century. But besides these, the capsule contained a wealth of material of whose existence no one had any idea: reports and

letters from a parish priest, a Jesuit and a bishop who were all, like Salazar, concerned about the victims of the persecution.

I spent the last eight months of my scholarship period gathering material for the article "The Papers of Alonso de Salazar Frías", which was printed in the periodical *Temenos* in 1969. The same year I was back in Madrid with a new scholarship to write a doctoral dissertation on the great Basque witch-hunt. Side by side with this project I was working on an edition of Salazar's reports and other key documents which I had had translated into English in the meantime. After reading the first ten chapters of the introduction to this edition, my supervisor at the University of Copenhagen, the psychologist Franz From, wrote and asked me whether it was not in fact the doctoral dissertation I was in progress with. Without further thought I replied in the affirmative. The ten chapters thus came to form part of the dissertation *The Witches' Advocate*, published in 1980 in the "Basque Series" of the University of Nevada Press and subsequently translated into several languages.

According to the new plan "The Salazar Documents" were really meant to be published as a supplementary volume to the dissertation, but to avoid an expensive two-volume edition my publishers ultimately chose to leave them out. This meant that some of the original idea of the dissertation was lost, for the first volume, with its reconstruction of the prehistory of the auto de fe and the investigations that followed, had been intended as one large prelude to the documents, where the story was to be told again, but this time by the protagonists themselves.

With the present edition this idea is finally being realized. To avoid the inconvenience of frequently having to consult the previous publication, I have, however, furnished the documents with short recapitulations of the events. I have also found it necessary to write a new introduction, where the most recent research is used, more biographical information on the authors is provided, and special attention is paid to the social and cultural context of the witch-craze.

The work with the present volume has gone through several phases over a long period. To translate the documents I engaged the services of Julia MacDonald, who worked with great enthusiasm, assisted by her husband, the anthropologist Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, and my Spanish wife, the writer Marisa Rey, who both contributed expert suggestions to the interpretation of the actual meaning of the documents. The result of this teamwork was a translation with the

emphasis on accuracy and precision. This text later went through an editorial process where the highly officialese style of the documents was converted into more modern language, first and foremost thanks to the historian Albert Lovett, who went through the entire translation; but the anthropologist William Douglass, my editor on the “Basque Series” also gave me a helping hand with the manuscript. In this first phase I was also assisted by another historian, William Callahan, who kindly helped me to translate my editorial notes into English.

For some years the plan was to publish the English translation of *The Salazar Documents* in one of the scholarly series of the Danish Royal Society. Unfortunately this publication came to nothing because of other tasks, but I am grateful to the secretary of the society, Dr. Erik Dal, for good advice on the typographical layout.

A third phase began in 1995, when I was contacted by the Swedish science journalist Lilian Öhrström, who was working on a book about the modern ‘child-witch trials’, where children accused adults of abducting them and taking them to secret meetings where they were subjected to satanic rituals. Despite extensive police investigations there was no proof of these modern “witches’ sabbaths”; nevertheless a large number of adults in the USA, Britain and Scandinavia were prosecuted. Öhrström had read my book in the Swedish translation and was fascinated by the many parallels between the modern and the historical cases. She put me in touch with the anthropologist Jean La Fontaine, who had just written a report on the British “child witch trials”. Inspired by the contact with these two and with the British forensic psychiatrist James MacKeith, I wrote an article for *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry* (Henningesen 1996). “The European witch craze is now history,” I had written in the epilogue to *The Witches’ Advocate*, “but it continually returns in a new and plausible disguise. We shall always need men with courage enough to tear away the mask.” Now the moment had indeed come to get these texts published.

For supporting the implementation of the project I thank the Spanish Embassy in Copenhagen, which granted me a three-month study trip to Madrid in the autumn of 1997, as well as the Danish Ministry of Culture, which granted me four months’ paid leave from my institution and the travel expenses covering two visits to Spain in the spring of 2001 and the autumn of 2002. They also supported the translation of the introduction to the present volume. Last but

not least, I thank my own institution, the Danish Folklore Archives, for all the research time I was allowed to spend on this project.

Among the many institutions and their staff who have given me help along the way I would particularly like to mention the following: Archivo Historico Nacional, Biblioteca Nacional, Casa de Velázquez and Archivo de Protocolos (all in Madrid); Archivo Diocesano de Navarra, Archivo General de Navarra, Biblioteca General de Navarra (all in Pamplona); and the Archivo parroquial de Zugarramurdi.

For critical reading of parts of the manuscript I thank Stuart Clark and Jean La Fontaine (Part Two) and my colleagues Henrik Stevnsborg, Henrik Koudal and Palle O. Christiansen as well as my friend Stig Andersen (Part One). The many who have helped me with advice and references are credited in the notes, but the following should be thanked here: Jean-Pierre Dedieu, Jaime Contreras, José María Imízcoz Beunza, Roldán Jimeno, Fernando Mikelarena Peña and Juan Ignacio Paúl Arzak.

I should also like to express my gratitude to James Manley for his skilful translation of my Danish text for Part One and the introductions in Part Two. Special thanks to my permanent adviser on “Spanish affairs”, Marisa Rey, who besides participation in the translation work has helped me with proof-reading and the checking of punctuation in the Spanish texts.

Calafell, Tarragona
23rd January 2004

NOTE ON EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES AND THE TRANSLATION

The publication of the eighteen source documents in this volume is intended more as an exhibition than a publication in the traditional sense. The main emphasis has been on a visual presentation of the documents with their inscriptions and marginal notes in various hands, which are however marked for practical reasons with an asterisk and explained in the footnotes, while the underlinings are marked by underlinings in the text. It should thus be possible for the reader to imagine the documents in their original form, which at some points verges on the dramatic (see docs. 2 and 3). The philological apparatus has been confined to what is strictly necessary, and textual variants have only been included insofar as they could change the meaning of the content. In places where the text is corrupt, it has sometimes been possible to restore it by interpolation from parallel source material, but the original text is then always given in a note. For the sake of transparency the text has sometimes been furnished with new paragraphs, and documents 2, 9 and 14 have been given paragraph numbering (marked with italics) which does not exist in the original.

The idea of having a synoptic edition of the Salazar Documents came into being at the suggestion of Esther Cohen, former editor-in-chief of the Culture, Beliefs and Traditions series. The publication is aimed first and foremost at an international readership and the main purpose has therefore been to give the reader with a general knowledge of Spanish the opportunity to check the translation. Spelling and punctuation in the Spanish texts have therefore been modernized, and the same is the case with obsolete words and inflections, such however that this has been indicated in the notes wherever it seemed relevant. Moreover, with support in other source material, proper names have been standardized such that the same name always appears with the same spelling. For ease of reading numbers have in certain places been given in Arabic numerals, although they are spelled out in the original, or on the other hand are spelled out where the original has them as numerals. The latter is the case for example with the glosses in document 12, where

the statements of ages are spelled out, because so many references to the trial material are already given with numerals.

For technical reasons it has been necessary to place the English translation and the textual commentary (with Arabic numerals) on the left-hand pages, while the original Spanish texts and editorial notes (with alphabetical numeration) go on the right-hand pages. Where it seemed relevant, the editorial notes have been repeated in the English translation and placed with the text notes. There is no translation into Spanish of the commentary, but the note numbers (preceded by an ordinal symbol, e.g. °10) are repeated in the Spanish text, such that the reader can go directly from there to the commentary.

The synoptic presentation of the original Spanish text alongside the English text permitted a freer translation, since the reader can always check it against the original. In the present translation I have therefore made a point of making the text clear, transparent and explicit, even where the originals can by no means be said to live up to these ideals. In some places the text could be clarified by inserting a few words or an explanation in brackets; at other times this could be done by dividing the long and complicated sentence construction into shorter ones. But at some points it has been necessary to paraphrase, because in the original the text is too convoluted or requires too much 'inside information' to be at all comprehensible. The latter is true not least of Salazar, who sometimes expresses several different thoughts in one and the same sentence, and at other times alludes to matters that are assumed to be known to the circle whom he is addressing. It is further true of some of Salazar's texts that what has been preserved is the rough draft, not the text in its final polished form. This goes for example for his long Fourth Report (doc. 14). The translation has thus often been made on the basis of a preceding interpretation of the text, which is sometimes due to my highly qualified helpers, but for which I, as the editor and specialist in the area, must take full responsibility.

G.H.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

ADP	Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona
AGN	Archivo General de Navarra (Pamplona)
AHPM	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (Madrid)
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte), Madrid
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid)
C/T	Letter from the Council in Madrid to the Tribunal at Logroño
CADP	Sales Tirapu, José Luis and Irigoyen, Isidoro Ursua, <i>Catálogo del Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona: Sección de Procesos</i> , 18 vols., Pamplona 1988–1999
case no.	Case number in the “Witch List” (WA 395–437)
doc.	Document in the present edition
DHCJ	Charles E. O’Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez (dirs.), <i>Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús</i> , Madrid 2001
<i>Food Accounts</i>	Accounts, dated 27th Sept. 1614, of the witches’ consumption during imprisonment in the carcels of the Inquisition at Logroño (<i>Lib.</i> 832, 159r–162r), their stay being charged at 1 real per day (WA 515 n. 111)
<i>Fourth Report of Solarte</i>	Original manuscript of Solarte in the Jesuits’ archives in Rome (ARSI, Castel Hist., vol. 2, 190r–192v)
<i>Joint sentence</i>	The sentence of four of the Zugarramurdi witches (doc. 2.II, nos. 1–4), <i>Lib.</i> 835, 386r–400r.
<i>Leg.</i>	Manuscript capsule in the <i>Sección de Inquisición</i> of the AHN
<i>Lib.</i>	Manuscript volume in the <i>Sección de Inquisición</i> of the AHN
T/C	Letter from the Tribunal at Logroño to the Council in Madrid
<i>Tribunals Statistics by 9th March 1611</i>	“Report of places where <i>aquejarres</i> have been exposed, of the witches who have confessed, and of the number of suspects in each place” (<i>Leg.</i> 1679, Exp. 2.1, no. 20, cf. WA 213f)
<i>Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation Book</i>	Manuscript volume in <i>Leg.</i> 1679,2.2 (description in WA 423–434, 563)
WA	Gustav Henningsen, <i>The Witches’ Advocate</i> , Reno, Univ. of Nevada Press, 1980

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Part One

Fig. 1. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor General.	14
Fig. 2. The Tribunal's statistics of witches discovered by 9th March 1611.	26
Fig. 3. Map showing the <i>aquejarres</i> discovered in Northern Navarra and Guipúzcoa by 9th March 1611.	27
Fig. 4. The witch cave at Zugarramurdi. In the background at the opposite entrance there is an old lime kiln.	32
Fig. 5. The village of Zugarramurdi on the north side of the Pyrenees facing France. In the foreground one of the entrances to the witch cave.	35
Fig. 6. Old farmhouses in Zugarramurdi with coats of arms on the wall.	35
Fig. 7. Reading over possessed or bewitched people has until recently been practised at Spanish sanctuaries, for example at Corpiño in Galicia.	36
Fig. 8. The Jauregizar Palace at Arráyoz in the Baztán Valley.	39
Fig. 9. Echalar, one of Las Cinco Villas.	41
Fig. 10. The town hall (<i>casa consistorial</i>) of Vera.	43
Fig. 11. The Church in Vera, seen from the arcade of the town hall.	44
Fig. 12. The Virgin of Aránzazu on a 19th century stamp.	53
Fig. 13. The entrance to the basement, or so-called cellar of the Jauregizar Palace where the Arráyoz witches were imprisoned. In the wall to the right an embrasure.	64
Fig. 14. Watermill with vertical axis. Drawing in 16th century manuscript on mills by Juanelo Turriano.	66

Fig. 15. Watermill at Zubieta with horizontal wheels.	66
Fig. 16a. The bridge at Sumbilla. One of the places where the witches were lowered down to the water and ducked to the bottom of the river.	68
Fig. 16b. The bridge at Sumbilla, seen from above.	68
Fig. 17. Old street in Santestevan.	70
Fig. 18. Elgorriaga where they made the witches walk the ladder.	72
Fig. 19. The Stone Bridge in Errazu with the church in the background.	78

Part Two

Fig. 20. Delinquents and effigies conducted to an auto de fe. Each papier-maché effigy is carried on a long pole followed by the coffin with the bones of the deceased. Engraving by Adrian Scoenebech, 1683.	98
Fig. 21. Second Letter of the Jesuit Solarte to the Provincial at Valladolid, with underlinings and annotations of the Tribunal and the Council.	142
Fig. 22. The Report of the Bishop of Pamplona to the Inquisitor General with annotations of the Council.	182
Fig. 23. The eight questions to the witches which Salazar had drawn up on the basis of the Council's Instructions. With endorsement in his own handwriting.	236
Fig. 24. Map of Salazar's journey of visitation.	250
Fig. 25. Folio 2 recto of Salazar's Fourth Report in his own handwriting with a pointing hand in the margin.	350
Fig. 26. Salazar's own copy of the new instructions for witchcraft cases.	454

PART ONE
THE CONTEXT

THE CONTEXT

The Salazar Documents

The texts in this volume can be read as contributions to a debate on witch persecution that took place within the Spanish Inquisition four hundred years ago. The occasion of this debate was a trial at the northern Spanish Inquisition Tribunal in Logroño, whose jurisdiction was the whole of the Spanish Basque Country. At an auto de fe held on 7th–8th November 1610 the Tribunal had presented evidence of the existence of a witch sect in the Pyrenees, and had sentenced several of the accused to the stake (cf. docs. 1–2). The question now was what was to be done with the several hundred people who had been exposed as adherents of the Devil’s secret sect, not to mention the thousands who were under suspicion. Yet this was not a debate in the ordinary sense, where the participants have access to one another’s arguments. The Inquisition was a closed institution, and those who were outside the walls in reality had only one text to refer to: the Logroño printer Juan de Mongastón’s account of the reading of the verdicts from the auto de fe with sensational details from the witches’ confessions.¹ Nor were the inquisitors in Logroño familiar with all the contributions to the debate to which their auto de fe had given rise. They knew the Jesuit’s first and second reports (docs. 3–4), for the recipient, the Jesuit Provincial in Valladolid, had himself passed them on to the Tribunal. But they did not know the Jesuit’s third report, which he had sent to the Bishop of Pamplona, and they had no knowledge of the two letters and the long report that the Bishop had sent straight to the Inquisitor General in Madrid along with the Jesuit’s report (docs. 5–9). The only place where there was access to all the arguments in the debate was at the office of the Inquisitor General and his eight-man council, *el Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición*, or *la Suprema*, as it was known colloquially. This office had also received a contribution from

¹ Reprinted as appendix I to vol. 7 of *Obras Completas* by Pedro de Valencia 1997, 161–181.

the Royal Historiographer Pedro de Valencia.² “Concerning the tales of the witches” was what this learned humanist had called his *discurso*, where he commented on the printed account and in which he criticized the Inquisition for allowing this case to become public knowledge at all.³ For, as he argued,

although on the whole it must be assumed that the witches have confessed to the truth, some of the things they have admitted are so improbable that many people will refuse to believe them and instead would consider the whole story to be something the witches have dreamed up. For such things have never been heard of before except in poems and fairy tales [*libros fabulosos*] which are written to entertain and terrify children and simple folk.⁴

Apart from a broadside ballad about the confessions of the witches, which the Inquisition quickly confiscated, the Logroño printer’s account was however well nigh the only source of information that appeared concerning this major case.⁵ The rest was kept in the Inquisition’s top-secret files. One exception was Valencia’s *discurso*, which circulated in copies; but three hundred years were to pass before it was printed. The new instructions for witchcraft cases (doc. 18) also gained some currency, but only within the closed circle of the Inquisition. The many thousand pages of trial documents that had been taken down to Madrid were returned to Logroño after the case was over. However, all this material was lost during the Napoleonic

² Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620) was a censor on the Consejo de Castilla and it was in this capacity that he personally applied to the Inquisitor General for permission to comment on a printed account which he had borrowed from a gentleman (Valencia 1997, 309). The Inquisitor General replied by not only granting his permission but explicitly ordering Valencia to offer his remarks (*ibid.*, 256).

³ Besides Mongastón’s pamphlet with imprimatur of 7th January 1611 there has existed an account of the Logroño auto published by the Burgos printer Juan Bautista Varesio, with imprimatur of 8th January the same year, a copy of which was known until the beginning of the 20th century (WA 197). I have earlier suggested that Valencia’s source was the Burgos print (WA 498 n. 58), but a closer comparison undertaken by M. A. Marcos Casquero and Hipólito B. Riesco Álvarez, has demonstrated that his source must be the Logroño print (Valencia 1997, 122).

⁴ Valencia 1997, 257.

⁵ For the confiscation of the broadside ballads, see doc. 10.15. A copy of the ballad was actually found at the beginning of the 20th c. in the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), but has subsequently disappeared (WA 498 n. 57). It was published by the Logroño printer Juan de Mongastón in Logroño 1611 and contained four ballads, the first two about the witches’ confessions, the third about the different shapes in which the Devil presented himself to the witches, and the fourth a religious ballad about the Passion of Christ (González de Amezúa 1912, 156f).

Wars, when the hated building of the Tribunal was razed to the ground, and for a long time afterwards the traders used the Inquisition papers to wrap meat and fish in. On the same occasion all the contributions from Salazar's opponents in the "debate", the two senior inquisitors in Logroño, disappeared.

With few exceptions, what we know about the Inquisition in Logroño is based on the documentation found in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* in Madrid, where a special section was established for the archives of *la Suprema* and other Inquisition papers. This was where I rediscovered Salazar's reports in 1967, as well as a selection of the documents of the case and a whole volume of his Visitation Book, Volume "F" with the so-called *revocantes* (people who had retracted their confessions). This important documentation must have come back from Logroño, presumably in October 1623, and was thus saved from destruction.⁶ Earlier the same year *la Suprema* had requested information about the witchcraft issue and about the papers in the possession of the Tribunal,⁷ and on 11th October Salazar answered the enquiry of the Council with a longish report. There is much to indicate that the capsule with the above-mentioned papers was sent to Madrid on the same occasion, and that Salazar personally dealt with the collection of the documents. For one thing, many of the papers are originals, for example all the contributions from the Jesuit and the Bishop (docs. 3–9). For another the collection comprises, apart from a single text (doc. 11) all Salazar's reports (docs. 12–17)—a couple of them even in the original—as well as copies of the new instructions for witchcraft cases (doc. 18), one of these in Salazar's hand. Thirdly, an old pagination of some of the documents shows that these must have been taken out of a manuscript volume from

⁶ The most likely explanation is that the material was sent on to *la Suprema* along with Salazar's Eleventh Report of 11.10.1623. This assumption is supported by the fact that all the papers in the capsule are earlier than this date, except a single document dated 30.11.1624 concerning the witch trial of Maria de Laguna from Villa de Haro, but since she is spoken of in the report the paper may have been inserted in the capsule at a later juncture by *la Suprema*. Another possibility, although less probable, is that the documentation came to the Council in the lot of 28 manuscript volumes which Sebastián de Guerra, secretary to *la Suprema*, collected from Salazar's library shortly after his death in 1636. According to the probate inventory the volumes contained "votes and reports (*alegaciones*) in various resolutions taken by the Holy Office" (AHPM 6610, 436r–v).

⁷ I have not been able to locate *la Suprema's* letters, which according to the Tribunal's information were dated 24th May and 5th July 1623 (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 4[k], T/C 21.7.1623).

which only the list of contents is now preserved. It is further evident from this list that it was Salazar's private collection, and that the "butchered" volume interestingly also contained a copy of Pedro de Valencia's *discurso*.⁸ Whether Salazar was already aware of the learned humanist's hypotheses in 1612, when he wrote his first reports to the Inquisitor General, we do not know, but as we shall see there are elements in his arguments that might suggest so.

Pedro de Valencia's *discurso* is now available in a fine edition of his collected works. We can therefore be content with a summary of his bold, indeed almost completely modern intellectual experiment, where he attempted to view the witches' sabbat in the contexts of the history of religions, pharmacology and theology. As an explanation of the accounts of the witch sect at the auto de fe in Logroño, Valencia posited three hypotheses. (1) The witch meetings take place in reality, and the participants are people who meet to abandon themselves to frivolous and depraved activities. The journey to the sabbat (*aquelarre*) is made on foot and the Devil is only one of the participants disguised with horns and a gruesome mask. In this guise he has intercourse with the women, either in the normal fashion or using an artificial phallus. (2) The meetings take place

⁸ Leg. 1679,2.1 no. 10, entitled: "The papers, letters, information and other things which are in this volume, are the following." The volume was divided in three parts, and in Part One, without title, folios 1[-16], were found: "A *discurso* by Pedro de Valencia about the things which have occurred in the Mountains of Navarra concerning the witch sect"; followed by: "A very old letter about the aforementioned sect written to the Constable of Castile by the *licenciado* Ayala, inquisitor of Navarra", folios 27[-29]; and finally: "A letter with detailed account (*larga relación*) to the Council", folios 30ff, which presumably must have been Salazar's Second Report (doc. 12). Of Part Two, entitled: "Of the business and discussion of the said complicity of witches", whose pagination runs from 1 through 55, all the content has been preserved with original pagination in the aforementioned capsule: Salazar's Fourth Report, folios 1-10 (doc. 14), Salazar's Fifth Report, folios 11-15 (doc. 15), endorsed by two letters to him from the Council, folios 10 and 16; Salazar's Sixth Report, folios 17-20; "A letter which the Inquisitor General wanted to write to certain prelates, but which was later cancelled", folios 21-24 (cf. WA 365); Salazar's Third Report, folios 25-26 (doc. 13); Salazar's Seventh Report, folios 27-28 (doc. 17); "The final resolution which the Council was pleased to take", folio 29-32 (doc. 18); [Some notes by Inquisitor Valle concerning the instructions of 29.8.1614], folio 33 (cf. WA 381f); "What resulted afterwards in the Inquisition of Logroño", folios 45-55, or "Salazar's Eighth Report" as I have called it, however, with an error in the reference (WA 559), the correct one being: Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 25, and the correct date 27th January 1617. For the details of this important collection, see Caro Baroja's inventory (1969, 323-325), and my corrections to his list (WA 563).

in dreams. The witches anoint themselves with a certain kind of ointment in order to fly to the sabbat, but they do not really go anywhere. Instead they fall into a deep sleep during which the Devil makes them experience the delights of the sabbat in dreams. He sees to it that the individual dreams correspond to one another so that when the witches awake they are convinced that what they have experienced actually happened. It is even possible, adds Valencia, that the dream experiences are caused entirely by the ointment, which affects everyone in the same way so that their dreams agree, and do not need to be coordinated by the Devil. (3) The Devil sometimes transports people to a witches' sabbat so that they are present there in person, and at other times he deceives them and causes them to dream the whole experience.

Valencia discarded the first hypothesis, since he considered it impossible to conceal an activity involving so many people. Nor could he use the third hypothesis, which was the one generally accepted among the theologians: that the Devil sometimes took people to the sabbat body and soul, for according to the same theologians this was something that happened extremely rarely, while the sabbat journeys in the specific case took place several times a week. Valencia therefore ended up with a compromise between the second hypothesis and the third: that the sabbat was an illusion produced either by the witches' ointments or by the Devil, but that in either case it was a dream phenomenon. The long discourse to the Inquisitor General ended with the recommendation that in every concrete witch case one was to search for a palpable corpus delicti in order to ensure that no person was sentenced for actions or injuries which had never been committed or which could be explained as natural occurrences or accidental misfortunes (WA 6ff).

The Witchcraft Policy of the Spanish Inquisition

While people in Spain were discussing whether the witch sect existed at all, others all over Europe were in full swing with its eradication. The decades around 1600 marked the peak of the European witch persecution. The excitement was whipped up by popular prints with revelations in text and pictures about the abominable sect, now in one region, now in another. Side by side with this propaganda there

appeared a succession of learned treatises that were almost a sort of manuals of witch persecution. The authors were mainly judges and lawyers who drew on their own experiences. In France there were Jean Bodin's *De la Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580), Nicolas Rémy's *Demonolatreiae* (1595) and Henri Boguet's *Discours des sorciers* (1602); in Germany Johan Georg Godelmann's *Disputatio de magis* (1584), Peter Binsfeld's, *Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum* (1589) and Henning Grosius' *Magica* (1597); in Italy Francesco Maria Guazzo's *Compendium maleficarum* (1608), just to mention the most important titles. Common to this literature was the representation of the witch sect as a reality and a danger to the whole of Christendom. The witches were to be eradicated relentlessly, but because of their pact with the Devil they were difficult to expose. The authors, who included some of the leading lawyers of the day, therefore recommended special rules for witch trials, and those judges who stuck to normal procedure or permitted themselves to doubt the reality of witchcraft were stigmatized as old-fashioned or even accused of sympathizing with the witches.

No such literature was to be found in the Iberian Peninsula, either in Spain or Portugal. The subject was dealt with from time to time in theological works, but the books which were specifically concerned with witches could be counted on the fingers of one hand: Martín de Arles y Andosillas' *De superstitionibus* (Paris 1510), Martín de Castañega's *Tratado de las supersticionibus* (Logroño 1529), Pedro Ciruelo's *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechicerías* (Salamanca 1538), and Alonso de Castro's *De sortilegiis et maleficiis* (Lyons 1558). The only recent book on the subject was *Disquisitionum magicarum* (Louvain 1599) written by the Jesuit Martín del Rio (1551–1608). He had been born to Spanish parents in the Netherlands and worked for most of his life outside Spain. But the fact that he was both a Catholic and a Spaniard probably helped to ensure that his work won widespread popularity among Spanish intellectuals.

How much the Spanish theologians and lawyers knew otherwise about the recent European witchcraft literature or demonology is however a difficult question. In a section about witch trials in a manuscript manual for inquisitors, there is not a single word about it. The manual, which circulated in manuscript copies and was used by many Spanish Inquisition tribunals, was written at the beginning of the 1630s by the inquisitor Isidoro de San Vicente, who had incidentally served as a prosecutor (*fiscal*) at the Tribunal in Logroño

(1608–1612) and as such had been involved in the great witch trial.⁹ In his library of over a thousand volumes the only demonological literature the inquisitor Salazar had was a copy of del Rio (“Lyon 1620”), Francisco Torreblanca’s *Daemonologia sive de magia naturalis* (“Seville 1608”), the Portuguese Manuel do Vale de Moura’s *De encantationibus seu ensalmis* (Évora 1620) and a reprint of *Malleus maleficarum* (Lyon 1620).¹⁰

The Inquisition in Spain was not in the habit of sentencing witches to the stake. With the auto de fe in Logroño, where six had been burnt alive and five others in effigy, they had broken with the practice

⁹ For copies of San Vicente’s manual for inquisitors, see WA 547f, n. 81. One of the copies (BNM 831) has been published by Elías Amezcaga (1968, 284–309). Isidoro de San Vicente (c. 1579–1650) served as *fiscal* in the Inquisition of Logroño from Sept. 1608 to Sept. 1612 (WA 460 n. 40). He died in 1650 as a member of the Suprema. The probate is dated 27th May 1650. The inventory of San Vicente’s library comprehends 347 titles almost exclusively about law and religion and without a single one on demonology (AHPM 4499, 261r–271r).

¹⁰ In the probate inventory of Salazar’s estate, dated 1st of Jan. 1636, the notary counted 1425 “books” (*i.e.* volumes) in Salazar’s study (AHPM 6610, 436r) whereupon he made a report with 817 titles (*ibid.* 484r–496r) detailed enough for us to identify the works. The inventory has been published by José Luis Barrio Moya, but unfortunately with many misreadings. For del Rio, Torreblanca’s *De magia* (misread: “José blanca de mexia”) and Vale de Moura, see Barrio Moya 1987, 159, and for *Malleus maleficarum*, *ibid.* 169. The quotation marks added in my text indicate that no edition is known for that year. The same could be said of the Malleus edition Lyon 1620, but comparing with the on-line catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, there appears to have been a collective edition of *Malleus maleficarum* and other demonological texts by Ambrogio da Vignato, Petrus Mamoris and others, in three octavo volumes, corresponding precisely to the description in the probate inventory: “Malleus maleficarum, 3 tomos, Lyon 1620” (Barrio Moya 1987, 169). We should therefore not dismiss the possibility that Salazar may have owned editions of which no copy has survived today. There are furthermore two titles on witchcraft both published in Lyon 1555 which I have not been able to identify: “Anzelo, De maleficis, Lugduni 1555” and “Tractatus diversorum de maleficis, Leon 1555” (*ibid.*, 170). Of Spanish books on witchcraft Salazar had only “[Pedro] Ciruelo, De los brujos, Barcelona 1618” (*ibid.*, 168), which must be Pedro Antonio Jofreu’s edition, Barcelona 1628. The German bishop and demonologist Pieter Binsfeld (c. 1540–1603) was represented with seven volumes in the library: “Petro Bimisfeldio, Examen ordinandorum, 1617”, *Enchiridion theologiae pastoralis*, in an unknown edition, “Duaci [*i.e.* Douai] 1617” and “Cinco tomos de Binsfeldi diferentes, Augusta [*i.e.* Trier] 1598” (*ibid.*, 169, 171). The reason for Salazar’s interest in this fanatic witch persecutor was probably that Binsfeld was the first to deal with the credibility and punishment of child-witches (cf. Behringer 1989, 33f). However, most of Salazar’s impressive library is about law and bears witness to lifelong, systematic collecting of books on the subject. No wonder that the whole collection was bought by another lawyer, a certain Pablo Arias de Tenprado, judge (*oidor*) of the Chancery of Valladolid for the sum of 11,600 *reales* (Barrio Moya 1987, 149f).

of more than three-quarters of a century. Since 1526 *la Suprema* had not permitted a single witch-burning. It is true that there had been eight in the period in question, but they had all been without the approval of the Council. The first two, which took place at the tribunal in Zaragoza in 1535, caused the Council to introduce a stipulation that any witch condemned to death by a majority rather than a unanimous vote must be sent to them for a final decision.¹¹ The other six were sent to the stake by the Inquisition in Barcelona in 1549, but as this had happened after a unanimous vote, *la Suprema* had been unable to do anything about it.¹² Over the next sixty years, witchcraft sank to the status of an almost forgotten offence for the Holy Office.

It was only in the Inquisition for Navarra and the Basque Provinces that there were witch trials from time to time. In 1575, for example, a witch-hunt broke out in Navarra, and three people were burnt by the secular authorities.¹³ But then the Inquisition intervened and after a tug-of-war with the High Court of Navarra about who had the jurisdiction, 45 of the accused were handed over, seven of them men. 42 of these people were soon acquitted, and only three had to go on to an auto de fe in November 1577, where they were sentenced to a whipping and banishment from Navarra.¹⁴

Witchcraft was what is called a “mixed crime” in legal language. The Holy Office had no monopoly of witchcraft cases; it had to share its jurisdiction with the secular and episcopal courts. But the Inquisition was entitled to receive the cases for review, so it could decide whether the accused had been guilty of heresy. In practice this meant that scores of so-called “witches” were saved by the Inquisition. We do not know with certainty how many were executed in the same period at Navarra’s two other courts. Perhaps there were only the three from 1575. At all events there must have been very few, for most cases were sent on to the Holy Office.

The basis of the Inquisition’s lenient practice in witchcraft cases was *la Suprema’s* instructions of 14th December 1526.¹⁵ They urged

¹¹ For the two witches executed in Zaragoza 1535, see Tausiet 2000, 204; for the Council’s regulations of [23rd] May 1536, see Monter 1990, 264 (the exact date by courtesy of the author).

¹² Monter 1990, 265–67.

¹³ Idoate 1978, 242, 328.

¹⁴ Monter 1990, 268f. For the total of 45 cases, see *relación de causas* 28.1–3.11.1577 (Lib. 833, 196r–210r, nos. 58–59, 63–102) and *relación del auto* 3.11.1577 (Lib. 833, 196r–210r, nos. 31–33).

¹⁵ Lib. 319, 348r–349r, published as Appendix 4 in Henningsen 2003, 599–602.

the greatest caution—indeed it is almost as if they no longer took the terrible things the witches confessed seriously. The regulations, as will be evident from the following extracts, aimed very much at securing justice in witchcraft trials, and as such were unique in Europe:

1. Witches who voluntarily confess and show signs of repentance are to be readmitted to the Church, without confiscation of property [as was otherwise the practice] and only sentenced to a milder penitential punishment.
3. No one must be arrested or convicted solely on the basis of accusations by other witches.
4. When the inquisitors receive people accused of witchcraft, they must consider whether the prisoners have already been subjected to torture by the preceding court.
9. By interrogating the other members of the household one must find out whether the people in question really were away on the nights when they claim to have been at witch meetings, or had been at home all night without leaving the house.

The instructions also included a stipulation that witches who denied their guilt should not be sentenced to death until the court had consulted the Inquisitor General.

It was only in northern Spain that witch trials were held. In Arab-influenced southern Spain there was no belief in witchcraft. There, the population believed in black magic and curses, but not in witches who flew around and spread death and destruction.^{15a} This difference between north and south was something of which *la Suprema* was aware. In 1538, when there were problems again with the witches in the Basque Country, a letter to the inquisitors, who were at this time based in Pamplona, said:

You should talk to the leading and more enlightened residents, explaining that when the harvest fails or the crops are damaged, it may be that God permits it because of our sins, or it may be due simply to the weather. This sort of thing happens, after all, in areas where there is no suspicion of witchcraft, and yet the vines are damaged by hail

^{15a} For the geography of witchcraft belief on the Iberian Peninsula, see Henningsen 1984, 226f and 1993, 71–74. My hypothesis of Moorish influence in the South has been further developed in a doctoral thesis by the Norwegian historian Gunnar W. Knutsen (2004, 10, 151–169, 173f).

and frost, and the harvests are spoiled in the same way. You must tell them that they should not imagine that only witches do these things (doc. 14.6).

On the same occasion the Council warned its inquisitors against believing everything that was written in the *Malleus maleficarum* (the inquisitor Heinrich Institoris' classic manual of witch persecution from 1486): "For the author claims to have witnessed and observed the truth of matters which are of such a nature that he could have been deceived as easily as anyone else" (doc. 14.38).

It might seem that arch-Catholic and conservative Spain was far ahead of other countries in its handling of the witch problem. They were not carried away by the popular panics, but took an independent, critical attitude to an authoritative work like the *Malleus maleficarum*, and proceeded in witchcraft cases with almost scientific thoroughness. But the explanation lies precisely in Spain's Catholic orthodoxy and conservatism. In Spain the teaching at the universities was still completely dominated by Thomism. St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa*, a kind of compendium of medieval knowledge, was basic reading for the students at Salamanca, Alcalá and the other universities, and it was to influence their fundamental philosophical views.¹⁶ St. Thomas (1225–1274) had written nothing about witches' sabbats, let alone deaths caused by witches, or crops that were destroyed by witch-invoked showers of hail. Witchcraft was not something that theology or science had dealt with in St. Thomas Aquinas' time.¹⁷ Unlike the Renaissance, the High Middle Ages was a period when the Church did not believe in witches, and considered the popular notions of witches to be heathen superstition that simply had to be eradicated. In several cases the Church spoke up and condemned the popular witch persecution.¹⁸ The Thomist doctrine, which left little scope for the Devil, was to dominate the intellectual world of the whole Iberian Peninsula and led to a relatively relaxed attitude to the European witchcraft propaganda. In Spain and Portugal

¹⁶ This is one of the conclusions in José Pedro Paiva's interesting study of witch persecution in Portugal (1997, 336–340), but it is just as valid for Spain. It is to be hoped that this important book with the subtle title: "Witchcraft and superstition in a country without 'witch-hunting' 1600–1774", will be translated from Portuguese.

¹⁷ Paiva 1997, 43f.

¹⁸ Henningsen 2003, 567.

we do not normally encounter the type of frightened, alarmist descriptions of the witch phenomenon that was so widespread north of the Pyrenees. This Thomist background meant that the intellectuals did not attribute great significance to demonology, nor did they take the witches' confessions too seriously. For the same reason the judges and inquisitors usually remained sceptical about the witchcraft accusations and made as strict demands on the use of evidence in these cases as for any other crime. The healthy, sensible attitude of the Spaniards to the witch problem was thus not a matter of being "ahead of their time", but rather of being "behind" the general development of philosophy. This is the Spanish paradox.

The Return of the Witch-Burning

La Suprema in 1608

The Council of the Inquisition had its seat in the old Royal castle of Madrid (*el Alcazar*) along with the other government bodies. The administration was divided into two secretariats, one for the inquisitorial tribunals of Castile and the other for the tribunals of Aragón, Navarra and America. Each of the two offices was staffed by a secretary and a reporter (*relator*). The reporter's work consisted of filing the incoming correspondence and summarizing its content. These four officials regularly attended the Council's meetings, which occupied three hours every morning and two hours every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoon. The Inquisitor General presided over the Council. He was seated on a dais under a crimson canopy and normally took part in the meeting for only two hours every morning. The two most senior inquisition councillors were also seated under the canopy. They sat on each side of the Inquisitor General and chaired the meetings in his absence. Two of the councillors, who were at the same time members of the Castilian Council, were generally present at the afternoon sessions only.

In front of the Inquisitor General and the two senior councillors stood a small table on which were writing materials and a bell, which was rung to summon the porters from the entrance hall. A long table was placed below the dais. There the other six councillors sat in order of seniority, and the prosecutor (*fiscal*) had a seat at the bottom of the table. Before him on the other side of the table stood



Fig. 1. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor General.
(Biblioteca Nacional)

a chair for the King's Secretary, but as a rule this was unoccupied, as his presence was only necessary when the Council was considering cases that were to be put before the King. A bench at the far end of the long table allowed the two secretaries and the two reporters to sit facing the Inquisitor General.

This, then, was the Council which dealt with matters coming in from all over the Spanish Empire. First the letters were opened and read out in this assembly. In order to facilitate the resolution of the business, the councillors seem to have divided up the tribunals among themselves. A great deal of the Council's time must have been taken up with the reading of the incoming mail. As a rule the Inquisitor General—or in his absence the senior councillor—dictated the reply on the spot; but if there were doubts regarding the decision, the matter was put to a vote. As in the tribunals, the voting at *la Suprema* was in order of seniority, beginning with the most junior councillor. However, the decisions that were reached had to bear the signatures of all the councillors present without regard to whether they had voted for or against them (WA 360–362).

In 1608, the year before the trial of the Basque witches, there had been several replacements in *la Suprema*. There was a new Inquisitor General, there were four new councillors, and the post as prosecutor had been filled by an inquisitor from Logroño, Doctor Juan Ramírez. The Inquisitor General was the 62-year-old Archbishop of Toledo, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who will be discussed in more detail below. But first I must attempt a general characterization of the eight-man Inquisition Council. They were all legal experts, except one, who appears to have had a theological education. Of the seven lawyers, four had trained in canon law and three had been inquisitors before they came to *la Suprema*. The other three lawyers had a secular career, and two of them were even married; these were the two so-called “afternoon councillors” (*consejeros de la tarde*), who were at the same time members of the Council of Castile. We do not know with certainty which of the eight councillors monitored the correspondence with Logroño, but it was probably Juan de Llano y Valdés, since his signature can be found on all letters to this tribunal. Valdés was from Cangas in Asturias in northern Spain and had a licentiate degree in Roman law from the University of Oviedo. Later he had been a judge of the High Court of Justice for the Canary Islands and at the High Court of Seville. Half of those who

were members of the Council in 1608 were to observe the great witch case in Logroño right up to its conclusion in 1614.¹⁹

BERNARDO DE SANDOVAL Y ROJAS (1546–1618),²⁰ was from an aristocratic family and was the paternal uncle of Philip III's first minister, the Duke of Lerma. At the University of Alcalá he had studied with the Crown Prince John of Austria and Alexander Farnesio, the later governor of the Spanish Netherlands. At the age of 21 he took his licentiate degree, and the same year he took his doctorate in the liberal arts from the University of Alcalá. At 30 he took a licentiate degree in theology at the University of Salamanca, and ten years later he became a bishop—first of Ciudad Rodrigo (1586–1587) and then of Pamplona (1588–1596). From his eight years in Navarra Don Bernardo was familiar with this region. In 1589, for example, he had been on a journey of visitation to the Baztán Valley, and in 1595, the year before he left Pamplona, he had the opportunity to observe a Basque witch trial at close quarters. The accused came from the Larraun Valley on the border with Guipúzcoa, where the Lord of Andúeza had imprisoned them, and from where they were gradually taken to the High Court of Navarra in Pamplona. The eight-month trial must have provided material for discussion in the city, among other reasons because several of the 27 accused fell ill and died in prison.²¹

Throughout his life Bernardo de Sandoval was troubled by weak eyesight and poor health; nevertheless he was the author of a number of theological works. He spent large sums of his private fortune on charity and the support of literature. He was for example a patron of Quevedo, Lope de Vega and Cervantes. As a curiosity it can be mentioned that Don Bernardo was to leave a permanent mark on Pamplona. For it was he who moved the now famous San Fermín festivities from October to the days around 7th July, when they are now held.²²

¹⁹ See "Table 13. Members of the Council of Inquisition, 1614" (WA 359). For details about the councillors, see Teresa Sánchez Rivilla's doctoral dissertation on the Council of Inquisition and its members (1995, part II, appendix II, 6–388).

²⁰ See the biography in Goñi Gaztambide 1985, 555–649.

²¹ On 18th November 1595 Don Bernardo left Pamplona, which he was never to see again (Goñi Gaztambide 1985, 624). Ten days later judgement was passed in the great witch trial, acquitting all the accused except one, who was sentenced to six years' banishment (Idoate 1978, 131–143, 370f). In Goñi Gaztambide's work on the bishops of Pamplona one can read that in Don Bernardo's time, more specifically in 1590, there were many witch-burnings in Pamplona on the initiative of the secular authority (1985, 636f). The information comes from a report from a judge at the High Court of Navarra, who in the 1520s headed a persecution in the Pyrenees with about a hundred witch-burnings. This report exists in many copies with contradictory information: some of the copies for example make Balanza an inquisitor and erroneously date the events to 1590. It was one of the copies with the incorrect year (BNM, Ms. 883, ff. 103–105) that Goñi used as the basis of his account.

²² Goñi Gaztambide 1985, 555ff.

The Witch Trial at the Logroño Inquisition

In 1608 there had also been great changes in the Inquisition tribunal in Logroño. As mentioned earlier, the senior inquisitor Juan Ramírez had been promoted to prosecutor for *la Suprema*; the next in seniority, Doctor Alonso de Becerra, had been advanced to senior inquisitor and President of the Tribunal, and the most junior member had died. The details of the hierarchy were, however, of minor importance, since all the inquisitors enjoyed the same status and acted in concert. Any disagreement they might have was settled by *la Suprema*. When the inquisitors were in unanimous agreement they conducted the Tribunal almost independently, but if they differed among themselves the Tribunal was in constant correspondence with the Council.

Becerra (c. 1560–1622)²³ came from the province of Extremadura in southern Spain, where belief in witches was unknown. He was a monk of the prestigious Alcántara order. As a young man he had been admitted to a monastery of this order in his native town of Cáceres, but he had lived most of his life in the town of Alcántara and in Salamanca, from whose famous university he had a doctorate, probably in theology. At the age of forty he entered the service of the Inquisition and took up the post as third inquisitor at Logroño on 26th March 1601 (WA 46). The aristocratic monk was no stranger to the pleasures of life. He greatly appreciated being invited to hunting parties by the aristocracy, even if it meant that he had to be away from the Tribunal for several days.²⁴

The first man to be sent up to help Becerra was Juan de Valle Alvarado (c. 1553–1616), who received the post of second inquisitor, as Becerra had two years of seniority. Valle came from the province of Santander in northern Spain, where belief in witches was widespread among the commoners. He had a licentiate degree, but we do not know from which university. Valle had begun his career as a Santanderian parish priest and inquisition commissioner (probably under the Tribunal in Logroño). After this he had been a secretary to the Archbishop of Burgos for many years and then to the Bishop of Valladolid, Juan Bautista de Acevedo. When the

²³ Becerra's signature appears for the last time on 8.10.1622 (Lib. 822, 92v). He died on 12th November 1622 (Parish archives of Dos de Mayo, Madrid, Libro de defunciones, anno 1608ff, 517v–518r).

²⁴ *Leg.* 1683, Exp. 1, 23r.

latter became Inquisitor General in 1603, Valle accompanied him to the Council of the Inquisition, where he became the Bishop's confidential secretary. Before Acevedo died on 9th August 1608, he must have appointed Valle to an inquisitorship, but it was not until later that autumn that Valle obtained the vacant post at Logroño. The first evidence of his presence there is a signature on a letter to the Council dated 23rd December 1608 (WA 48 n. 38).

In Valle, Becerra got a colleague with no practical experience of legal matters, but one who was familiar with the Inquisition bureaucracy at the highest level, and Valle was immediately put to work, for December was the very month in which the Tribunal received the first report of the witches in Zugarramurdi and Urdax, two Basque villages on the northern side of the Pyrenees close to the French border. It was in all likelihood the Abbot of the monastery in Urdax, Fray León de Aranibar,²⁵ who informed the Inquisition (WA 50). Shortly after New Year, the Tribunal sent an inquisition commissioner and a notary to Zugarramurdi. In all secrecy the two agents questioned eight male witnesses about what the witches had confessed during the out-of-court hearings that had been held, and then left Zugarramurdi without taking any further action.

On 12th January 1609 the Tribunal received the commissioner's report, on the 27th the first four witches were gaoled in the Tribunal's secret prison (doc. 2.II.5, 6, 9, 10), and on 13th February *la Suprema*

²⁵ Fray León de Aranibar was abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery of San Salvador de Urdax in two periods 1591–1600 and 1607–1613 (Zudaire Huarte 1973, 38). He came from a noble family in the mountains of Navarra (“*toda mi descendencia es de palacios de cabo de armería y solares conocidos de esta montaña de Navarra*”) and had studied arts and theology in the University of Salamanca. Afterwards he had been a preacher and later *visitador general* of his order (*Lib.* 794, 434r). During his first period, more specifically in 1592, Fray León occupied an important position in the spy-ring of Philip II as contact between the Viceroy of Navarra and the secret agents in Pays de Labourd and French Navarre (Carnicer and Marcos 1998, 84–85, 118–121). For his services to the King Fray León was in receipt of a lifelong pension of 200 *ducados* (*Lib.* 794, 434v). On 9th September 1609 he applied for a post as theological adviser (*calificador*) to the Holy Office, but instead the Tribunal appointed him inquisitorial commissioner (WA 141, 461 n. 48). I take the opportunity to denounce as a forgery the interrogatory under torture of a Basque witch attributed to Fray León de Aranibar. The invented document has been used without due criticism by several historians (Paúl Arzak 1999, 173–175, based on Tobar Arbulu 1986, who is quoting an obscure publication of the University Autónoma in Madrid without date). In 1613, this zealous abbot and his prior proposed to go to France and convert the notorious Aragonese heretic Martín Bartox (an ex-Trinitarian monk living at la Rochelle as a Huguenot minister), on condition that *la Suprema*, who had ordered him burned in effigy at Zaragoza in 1605, guaranteed his pardon (Monter 1990, 160 n. 35).

was informed. The letter is a vivid illustration of witchcraft as “the forgotten offence”. Initially Becerra and Valle seem to have been at a loss, and believed they were confronted with a hitherto unknown sect based on “apostasy from Our Holy Faith and worship of the Devil”. But when the two inquisitors began to search through the Tribunal’s archives they soon discovered a large number of witch trials, the latest of which had taken place in 1596, which was five years before Becerra’s time. They also found letters from the Council showing what had been prescribed for dealing with the “witch sect” on previous occasions. Their investigations went back almost a century, so they had also traced the instructions of 14th December 1526, mentioned above. “These instructions,” the letter continues, “were sent by *la Suprema* in order to obtain proof of the existence of the sect, since this was doubted at the time and thought to be something which people might have experienced while dreaming” (WA 51f).

Along with the letter the two inquisitors forwarded the report with the testimony from Zugarramurdi and the confessions that the four witches had made to the Tribunal. Among the imprisoned witches was the 22-year-old María de Jureteguía, who was to be the inquisitors’ star witness in the trial of the other witches from Zugarramurdi. We do not now the name of all eight witnesses in the commissioner’s report, but one of them was María’s father-in-law, the farmer Petri de Navarcorena, and another was the miller Martín de Amayur (WA 461 n. 3).

While the inquisitors were writing to *la Suprema*, three men and three women sat in the town waiting for a reply from the Tribunal. They were from Zugarramurdi like the imprisoned witches, and had come a few days before to state to the Inquisition that they were not witches, but had been forced by violence and threats to make false confessions. The inquisitors had given these new arrivals a procrastinating reply, while they questioned the imprisoned witches about them. Yet their fate was already sealed, for, as Becerra and Valle explained in the letter, the six had turned out to be some of the Devil’s most trusted companions (WA 54f). Shortly after the letter had gone off to *la Suprema*, the six waiting witches (doc. 2.II.1–4, 11–12) were fetched in their lodgings by the Tribunal’s constable (*alguacil*) and taken to the secret prison.

The Inquisition Council did not show a great deal of enthusiasm for the activities of the tribunal at Logroño. Its first reaction was a brief letter ordering the inquisitor whose turn it was to make a

visitation to prepare to go to Zugarramurdi; but he was to await further instructions. Four days later, on 11th March, *la Suprema* returned the four records with a questionnaire which was to be used for the interrogation of the imprisoned witches in Logroño as well as the examination in Zugarramurdi of outside witnesses—that is, people who were not themselves witches. It was the intention of *la Suprema* to have these two groups interrogated simultaneously, thus providing a means of continual cross-checking, and it was therefore important not to delay the journey of visitation to Zugarramurdi. The questionnaire was meant to establish whether the experiences of the witches were dreams or reality, with questions like “During the meeting, or on the way to and from it, did the witches hear clocks, bells, dogs, or cocks from nearby villages and farms?”; “Was their absence noticed by those who slept in the same room with them, and if not, how did they succeed in concealing their absence?”; “How long did it take them to get from their homes to these gatherings, and what was the distance? Did they meet anyone on the way to and fro, and while at the meeting, did they see any travellers, shepherds or other persons pass by?”; and, finally, “Did they speak together after a meeting and discuss what had happened there?”. Not only was the questionnaire evidence of the sceptical attitude of *la Suprema*; it also showed how the Council had searched through its own archives for precedents. Many of the questions were in fact literal transcripts of older instructions. Finally, the important letter of 11th March 1609 ordered the inquisitors to search their archives and send copies of all letters and ordinances they found there concerning the witch sect (WA 58f).

Almost two months passed before Becerra and Valle replied to *la Suprema*'s letter, for as the inquisitors explained in their letter of 22nd May, the new witches had not been as cooperative as the first ones. After many weeks in solitary confinement the three women had confessed, but the three men still denied the accusations. Valle had not been able to leave for Zugarramurdi because of all the work there had been—both interrogating the witches and searching for the material in the archives of the Tribunal for which the Council had asked.

On 20th June Salazar took up the post as the third and youngest inquisitor in Logroño. This meant that Valle's pretext for not going on a journey of visitation no longer applied; but almost two months were to pass before he at last went off to Zugarramurdi on 16th August.

ALONSO DE SALAZAR FRÍAS (c. 1564–1636)²⁶ was like Valle from northern Spain and thus must have been familiar with the popular belief in witches. He had been born in Burgos, where his father was a lawyer and belonged to an influential family of civil servants and prosperous merchants. His mother was an illegitimate child of the Dean of Palenzuela and the daughter of a hidalgo from Arlanzón (both localities in the Burgos region). The couple had fourteen children. At the age of fifteen Salazar matriculated and entered the University of Salamanca, where he obtained a bachelor's degree in canon law after five years. Following this he retired to a village near Burgos to prepare for his licentiate degree.²⁷ At the beginning of 1588 he took holy orders and became a stipendiary (*racionero*) at the Cathedral of Jaén in Andalusia. The Bishop, Francisco Sarmiento de Mendoza, was himself from Burgos and had been a professor of canon law at the University of Salamanca in his younger days, as well as a judge at the Chancellery of Valladolid. For Salazar he was an excellent mentor. As early as the late summer he presented himself at the University of Sigüenza, where he took the licentiate degree in canon law on 29th August 1588.

A meteoric career now began for the 24-year-old canon lawyer. The Bishop made him his representative on visitations, and in that capacity Salazar travelled all over the diocese of Jaén, so that, as his autobiography says, there was no "church or font" that he had not visited. At the age of 26 he obtained a canonry with a lifelong income of 1,500 *ducados* a year, a high salary considering that an inquisitor earned only 800 ducats a year. At about the same time he was appointed as a vicar-general and judge (*provisor*) at the clerical court of the bishopric. When the Bishop died in 1594 it emerged that he had also made the young canon the executor of his will.²⁸

From the years in Jaén comes a historical work that Salazar drew up at the request of Bishop Sarmiento along with another stipendiary, Gil Dávalos Zambrana. This is now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and bears the title "An account of all the bishops who have been in Jaén since this country was conquered from the Moors". In the list, which ends with the appointment of Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas in 1595, the two authors take a critical attitude to their sources and express themselves with great caution when they are not sure of the information. On several occasions they dissociate themselves from the popular tradition and insist on a historical fact "although the people, in ballads and traditions with no basis, have claimed the opposite", as it is put at one point. Other information is described as uncertain, and some is dismissed as pure legend and popular

²⁶ Salazar died on 9th Jan. 1636 (Parish archives of Santa María Almudena, Madrid, Libro de defunciones, anno 1636, entry no. 330).

²⁷ These and many of the following data are taken from a report on the employees in the Tribunal de Logroño sent to the Inquisitor General on 4th June 1622 (*Leg.* 2220, Núm. 21, 2r–13r, cf. WA 460 n. 45). The section with Salazar's curriculum vitae has been published, see Henningsen 1978, 583–586.

²⁸ Henningsen 1978, 583.

gossip.²⁹ Salazar was to make use of the same source-critical approach again many years later when he began to reconstruct what had been the Inquisition's practice in witchcraft cases for a century.

The same year as the Bishop died, the Cathedral Chapter sent Salazar to defend the interests of the diocese in a law suit with the Archbishop of Granada about the right to tithes. Salazar won the case in two and a half years, during which time he also represented Jaén at a synod in Madrid. From now on he was to spend most of his time in Madrid, where he represented the new Bishop of Jaén, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, in a succession of suits concerning the economy of the diocese, all of which he won. It can therefore come as no surprise that Don Bernardo, when he was promoted in 1599 to Archbishop of Toledo, one of the most powerful offices in the country, held on to the young successful lawyer and made him his private legal adviser. At a synod the next year Don Bernardo got him elected Attorney General of the Castilian Church (*procurator general de las iglesias y catedrales de Castilla y León*). In his new post Salazar was to mix with the ministers of the country and the Papal Nuncio—indeed, it even fell to his lot to negotiate with the King. In his time as Attorney General, Salazar succeeded in curbing a planned registration of the Church's silver holdings. In another case concerning the tax exemption of the Church he obtained an acceptable compromise.³⁰

One of the secrets of Salazar's success was his social network. He seems to have had a great talent for getting along with people and winning their trust. The Bishop of Calahorra, Don Pedro de Castillo, who spent many years in Madrid with Salazar, relates that the latter was renowned for his scholarship and lucid opinions in debates, was particularly well liked by the nobles and the King's ministers, and that he had close private friendships with many of them.³¹ Thanks to his connections in the different camps, Salazar was often in possession of information before it was known to others, and this could help him for example to hasten or delay a case so that the decision came at the most propitious time.

The Spanish historian Luis Coronas, author of a biography of Salazar, gives the following report of him: a good negotiator with the tact and flexibility to get matters on the proper course; great diplomatic talents; an experienced lawyer who never gave up, even if he encountered opposition from the highest authorities, but who also only undertook causes he considered just. He attached great importance to written evidence. Sometimes this got him hunting through the archives, and his love of these sources

²⁹ "Relación de todos los obispos que ha habido en Jaén desde que fue ganada de moros esta tierra" (BNM, Ms. 5732, ff. 83–91) analysed by Luis Coronas Tejada (1981, 35f).

³⁰ The Church paid a lump sum of quarter of a million gold ducats to the needy state treasury, but such that the large sum was to be paid by *all* sectors of the Church, including the military orders who had not previously contributed to these recurring war taxes (Coronas Tejada 1981, 52–60).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

often resulted in a superabundance of documentation where less would have sufficed. In addition he had perspicuity, concentration and a formidable capacity for work, for, as Coronas puts it, “when Alonso de Salazar took on a case or began negotiating with authorities . . . he spared no effort and left no loose ends. From that moment on he lived in a state of permanent preparedness to obtain the best possible result”.³²

There is some uncertainty about whether Salazar was ever in Rome, but he did have close links with the Vatican. Several times the Holy See, both in the time of Pope Clement III and Paul V, had recommended him for a post as inquisitor.³³ This did not happen until 1608 when his principal became Inquisitor General. Salazar was the first inquisitor to be appointed by Sandoval y Rojas and was assigned to the vacant post at Logroño on 23rd March 1609 (WA 460 n. 45).

On 20th June Salazar took up his post in Logroño,³⁴ and shortly afterwards the Tribunal replied to *la Suprema*'s inquiry about precedents in witchcraft cases. Whether the new inquisitor, with his great interest in archive investigations, helped to look out the cases, we cannot see, for the letter, which was dated 11th July, is not preserved. In the very first weeks Salazar witnessed the unusual methods that his colleagues used to get the witches to confess. They arranged chance meetings when the prisoners went to the storeroom to fetch their rations, and two Basque interpreters were ordered to be present and to listen to what was said. On 3rd July he observed in the Tribunal's courtroom how the last of the male witches, the shepherd Juanes de Goiburu, made his confession; but, as it was late, the inquisitors decided to continue the interrogation the next day. The thirty-seven-year old shepherd came before the inquisitors again and went on with his confession, but then suddenly fell silent. And when they exhorted him to continue, he hesitated a little, but “then rose up, in fierce anger and disrespect, and struck the inquisitors' table, saying his father [Miguel de Goiburu] had betrayed him; when they met in the storeroom his father had told him to confess . . .

³² *Ibid.*, 19.

³³ The recommendations were written by Cardinal Lanfranco Margotti on behalf of the Pope, the last one is dated 21st January 1608 and cited in Salazar's curriculum (Henningsen 1978, 583f). For more details, see Caro Baroja 1961, 270 n. 19.

³⁴ For Salazar's arrival in Logroño, see WA 460 n. 42. It was not the first time he had been so far north, for in 1604, when he was to gather information about certain people's *limpieza de sangre* (“pureness of blood”), he had been obliged to go on an extended journey in northern Spain. On that occasion he had been in Pamplona, Ormaístegui (Guipúzcoa) and the Aéscoa Valley high up in the Pyrenees near Roncesvalles (Coronas Tejada 1981, 39).

But now they could do what they liked with him, he had nothing more to confess” (WA 65). This must have made an impression on the experienced lawyer, but he kept it to himself.

It was Becerra and Valle who had initiated this trial, and as the new man on the Tribunal Salazar had to trust in their doing the right thing. Nor did his two colleagues tolerate any interference. From the first day he noticed that they closed ranks and agreed so much on everything that, considering “their widely different natures”, things must have been agreed in advance.³⁵ Salazar himself was soon busy with the other heresy cases, which also had to be got ready for the auto de fe. He therefore had to be content to observe developments in the great witch trial, in which so much of the prestige of the Tribunal was at stake, from the sidelines: Valle’s departure for Zugarramurdi and the other border regions; the seventeen new prisoners who arrived in the autumn, among them the monk Fray Pedro de Arburu from the monastery in Urdax and his cousin Don Juan de la Borda y Arburu, who was a curate in Fuenterrabía; and finally the sixteen witches whom the Tribunal had to receive at the beginning of 1610 to satisfy the local town authorities. The “secret prison” was now so full that they also had to make use of the penitential cells. From this time comes the following episode, which Salazar however only reported a few years later.

The warden of the *casa de penitencia* presented himself before the Tribunal and reported to the inquisitors that on a certain night he had kept watch secretly over two women in his prison. The two were María de Jureteguía and her aunt María Chipía Barrenechea. The warden told them how he had heard María Chipía say to her niece that she could not confess to what the inquisitors were asking her in the audience chamber, because in fact she was not a witch nor did she know that anyone else was, and that everything they had confessed was untrue. To this María de Jureteguía replied that she would never be able to leave the prison until she had made a confession even if false, and this was what she, María de Jureteguía, had already done (doc. 14.15). Becerra and Valle chose to ignore this embarrassing episode completely, for both women were later pardoned and reconciled at the auto de fe, Jureteguía even having her punishment reduced because, as it was stated, she had behaved as an exemplary prisoner.

³⁵ *Leg.* 1683, 19r.

It was only a year after his arrival that Salazar spoke up. This happened on 8th June 1610 during the voting on the sentences of the “deniers”—the priest, the monk and six others—who all insisted on their innocence. The five clerical assessors on the jury, who voted first, all voted that they should be burnt. So did Valle and Becerra, who voted last. The only one who did not feel convinced of the guilt of the accused was Salazar, who expressed hard criticism of the evidence. It was on this occasion that he came up with the important observation that none of the confessing witches had been able to distinguish whether they had gone to the sabbat in dreams or in reality (*corporalmente*), but claimed that they always participated personally and corporeally. However, if they could be mistaken on such a material point, Salazar continued, they also could be in error regarding those they named as their accomplices (WA 178f).

In the middle of February 1611, when the Tribunal had obtained the Jesuit Solarte’s reports from Las Cinco Villas about the violence and the false confessions, Salazar had been further strengthened in his doubts about the basis on which this whole case rested. He was therefore well equipped to oppose his colleagues a couple of weeks later when they were to decide whether the Tribunal should receive some witches as prisoners, whom the authorities of Zubieta had brought down to Logroño on their own initiative. Salazar fastened upon the fact that the accused, a man and three women, had been thrown into the river and kept tied to some fruit trees for several nights running. He considered that there was no reason for imprisonment before the case had been laid before *la Suprema*. His colleagues, on the contrary, voted for imprisonment, claiming that the ill-treatment had been excusable because of the indignation the villagers must have felt towards these people, who had carried off their children and enrolled them in the witch sect (WA 223).

On 9th March the Tribunal sent the Inquisitor General a report on the situation. The witch plague, it stated, was particularly bad in a belt about eleven leagues (60 km) wide, stretching from the Baztán Valley to two leagues west of San Sebastián. In this area alone the Holy Office had exposed witches in twenty-seven towns, and the inquisitors were convinced that there was an *aquelarre* (witch coven) in almost every town and village. The letter was accompanied by statistics of witchcraft confessions and suspected persons grouped into *aquelarres* (see figure 2 on next page). Some of the towns in the list were grouped together, as they had *aquelarre* in

Relacion de los lugares donde ay Aquilarras descubiertas y de los testigos Rros confitentes que los testifican, y del numero de personas testificadas en cada uno de ellos. c.

Rros confitentes.	Aquilarras.	Personas testificadas
34.	Cugarramundi y Vrdax,	174.
32.	Villa de Vera,	187.
23.	Villa de Tafaca	230
19	Villa de Cobalar	582
27.	Villa de Rentonia	084
19	Arana Z y sumbita	140
20	Araya Z y ciga	040
10	Villa de Yanci	084
50	Elgorriaga y Santistuan	119
20.	Donamaria	109
23.	Cubita y Auiz	072
17	Orono Z y narbare y cyragui	073
15	Segassa	032
02.	Scuta en Larraun	018
02	Arriba de Aray Z.	009
		<u>11373</u>

313

Fig. 2. The Tribunal's statistics of witches discovered by 9th March 1611. (Archivo Histórico Nacional)

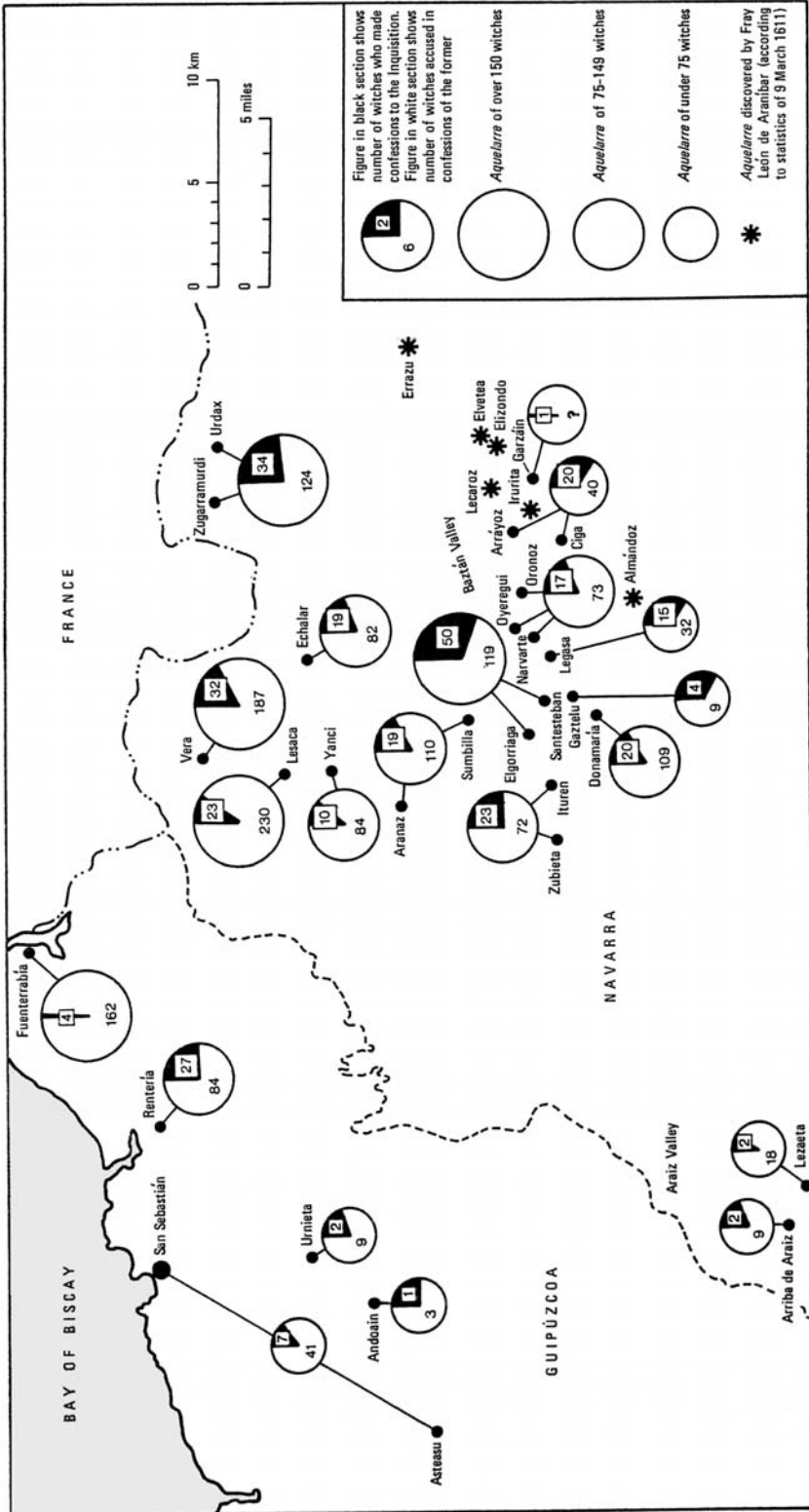


Fig. 3. Map showing the aquelarres discovered in Northern Navarra and Guipúzcoa by 9th March 1611. (WA)

common, as was the case for example with Zugarramurdi and Urdax.

With the witch statistics the Inquisitor General was sent a detailed proposal for how the long-planned amnesty for the witches was to be approached. The Tribunal wanted two inquisitors to be sent out, and wanted the period of grace to be short, so that they could get on with the punishment of the hard core of the witch sect, as was necessary if they were to stamp out this evil. But, as we shall see, *la Suprema* had also begun to listen to the reports that were coming in from other quarters, so the hair-raising bulletins from Logroño did not have the same effect as before. Becerra and Valle realized this on 31st March when they received the instructions of the Council for the journey of visitation (doc. 10) with guidelines for how the Edict of Grace was to be administered, and orders for Salazar—and only Salazar—to set off.

The next couple of months were spent preparing for the journey and waiting for the Inquisitor General's Edict of Grace for the witches' sect and the Royal exemption from the confiscation of property that normally accompanied heresy trials. Philip III's order is dated Aranjuez, 25th April, while Don Bernardo's Edict is undated. Everyone who made a full confession was promised exemption from punishment, the lifting of the excommunication they had automatically incurred as witches, and readmission to the Holy Catholic Church. A preserved copy of the Edict of Grace is printed in Castilian;^{35a} whether they also existed in Basque is unknown, but at all events there must have been some such version. The amnesty was valid for six months from the date of publication. On Sunday 29th May the Edict of Grace was proclaimed simultaneously in Logroño and in Santesteban with its surrounding churches, where Salazar was on his journey of visitation.

On his way there he had, as was customary, paid a courtesy visit to the Bishop of Pamplona, who had got his own people to investigate the witch problem and had himself been on a visitation in the "infected" area in 1609, more or less at the same time as the inquisitor Valle. There Salazar was now given all the information he could wish: about the torture and maltreatment of supposed witches, about the attacks of which the local priests had been guilty in their zeal,

^{35a} A three-pages printed copy of the Edict of Grace to the witches issued by the tribunal of Logroño was found in the private collection of the late ambassador Frédéric Max. It ends with spaces open to be filled in: "Dada en la Inquisicion de Logroño a [] dias del mes de []" (courtesy of Madame Annette Max).

and about the witch panic for which the Inquisition bore much of the responsibility. Concerning all this, Venegas, as the Bishop was called, had just sent a long report to the Inquisitor General in Madrid (doc. 7). Whether the Bishop actually let Salazar read his report is something to which we will return, but it is not unlikely.

ANTONIO VENEGAS DE FIGUEROA (c. 1550–1614)³⁶ was a son of Don Luis de Venegas y Figueroa, ambassador to Philip II in Germany, and Doña Guiomar de Saá, lady-in-waiting to the Infanta Doña María. At the wedding of his parents, held in Brussels, no fewer than six Royal personages were present. The young Don Antonio began his studies at the University of Salamanca in 1577. After an interruption he took a licentiate degree in canon law in 1584–85, and shortly afterwards obtained a canonry at the Cathedral in Toledo. In 1592 he entered the service of the Inquisition, and from 1596 to 1599 we find him serving as third inquisitor in Granada. In 1600 he was appointed a member of the Inquisition Council, where he served until 1606, when he became Bishop of Pamplona. Thus Venegas must have been acquainted with Valle at the time when the latter was secretary to the Inquisitor General Acevedo.

Venegas' six years as Bishop of Pamplona were typified by hectic activity. He founded six new monasteries, established two printing houses and was behind the publication of a new catechism. He also fought stubbornly to found a university and a seminary in Pamplona, but because of resistance in the central administration these plans bore no fruit. Each spring, the Bishop plunged heart and soul into the organization of the city's Corpus Christi feast. From a mediocre celebration this became a splendid cultural week in Venegas' time. In two places in the city huge triumphal arches were erected, and altars ornamented with flowers were set up on the squares. Along the route of the Corpus Christi procession the facades of the houses were covered with magnificent carpets that hung down from the balconies and windowsills. Venegas ensured that all the different crafts with their guild banners participated in the magnificent procession through the city along with the religious orders and several hundred soldiers from the city garrison. During the eight days of the feast there were concerts, religious plays (*autos sacramentales*) and fireworks. For the concerts, famous singers and musicians were fetched from the remotest parts of the country, and in the Cathedral the great organ swelled; it had been paid for by the Bishop and was considered one of Spain's finest. Composers were given commissions

³⁶ According to the probate document Antonio Venegas de Figueroa died on 8th October 1614 as Bishop of Sigüenza (Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Guadalajara, Protocol 2017, [3r]). It contains his will (in his own handwriting?), dated 4th Oct. (*ibid.*, 5r–9r) and the inventory of his estate—with no mention, however, of his library. Maybe it passed on to his sole heir, Doña Guiomar de Saá (*ibid.*, 8v). It was the Bishop's wish to lie with his parents in the chapel of the *Convento de San Francisco* in Madrid, but he is buried in front of the main altar in the Cathedral of Sigüenza (Goñi Gaztambide 1987, 164).

for new musical pieces which were to be performed on this occasion, and every year up to the feast Venegas held a competition where he offered prizes for the best poems in praise of Our Lord in Latin, Castilian and Basque. The last point was an indication of the veneration Venegas felt for the Basque language, which, as he himself put it, was after all the language of the country. (This explains why the Bishop's report is almost the only one to include Basque quotations.)³⁷ The poems were printed on large banners, and so many were submitted that they could be set up along a "flag avenue". Each year Venegas spent large sums from his own pocket on this event, and in the months up to the feast he was so preoccupied with the preparations that he could hardly find time for his other duties.

When free, the Bishop liked to spend time in his garden at Burlada, some distance outside Pamplona. This wonderful garden was celebrated in a poem by Góngora, who was a friend of Venegas' youth and visited him in Pamplona in the summer of 1609. That same autumn Venegas, with a large following, was to go on a journey of visitation up into the Pyrenees to undertake a personal investigation of the witch panic that had spread through the border regions. Wherever they went, the Bishop and his men could not conceal their scepticism—indeed, some of his following simply declared that witches were a ridiculous thing to believe in (*que era cosa de risa la materia de brujas*, WA 139).

At the beginning of 1612 Venegas was moved to the rich bishopric of Sigüenza, but he only spent a couple of years there. He died on 8th October 1614, shortly after being appointed President of the Council of Castile (*Consejo de Castilla*). Aristocrat, humanist, patron of the arts, church reformer in the spirit of the Council of Trent, a canon lawyer with fifteen years in the Inquisition and a prominent position at the centre of power—it was this man who dared to encroach on the domain of the Inquisition and criticize its activities.

Salazar gave his own detailed account of his journey of visitation in his first and second report (docs. 11–12). In addition, using other source material, I have made a detailed reconstruction, which will not be repeated here (WA chap. 11). In the following we shall look at the witch panic as a phenomenon and analyse some of its aspects in depth. But first I will try to give an impression of the landscape and its population before the storm broke out—a depiction of the lull before the storm.

³⁷ Basque quotes are found only in the Bishop's Report (doc. 8.3) and in the Auto de fe Report (doc. 2.19).

*The Mountains of Navarra**The Road to Zugarramurdi*

Logroño lies by the River Ebro on the border of Navarra. From there it is 75 km to Pamplona and 60 km on up to the French border. From the dry highlands north of Pamplona the road formerly went over the Velate Pass, past the monastery of the same name. Today you drive under the mountain through a long tunnel. When you come out on the other side it is 30 km to the border, whether you turn left along the River Bidasoa or up through the Baztán Valley. In both cases you traverse a breathtakingly beautiful landscape where the mountain towers up on both sides in gigantic domes with deciduous forest all the way to the top. In some places the mighty slopes are grassy or covered in dark-green fern scrub. High up on the green mountainsides hang solitary whitewashed buildings, so-called *bordas*, which can provide shelter for the cattle. The road twists along the river at the bottom of the valley, surrounded by green fields and lush meadows. You pass tall, narrow stone bridges that lead over the rushing flow of the river to the villages on the other side, and you drive through small towns where the large, gable-fronted stone houses have avalanche roofs that project over the pavement. If you have chosen to drive through the Baztán Valley you must pass yet another mountain. The road winds in sharp hairpin bends up towards the high Otsondo Pass, which is completely forest-clad. If the clouds hang low, you risk ending up in a mist so thick that you cannot see your hand in front of your face, and dangerous, because there is no possibility of stopping—a real witch-fog! When you come down on the other side, you are at the French border and can then choose between turning off to Urdax with the Premonstratensian monastery and the old watermill, and going to Zugarramurdi, where the tourist attraction today is the big witch-cave.

Urdax and Zugarramurdi

Zugarramurdi was a daughter parish of Urdax and its church was served by a monk from the Premonstratensian monastery in Urdax. According to a list of taxpayers from 1613 there were 44 and 45 properties respectively in the two villages, which corresponds to a

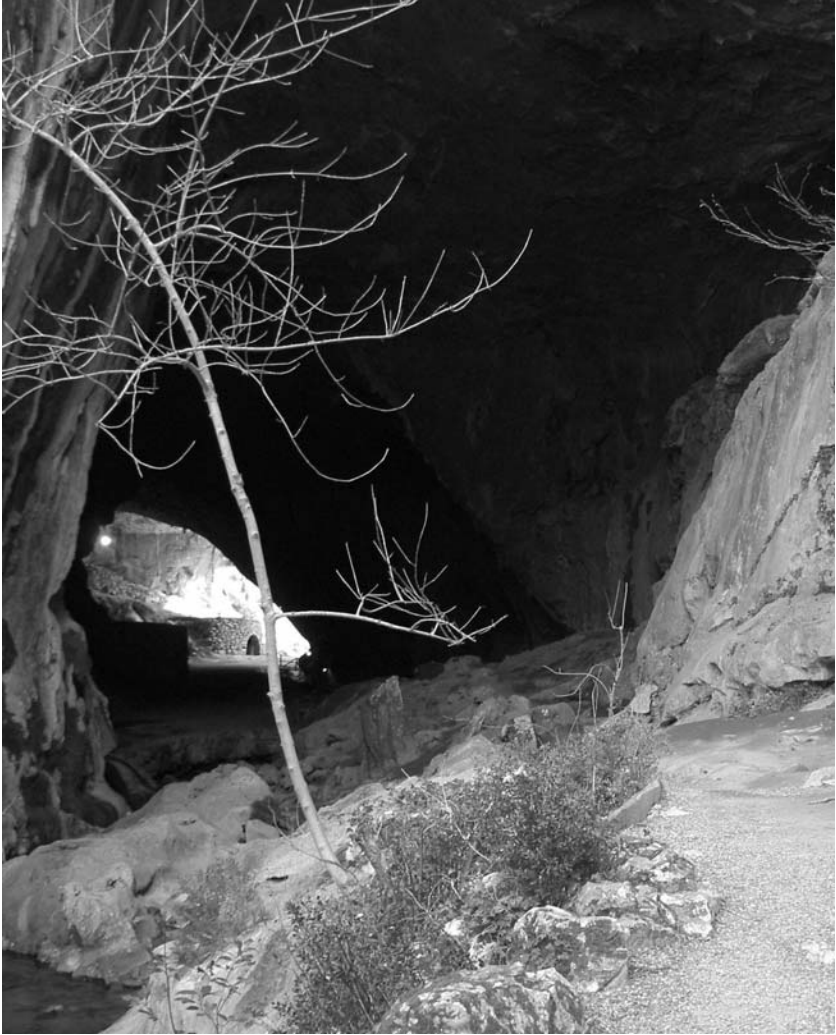


Fig. 4. The witch cave at Zugarramurdi. In the background at the opposite entrance there is an old lime kiln. (Photo by author 2004)

total population of 445.³⁸ But to these we can add all those who did not pay taxes: on the one hand the monastery with its abbot, twelve monks and a large number of servants and novices; on the other hand the workers and farm labourers of the two villages, who did not have their own houses and therefore did not pay tax. Finally there were all those who were employed by the ironworks of the Urdax monastery: smiths, woodcutters, charcoal-burners and carriers—for the iron ore was shipped from the mines in Vizcaya, where the forest had been used up, and carried overland in the winter on sledges drawn by oxen and mules. The total population must therefore be estimated at *c.* 600.³⁹

The small community was both secularly and spiritually subject to the monastery's jurisdiction. Court sessions were held in the porch of the abbey church, where the Abbot, and in his absence the Prior, presided over the proceedings and pronounced judgements. The residents of Urdax were tenants of the monastery or simple day labourers and had no local authority. Zugarramurdi had its own village council (*consejo*), where the villagers (*vecinos*) elected their aldermen (*jurados*) and sent a representative to the General Assembly for the Baztán Valley. Most of the lands in this valley were common land, to which the villages, through their representatives, could be granted usufruct. Thus Zugarramurdi, like the other villages, had its cowherds who went up in the mountains in the summer season to pasture the cattle in special forest enclosures (*seles*). The Abbot too sent a representative to the Baztán Valley assembly to secure pasture areas for the monastery's cattle and the right to fell trees, since a lot of charcoal had to be used for the monks' ironworks. Over the years the villagers of Zugarramurdi had filed many suits to win freedom from the monastery. As early as 1443 the village had obtained the usufruct of the common land and had been released from its villeinage obligations against an annual monetary charge.⁴⁰ In 1618 they won a decisive victory when the High Court in Pamplona proclaimed that the village aldermen were not to swear allegiance to the Abbot, but

³⁸ AGN, Sección de Cuarteles, Valuaciones legajo 5, Granja de Urdax [y lugar de Zugarramurdi] 1613.

³⁹ This doubles my earlier estimation that the combined population of the two villages "hardly exceeded three hundred" (WA 27), which was based on a census of 1646 (WA 451 n. 2).

⁴⁰ Zudaire Huarte 1972, 318.

to the village delegate to the General Assembly in the Baztán Valley, where the latter in turn swore to abide by the articles of the Assembly.⁴¹

Urdax and Zugarramurdi were not as isolated as one might imagine. The mule caravans from Bayonne and Saint-Jean-de-Luz often used this route into Spain, because there they had safe conduct right down to Pamplona (WA 49). One of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela also went past there, so in the monastery a hostel (*hospital*) had been established for the travellers. In addition Urdax was a sanctuary to which people from northern Spain and well into France made pilgrimages for various illnesses, and where the monks also “read over” people who were possessed or bewitched.⁴²

In their everyday life the two villages lived with their back to Spain and their face to France. They traded, found work and married across the border. The language was no problem, for on both sides of the border people spoke Basque. The monastery too had close links with France. Until 1567 this whole part of the Pyrenees had been under the Bishop of Bayonne, and the oldest priests in the area had therefore all been ordained in France, not by their present superior, the Bishop of Pamplona. Perhaps it was to assert his independence from the latter that the Abbot in Urdax, who as a mitred abbot (*abbad mitrado*) enjoyed the rank of Bishop, still sent his charges to France whenever one was to enter the service of the Church. The Premonstratensians had specialized in liturgy, and the monastery functioned as a kind of seminary.⁴³ In 1591 a son of

⁴¹ AGN, proceso 14408.

⁴² For Urdax as a sanctuary specialized in curing possessed or bewitched people, see Zudaire Huarte 1973, 11 and Idoate 1978, 93. In a letter from the parish priest Hualde to the Tribunal 12.1.1610, he writes of an elderly woman in Vera who has been driven crazy (*loco y frenético*) by seeing two of her grandchildren “bewitched” (*embujadas*) and whom he had therefore sent to the Monastery of Urdax. Hualde describes the woman as possessed: she has fantasies of demons having taken possession of her body, she has swallowed half a rosary, and she refuses to make the sign of the cross (*Lib.* 795, 99r). There seems to have been a certain overlap in the terminology between being possessed (*poseído*) and being bewitched (*embujado*). In both cases people were taken to certain sanctuaries, specializing in curing such ills (cf. Idoate 1978, *passim*). Part of the treatment consisted in laying a relic on the head of the person in question to detect whether he or she actually was possessed or bewitched. Apparently the monks in Urdax also used the relic to detect whether a person was a witch (cf. WA 34).

⁴³ Simón de Jaureguizar, who as *teniente* was the highest military authority in the Baztán Valley, had as a young student in the mid-1570s been a novice for three years in Urdax “with the intent and desire of becoming a cleric”, but then abandoned this course (AGN proceso 14631, 142r).



Fig. 5. The village of Zugarramurdi on the north side of the Pyrenees facing France. In the foreground one of the entrances to the witch cave. (Photo by author 2004)



Fig. 6. Old farmhouses in Zugarramurdi with coats of arms on the wall. (Photo by author 2004)

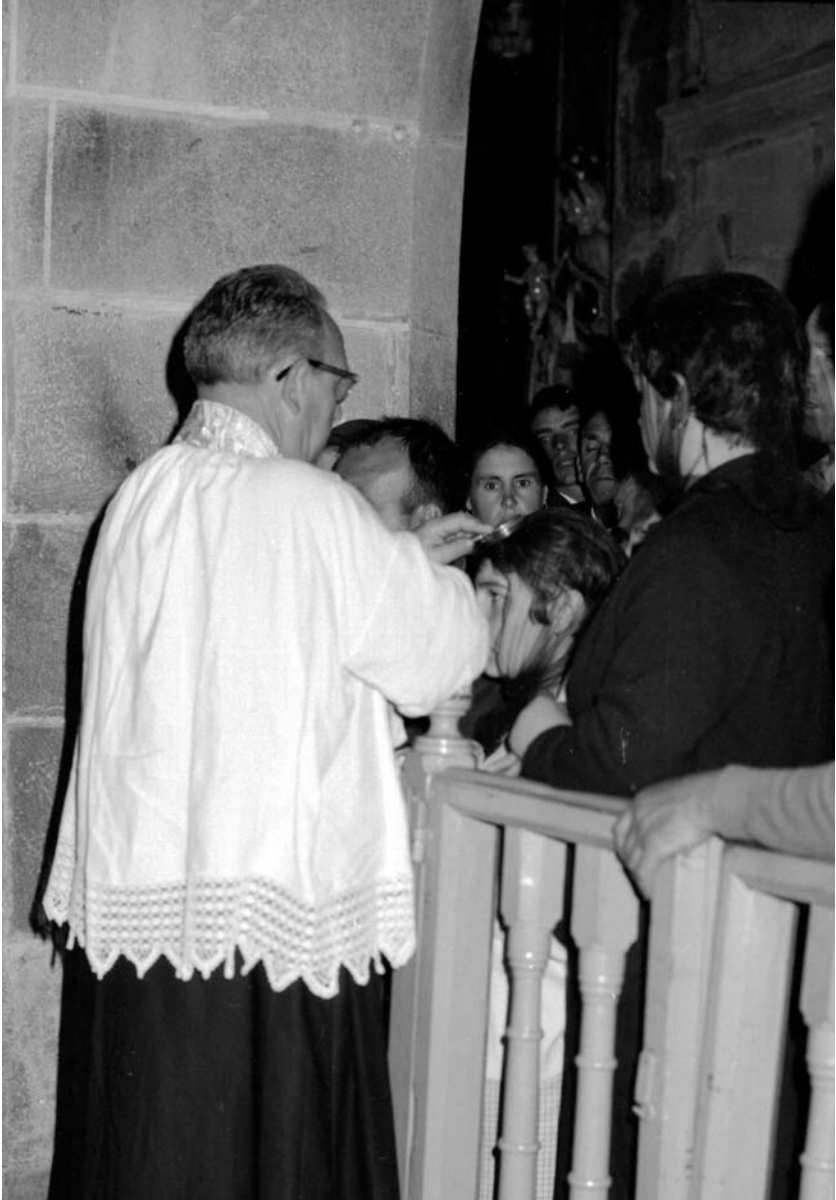


Fig. 7. Reading over possessed or bewitched people has until recently been practised at Spanish sanctuaries, for example at Corpiño in Galicia. (Photo by author 1965)

the Echevarría family in Zugarramurdi was ordained by the Bishop of Bayonne. Ten years later a son of the Arburu family in the same place was ordained by the Bishop of Tarbes. The story of the latter is evidence of the social and geographical mobility that was possible even if one was born and bred in this remote corner of Spain.

JUAN DE LA BORDA Y ARBURU (c. 1574-?).⁴⁴ Having a son study for the priesthood was something only the richest farmers could do, for unless the son had prospects of a living, he had to be able to earn his keep. That was why the farmer Martín de Arburu (or “de la Borda”, as he called himself after the farm) had called the notary for the Baztán Valley so that his son Juan de la Borda—“the student” as he is called in the document—could take over his inheritance (*patrimonio*).⁴⁵ Also present were his mother, the daughter and the son-in-law Pedro Sarrondo. Juan was to inherit one of the family properties, Sagardiberrieta, with three *jubadas* of particularly fine land for cultivating grain (*tierra blanca*) and an orchard of six *jubadas* worth a total of 400 ducats (corresponding to the price of 57 cows). In addition the donors undertook to support the priest-to-be from their remaining funds if the inheritance were not enough. Then came the symbolic transfer where “the student”, accompanied by the others, walked all the way around the property, tore tufts of grass from the field, broke branches from the fruit trees and expelled everyone who was on his land. Finally the prior of the monastery and the monk Fray Pedro de Arburu, who was the farmer Martín’s nephew, were called. The two monks now signed the deed with the “student” while the notary signed on behalf of the donors, who could not write.

This was on 26th June 1599. The 25-year-old Juan could now be ordained “*a título de patrimonio*”, as it was called. Five years before, during a High Mass in Pamplona Cathedral, he had received the tonsure from the Bishop. Four years later he had again been in Pamplona to be ordained in the lower orders (*minores ordines*, which did not entitle him to administer the sacraments of the Church). Now he just had to go to Pamplona one last time to be ordained “to Epistle, Gospel and Mass”, so that he could say his first Mass in the church of Zugarramurdi, as his mother and sister had looked forward to, for it was they who had persuaded his father and brother-in-law. He only had to wait until it was Easter, which was the feast on which the Church celebrated ordinations.

But he had forgotten to include the Abbot in his calculations. When that prelate heard the news of the student’s plans, he sent off Fray Felipe de Zabaleta, the old parish priest of Zugarramurdi, with the message that the Abbot knew about his plans. However, as a subject of the monastery Juan

⁴⁴ In 1619 he was serving as a priest at the conventual church near the Velate Pass (WA 383f).

⁴⁵ Copy of the notarial act, dated 26th June 1599, in ecclesiastical trial of Juan de la Borda (ADP, proceso 191–22, 30r–31v), which is the source of the following exposition.

de la Borda must know that he could not be ordained without the recommendation (*reverendas*) of the Abbot, and it was also the right of the Abbot to decide where he was to be ordained. After this message Juan was at loss what to do. But in the village people had seen how things had gone with the son of the Echevarría family. Martín, as the son was called, was now a curate ten kilometres inside France in the town of Sare. Almost two years passed before Juan made up his mind. But in the end he dared not do anything but go to the Abbot. After the Abbot had seen the deed and made sure that he was in possession of the necessary resources, the banns were read from the pulpit, and since no one had any objections to the ordination of Juan de la Borda, the Abbot could make his recommendation (dated 1st April 1601).

The Abbot had enjoined him to go to see the Bishop of Tarbes, who was holding ordinations on Holy Saturday (21st April), so the previous Tuesday Juan had gone off along with a friend of the family who was to show him the road. They spent the first night in *Arbeloa* (St. Martin d'Arberoue?), the second in Monein and the third night in Ibos, a small town a mile outside Tarbes. On Good Friday, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, they had reached the town, and between eleven and twelve Juan had spoken to the Bishop and explained his business. The Bishop had said that he could come back the next day, Holy Saturday, when he was celebrating ordinations in his private chapel. When he arrived at the chapel, there was a gathering of over eighty students from many different places, including Navarra, Guipúzcoa and Aragón. The guide had noted the fact that Juan received the three ordinations right after one another, and that some of the other students had said that it should be done on three different days if it was done properly.

In mid-June, Juan de la Borda, with the Abbot as his "godfather" could finally say his first Mass in Zugarramurdi Church. But his happiness was short-lived. The next year a commissioner appeared in the village to arrest the young priest, for the Bishop of Pamplona had learned that he had been ordained in France, and his ordination was therefore invalid. Before the Bishop's commissioner was able to effectuate his orders, the Abbot had been informed, and immediately had the commissioner arrested and put in the monastery's prison, where he had to stay for a fortnight.

Now there was only one person who could help Juan de la Borda, and that was the Pope. The young priest managed to get together the means of travelling, and went off to Rome while the commissioner was still in the custody of the Abbot. On 1st September 1602 he obtained a kind of pardon from the Pope, who recommended in a long letter in Latin to the Bishop of Pamplona that after a suitable penance he should recognize the young man's ordination and let him resume his cure. On 2nd February 1603 Juan de la Borda appeared before the Bishop of Pamplona with the Pope's letter. At the Bishop's court a trial was now begun, as it was expressed, "to verify his story (*narrativa*)". Testimony was taken in Urdax and Zugarramurdi—indeed the commissioner of the court went all the way to France to question the curate in Sare, while the guide who had been with Juan



Fig. 8. The Jauregizar Palace at Arráyoiz in the Baztán Valley. (Photo by author 2004)

in Tarbes was called to Pamplona to testify. After three months the case could be closed. The judgement (12th May) was six months' house arrest in Zugarramurdi Church, a year's suspension and payment of the costs of the case. The imprisonment in the church was later mitigated by permission to eat and sleep at home. On the anniversary of the judgement Juan de la Borda was at last formally granted the right to say Mass. In 1609 he was given the post as curate in Fuenterrabia, but the same year in September both he and his cousin Fray Pedro in the Urdax monastery were arrested by the Inquisition, suspected of being members of the witch sect.

The Valley of Baztán

The inhabitants of the Baztán Valley were free men and had a status as "collective gentry" (*hidalguía colectiva*). As in other border regions they also had military obligations. But all this only applied to the valley's *vecinos*, and it was also only they who had the usufruct of the common land which formed the bulk of the valley. The total of fourteen villages had their local councils (*bazarres*), where *los vecinos* elected their aldermen (*jurados*) for a year at a time and sent representatives to the General Assembly in Elizondo. The Assembly was

presided over by a mayor (*alcalde*), who was also a magistrate (*juez ordinario*). The post had a three-year tenure and was rotated between the two most prominent families in the valley, the Iturbides and the Jauregizars, who had their “palaces” in Garzain and Arráyoz respectively, and who were also the biggest landowners. Like the other estate owners of the valley (*palacianos*) they too had the usufruct of the common land, but only as *vecinos*.⁴⁶ The main occupation was cattle-breeding. According to a tax list from 1607 the valley had 3,959 cows, 67 oxen, 20,576 sheep and 785 horses.⁴⁷

At that time the valley had 590 *vecinos* or heads of families, corresponding to a population of around 3,200. To be acknowledged as a *vecino* one not only had to be a native, but also had to have ancestors on both sides who had lived in the valley for generations. But in addition to this there must have been at least 50 families of so-called *moradores*, corresponding to *c.* 250 individuals.⁴⁸ These people were in reality without rights, for according to the law of the valley it was strictly forbidden to sell, lend or give property to anyone who was not a *vecino*.⁴⁹ During a witch-hunt one might imagine that it would affect this pariah group worst, but the sources give us no clear picture of such an “ethnic cleansing”: it was people of all social classes who were accused of being witches.

The Valley of Santesteban and Las Cinco Villas

The second road to the border goes up along the River Bidasoa. At the beginning of the 1600s the Santesteban Valley and the Bidasoa Valley together had some 6000 inhabitants, spread over twelve towns and villages, all of which had their local governments with mayors and councilors (*alcaldes* and *jurados*). In the Santesteban Valley people lived by cattle-breeding, arable farming and forestry. In Las Cinco Villas, as the five towns in the northern valley were called, they also had mining, ironworking and trade. Las Cinco Villas was the common name for the towns of Lesaca, Vera, Echalar, Yanci and Aranaz

⁴⁶ Arizcún Cela 1988, 42ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 223, table 2.I.4.

⁴⁸ Calculated on the basis of Imízcoz' figures from Irurita in 1646, where 9.78% of the houses were occupied by *moradores* or *habitantes*, as they were called (1987, 187). Cf. Arizcun Cela's table for 1646, where the whole valley had 706 *vecinos* (including 21 *palacianos*) and 82 *moradores* (including 50 *pobres*) (1988, 80, table 1.I.8).

⁴⁹ Imízcoz and Floristán 1993, 209.



Fig. 9. Echalar, one of Las Cinco Villas. (Photo by author 2004)

with respective populations of 1200, 950, 425, 250 and 225.⁵⁰ While the five towns had earlier profited from their iron industry, the export of iron was now in decline and many ironworks had been forced to close. As in the southern part of the valley, though, the main occupation was cattle-breeding, as well as some arable farming and fruit-growing. The highly detailed assessment lists from 1607–1612 with valuations of each *vecino*'s property show that Lesaca, Vera, Echalar and Yanci together had 1,855 cows, 10,047 sheep and goats and 224 horses and mules.⁵¹ The total agricultural area for Lesaca was 1,684 hectares, but only 9 per cent was used for cultivation of wheat, fruit orchards and chestnut plantations, the rest as grazing for the cattle.⁵² As a border region the area also had a black market economy. People smuggled iron and charcoal out of the country and took corn and currency the other way.⁵³

⁵⁰ I am grateful to Fernando Mikelarena Peña, historian and expert on the demography of the region, for supplying me with these figures.

⁵¹ Mikelarena Peña 1988, 134, table 5. No figures have survived for the fifth town, Aranaz, but it does not make much difference: with its 225 inhabitants it only counted for 9 per cent of the joint population.

⁵² Otazú 1978, 835.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 832.

The councils of the five towns were all prosperous and had several employees. In Lesaca there was a treasurer (*bolsero*), a regimental clerk, a schoolmaster, a surgeon, a clockmaker and some attorneys. Large sums were spent on the maintenance of the area's many wooden bridges and on the thousand oaks scheduled for planting each year. But the council also had good revenues, among other things 530 *ducados* in annual rent for the town's two ironworks, to which we can add the rental income from two watermills and a salmon trap. In Echalar, with the region's largest ironworks, the town earned 336 *ducados* in annual rents, but on the other hand had undertaken to deliver 1500 loads of charcoal each year from the municipal forests.⁵⁴ The taxation lists show a community with a few rich people, but the other *vecinos* had a more or less tight economy. In Vera the mayor's and three of the councillors' properties were valued at 413, 650, 213 and 163 *ducados* respectively, while the fourth councillor was only good for 12 *ducados*.⁵⁵

The most expensive property in Vera, the Alzate "palace", was valued with its lands and two watermills at 1783 *ducados*.⁵⁶ The owner was the French nobleman Tristan de Gamboa d'Alsate, who lived at the castle Urtubie in the País de Labourd. The Alzate family had the advowson of the church in Vera, where a parish priest and four curates (*beneficiados*) were employed. In Lesaca the most expensive property belonged to the Zabaleta family and with its *palacio*, lands, two watermills and half of an ironworks, this was valued at 1717 *ducados*.⁵⁷ The Zabaleta family no longer had the advowson of Lesaca Church, which now belonged to the town council. On the other hand they decided who was to be recommended for the benefices in Aranaz.⁵⁸ For generations these two noble families had struggled for power in Las Cinco Villas, and although the town councillors were now all commoners, they could still pull strings, as is evident from the following examples.

In 1602 the Lord of Alzate (alias the Vizconde d'Urtubie), had aroused the ire of the inhabitants of Vera by recommending his protégé Don Lorenzo de Hualde for the vacant benefice of parish

⁵⁴ Otazú 1978, 833f.

⁵⁵ AGN, Comptos, Valoraciones, legajo 26, Echalar-Vera 1607, 38v-39r.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 38r.

⁵⁷ AGN, Comptos, Valoraciones, legajo 26, Lesaca 1607, 19v-20r.

⁵⁸ Otazú 1978, 839.



Fig. 10. The town hall (*casa consistorial*) of Vera. (Photo by author 2004)



Fig. 11. The Church in Vera, seen from the arcade of the town hall.
(Photo by author 2004)

priest. Hualde was about 25 years old. He had gone to school with the Jesuits in Pamplona and later studied at the universities of Valencia and Alcalá, from which he had a licentiate degree.⁵⁹ None of Vera's four curates (*beneficiados*) had such qualifications, so the recommendation had been accepted by the Bishop. The town went to the High Court of Navarra to get the appointment annulled, claiming that Hualde could not hold an office in Spain, since he was French. Hualde defended himself by saying that he was born in Vera, and that although his parents were French, they had lived in the town for forty years and had already been there in 1567, when the whole of northern Navarra had been placed under the Pamplona diocese. The case ended up before the clerical court in Pamplona, which let the appointment stand.⁶⁰ In the meantime Hualde incurred a new suit at the Bishop's court, to which the town had gone with the following new charges against its parish priest: (1) illegal export to France of the sheep he received as tithes; (2) disrespectful behaviour towards two of the prominent ladies of the town, whom he had brutally thrown out of the church because they crossed themselves when the church clock struck; (3) derogatory remarks about the residents of the town, whom he had called in a letter to an eminent gentleman "savage and barbarous"; and (4) that he had got the Lord of Alzate to terminate his contracts with a number of *vecinos* in Vera, who had leased land from him.⁶¹ We do not know the outcome of this case, but it shows that Vera's unpopular parish priest reacted to the opposition of the town by giving as good as he got. In 1608 the Lord of Zabaleta was appointed commandant (*capitán a guerra*) of the citizen's militia in Las Cinco Villas. Don Diego de Zabaleta y Ollacariz, as he was called, had himself applied to the Viceroy of Navarra to be considered. The town council in Vera protested immediately and filed a suit at the High Court of Navarra to have the appointment withdrawn, while the other towns adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Zabaleta chose to ignore Vera's protests, and the next year on the feast of San Pedro (29th June), he appeared in the town with an escort of armed men because it was the custom on this day

⁵⁹ The biographical data about Hualde come forth in one of Vera's suits against its parish priest (AGN, proceso 29603, 92v). "But he never studied in France," the witness assured (*ibid.*).

⁶⁰ AGN, proceso 29603; ADP, proceso 425-1.

⁶¹ ADP, proceso 445-4. That the Vera citizens' contracts were terminated is also mentioned in AGN, proceso 29603, 61r.

that the citizens' militia held drills in the presence of the commandant. But the town refused to hold drills, and it did not help that Zabaleta presented the council with a Royal order (dated El Escorial, 5th June 1609): he had to return to Lesaca without achieving his object. A few days later Zabaleta came back with an order from the Viceroy of Navarra, threatening the town with martial law, but the town council became even more stubborn. In the end the Viceroy sent his own representatives to Las Cinco Villas with a decree that they had read out on Sunday 23rd August after church, first in Basque and then in Spanish. This broke down the opposition, and "the five towns"—including Vera—accepted Zabaleta as their commandant.⁶²

Perhaps the grey eminence in this conflict was the Lord of Alzate and Urtubie, who in this way tried to make things difficult for his old rival. Spanish historians have tried to trace the local causes of the witch-hunt that began a month later in Las Cinco Villas, but without conducting the microhistorical investigations that are necessary if this is to be more than speculation.⁶³ But the witches were at any rate the common enemy that the arrogant parish priest of Vera could use to turn the mood around and consolidate his position in the town.

The Basque Witch-Craze

The Anatomy of the Craze

Witch-craze was not just a reinforced form of witchcraft, it was a sort of "mutation", an explosive growth in the belief in witchcraft caused by a dangerous mixture of popular and learned tradition. On the one hand there was the witch belief of the common people, on the other hand the theological witchcraft theory of the intellectuals—so-called demonology. The learned tradition had its home in the studies of the theologians and legal experts, and as long as it stayed there it was harmless. The danger appeared when the priest from the pulpit or the judge in court tried to apply learned theory to the concrete cases that occurred in daily life. It was in those situations that the potential for a new pattern arose—that dangerous

⁶² Otazu 1978, 829f.

⁶³ Otazu 1978; Paul Arzak 1999.

creation which would take both high and low by surprise, the moral panic which I have labelled witch-craze, although it was certainly not the product of some mental disorder.⁶⁴

WITCH BELIEF AND WITCH-CRAZE. The two phenomena may be distinguished by a series of opposed characteristics: witch belief (*i.e.* belief in witches) is transmitted by long-term oral tradition in the local community. Witch-craze, on the other hand, is a short-lived phenomenon; it exists only momentarily in the oral tradition as rumours. Socially, witch belief has several functions within the local community: first, as part of a cognitive system (*e.g.* as something that explains individual misfortune); secondly, as part of a moral system (most societies do not tolerate envy, and envious people are therefore thought to be witches); and thirdly, belief in witchcraft may function as a safety valve for the latent aggression that cannot be expressed otherwise because society forbids it. For instance, if your mother-in-law lives with you, you must endure her caprices; but if you can convince your family and your neighbours that she is a witch, you can throw her out of your house. However, witch-craze is totally dysfunctional, both cognitively and morally, and any possible function as a safety valve is perverted into such explosive forms that it tears the local community apart.

Witch belief is characterized by a meagre and unsystematic mythology, while witch-craze has an abundant and elaborate superstructure. In witch belief, harm has to be done (*maleficium*) to individuals if a trial is to be initiated, but in witch-craze this aspect becomes insignificant, the important thing being to identify people as belonging to the group of witches, for instance because they have been seen at the sabbat, or have been found to have the Devil's mark. In witch belief the compact with the Devil is unimportant and may be totally missing. In witch-craze it is overwhelmingly important, as the accusation concentrates on this point. In witch belief, the usual suspects are individuals who do not fit into the community: old people, widows, cripples and beggars. In a witch-craze, all sorts of people may be accused, even children. Finally, in witch belief usually only one or two people in each village are accused. In a witch-craze up to half the population may be branded as "witches".⁶⁵

In the present case, the Basque witch-hunt, we can follow at close quarters when and how the "mutation" from witch belief to witch-craze took place. In Zugarramurdi and Urdax it only happened several months after the "witch sect" had been exposed. The first witches arrested by the Inquisition, besides their attendance at the witches' sabbat, had a long catalogue of magical crimes committed on their

⁶⁴ WA 391; cf. Levack 1987, 2.

⁶⁵ WA 392; cf. Henningsen 2005, entry on "Witch craze".

neighbours over a long period: infanticides, murders and bewitchings of adults, harm done to others' animals and damage to their crops. In other words these were traditional village witches who had been under suspicion for a long time (WA chap. 2). But against the subsequent sixteen witches who were arrested by the Inquisitor Valle during his journey of visitation in the late summer of 1609, there was only the one charge: that they were members of the witches' sect. The witch-hunt had now become a pure heretic-hunt. During the first persecution at the beginning of 1609, the neighbours in Zugarramurdi held a vigil with María de Jureteguía to ensure that the witches would not abduct her (doc. 2.I.5), but we hear nothing of sabbat dreams. When Valle arrived eight months later, the village had in the meantime become the victim of a collective nightmare. Children and young people had experienced being taken to the sabbat as they lay sleeping. Valle explicitly calls it a new phenomenon and explains it as a cunning strategy thought up by the Devil so that the child-witches can afterwards lend "support to the theory that has arisen, that the whole thing is something that the witches are dreaming" (WA 110).

In Las Cinco Villas we can follow developments all the way back to *before* the outbreak of the witch-panic, for in this case we have the Bishop of Pamplona's word that the Inquisitor did not succeed in finding a single witch while he was on his visitation in this region, and that witches were only exposed after Valle had travelled on, and the priests in Vera and Lesaca had preached at his urging against the evil sect. In Valle's view the sect was to be found everywhere in the northern border areas: one only had to scratch the surface to bring out the witches. Bishop Venegas, who visited Las Cinco Villas shortly after Valle, reached quite the opposite conclusion: the witch sect had hitherto been unknown in this region, so it was Valle himself and the local parish priests who had started the whole fuss.

During his stay in Las Cinco Villas the Bishop initiated an inquiry to ascertain when talk of witches had first started. One of the most astonishing results of the investigation was that, before the spread of persecutions, Satanic witchcraft was completely unknown among the Basques. We may assume that there were notions about local village witches who were believed to harm their neighbours, as in the case of Zugarramurdi. However, according to the Bishop's report, no one had heard about the witches having a secret organization. Indeed, notwithstanding the large number of old people, not one knew what

it meant to be a witch, nor of anything that savoured of this evil art, nor what an *aquelarre* was (doc. 7.3). They did so only in 1609, when Judge Pierre de Lancre, from the Parlement de Bordeaux, condemned over eighty witches from the Pays de Labourd to death. The witch-craze had already been in existence there for a couple of years. However, it was not until 1609 that it crossed the border and put the Spanish Inquisition on the alert. Knowledge of the alleged witch sect was spread through various channels: rumours from France, people who had travelled up to Bayonne to see the burning of the French witches, and finally sermons preached by the local priests who had been encouraged by the Inquisition to expose the supposed witches in their congregations. The Bishop's report reads like a modern sociological analysis of a moral panic and demonstrates how the presentation of witchcraft as an anti-religion evoked moral outrage and authorized punitive action against the perpetrators.⁶⁶

The Swedish historian Bengt Ankarloo has pointed out that a witch-craze cannot be compared to an epidemic; rather, it follows the same pattern as a cultural innovation process.⁶⁷ In 1609 only five or six small villages bordering on France fell victim to the witch-craze. In all other areas under the Logroño Tribunal, peace reigned up to the autumn of 1610, when preachers were sent up into the mountains to convert those who might be influenced by the evil sect. Shortly afterwards, in November 1610, when the auto de fe was held in Logroño, 30,000 people came pouring in to hear the sentences read out and see the witches burnt. The preaching crusade and the auto de fe caused an explosive spread of the witch-craze, and in each village we can observe the same pattern.

The panic would begin with an outbreak of stereotyped dreams. Large numbers of people, for the most part children and teenagers, reported that they were taken to the witches' sabbats at night while they were asleep in bed. Night after night the people affected had the nightmare of being transported to the witches' sabbat; the dreams were so vivid that people could not distinguish them from reality. Once the "bewitched people", or the "child-witches", had recounted their nocturnal adventures, the witch panic got under way. But the dream experiences were not turned into accusations immediately; it took some time before the children chose to reveal who it was that

⁶⁶ Cf. Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994, 149.

⁶⁷ Ankarloo 1990, 301.

came to fetch them at night. In Aranaz, one of Las Cinco Villas, the children kept dreaming for several months, but the witch-craze did not get started until after a father had wormed the information out of his little son that it was the cowherd Iricia who took him to the witches' sabbat. The father went straight to Iricia and, pointing a dagger at his chest, asked him why he had bewitched his son. The following day, thirty other child-witches at Aranaz confessed that the cowherd had taken them to the sabbat too. However, after the local agent of the Inquisition had sent the cowherd to Logroño as a prisoner, the children agreed among themselves that they were now fetched to the sabbat by a 60-year-old woman. When she too was arrested, the children accused another woman (doc. 7, 5v–6r).

In every outbreak of the witch-craze there were the same three stages: indoctrination, dream epidemic, and forced confessions. The village people resorted to every possible form of torture to force a confession: some people were tied to trees and made to stand outdoors in the cold winter nights; others were made to sit with their feet in water until it froze around them. The violence among the population of the mountains of Navarra claimed several lives in that winter of 1610–11.

The panic rose to a crescendo culminating in the summer of 1611, when Salazar and his assistants travelled around the countryside with their Edict of Grace: each time the Edict was proclaimed, sermons were preached against the witches with so much explicit and suggestive detail that Salazar became alarmed. "In the tense atmosphere," he wrote on his return, "it is harmful to air these matters in public at all, as this could cause them greater and more widespread damage than they have suffered already." As a proper remedy for witchcraft Salazar recommended instead "silence and discretion" (doc. 12.71).

From then on the witch hysteria began to decline and by 1613 it had completely disappeared, apart from a few valleys in the Pyrenees that had been affected late. Nowhere did the panic last more than two or three years. The principal reason for the short duration of the phenomenon was its monstrous extent. In some villages it resulted in more than half the inhabitants being denounced as witches: children, women and men; young and old; rich and poor; clergy and laity—no social group escaped. Everyone began to accuse everyone else, children even denounced their own parents and vice versa. As people gradually realized that the witch-hunt was leading to a

complete breakdown of society, they became more critical of the children's accounts and preferred to see them merely as dreams and nothing else.

At the local level the witch-craze could thus regulate itself. But local reconciliation could be prevented if the central authorities were involved, for they might insist that the legal purge be carried on—until all those accused and convicted had been punished. This was precisely what happened during the child-witch epidemic in the Pays de Labourd in southwestern France in 1609 and was now about to repeat itself in Spain.

Propaganda and Rumours

On 3rd August 1610 the Council of the Inquisition forwarded a proposal to Philip III, with a report describing how the witch sect was gaining ground in Navarra on account of the ignorance and simplicity of the people. The Tribunal of Logroño had suggested that preachers should be sent up into the mountains to give Christian instruction, and to institute the action the Inquisition asked that a letter from the King be sent to the bishops of the Logroño district and to the heads of various religious orders, requesting them to send preachers to the infested area. The King's letter was issued on 5th September. Shortly afterwards the Tribunal at Logroño was possibly experiencing some misgivings, for later in the autumn when it received applications from several monasteries in the town, declaring that they were ready to send off preachers, the Tribunal replied that they would be informed when the time was ripe. Many months later the inquisitors learned that preachers had in fact been up to the witch-plagued regions of Navarra under instructions from the Bishop of Pamplona, but without the sanction of the Tribunal (WA 206f).

One group of preachers consisted of some monks from the Franciscan monastery at one of the Basque Country's most famous places of pilgrimage, the sanctuary of Our Lady of Aránzazu in Guipúzcoa. This Virgin had a reputation for being able to deal with the Devil and during the great Basque witch persecution people made pilgrimages to her shrine all the way from the Pays de Labourd, so that she could cure their "bewitched" children. Before the Virgin could help them the child-witches themselves had to say how they had fallen into the clutches of the Devil and renounce their "witcheries and superstitions" (*hechizos y supersticiones*), but the relatives along with

the monks at the place made sure of this.⁶⁸ The Franciscan friars were thus already familiar with the Basque witch belief against which they were sent out to preach. We know the names of three of those who were sent off, although there were probably more: Fray Martín de Ocariz went to the Araquil and Burunda valleys; Fray Juan de Sigarroa to the Baztán Valley; and Fray Domingo de Sardo to Las Cinco Villas.⁶⁹ The last of these later accompanied Salazar on his visitation as an interpreter and preacher. This was the monk who preached so suggestively on the publication of the Edict of Grace in the village church of Arizcun that a young girl among the congregation believed she was carried off to the local witches' sabbat and thus missed the rest of the monk's sermon (doc. 12.7).

At some point in March 1611, when the Franciscans had finished their mission, they submitted a report to the Bishop in Pamplona and the inquisitors in Logroño. They had converted a large number of people away from the Devil and could show material proofs of the existence of the witch sect: several jars of flying ointment that they had sniffed out; indeed, something as sensational as a "dressed-up toad" (cf. doc. 2.I.11). However, the ointments were quickly exposed as forgeries and the toad was presumably not authentic either, since it is passed over in silence (WA 219f). The Franciscans had not only rushed in uncritically, they had also used harsh methods to get confessions out of people. The Jesuit Hernando de Solarte was able to relate how they had stripped a young girl naked and stuck pins in her to see whether she was a witch. On another occasion they had lit a fire and threatened an old woman with burning if she did not confess. When Solarte met the Bishop of Pamplona, the latter actually said to him: "Oh, Father Solarte, how I regret having sent these monks off".⁷⁰ However, later the Franciscans seem to have become more critical. In his letter to the Bishop of 25th March Solarte could say that he had heard that one of them had encountered no fewer than sixty people who "through delusion or fear" had made false confessions (doc. 9).

In their sermons the Franciscans must have spoken of Our Lady of Aránzazu's apparitions in connection with the Basque witches'

⁶⁸ Luzuriaga 1690, § 85.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, § 81.

⁷⁰ "Ah, padre Solarte, lo que me pesa de haber enviado estos frailes," *Fourth Report of Solarte*, 191v.



Fig. 12. The Virgin of Aránzazu on a 19th century stamp. (Biblioteca Nacional)

sabbats in France, and of the French child-witches who came on pilgrimages to Aránzazu with their parents. Back home they had told the story of a divinely beautiful woman with a child on her arm who had come to them on the witches' sabbat. The woman had spoken to them in Basque and urged them to abandon the evil works of the Devil and return to Jesus Christ. When the children came into the sanctuary and saw the statue of the Virgin they shouted out loud with astonishment: "But that is the lady who used to comfort us at the sabbat when we were made to tend the toads".⁷¹ The Franciscans' pious tale became so popular in the mountains of Navarra that the child-witches there too began to meet the Holy Virgin in their sabbat visions. To Fray León de Aranibar the fifteen-year-old Gracia from Zubieta said that the Virgin Mary had on several occasions appeared to them when she and the other child-witches were at the sabbat. She had come walking with the infant Christ on her arm and had said to them that they were to beware of renouncing their faith. When she appeared, all the other witches disappeared and left Gracia and her companions alone. But each time the Mother of God had got them home in safety.⁷² A large number of the confessions in Salazar's visitation book included the story of Our Lady's miraculous appearance at the sabbat (doc. 12.17).⁷³

At the end of November two Jesuits arrived at Las Cinco Villas. They were from a Jesuit college in Bilbao and both spoke Basque. One was Father Diego de Medrano, the other was Solarte, the author of three of the present committee reports. Recently a fourth report

⁷¹ "Esta es la Señora que nos solía visitar y consolar en Aquer Larre cuando estábamos juntos guardando los sapos." The story goes on to quote what the Virgin said to the children, first in Basque, and then in Spanish translation: "*Ene seme alaba chipi laztanchoac oficio cilatori euci eguizu, biurtzaitz Jaungoico poderoso agana Christau onac becela, sinisten dezula Jesu Christo Criadore Redemptoreagan, eta aren Fede Santa Catholican, Eleiza ama Santuac sinisten aguincen dituan moduan. Que reducido del Vascuence a el Castellano es decir: Hijuelos y hijuelas mías muy queridos y amadas, dejad ese sucio e inmundo oficio y convertiros al Omnipotente y Verdadero Dios, creiendo como verdaderos cristianos en Jesu Cristo creador y redemtor de todos, y en Su Santa Fe Católica en la forma que manda crear la Santa Madre Iglesia*" (Luzuriaga 1690, § 86); cf. Caro Baroja 1975, 293f.

⁷² Volume "F" of Salazar's *Visitation Book*, folio 436r, confession 25.2.1611 by 16-year-old Gracia de Macuso y Marquesarena of Zubieta (case no. 505) to Fray León de Aranibar at Elizondo.

⁷³ The motif of the Virgin's appearance at the sabbat is unique in European witchcraft, the closest parallel being the reports in the confessions of the Swedish child-witches about the "Angels' Chamber" at the Blåkulla meeting from which white angels stepped in to protect the children (Ankarloo 1990, 315; cf. Sörlin 1997).

from Solarte has come to light. It is dated Azcoitia, 24th August 1612, and was sent to Father Nicolás de Almazán, secretary of the Jesuit General in Rome. Most of the content is repetitions from the other reports, but the four closely written folio pages also have new and interesting details.⁷⁴ Unlike the other preachers in the area, all of whom agitated against the witch sect, the Jesuits had chosen a different strategy: in their sermons they pretended there was no such problem, and were content to speak of vices in general. The result was that people poured in. Solarte described how before dawn the portals in the street outside the two Jesuits' lodgings were already full of people who despite ice and harsh frost had come from all over the region to speak to them.⁷⁵

From the newly-found manuscript it is also evident that Solarte only had this one companion (*compañero*) with him on his journey. Father Medrano had come directly from Logroño, where he had attended the auto de fe and had himself confessed two of the six men and women who were burnt (doc. 2.II, nos. 24–29).⁷⁶ Who these two were we do not know, but to Medrano the wretched people would hardly have been able to communicate their innocence, for he was wholly on the side of the Tribunal and believed in the fairness of the judgements. It was only on his journey with Solarte that his convictions were shaken. During their stay in Echalar a sixteen-year-old shepherd boy secretly revealed to Solarte how he and two other boys had been bribed to make false witchcraft confessions. “This was the beginning of the exposure,” says Solarte (doc. 3, 1v) without going into detail. However, more details came out in his fourth letter, where he describes the reaction of Medrano when he confided his discovery to him: “I informed my colleague of what was going on. He became furious and said that I should not even think of believing such a thing, and that it was obvious that I had not seen and heard the same things as he had in Logroño.” To believe such a thing, his colleague went on, was to oppose what the inquisitors, their agents and the whole world said. Next day, however, when Medrano had calmed down, he himself wanted to give

⁷⁴ *Fourth Report of Solarte*. The manuscript can be found in Rome in the central archives of the Jesuits, where Father Francisco de Borja Medina Rojas kindly drew my attention to it during a visit in 2000.

⁷⁵ *Fourth Report of Solarte*, 190r.

⁷⁶ DHCJ, entry on “Solarte, Hernando de”.

it a try. He examined two other boys in the same way as Solarte had done, and eventually found that they too had been lying.⁷⁷

We also get further information about the meeting with the Bishop of Pamplona to which Solarte refers in his letter of 25th March 1611 (doc. 9). The Bishop had himself sent for him, to brief him on his journey. When they met Venegas was just putting the finishing touches to his report to the Inquisitor General: “He showed me,” says Solarte, “over six sheets of paper on which he had written a long report to the Council. It contained the same things as I had just told him orally, but without as many details and specific cases”.⁷⁸ The aging Bishop was greatly pleased by the young Jesuit’s report. He was so enthusiastic that he wanted to send him as his personal envoy to Madrid just “after Lent” (in 1611 Easter Sunday fell on 3rd April),⁷⁹ but shortly afterwards, when the Inquisition Council had come to its decision with the instructions of 26th March (doc. 10), the plan to send Solarte to Madrid was no longer relevant.

However, while Solarte was in Pamplona the Bishop was able to arrange a meeting with the Viceroy of Navarra, Juan de Cardona.⁸⁰ During their conversation the two clerics must have managed to persuade the Viceroy that the Inquisition’s witch-hunt had gone too far, for a few weeks later, at the urging of Cardona, commissioners were sent up into the mountains of Navarra to investigate a number of cases of violence against people suspected of witchcraft. The result was a whole succession of “inverted witch-trials” where the persecutors of witches were dragged into court and held to account for their actions.⁸¹ To a much greater extent than had been seen before Solarte thus directly contributed to the discontinuation of the Inquisition’s witch-hunt.

HERNANDO DE SOLARTE (1579–1626) came from a village in Vizcaya. After entering the Society of Jesus in 1598 he had studied for a few years at the University of Alcalá de Henares and later for eight years at the University of Murcia. There he concluded his studies (*artes liberales* and theology) in 1608 and worked for a year as an *actuante* (a debater employed to stimulate the students’ disputations), until he was sent in 1609 because of his

⁷⁷ *Fourth Report of Solarte*, 191v.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 191v.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 191v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 191v.

⁸¹ See WA 221f, 564f and the following sections below.

knowledge of Basque to the Jesuit College in Bilbao. Solarte came to work as a *misionero popular*. The entry about him in the *Enciclopedia de Historia de la Compañía de Jesus* says that his talent for preaching was mediocre in Spanish, but optimal in Basque. He was quickly given positions of trust: in 1611 as the founder of a provisional mission in Gauteguiz de Arteaga (Vizcaya) and in 1612–15 as founder and principal of a Jesuit college in Azcoitia (Guipúzcoa).⁸² After a period at the college in Vergara (Guipúzcoa), in 1619 he was a co-founder of the Jesuit college in San Sebastian. The priests and religious orders of the town were bitter about the Jesuits coming to the town and thought about nothing but having them driven out. They succeeded in whipping up popular feeling which culminated on the night of 20th November 1626, when sailors and soldiers from the Spanish navy tried to blow up the door of the Jesuit college, but were prevented by the neighbours in the street from carrying out their intention. The six Jesuits, who had sought refuge in the church, all thought that their last hour had come. Although the attack had been averted the tumult of the night had made such an impression on Solarte that he was left in a state of shock and died three weeks later, just 47 years old.⁸³

The Premonstratensians from Urdax also participated in the preaching crusade against the witches. The Prior of the monastery, Fray José de Elizondo, constantly went on journeys to the villages of the Baztán Valley, from which he himself came. But the Abbot too, Fray León de Aranibar, whom Valle had appointed in the autumn of 1609 as a commissioner of the Inquisition, participated zealously in the witch-hunt. According to Salazar, he alone collected more witchcraft confessions than all the other commissioners together (WA 293). These two monks were the direct cause of the hysteria spreading in the autumn of 1610 to the Baztán Valley,⁸⁴ where the persecution of supposed witches reached a degree of brutality unseen hitherto. But in the Valley of Santesteban and in Las Cinco Villas, Fray León was at work too; he was more than anyone the grey eminence of the persecution.⁸⁵ With his appointment as commissioner the Abbot

⁸² Entry "Solarte, Hernando de" by Francisco de Borja Medina Rojas in DHCJ.

⁸³ Tellechea Idígoras 1997, 63.

⁸⁴ In his letter to the Tribunal, dated 4th Oct. 1610, Fray León writes of two new *aquejarres* discovered by himself at Elgorriaga and by Fray Josef at Elizondo, where a niece of the latter, after some pressure, had revealed the names of her accomplices (WA 205).

⁸⁵ Cf. Paúl Arzak 1999. The role of Fray León in the Basque witch-hunt awaits further investigation. However, the assessment he gets in Salazar's evaluation of the commissioners is notable: "a mature and intelligent man who has acted in a thoroughly correct manner in the witch cases he has handled," Salazar wrote (WA 293). Warned by his second-in-command about the kind of inquisitor with whom they

had already received his reward, but the Prior Fray José was also rewarded for his efforts. The next spring, as an acknowledgment, he was sent by the Tribunal to assist Salazar on his journey of visitation, where, against payment of 60 ducados, along with the Franciscan Domingo de Sardo he came to serve as a preacher and Basque interpreter (doc. 11, 357r).⁸⁶

Alongside the propaganda the region was abuzz with rumours of what the witches could or, could not do, and what their persecutors were capable of. Only in exceptional cases can we say what these rumours were about, and who originated them, as with the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary at the sabbats. We must be content with the hints that appear in various contexts.

Thus from Solarte's journey to Las Cinco Villas shortly before Christmas 1610 we get an up-to-the-minute account of the rumours circulating there. In one town they told him that the children were no longer "taken", in another they claimed that they knew the women who carried them off, and in yet another they said that the witches went disguised to the sabbat so as to pass unrecognized (doc. 3, 1r).⁸⁷

Solarte also came across rumours about the witches held prisoner by the village authorities or by the Tribunal in Logroño. In the beginning it was said that once in prison they no longer took the children to the gatherings but that their places had been taken by other women. Later, however, it was said that the first group *did* in fact leave the prison to abduct the children and that they even came out from the cells of the Inquisition to fetch them. "To learn the truth of the matter," Solarte continues, "the commissioners have been advised that on a certain day . . . they are to change the prisoners' clothes and then to ask the children what dress they saw them in". This was apparently also just a rumour, for the inquisitors denied vigorously that such experiments had ever taken place.⁸⁸

The following rumour originated from another region. The 60-year-old Catalina de Echevarría of Fuenterrabía, who had been

were now dealing, the Abbot might have had time to change horses before the visitation at the beginning of August 1611 reached Urdax (WA 509 n. 39).

⁸⁶ For the payment of 1,320 *reales* (= 120 *ducados*) to the two interpreters, see *Lib.* 832, 161v.

⁸⁷ That the witches went in disguise is corroborated by confessions from Arráyoiz 30.12.1610 (case no. 478), Aranaz 13.5.1611 (case no. 458), and by a letter from Fray León de Aranibar to the Tribunal, dated 29.1.1611 (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 11, 3r).

⁸⁸ Doc. 3, 2v, with the Inquisitor Becerra's marginal note: "It is false!" (p. 168 n. 23).

reconciled on 1st June 1611 by Becerra and Valle at Logroño, explained in her recantation to Salazar three months later how two women of her acquaintance had told her about certain relics which the Inquisition used for discovering witches. The relics were secretly put on the persons; those revealed to be witches were punished and those who turned out to be innocent were set free. Knowing herself that she was not a witch, Catalina decided to turn herself in at Logroño; but once there she found out that it was only a story.⁸⁹

The Dream Epidemic

That people are abducted while sleeping to the witches' sabbat is a rather unusual concept in early modern European witchcraft. Outside the Basque country it is only known to have occurred in Northern Sweden. In both cases children played a major role as accusers, but while the Basque trials with child-witches can be traced back to the beginning of the 16th century, the Swedish ones did not take place before the end of the 17th century.⁹⁰ From the late 16th century, trials with child-witches became frequent in Germany and France, but with the important difference that the children were not abducted but participated voluntarily in the sabbats and were thought to be as malicious as the grown-up witches.⁹¹

The mass delusion that broke out in Navarra in 1609–11 is without comparison the best documented historical case of an epidemic of bad dreams. I have not been able to find any modern parallels, so the only thing I can do is to furnish a phenomenological description. That the majority believed their dreams took place in reality is evident from the answers of 102 people interrogated by Salazar. They all agreed that they were asleep when they left their beds, but woke up on the way and were awake “during the outward journey, their presence at the *aquelarre*, and on their return” (doc. 12, glosses 1 and 3).⁹² Seven other persons maintained that they “always, or at

⁸⁹ Volume “F” of *Salazar’s Visitation Book*, 356r–v. For the dates of Catalina de Echevarria’s reconciliation and recantation, see WA 402 case no. 73, and 429 case no. 493. The rumour about the witch-discovering relics at Logroño was probably inspired by the relics found at sanctuaries like Urdax, which, as we have seen, were used to exorcise possessed or bewitched people (see above, n. 42).

⁹⁰ Henningsen 2000, 356f; Ankarloo 1990.

⁹¹ Cf. Behringer 1989; Walinski-Kiehl 1996.

⁹² Comparing the document’s gloss 1 with my *Witch List* (WA 411–436, case nos. 151–559) 57 of the 102 cases cited by Salazar can be identified, and of these 37

least on some occasions, went and came back awake” (doc. 12, gloss 2). Forty-nine from the first group and two from the second were interrogated to procure external evidence (*actos positivos*)⁹³ as prescribed in *la Suprema*’s questionnaire, and most of them stoutly maintained that they came out through some chink, window or chimney; that they flew through the air, never came across anyone else on the way, and did not get wet if it was raining or snowing (doc. 12.3–4). So both groups, we may conclude, were recounting their dream experiences.

All the critical observations in the reports of Salazar, Venegas and Solarte will not be anticipated here; instead we will turn to evidence demonstrating that sceptical minds could also be found in popular circles. At the beginning of 1611 Elgorriaga in the Baztán Valley experienced a violent outbreak of witch-craze with dozens of people turning themselves in to the Inquisition and many more under suspicion. Since the autumn of 1610 several children had been claiming that they were taken to the witches’ sabbat three times a week by certain women. This fits neatly with what we know about the Abbot of Urdax, who as a newly appointed inquisitorial commissioner had concentrated his investigations on this village, and at the beginning of October informed the Tribunal that he was about to discover a witch conspiracy there. However, 46-year-old Miguel de Ireztea, a peasant and a member of the village council, did not believe in the stories of the child-witches. He had been watching his little son of nine night and day. So when the son claimed that he had been taken by some women of the village to certain places where they forced him to renounce his faith, the father did not take him seriously. For he knew himself that he had held the child in his arms all night, so that it was impossible for him to have left the house or his bed at any time. Miguel knew of six persons in the village

were teenagers of both sexes. This fits quite well with another of Salazar’s statements: that among the 290 whom he reconciled “there were a hundred persons over twenty” (doc. 12, 1r); in other words almost two thirds were teenagers. It should be remembered that Salazar did not include the younger child-witches (girls under twelve and boys under fourteen) in this group; their cases, which amounted to 1384, were entered separately in Volume “H” of the visitation book (WA 436f, case nos. 563–1,948). In all there must have been around 1,500 children under twenty, to which we should add several hundred child witches five years old and under. Over these Salazar had read some exorcisms chosen by all three inquisitors for the purpose (WA 254).

⁹³ Compare doc. 12, glosses 1 and 3 with gloss 8.

whom his son and other children claimed to have seen at the sabbat, but for the above reason he did not believe that these persons were witches.⁹⁴

Almost half-way through his journey Salazar dealt with the case of a sixteen-year-old girl from the village of Irurita, whom he had reconciled during the visitation at Santesteban. María de Tanborín Jarra, as she was called, had come to see him at Fuenterrabía and on July 23rd she confessed to a relapse after being released by the Holy Office. "She told me, weeping," reports Salazar, "how she had twice been taken to the witches' sabbat . . . It had happened while she was asleep without her will or consent" (WA 255). The mother, who had apparently accompanied her daughter to Fuenterrabía, was examined as a witness, and she explained that they slept together in the same bed and that she had heard her daughter remark that when her mistress brought her back from the sabbat she was wide awake. Eager to check this, and to know how it had come about, she had tied herself to her daughter's body and kept her hand on the reliquary at her throat so as to notice when the transfer took place. Yet in spite of all this, she never saw or felt anything at all, even though on awakening next morning the daughter related how she had been at the *aquelarre* (doc. 12.37).

As an example of how easily the craze could break out Salazar gives an account of the following case. When he had finished his visitation in Valderro near Roncesvalles, and was on the point of returning, a delegation came to ask him to go to the Valley of Aécsoa two leagues (7 miles) away; not that anything had been discovered there, but their valley was just as worthy of a visit as Valderro. "I only had to forward the Edict of Grace to this other valley and eight days later they notified me in San Sebastián that they already had children confessing, says Salazar (doc. 12.71)."

Although most of the craze seems to have been genuine mass delusion, there were exceptions to the rule. Individuals with mythomaniac tendencies had great days⁹⁵ and so had the "witch finders". The latter claimed to have the gift of being able to recognize the witches

⁹⁴ Hearing by a High Court commissioner in Elgorriaga on the 3rd of May 1611 (AGN, proceso 506, 28r-29r).

⁹⁵ Cf. Walinski-Kiel 1996, 180; and the case of 17-year-old Catalina de Sastrearena, in WA 247-251.

by looking them straight in the eye. As a sign of their supernatural power, they exposed a mark on their body which they claimed to be the “seal”. Another category was the false witnesses who had been persuaded by threats or bribery to denounce certain people. Finally, there must also have been a number of people suffering from neuroses whose confessions were to a great extent based on experiences from their unsound state of mind, as in the case of María de Zozaya (doc. 2.II.19).⁹⁶

The Forced Confessions

In the history of European witchcraft we rarely hear about what happened outside the courts before the matter came to trial. This has led to speculation about hidden agendas in witch hunting on the part of the authorities. However, the lesson we can learn from the present case is that there was no such agenda. Witch hunting developed in a collaboration between the authorities and the common people, where the blind were so to speak leading the blind into a collective disaster. In this section we will take a closer look at the pressure, violence and downright torture that preceded the so-called voluntary confessions made to the agents of the Holy Office.

Once someone had been reported by the child-witches to have been seen at the sabbat, he or she was encouraged by friends and family to make a confession secretly, thereby avoiding the punishment, confiscation of property and disgrace to the family that were to be expected for those who did not take advantage of the witch amnesty. Only occasionally did this pressure come to the notice of the Inquisition, as in the case of fifteen-year-old Hipólita de Arbiza of Yanci and her stepsister Juana. On 8th August both were summoned for reconciliation during Salazar’s visitation at Lesaca and their previous confessions were read out to them in Basque by Fray Domingo de Sardo. In these confessions, both made to the commissioner of Lesaca on 23rd February 1610, they had respectively denounced 58 and 38 people, but now they recanted everything as lies and inventions. In the hearings, which took place separately, Hipólita explained that she had been forced to make a false confession because her parents and relatives had threatened her life. Her two years

⁹⁶ See the section on María de Zozaya in WA 157–166.

younger stepsister revealed more details: how their father had come drunk home on some evenings and taken her out into the field, where he threatened her that she would be burned alive if she continued to deny that she was a witch, for all the other child-witches had said that they had seen her at the sabbat. Eight days later, when the visitation had moved to Vera, the two half-sisters presented themselves again, and were admitted to the courtroom separately, first to the morning session and then also to the afternoon session. Both declared that they had come to reaffirm their original confession and wanted to have the recantation cancelled. However, during the hearings of the two sisters and another girl who came with them, Salazar found out that the reason for their inconsistency was the pressure that their mother/stepmother was exerting on them outside the courtroom. For this reason he finally called her in and warned her to let the girls speak in total freedom.⁹⁷

Those whom the child-witches accused of carrying them off to the sabbat were subjected to public persecution and violence. On his visit to Las Cinco Villas in December 1610, the Jesuit Solarte saw how these people were stoned, their houses torn down or the roofs shattered with stones (doc. 3, 2r). Frequently the local authorities imprisoned them for some time to make them confess. Doña Catalina de Iturbide, a noble lady of the Baztán Valley, owner of the Jaureguizar Palace at Arráoz, describes how she was obliged to let the village aldermen (*jurados*) use the palace cellar as a prison. In her declaration to the High Court commissioner she recounts how they came on New Year's Eve 1610 with three women, an elderly mother and her two daughters. "You gentlemen had better take them to the prison of the Inquisition, because there they are not treated so badly," she had said to them, but they left the "witches" in her cellar chained up with nothing to eat or drink. Doña Catalina pitied them, and as soon as the *jurados* had left, she opened the cellar door with an axe and liberated the poor women from their chains. For the next few nights, when the prisoners were unguarded, she got one of her servants to hand them food secretly through a gun slit at night. Some days later, another of the prisoners, Graciana de Barrenechea, expired as a result of the tortures she had been submitted to in the house

⁹⁷ Volume "F" of Salazar's *Visitation Book*, 84r–104r (case nos. 454–456). For Salazar's warning to the stepmother, see *ibid.*, 96r (case no. 455). Cf. doc. 12.18.



Fig. 13. The entrance to the basement, or so-called cellar of the Jauregizar Palace where the Arráyoz witches were imprisoned. In the wall to the right an embrasure.
(Photo by author 2004)

of the royal notary Miguel de Narvarte, who was acting in close collaboration with the Abbot of Urdax.⁹⁸

The torture used by the village people with or without the authorization of the local authorities was much worse than that of the Inquisition. The Holy Office confined itself to three well-known methods: the garotte or rope torture, the water torture (forcing the victim to swallow water), and the strappado or hoisting torture, and these were normally not used to force a confession.⁹⁹ But that was the chief purpose of the torture that the village people were subjected to when they had been exposed by the child-witches. The variations of the popular methods of torture were almost endless, and are described in great detail by Solarte, Venegas and Salazar, so here I will only comment on a few of them.

⁹⁸ AGN proceso 5257, 18v–20v; cf. Idoate 1978, 164f, 415–417, and WA 461 n. 50.

⁹⁹ For methods of torture employed by the Spanish Inquisition, see Lea 1906–7, vol. 3, chap. 7.

From the Bishop's report we learn that water torture was applied to the witches of Lesaca, with the notable difference however that the liquid poured down the throat in large quantities was Holy Water (doc. 7, 5r), so the sessions must be characterized as a mixture of torture and exorcism.

Most frequently it was the rope torture that the villagers resorted to. "The crowd tortured some," reports the Bishop, "by laying them on their backs along benches and binding them round with ropes from their feet to their arms. Then, using the garotte or stick, they twist the rope tighter and tighter" (doc. 7, 8r). In this way at least five women were tortured to death during that winter.¹⁰⁰

A local speciality was the wheel torture. "This can be described as follows," runs the Bishop's report. "In an ordinary working mill they tie the various accused one by one to the beam that joins the two wheels in the exact place where the water that drives the wheels falls. Then they release the water from the millpond and pour three quarters of a *fanega* of wheat into the hopper. Until the wheat is milled the wheels and beam will revolve, always with one of the aforesaid bound to the beam and spinning round on the wheel and beam while being struck continually by the water" (doc. 7, 8v). If we imagine a normal watermill on the horizontal axis, the description makes no sense, but the Bishop is referring to a special type of mill on the vertical axis, common in the Low Pyrenees, and with this in mind we see that his description is perfect (see figs. 14–15).

Another very popular torture was making the witches "walk the ladder". They place four or five of them between the rungs of a long ladder, the Bishop explains, and then force them to walk dragging the ladder. "Now and again someone lifts the end that is trailing along the ground and, giving the ladder a good push, throws them all to the ground so that they fall flat on their faces." Then they lift up the end of the ladder again and pull hard, thereby forcing them to get on their feet; but before they have found their balance they hurl them backwards, so that they fall on their backs and receive severe bruises. In this fashion, the Bishop continues, they bring them to one of the nearby bridges, and on arrival they strip

¹⁰⁰ Two women died under the rope torture in Sumbilla and Ituren respectively (doc. 7, 8r), and in Oronoz, Elizondo and Arráyoiz another three women were tortured to death (*ibid.*, 6v), the woman of Arráyoiz presumably being identical to Graciana de Barrenechea, mentioned above.

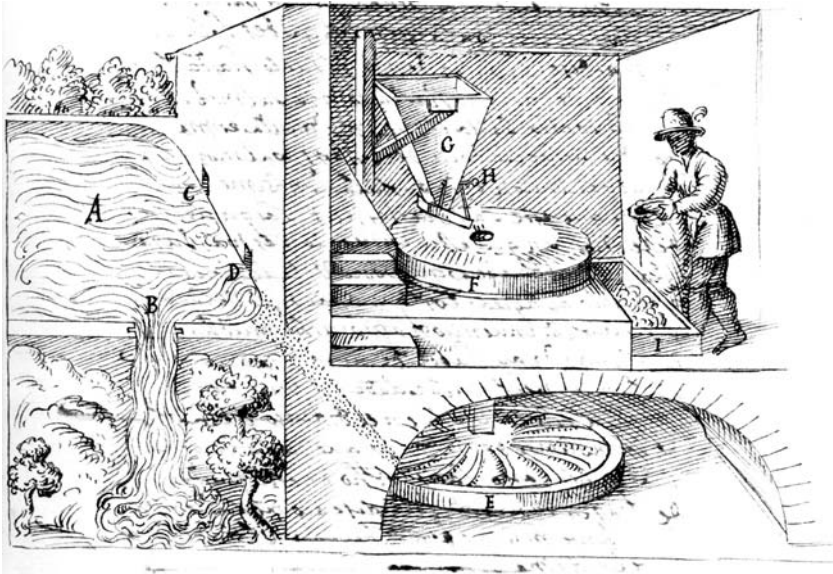


Fig. 14. Watermill with vertical axis. Drawing in 16th century manuscript on mills by Juanelo Turriano. (Biblioteca Nacional)



Fig. 15. Watermill at Zubieta with horizontal wheels. (Photo by author 2004)

the accused and bind them with some ropes. Then they lower them down from the bridge until they touch the water and keep them hanging there for a while. From time to time they slacken the rope so that they sink right to the bottom of the river, and they duck them several times until they are thoroughly exhausted. After ducking them one after another they haul them up and place them anew in the ladder. Then they return with them to the town and make them wander up and down the streets all night to the accompaniment of shouts and cries and lights, while a thousand insults are hurled at the victims (doc. 7, 8v).

Ducking people in the river reminds us of the water ordeal, where the witches were thrown in the water to see if they would sink. Here, however, the swimming test is out of the question, the purpose being to exhaust the witches by ducking them to the bottom of the river several times. Making the witches walk the ladder, on the other hand, seems to have been a new invention, so new that Solarte did not come across it during his visit to Las Cinco Villas in December 1610. It probably originated at the beginning of 1611, and it was recommended as a remedy against the nightly abductions of children, both by the Abbot of Urdax and by the Dean of Santesteban, the licentiate Miguel de Irisarri, who was also an inquisitorial commissioner. One should keep the witches busy all night, they explained to the people, for then they were unable to fetch the children.¹⁰¹ To let the witches "walk the ladder" was a variation of Basque charivari rituals rather than torture in the proper sense of the word. On the other hand, an element of popular amusement appears to have been present whenever the villagers submitted their witches to violence or torture.

WITCHCRAFT AND CHARIVARI. "Charivari" is a ritualized form of popular justice intended to draw public attention to transgression of the moral or social order and thus enforce community standards. Central to all forms of charivari is clamorous noise and the fact that the ritual is carried out by the young men of the community. In connection with the witch persecution in the Navarra mountains the ritual, as will be evident from the following description from Elgorriaga, west of Santesteban, took a very special form. The leader of the collective punishment was the 22-year-old Juanes de Legasa, a rich farmer's son who was married and had children, and who despite his youth was an alderman (*jurado*) for that year. The victims

¹⁰¹ AGN, proceso 506, 158r, 160r, 161r.



Fig. 16a. The bridge at Sumbilla. One of the places where the witches were lowered down to the water and ducked to the bottom of the river.



Fig. 16b. The bridge at Sumbilla, seen from above. (Photos by author 2004)

were two of the village witches: one was a 26-year-old farmer's wife, Juana de Echeverría, married to the owner of the Barrenecheco farm and the mother of two small children; the other was a poor unmarried *moradora* of 30, María, also surnamed Echeverría, who had children by several men in the village. The following is based on the testimony of the two victims in the "inverted witch trial" that the High Court of Navarra initiated a few months later—in the summer of 1611, at the time when Salazar was on his visitation in the area—and which led to the sentencing of Juanes de Legasa and the other alderman of the village, 42-year-old Martín de Ixurrena, to banishment for two years and one year respectively.

On a Tuesday evening at nine in the fourth week of Lent (*i.e.* 15th March) Juana was sitting talking peacefully to her husband when the young alderman and some others forced their way in to them. The pulled her away from her husband and dragged her out in the street, where they took her to the other alderman's house. Outside the gate most of the young males of the village had gathered, and some of them were standing with torches. Three young lads stood guard over a woman who had been lashed into the space between the top rungs of a ladder. This was Maria de Echeverría. The aldermen now ordered a couple of young men to lift the ladder up and tie Juana fast at the other end. "You can't do that to me, I'm no witch," she shouted while she was lashed to the ladder before the eyes of her husband.

Juanes had decided that they were to go to Santesteban and display the witches there. But since the other alderman was holding a christening party, he had to go off alone. Hooting and shouting, the crowd set off. "Giddy up, mules," some of them shouted at the two women who walked in the ladder. When the noisy procession was approaching Santesteban, they were joined by a group of young people who had come to meet them. In the town the alderman walked at the head of the procession and shouted so it echoed through the empty night streets: "Ladies and gentlemen, here you see the witches Juana de Niale and María de Echeverria, two cunning whores. Come to your windows and see them, and if you have something you can do without, just throw it down on their heads!"

Farther along the street he shouted a new bulletin: "Here you see the lady of the Barrenecheco farm. She is an evil and malicious witch. And she has no soul, for she is the Devil's and not God's child. We come with her tied up, for that is the punishment she has deserved. And here you see María de Echeverría, who is a common whore (*puta bellaca*) and an evil witch. They both deserve to be burnt!"

All the while the two women walked with the ladder and moaned with the pain. Now and then they invoked the Virgin Mary: "Oh, Mother of God, protect us!" But every time they did so the alderman struck them with his stick—or got some of the others to do it—for, as the women were told, "If you were under the protection of the Mother of God, you wouldn't be walking here!" To general merriment the women were led by torchlight up and down streets and alleys. All the citizens of the town had to see



Fig. 17. Old street in Santestevan. (Photo by author 2004)

them, and those who lay asleep were woken up so they would not miss the sight.¹⁰²

When the cocks of the town crowed at midnight, the procession went home. Back in Elgorriaga they were joined by others who had been woken by the noise and got up, and now they continued to lead the witches up and down the street, proclaim their wickedness and hit them when they called on the Virgin. "Now you don't need to worry any more about your husband," someone shouted to Juana, "for the two of you are to be burnt, and then he can marry someone else."

At some point during the night the procession made a halt outside a farm, where they were invited in. In the meantime three young lads guarded the witches in the ladder. When the party had been refreshed they all came out again and the alderman now ordered the young men to take the witches to Ituren, a village a few kilometres away in the opposite direction. On their way there the alderman caught up with them. He went up beside Juana and began to speak kindly to her: it was not right for a woman of her class to walk this way, he said, and offered to have her released from the ladder so she could go home to her husband, if only she would confess. But Juana replied that she could not confess to being something she was not. "And now," she continued, "I have tasted death (*tragada la muerte*) and reconciled myself to the fact that I must die at your hands." Nevertheless Juanes had her released from the ladder and told the young men to go back to Elgorriaga with the other witch. He himself stayed behind alone with Maria in the pitch-dark night. When the others were a gunshot away he began to talk lecherously to her and make advances. When she refused him he knocked her down and tried to rape her. But Juana resisted so fiercely that he had to give up the attempt. A little outside Elgorriaga they caught up with the procession. Juanes came up cursing and swearing, Juana red-eyed with weeping and rigid. The alderman ordered the young men to tie her to the ladder again and to release the other witch. Then he sent them off again to Ituren. As soon as he was left alone with Maria, he threw her on the ground without a word and raped her.¹⁰³ On the way towards the others Maria pleaded with him to let her go and reminded him that she had borne him a child. Juanes did not reply, but kept hold of the rope. When they reached the procession he had the young men tie her to the ladder again. Then he told them that it was not day yet, and that they still had time to give the witches a ride "over mountains and stones and wilderness (*por montes y riscos y asperezas*)".¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 3v–4r.

¹⁰³ In the alderman's behaviour towards the two women one can see a link with the sabbat; one of the witnesses for the defence said that it was unthinkable that Juanes, the young alderman, would have dared to touch the two women, who had copulated with the Devil on the sabbat (AGN, proceso 506, 84r).

¹⁰⁴ In a confession from Aranaz, dated 11–8–1611 (case no. 459) it is mentioned that the witches are tied with ropes and dragged over the mountains (*arrastradas por los montes*) (*Volume "F"*, 132v). In both cases the idea might have been to give the witches the same experience as the person in a common witch legend who, before



Fig. 18. Elgorriaga, where they made the witches walk the ladder.
(Photo by author 2004)

When the youths came back from Ituren it was morning and the alderman ordered them to release the two witches from the ladder. Juana was taken home by Juanes and the other alderman of Elgorriaga. On the way they entertained her with the promise that they would settle accounts with her husband the same evening and demand eight *reales* from him for their trouble.

The principal actors in this “charivari” were on the one hand the young alderman of the village, who despite the fact that he was married and had children, seems to have kept his position as the leader of the youths; and on the other hand the three lads of 14, 16 and 20 who guarded the witches in the ladder.¹⁰⁵ The ritual had two functions: to put the witches to shame by displaying them to the whole region, and to prevent them taking the children to the sabbat. They fetched the women at the time when the witches were supposed to go to the sabbat, and they only released them when the witches’ sabbat was over.

Along with the violence, the imprisonments and the torture, there was another factor that encouraged people to make false confessions: exclusion from the Sacraments of the Church. When Solarte arrived at Las Cinco Villas he was immediately informed that the Inquisition had issued strict orders that no one was to hear the confession of any witch. Solarte was surprised by the prohibition against even receiving them and listening to them (doc. 3, 1r), and in fact I have not been able to trace such a prohibition.¹⁰⁶ However, it appears to have been common practice among the parish priests to exclude those who had been denounced as witches and to turn them away from the confessional. The Sacraments, Salazar writes, were denied to all those incriminated in the confessions of the first witches, and the chief concern of everyone discharged during the visitation was therefore to obtain the certificate that would admit them to the Sacraments again (doc. 12.59).

One of the worst examples was the 35-year-old curate in Errazu, at the top of the Baztán Valley, not far from Urdax and Zugarramurdi.

the departure to the sabbat, happens to pronounce the spell wrongly, saying “*under*” instead of “*over* hill and valley” and is therefore taken along the ground over rocks and through bramble thicket.

¹⁰⁵ The three young men appeared as witnesses in the above-mentioned trial, AGN proceso 506, 10v–12v, 13r–16r, 30r–31r. The youngest of them also confessed to being a child-witch.

¹⁰⁶ According to the rules priests were obliged to administer the sacrament of the Confession to all their parishioners (Rodríguez Lucitano 1598, vol. 1, p. 161), however, not to people incurred in excommunication (cf. *ibid.*, 184ff). The witches who did not turn themselves in were banned by the Anathema read out after the Edict of Faith (cf. WA 98–101). This could have been the origin of the “prohibition”, but the Inquisition might as well have given orders by word of mouth.

Don Miguel de Aguirre, as he was called, was from the neighbouring village of Maya.¹⁰⁷ He had a bachelor's degree in theology—from which university is not known. Since around 1605 he had been engaged as the coadjutor of the parish priest of Errazu for the modest payment of ten *ducados* annually plus board and lodging.¹⁰⁸ In the last months of 1610 he started secretly accusing several of his parishioners of witchcraft, either in the confessional or in private. Between September 1610 and May 1611 he personally arranged for the imprisonment of more than twenty people denounced as witches—out of a population of 500 inhabitants—because they denied the charge. And once they were in prison he applied all kinds of pressure to drag confessions out of them. He threatened an 80-year-old woman that when she died she would not be buried in consecrated ground, but in a meadow; and to another woman he said that if she did not confess she would be burned in the village in front of her own house.¹⁰⁹

When Easter approached and the villagers came to confess as required by the Church at this time of year, many of them were turned away by Don Miguel because they had been denounced by the child-witches. This caused a great scandal in the village, especially when Juanes Chipereña, a highly respected peasant, died the same day he had been turned away from the Sacraments of the Church. He was ill, the widow reported afterwards, but nevertheless he got up in the morning and went to the church to confess and receive Holy Communion. But after a while he came back and told her that the priest had said he was a witch and did not want to confess him. The same afternoon Juanes had gone up to a cattle shelter (*borda*) on the mountainside, but while there he suffered a fit. One of the farm hands came down and said that his master had fallen ill, and they sent for the priest. Don Miguel came in great haste to administer Extreme Unction to him, but when he arrived Juanes was already dead. The wife, the family and their friends in the village were convinced, however, that Juanes died of his grief at the rude behaviour of the priest.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ ADN, proceso 242-2, 50r.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 48r.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 16r, 157v.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 34v-35r, 152v-154r, 163v-164r, 199r-v.

The Child-Witches

There is no doubt that the child-witches were the hidden foundation of the great Basque witch-craze. They were by far the most numerous group, yet very little information has been preserved about them. My reconstruction of Salazar's eight-volume visitation book of 5,600 folios (or 13,200 manuscript pages) shows that their 1,384 cases were all in the last volume, while those of the 416 adults and "minors" under 25 (boys over fourteen and girls over twelve) took up the space of the six preceding volumes with about 10,000 pages.¹¹¹ Only the cases of two child-witches have been preserved, because they presented themselves during the visitation of 1611 and recanted their previous confessions. One was a charcoal-burner's daughter from Echalar who had made her first statement in 1609 at the age of nine (WA 137ff); the other was an eleven-year-old girl from Fuenterrabía who had confessed to the inquisitorial commissioner a few months before.¹¹²

In order to discover what went on beneath the surface we must go to other sources. From the Bishop's report we learn that the parish priest¹¹³ of Vera, Lorenzo de Hualde, "summoned" a large number of child-witches from all quarters of the town (doc. 7, 5r). According to Hualde it was the parents themselves who had sent their children to him in the hope that he could provide a remedy (WA 134). But be that as it may, for more than forty days he had the children staying with him in the presbytery with blessed herbs, candles and crucifixes and pictures of Our Lady in their bedrooms to protect them from the witches. During the daytime Hualde worked on the children to make them confess and reveal the names of those who were taking them to the witches' sabbat. "I fetch them from the school," he explains in a letter to the Tribunal, "and take them home to me, where I can ask them my questions." In the same letter, dated 11th January 1610, he reported that the witch-sect of Vera had finally been exposed, as was evident from the appended evidence of children from the age of six to twelve (WA 133ff). Solarte, who visited Vera during the "clearing-up stage" was shocked by the

¹¹¹ Boys under fourteen and girls under twelve were found in Volume "H" of Salazar's visitation book, while volume "B" through "G" contained the minors under twenty-five and the adults (WA 411-436).

¹¹² WA 427, case no. 474.

¹¹³ Venegas refers to him as inquisitorial commissioner, but in 1609 Hualde was still acting without this authority. His appointment must have occurred shortly after 3rd February 1610 (cf. WA 486 n. 121).

methods people employed to drag confessions out of the children. Poor and hungry boys were given good things to eat and drink, so they declared whatever they were required to by those who questioned them. The children who did not want to confess to being witches were placed beside boiling cauldrons or subjected to similar violence. When the child-witches said that they had seen the nephew of the parish priest at the sabbat and he denied the charge, Hualde himself tied the sixteen-year-old boy naked to a bed and thrashed him until he fainted (doc. 3, 1r).

In Lesaca the old parish priest, Domingo de San Paul, who was also commissioner of the Holy Office, made two women coax and threaten the children who did not want to confess. They kept them day and night in closed rooms, and when they came to confess after several days, they repeated everything they had heard about the sabbat from the preachers or from their child companions (doc. 7, 4r).

The most revealing document, however, is the record of the trial of the curate of Errazu at the Bishop's court. It commenced in August 1611 and ended on 21st January the following year when Miguel de Aguirre was sentenced to two months' confinement in Errazu's parish church.¹¹⁴ As in the case of the Elgorriaga trial mentioned above, this was an "inverted witch trial" where the "witches" acted as accusers and their persecutors were the defendants. This trial allows us to reconstruct the craze from the very beginning, when the curate started to preach against the witch sect in his parish, thereby causing a collective nightmare among children and teenagers, who began to dream that they were carried off to the *aquejarre* during the night when they were asleep. The next move, here as in other places, was that the angry parents demanded that action should be taken against the witches, saying that they would otherwise take the law into their own hands and kill the perpetrators. After a meeting of the village council, a deputation headed by the parish priest of Errazu and his curate was sent to Elgorriaga, where the Abbot of Urdax was conducting his investigations. A couple of days later, Fray León presented himself in Errazu, where he examined some of the child-witches and instructed the curate what to do. Shortly after New Year 1611 the village sent a new deputation to Elgorriaga, where Don Miguel obtained Fray León's permission to imprison the notorious witches in the name of the Holy Office.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ ADP, proceso 242-2, 4r, 293r-294r.

¹¹⁵ Testimony of Errazu's *jurado*, Juanes de Iturralde, 8.11.1611 (ADP, proceso

The statements of the prosecutor's witnesses, who had been the victims of the persecution, show us how the curate manipulated the child-witches. He would bring a prisoner to his house and confront him or her with a group of child-witches. "Have you seen me at the sabbat?" he would ask the children, and when they answered no, he would continue to ask them who they had seen there, and the children would point at the accused.¹¹⁶ On other occasions he would gather some child-witches in his house or in the sacristy and question them about who they had seen at the sabbat,¹¹⁷ and if the children named the people he indicated to them as witches, the priest would reward them with pieces of bread or small coins.¹¹⁸ The following statement from a 63-year-old peasant may serve as an example of the priest's interrogation method:

One day last February or March, after the evening prayer (*Salve*) when it was getting dark, the witness was standing at the Stone Bridge (*Puente de Piedra*) with the priest and some boys who act as servers, as well as some women. The witness asked the priest if his wife had to be imprisoned forever, for she said that she was not a witch. The priest answered that she would not get out until she had confessed, for she was certainly a witch and so was the witness. The witness denied it, but the priest repeated the accusation and said that there were witnesses against him. The witness asked who these witnesses were, and the priest sent for Recaldecoa's daughter of seven and the dressmaker's daughter of six, who is godchild to the witness. Once there the priest asked Recaldecoa's daughter—pointing at the witness and placing her so that she could see him—if she knew this man. The little girl answered yes, and being asked who he was, the girl said his name. Then the priest asked her if he used to go where she went, and the girl answered yes. The witness asked the girl to explain where she had seen him, and she answered: "At the *aquejarre*." Finally the priest asked her if this man used to be at the witches' sabbat, and the girl again said yes.

The priest then turned to the witness's godchild and asked her if she knew this man, but the witness broke in and said that of course she knew him, for she was his godchild, and she came on many mornings and had breakfast with them. The little girl confirmed that she knew him. Then the priest asked her if the witness used to be at the *aquejarre*, but the little girl looked down at the ground and said nothing. The priest took hold of her and said that she should not be afraid

242-2, 191r-194r). In the same testimony we find the interesting information that Fray León said that he could not come back to Errazu for the next fortnight, as he had investigations to conduct in Las Cinco Villas (*ibid.* 193r).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 164r-v.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 167r-v.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 131v *et passim*.



Fig. 19. The Stone Bridge in Errazu with the church in the background.
(Photo by author 2004)

to speak out, for the other girl had already said it. So she should just tell the truth and say if he used to be at the *aquelarre*, and the witness also encouraged her to tell the truth. Then the girl said yes, that this man also used to be at the *aquelarre*. “Asking little girls in this way you can get as many witnesses as you like,” said the witness, but the priest assured him that they came to him by themselves without anybody sending for them.¹¹⁹

On closer inspection, the child-witches turn out to be less exotic than at first glance—indeed, they were very similar to the children of our own day, who may also produce strange stories when they are subjected to interrogation. Elsewhere I have drawn attention to the parallels between the historical child-witches and the mass delusions

¹¹⁹ ADP, proceso, 242–2, 158r–159r (Interrogation of Pedro de Echegaray, 31st Oct. 1611). The quote has been slightly edited, and two sequences have been paraphrased. One is: “The priest took hold of her (*tomándole debajo de la falda de la ropa*)”, which literally translates: “The priest pinched/touched her under the garment of her dress”; the other is the witness’ remark: “Asking little girls in this way you can get as many witnesses as you like (*a muchachas de esa manera ese ya tendrá testigos*),” where I feel more sure of the translation.

of Satanic child abuse that swept the western world in the final decades of the 20th century.¹²⁰

Who Were the Accused?

From the preceding analysis of aspects of the phenomenon, we may conclude that people distinguished between active and passive witches, the former being adults and the latter minors. The adult specialized in recruiting new members to the Devil's sect by abducting children and young people while they were asleep in their beds. Theoretically the abduction could only take place if the individual had previously given his or her consent (doc. 2.9; cf. doc. 7, 2v), but in practice it occurred just as often without the victims' consent, as Solarte and later Salazar pointed out (docs. 3, 2v, 12.8). The victims, mostly children, were therefore often referred to as "bewitched".

While many of the adolescent witches were engaged in fetching children, the only activity of the child-witches was tending the herd of toads at the *aquelarre* (doc. 2.I.9). On the whole the child-witches could therefore be characterized as passive, but here too the boundaries were sometimes crossed, so that boys and girls of under fourteen and twelve acted as "child-takers". As the newly appointed commissioner Fray León wrote to the Tribunal from Urdax on 4th October 1610, greatly alarmed: "The evil has now gone so far that we are no longer concerned that there are witches, if only they refrain from bewitching or infecting others." Matters had now gone so far, the letter continued, that even quite small girls had begun taking children to the witches' sabbat; for instance, in her most recent confession, a 13-year-old girl of Urdax admitted having taken two children to the sabbat (WA 204).

From Salazar's reports it appears that no fewer than 1,721 people came forward to avail themselves of the Edict of Grace, while another 81 came to retract their previous statements, thereby exonerating 1,672 people incriminated in their confessions. On the basis of the calculations of the Tribunal, a further 5,000 people were denounced by the 1,721 witches who persisted with their confessions (doc. 13, 25r).¹²¹ The vast majority of these 8,474 confessing or

¹²⁰ Henningsen 1996; cf. La Fontaine 1997. An interesting comparison of the child-witches of the early seventeenth century Basque witchcraft epidemic with the young visionaries during the apparitions at Ezkioga in the 1930s (a sort of Basque Lourdes) has been made by the American historian William A. Christian jr. (1996, 211–213).

¹²¹ A preliminary count of people denounced in 32 cases from the mountains of

denounced “witches” lived in the mountains of Navarra, whose population may be estimated as less than 10,000 (cf. above, p. 40). However, the Tribunal’s figure may be considerably reduced if we realize that their calculation was based on a count of names without any attempt to identify repetitions (*i.e.* when the same person had been denounced several times).¹²²

But even with such a reduction the figures had to seem frightening. In Vera Salazar came across three children who had each denounced over 200 people in their confessions, and in Fuenterrabía he met a hardened beggar-boy of twelve who could not say what his mother was called, but managed to denounce 147 people as witches (doc. 12.65). Of the confessions preserved in Volume “F” of Salazar’s visitation book with the 81 *revocantes* we can see, however, that the average was far below these numbers: some 20 denunciations per confession.

If we ask who the accused were, the answer as far as the child-witches are concerned is that they were children of both sexes and normally from poor families, but there are also examples of children from wealthy homes such as the daughter of the owner of the Echebelz Palace at Errazu.¹²³ The child-witches’ accusations could in theory strike anyone, but in practice the priests and inquisitorial commissioners seem to have functioned as a kind of “guidance system” that dexterously steered the children away from certain names and directed their attention toward other, already accepted subjects, as we have seen in the above.

Navarra preserved in *Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation* resulted in 621, giving an average of 19.4 denunciations per case. Multiplying this average with the 81 cases of *revocantes* brings us to 1,571, a figure pretty close to Salazar’s count for the entire volume “F”, being 1,672. How Salazar reached to the other figure (the 5,000 people denounced by the 1,721 “witches” who did not retract their confessions) is less transparent, for multiplying the 1,721 cases with our average of 19.4 brings us to 33,387 denunciations. However, if we discount the 1,384 child-witches and multiply the remaining 337 cases with the aforesaid average we get the total of 6,538 denunciations which is compatible with Salazar’s “at least five thousand” (doc. 13, 25r).

¹²² As an example we can take the records in *Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation Book* of 12 witches from Zubieta who recanted (case nos. 502, 504–509, 511, 515–518). In their confessions a total of 343 men, women and children in their village are denounced as accomplices. But many of the names are repeated in two or more confessions, so the actual number of people suspected of witchcraft must have been much lower. The exact number, however, is difficult to establish, because of inconsistencies in the naming of the same individuals. According to a taxation list from 1627 there were only about 265 inhabitants (54 *vecinos*) in Zubieta (AGN, Comptos, Valoraciones, legajo 23, 1r–7r).

¹²³ ADP, proceso 242–2, 229v.

As for the other group, the adult witches, the problem awaits further investigation, but random samples from the material suggest that the following three categories were particularly exposed during a witch-hunt: those who were already suspected of bewitching their neighbours; those who were descended from or had married into a witch family; and those who were poor. The more people the accused felt pressurized to denounce, the more it affected the last group, for, as was said quite explicitly in a statement, these were “such poor and simple folk that you could call them witches to their faces” (WA 281).

The Interpretation of Witchcraft

The Philosophical Context

Realism, observation and specific experiments were features of Spanish science in the sixteenth century. The historian of philosophy José Antonio Maravall goes to far as to speak of a proto-rationalist feeling that characterized sixteenth-century Spain, and was related to the discovery of America. “Historians, cosmographers, physicians, writers in widely differing technical areas, indeed even mystics, placed great emphasis on the authority of personal experience. In order to achieve this they, or at any rate many of them, were favoured by a very special circumstance: the need to give an account of what had been seen and what had happened in America without having classical models to rely on”.¹²⁴ In the work of the physician and philosopher Francisco de Valles we find the following radical re-orientation of the hierarchy of knowledge. There are, he says, three paths to truth: the most important is constituted by the judgement of the senses and experience; the second is that of reason; only in third place does the authority come that must be granted to *los doctores* (i.e. Augustine, Aquinas and other authorities of the Church).¹²⁵

Scientific development was also influenced by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536). In the decades up to the Reformation Spain was one of the places where people were inspired in earnest by the great

¹²⁴ Maravall 1966, 462.

¹²⁵ The originator of this inversion of the hierarchies was not Francisco de Valles, but one of his physician colleagues, Doctor Pereiro (Maravall 1966, 467f).

humanist. Alfonso Manrique, who was Inquisitor General in 1523–1538, and as such was behind the remarkable instructions on witches of 1526, was a great admirer of Erasmus, and when it became dangerous to think along those lines after Luther's break with Rome he did whatever was in his power to protect the Spanish Erasmists. Although Erasmus' works were in time banned in Spain, his critical method was of lasting importance to the neo-Scholastic current developed at Spanish universities (the Salamanca school). The philosopher Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620) is proof that until as late as the 1600s a Spanish humanism existed.¹²⁶

The philosophical criticism and basic sceptical attitude that characterizes the witches' advocates we will review in the following are precisely the features that distinguish them from orthodox Spanish theologians such as Pedro Ciruelo, Domingo de Soto, Francisco de Vitoria and Martín del Río, to mention the most important figures. But this should not lead us into proclaiming these sceptics rationalists. The epistemological basis for both groups was still medieval scholasticism. Faith and reason cooperate in recognition of truth, so there can be no conflict between them. In the event of discrepancies, which can only be apparent, reason must always yield to faith.¹²⁷ “*Salvo tamen dignissima correctione*” Salazar writes at the end of one of his reports (doc. 13.8), a standard phrase with which one always bowed to the authority of the Church.

The Two Epistemologies

The documents in the present edition bear witness to two almost diametrically opposed approaches to the phenomenon of witchcraft. On the one hand we have the dogmatic and deductive approach where any statement or act reported by the defendants or their accusers is interpreted in the light of what the authors already know the Devil and his witches are capable of doing. On the other hand we have the pragmatic and inductive approach where the authorities of the Church are left out of account and the only thing that matters is what can be empirically observed and verified. In his analysis of witchcraft theory in Early Modern Europe the English

¹²⁶ Gómez Canseco 1993. On Erasmus' view of witch-belief and his influence on Weyer, see Trevor Roper 1967, 129f, 146.

¹²⁷ Gómez Canseco 1993, 175.

historian Stuart Clark says that the orthodox demonologists who believed in witch persecution were in possession of as much scepticism as the critics of the persecution, and that among the latter one can find as many demonological arguments as in the advocates of persecution.¹²⁸ This description is incompatible with what has just been said about the two approaches. We cannot therefore avoid a review of the demonological arguments in the texts of the selection—all the more so as Clark, in his sophisticated analysis, also has something to say about the epistemology of our main author.

Properly speaking, only two of the selected texts can be said to argue on a demonological basis. These are the Logroño inquisitors' letter to Philip III with the appended report on the witches who are to be sentenced at the approaching *auto de fe* (docs. 1–2). The authors were the Tribunal's two senior inquisitors Becerra and Valle; that Salazar was a *cosignatory* was a formality. In the whole demonological literature it would be difficult to find a more detailed description of the witches' rituals than we find here.¹²⁹ The report leaves the impression that the accused were greatly manipulated during the interrogations to make their confessions and testimony conform to the theological views of the period, as expressed for example by Martín del Río: mankind has free will, so no one can be taken to the sabbat without prior consent; the Devil and his associates are so afraid of God that the very fact of someone mentioning the name of Jesus is enough to dissolve the witch-gathering; the Devil cannot make the Sign of the Cross, but must be content to make some strange squiggles in the air when he is to give the witches his "blessing" (doc. 2.I.11).

The world of the witches was quite different from that of the Christians, but was relatively easy to describe, since everything followed fixed rules and principles. In the first place there was the contrariety principle: the cult of the Devil instead of Christianity, night instead of day, left instead of right, etc. In the second place there was the inversion principle: beauty becomes ugliness, sins become virtues and virtues sins (in their confessions to the Devil the witches ask for absolution for all the good deeds they have accidentally done). In the third place there was the imitation principle: the Devil is "the

¹²⁸ Clark 1996, 195ff.

¹²⁹ Note on the longer report to the Duke of Lerma (WA).

ape of God”, and the witches’ Black Mass is therefore throughout a parody of the Roman Catholic High Mass (doc. 2.I.24).

The world of the witches was further defined by the boundaries that God had imposed on the capabilities of the Devil. The Devil must stay within the laws of nature; he cannot perform miracles, for that is the privilege of God alone. Nor does the Devil have any creative power, so he must be content to perform trickery and illusions. This is why the money that the witch receives from the Devil afterwards becomes nothing; and the food on the tables laid for the sabbat vanishes into thin air when one raises it to one’s mouth. On the other hand the Devil, because of his originally angelic nature, possesses superhuman intelligence: he knows all the secrets of nature and is a master of illusion. Thus he can also with great ease produce false images of innocent people so that they can be seen by others at the witches’ sabbat, or he can give a demon the shape of a witch to act as her substitute, while the woman is away from home to wait on the Devil.

It was not mere rhetoric when the inquisitors, in their letter to King Philip III, declared themselves ready to die in the struggle against the Devil (doc. 1)—at least not for Becerra and Valle. They felt that they were up against the forces of darkness. In a letter to *la Suprema* earlier in the year the two inquisitors had stated that one could not cope with the Devil if the ordinary requirements of evidence were to be maintained:

We are greatly hampered by the fact that our actions can necessarily only be carried out under the regulations of the Inquisition. Since the Devil knows the rules he is doing everything he can to hinder us; first and foremost by ensuring that the witnesses’ statements [which come into the hands of the Tribunal] are so incomplete that they do not meet with the requirements of the Inquisition (WA 137).

In view of the secret nature of witchcraft, Becerra and Valle felt that less evidence should be required to indict the offenders (doc. 14.5.5).

That the lack of evidence might be related to the possible non-existence of a witch sect was an idea they rejected completely. The existence of the sect could not be doubted. Against those who though the opposite Valle had nothing but snorts of contempt, as exemplified by a letter he sent to the ally of the two colleagues, the Archbishop of Burgos:

I cannot understand how any sensible and intelligent person can cast doubt on this truth. People have known about the sect for centuries in all adjacent countries, and its members have been punished with the greatest severity . . . It is therefore impossible to comprehend how anyone dares challenge these facts and misrepresent the truth that has been absolutely acknowledged by all the scholars in Christendom (WA 330).

In other words Valle and Becerra were exponents of the deductive method. They saw all the witness statements as confirmation of a truth they already knew. For them the empirical investigation was secondary, since they knew that the Devil was at work everywhere and removed the proofs from under their very noses. These two inquisitors in no way correspond to Stuart Clark's characterization of the orthodox demonologists. In Valle and Becerra we find none of the scepticism and critical sense that the advocates of witch persecutions displayed according to him. They are both the very epitome of the prejudiced judge who right from the outset feels convinced of the guilt of the accused, and therefore only awaits the confession.

As a corollary Clark thinks, as mentioned above, that in the critics of the witch persecution one can find just as many demonological arguments as among the orthodox demonologists. So let us see whether this description fits the other authors in the selection, How much do they mention the Devil, and in what way is demonology involved in their arguments?

The Jesuit Solarte only touches on the Devil twice. "Since the Devil is the Father of Lies¹³⁰ it is possible that the witnesses lie to us," he says at one point. But this has an almost purely rhetorical function as a preamble to the problem that really preoccupies him, and is about the children and adults who have made false confessions and denounced others: did they lie to the authorities or to him? Solarte thought the former was true, because "the witches" had made their confessions to the authorities under pressure, and had served the same stories up to him at the beginning. But afterwards, when he had lovingly urged them to tell the truth for the sake of their salvation, and assured them that no living soul would be told, they had

¹³⁰ Cf. John 8.44: "Sois de [vuestro] padre el diablo . . . Cuando habla mentira, habla de su propia naturaleza, porque es mentiroso y el padre de la mentira" (courtesy by José Antonio Yoldi S.J.).

confessed, admitting that they had lied about themselves and all those they had incriminated (doc. 3, 2v).

At another point Solarte resorts to demonology to demonstrate that the witches he is speaking of are of a quite different category from those the Inquisition has sentenced at the auto de fe. The witches from Zugarramurdi respected the cross and holy water and took no one to the sabbat without first obtaining their consent. The new witches, on the other hand, care nothing for the sacred symbols of the Church and simply carry people off to their gatherings without asking them first. In other words they do not correspond at all to the description that the Church and its theologians give of witches. Here the demonological argument has the character of a purely diplomatic manoeuvre, meant to safeguard the Jesuit against any accusation of having opposed or criticized the Holy Office: there were two different kinds of witches, and those in Las Cinco Villas had nothing to do with those that the Inquisition had sentenced in Logroño.

Apart from the items mentioned above, Solarte's reports are quite free of demonology. He gives a deeply committed but objective account of his observations and of everything that has happened to him on his journey to de five witch-panicked townships up in the Pyrenees.

The Bishop of Pamplona, Don Antonio Venegas y Figueroa, seems to have taken a sceptical attitude to the Inquisition's witch-hunt from the beginning. "I have always held it to be certain that there is much of falsehood and fraud in this affair," he writes to the Inquisitor General (doc. 5, 2r). On his journey of visitation through the panicked areas he takes a quite anthropological approach and asks when it was first rumoured that there were witches among them. The answer every time is that it was not until a few years ago when there were witch-burnings on the other side of the border, twenty kilometres inside France.

On the basis of this information the Bishop develops his theory of the origins of the witch-craze. It most of all recalls modern explanations based on communication theory. People have learned about the witch sect in three ways: in the first place from accounts by people who have attended the trial in France; in the second place from ordinary village gossip; and in the third place from the indoctrination that has come from the pulpits. In particular, the parish priest

of Vera had gained insight into the mysteries of witchcraft, since he had been involved as an interpreter in the French witch-trials.¹³¹ “As a result of all this everyone—boys and girls, youths and maidens, married people and old people, indeed every member of the family, without being witches—knew by heart like a Hail Mary the entire art of witchcraft,” concludes Venegas (doc. 7, 3v).

The remainder of the report is about how the mass hysteria surrounding the bewitched children has spread, and the parents, assisted by local figures of authority with persuasion and promises, violence and threats, imprisonment and torture, have coerced the many witchcraft confessions. Beyond a few rhetorical phrases in the letters to the Inquisitor General there is nothing demonological in the Bishop’s text. He argues wholly from a rational basis, and his scepticism is expressed in the ironic and sarcastic undertones of the style. The irony becomes particularly pronounced in his discussion of the priests’ witch sermons, especially in the section about the various “occupations” of the witches:

some are to fetch children (*portatarios*), others to act as stewards, others to skin toads (*descolchadores de sapos*), others to make sauces with toads, herbs, snakes and other filthy creatures, others to sprinkle poison over the wheat and every kind of crop, others to slay men with poison, others to render them impotent, others to inflict illnesses such as colic and similar infirmities (doc. 7, 3v).

The words *portatarios* and *descolchadores* simply do not exist in Castilian, so they are probably the Bishop’s own coinages. An account of the witch-belief bordering on the humorous was at this time unparalleled in the literature, for this was three weeks before Pedro de Valencia’s document and two years before the appearance of Cervantes’ *Novelas Ejemplares* with “El coloquio de los perros”.

In Salazar we find some of the same humour, especially in his second report with a description of the witches’ fantastic world, from which the author clearly dissociates himself with his little ironic remarks: “and—what is more—neither did they get wet, even if it was raining or snowing”; “But this is nothing compared to . . .”; “If

¹³¹ In his book on the witch-hunt in Pays de Labourd Pierre de Lancre eventually refers to a secular priest who presented himself to him to serve as a Basque interpreter and to explain the statements of the witnesses and the hearings of the witches, but he does not tell us his name (Lancre 1613, 407f, 414f).

it is remarkable that . . . it is still more a cause for wonder that . . .”; “Even if we leave aside this incongruity, we are faced with another yet greater”; “After the recounted cases we come across even stranger narratives” (doc. 12.4–8).

Could Salazar have read Venegas’ report and thus have been infected by his humour? It is by no means improbable, since two of the Bishop’s most original views recur in his writings. Venegas’ basic view of the witch-belief as a new phenomenon among the Basques reappears in Salazar’s famous conclusion that “there were neither witches nor bewitched in a village until they were talked and written about” (doc. 12.71). The Bishop’s second opinion, that the panic had arisen as a result of rumours and propaganda, is expressed in the following passage in Salazar:

The only basis for this rumour-mongering appears to be the punishment of witches at the auto de fe celebrated in Logroño, the Edict of Grace and the fact that an inquisitor has set out to visit so many places. All of which apparently provides a reason for everything to be immediately thought of as witchcraft. This grows at every telling and today in fact there is no fainting-fit, illness, death or accident that is not attributed to witches (doc. 12.67).

When Salazar broke his journey on his way to the Pyrenees in Pamplona and paid the Bishop a courtesy visit, Venegas had long since sent the Inquisitor General his report on the violence and assaults in the witch-panicked part of his diocese. But just as he let Solarte read the report, Salazar was perhaps also allowed to read it; at all events we can be sure that the Bishop thoroughly familiarized him with the situation.

Side by side with the administration of the witch amnesty, Salazar had been given several tasks on his visitation journey. One of them was to establish whether the sabbat was a reality or something the witches fantasized. *La Suprema*’s instructions included both a questionnaire and instructions for an experiment to be conducted in this connection (doc. 10.13). The detailed form of the investigations was left to the travelling inquisitor, so let us try to get an impression of Salazar’s method.

The experiment with cross-examination of people from one and the same alleged witches’ sabbat was conducted in nine different villages. In each place, Salazar selected four respondents among the most intelligent of the men and women who had already made their confessions in order to benefit from the witch amnesty. Each was

taken in the greatest secrecy out to the place where the witches' gatherings were alleged to have been held. There they were asked to point out the place in more detail and to show where the Devil's throne normally stood, where the witches' cauldron had been placed, and where the eating, dancing and other activities took place. Afterwards the reports with the replies of the four respondents were compared. Only in two of the experiments did the replies agree, but according to Salazar this was in both cases because information had been given out so that the respondents had been able to agree in advance on what they would answer. In the rest of the experiments the respondents contradicted one another (doc. 12.49; cf. WA 295–7). The experiment, which is unparalleled in the history of witchcraft, thus militated strongly against the witch-meetings ever having taken place in reality.

In accordance with his instructions Salazar also had experiments conducted with the witch powders and flying ointments that came to light. A total of 22 jars were investigated by physicians and apothecaries, and tested on animals; indeed, even eaten by an elderly woman. The content of the jars turned out in all cases to be quite harmless, and when Salazar pressed the owners hard, the witch ointment turned out every time to be “false, faked and fraudulent”, as Salazar puts it, just something “the witches” had stirred together to satisfy their persecutors (doc. 12.50; cf. WA 297–300).

Only in very few cases were the actions of the witches empirically verifiable, as they were here. Most of their activities—in the air, at the sabbat or during nocturnal excursions with the Devil—took place in another world to which only the witches had access. All the actions of which the witches could give an account are called by Salazar, with a term taken from the Inquisition's evidentiary theory, *actos positivos*.¹³² However, he uses the term with two different meanings: partly of “any . . . act of witchcraft such as apostasy or denial of God, or the recognition of the Devil as Lord” (doc. 12.57); and partly of an action that has been witnessed “through statements leaving no room for doubt, from people who are not themselves witches” (doc. 14.24). In most cases Salazar uses the term in the latter sense, that is of “a

¹³² *Actos positivos* were particularly used in connection with the so-called *pruebas de limpieza de sangre* or ‘tests of the pureness of the blood’, submitted by applicants for posts in the Holy Office. But Salazar apparently adapted it as a technical term in his discussion of evidence.

proven fact” (*un acto positivo comprobado*). For anything to be considered proven, it was necessary that two people had both been present and seen or heard the same thing. The old legal rule that “one witness is no witness” was also maintained by the Inquisition, which in the questioning of witnesses always asked the names of “co-witnesses” (*testigos contestes*), that is people who could confirm the statement of the first witness. If no such person could be found, the first witness was called a “single witness” (*testigo singular*). The problem with almost any act of witchcraft was, according to Salazar, that only the witch himself or herself had witnessed it “and even if there are many to affirm it, all of them bear witness as single individuals” (doc. 12.53). In addition there was the fact that the witches, as accomplices (*complices*) in the same crime, were not reliable witnesses if their statements were not “corroborated by outside witnesses or by circumstances and arguments which would back up the claims of the accomplices” (doc. 14.27).

But how could one prove anything at all in these circumstances? To get out of this dilemma Salazar chose to concentrate on the witch stories that had a dual setting, referring both to things in this and the other world. In his analysis of the witches’ testimony he now followed a sophisticated schema which in all probability he invented himself. Salazar’s paradigm consists of four bipolar pairs of concepts:

inside (<i>allá dentro</i>)	:	outside (<i>acá fuera</i>)
invisible (<i>invisible</i>)	:	visible (<i>visible</i>)
fictive (<i>fingido</i>)	:	real (<i>real</i>)
sleeping (<i>durmiendo</i>)	:	awake (<i>despierto</i>) ¹³³

With these eight possibilities he was able to deal with the witches’ confessions in purely phenomenological terms without having to make any decision on the content. He could allow the witches to say what they wanted and attempt to understand what they were trying to explain to him, for he was not bound by any preconceived opinions about what the Devil and his witches were capable of, or not capable of. Only when the person had told his or her strange story did Salazar begin with his questions. A 70-year-old man confessed that

¹³³ Cf. Carmelo Lisón Tolosano’s exposure along the same lines (1992, chap. 11).

outside the sabbat he lived “in sin” with a particular woman who was also a witch, and that they both frequented the same sabbat. Salazar asked whether they also met and spoke together *inside* the sabbat. The man answered that “although both partners saw each other in the crowd, they never spoke to one another, nor exchanged a single word about their illicit relationship” (doc. 12.10). Another old man said that *inside* the sabbat he would have sexual intercourse with a woman he knew. Salazar asked if they spoke about their relationship when they met on normal days *outside* the sabbat. The old man answered that this was never the case (doc. 12.10).

The opposition *invisible/visible* can be found for example in the accounts of the many attempts that had been made on Salazar’s life according to the witches. Four young girls spoke of how a death sentence had been passed on Salazar at their sabbat. In order to execute the judgement the witches had come flying through the air one and a half miles from their meeting-place to Santesteban, where the Inquisitor was pursuing his inquiries. More than forty male and female witches were said to have come into the temporary courtroom. But when the four girls were cross-examined they were caught in contradictions, “as so often happens,” adds Salazar sarcastically, “since the very effort to make such an extraordinary lie sound convincing confounds itself. For all of us happened to be present in the room, and it was so low, so small, and so narrow that with the altar for the celebration of Mass and the table for the Tribunal there was scarcely space left for anyone.” The same girls told him how on the night of the Feast of St. James (25th July) they had broken into Salazar’s bedroom and had poured witch powder down his throat as he slept. But on this Salazar remarks ironically that it was no wonder that he noticed nothing, for he felt nothing either when the Devil and his witches on another occasion entered the courtroom in broad daylight, tied him to the judge’s seat and set fire to both him and the seat (doc. 12.16).

The third opposition, *fictive/real* can be exemplified by the following: a 17-year-old girl confessed that on one occasion when she had sexual intercourse with the Devil, which drew much blood from her, she saw it gush forth and spill on the ground. The next day when she returned out of curiosity to the spot to see where the blood had been spilt, she found no stain nor any vestige to show that it had ever fallen there (doc. 12.31). Of some young girls who claimed to have fornicated with the Devil, Salazar says they were all examined

by midwives, who found their hymens intact (doc. 12.32). While Salazar was in Zugarramurdi two young girls confessed that the night before their interrogation they had been to a great witches' sabbat with dancing and merriment in a field outside the village near a cross. To investigate the truth of their claim Salazar immediately went out to the cross with a large following, but when they reached it they could all see that the grass was fresh and untrodden without the least sign that anyone had gathered there the preceding night (doc. 12.42). On one occasion Salazar even succeeded in stealing a march on the witches. This happened when he was in Santesteban. On Midsummer Eve he sent his two inquisitorial secretaries outside the town to keep watch at a particular place where the witches were thought to gather on that night. During the following days a large number of small boys and girls confessed that they had been to a huge sabbat on Midsummer Eve at the place. But Salazar was able to reject their stories as pure fiction, for his secretaries had been out there all night without observing the least thing (doc. 12.33).

The fourth and last opposition—*sleeping/awake*—can be illustrated by the confession of the 14-year-old Martín from Vera, who shared a bed with his uncle. According to the boy the two had come to an agreement that Martín would inform his uncle when he came back from the witches' sabbat, for they usually brought him back awake. Salazar got hold of the boy's uncle, but when the latter was asked he replied that "for all his foresight and despite the fact that they shared the same bed, he had never noticed anything. On the contrary, on several occasions when he saw the nephew asleep at his side he woke him up, whereupon the boy said he had just at that very moment returned awake from the sabbat" (doc. 12.38). The conclusion was clear: the boy must have dreamt that he was awake! Salazar never stopped until he had thoroughly mapped a situation with all the necessary details.

The only witches' actions that could be proven were those that had taken place *outside* the sabbat—*actos exteriores*, as Salazar calls them—and to which ordinary people could thus relate. A long chapter bears the heading "On the *actos positivos* or external proofs which we have endeavoured to substantiate" (doc. 12, Chap. iii). But the endeavours all produced a negative result. The conclusion at which Salazar arrived after his great investigation could not have been more radical:

I have not found a single proof, nor even the slightest indication, from which to infer that an act of witchcraft has actually taken place, whether sabbat journeys, participation in the *aquejarre*, damage done or any other of the recounted effects (doc. 12.69).

In his discourse to the Inquisitor General, Pedro de Valencia had argued that attendance at sabbats could neither be proved nor disproved: the guilty could always exonerate themselves, while the innocent could never establish their alibis. We find the same arguments from Salazar in his Second Report to the Inquisitor General:

For if we accept the truth of the semblances and metamorphoses which the witnesses claim that the Devil has effected, the trustworthiness of the witnesses' statements has been vitiated in advance. That is to say, first the Devil wants to mislead us into thinking that the body of the witch, who is apparently present before the witness, is a counterfeit of the real person who has gone in the meantime to attend the sabbat. Secondly, that witches can pass in front of and approach the witnesses, being invisible when they thus pass through the air before them. In both cases the witness is deprived of the ability to discern the truth, if he relies, as he ought, solely on what he can perceive by his senses (doc. 12.52).

The interesting parallel between Valencia and Salazar has been pointed out by Stuart Clark in his work. But I cannot agree with him when after quoting the above he claims that Salazar "made it his epistemological centrepiece".¹³⁴ For, as we have just seen, it was precisely the Spanish inquisitor who succeeded in breaking the vicious circle of demonology and refuting the alleged participation of the witches in the sabbat. If one reads the quotation in context, in fact, one sees that Salazar does not take his own argument seriously, for already in the next sentence he says: "These arguments of course become superfluous if one accepts the first explanation dealt with in article I [doc. 12.9], namely, that only the witch is lying" (doc. 12.52).

That Salazar sometimes makes observations about the capabilities of the Devil does not justify us in simply calling him a demonologist. As will be evident from a reading of the texts, his demonological remarks can easily be taken out of his presentation without the argument falling apart. This is exactly what distinguishes Salazar from Johann Weyer, Friedrich von Spee and other famous "witches'

¹³⁴ Clark 1997, 173f.

advocates”, in whose work demonology is integrated in a quite different way.

Demonology seems on the whole to have interested Salazar very little, as we also saw in the description of his book collection (above, p. 9). In the exceptional cases when he touches on the subject, it may be because he is paying lip service to his colleagues, as in the following quote:

It is not very helpful to keep asserting that the Devil is capable of doing this or that, simply repeating over and over again to little purpose the theory of his angelic nature. Nor is it useful to keep saying that the learned doctors [of Theology] state that the existence of witchcraft is certain. This is only a needless annoyance, since no one doubts this . . . The real question is: are we to believe that witchcraft occurred in a given situation simply because of what the witches claim? It is clear that the witches are not to be believed and that judges should not pass sentence on anyone, unless the case can be proven by external and objective evidence sufficient to convince everyone who hears it (doc. 14.29).

Or he may do so for tactical reasons, because he wants to take on his opponents on their home ground:

My colleagues are wasting their time in maintaining that the more theoretical and complex aspects of this can be properly understood only by the witches, since in the event witchcraft has to be dealt with by judges who are not members of the sect (doc. 14.28).

In other words Salazar thought that the demonological aspect was *irrelevant* to the discussion of the specific cases of witchcraft. His whole proto-rationalist method rested on this assumption. If one can at all speak of an epistemological centrepiece for Salazar, this must be it.

Salazar proposed one of his most original ideas in the discussion of the judges’ assessment of the evidence, where, viewed with modern eyes, he advocated sheer value-nihilism. His argument was that there was no objective method of judging the greater or lesser credibility of the people who made confessions—*confitentes*, as they were called in the Inquisition’s jargon.

In order to resolve the contradictions which emerge from the confessions, my colleagues divide the defendants into three categories:¹³⁵ good,

¹³⁵ Cf. doc. 15.6 with n. 3, from which it appears that Salazar in the first version of his paper, the “Logroño version” operated with only two categories: good and bad *confitentes*.

bad, and indifferent *confitentes*. However, we have no method or rule which allows us to evaluate each confession other than the arbitrary one that they have used and refer to in the same paper. Thus the name of bad *confitente* is given to someone whom another [judge] might call good, and vice versa. Unless we were all to agree in the first place to call one good and another bad, the following is the inevitable result: whereas before we were arguing over one point alone [namely the statements of the witches], we now fall to discussing another point introduced by my colleagues [namely, who are good and who are bad informants]. Hence once more, they fall back from the doubtful to the completely uncertain by arrogating to themselves the capacity to distinguish between good and bad *confitentes* (doc. 15.6).

As for the assessment of the witnesses' statements, Salazar must in general be said to have had the best qualifications after interrogating hundreds of witches on his visitation. One could almost say that he had *interviewed* them, for in his way of questioning his respondents Salazar used a sophisticated combination of dialogue, observation and empathy. The Spanish anthropologist Carmelo Lisón Tolosana has given the following intuitive description of Salazar's method: his behaviour recalls that of the anthropologist. He observes, listens, discusses, reflects on and weighs the other's views; he tries to reach beyond his own mental horizon and to penetrate into the other's . . . in order to understand what the problem is, both on his own and on the other's terms; all so he can imaginatively formulate new and pertinent questions.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Lisón Tolosano 1992, 169.

PART TWO
THE DOCUMENTS



Fig. 20. Delinquents and effigies conducted to an auto de fe. Each papier-maché effigy is carried on a long pole followed by the coffin with the bones of the deceased.
Engraving by Adriaan Schoonebeek, 1683

CHAPTER ONE

THE DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT

Introduction

The year is 1610, the place Logroño, principal city of the wine-growing district Rioja, where the Inquisition for the Basque provinces has its seat. For almost two years the inquisitors have been working to expose secret witch covens in the Pyrenees, offshoots of the sect of the Devil that they are unravelling among the Basques on the other side of the border. In France many have already been burnt. In Spain the Holy Office is ready for its first auto de fe, where the judgements on 31 Basque witches are to be pronounced, before each is punished as he or she deserves. So far the trial has taken place, as is the custom of the Inquisition, in the deepest secrecy, and the interrogations of the accused, who are in solitary confinement, have been conducted behind closed doors.

Amidst the preparations the Tribunal has received an enquiry from the King about the date of the auto de fe. Philip III is visiting the Duke of Lerma,¹ only a day's journey away, so this is interpreted as a sign that the King wishes to honour the Tribunal with his presence. Later it is learned that His Majesty has been prevented. In their disappointment the inquisitors have decided to send the King a report on the auto de fe, so that His Majesty can at least *read* about it.

The accompanying letter (our document 1) is couched in humble phrases and signed by the three inquisitors, who boldly declare their readiness to offer their lives in the struggle against the Devil's sect. The report (doc. 2) begins with an account of the circumstances that have led to the exposure of the secret sect. The loathsome rituals of the witches are described, and finally there follows a list of the 31 people who are to be sentenced at the auto de fe.

¹ The Duke of Lerma, Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas (c. 1550–1625), Philip III's First Minister, was a nephew to the Inquisitor General (Goñi Gaztambide 1985, 556).

The first eighteen have been found worthy of pardon, since they have repented and confessed their evil deeds. In accordance with the normal practice of the Inquisition the judgement is *reconciliación* (*i.e.* readmission to the Church) but with confiscation of property as well as imprisonment or banishment for a specified period. In addition, for a certain number of years they are to wear a special penitential garment (*sambenito*), which they have in fact already been wearing during the auto de fe. Yet the inquisitors will make an exception of their star witness, the young peasant woman María de Jureteguía (no. 9 on the list). Like the majority of the accused, she is from Zugarramurdi, a village on the northern side of the Pyrenees by the French border. As a reward for immediately confessing and testifying against her own relatives, she is already to be released from her *sambenito* at the auto de fe, and may be content with performing “salutary penances”.

Eleven of the accused are to be sentenced to burning at the stake. Five of them must be burnt in effigy, as they have died in prison during one of the recurrent typhoid epidemics. The Tribunal has carefully preserved their earthly remains for the occasion so that the coffins can be burnt with the papier-maché figures of each (nos. 19–23). The four denied the charges to the end, but the fifth, an old spinster from Renteria (no. 19), had confessed. Normally the Inquisition pardoned those who confessed and repented their heresy, but María de Zozaya, as she was called, was sentenced to the stake in effigy because she had been a notorious proselytizer for the witches’ sect and led many young people into perdition. The other six, who are to be burnt alive, have denied their guilt to the end. They are sentenced to the stake as “stubborn deniers”, as the Inquisition’s jargon has it (nos. 24–29).

Hitherto there has been doubt among the learned Spaniards as to whether there really existed a witch sect, or if it was just something people had dreamed up. But with this trial the doubt has now once and for all been cleared away, for eighteen of the members of the sect have voluntarily made confessions and described the rituals of the witches in detail. Their testimony against those of their co-conspirators who deny their guilt has been sufficiently convincing for the Inquisition Council in Madrid to confirm the Tribunal’s death sentences. As for the two clerical witches (nos. 30 and 31) whom the Tribunal has also sentenced to the stake, but whom the Inquisitor General has pardoned, the Council has not yet come to any deci-

sion on sentencing. The Tribunal has therefore had to leave a space blank so they can enter the decision on these cases at the last moment.

Alongside the big witch trial the Tribunal had concluded 21 of the normal heresy cases, cases of Judaism, Mohammedanism and Lutheranism, “heretical propositions”, and “impersonation of the Holy Office”. These twenty-one delinquents were to be sentenced together with the witches, but none of them was to receive the death penalty.

The auto de fe was finally held on 7th–8th November 1610, a Sunday and a Monday. But on the “platform of the delinquents” only 29 witches could be counted, for at the last moment it was decided that the two clerics, to avoid a scandal, were to have their sentences pronounced in the courtroom of the Tribunal behind closed doors.

Properly speaking it was Salazar who had saved them from the stake. During the voting he was the only man to vote that all eight deniers should be interrogated under torture (this being their only hope of survival). The hung vote was then sent to Madrid, where Salazar’s old principal Don Bernardo and his eight-man council were still only prepared to indulge the youngest inquisitor on the Tribunal by giving the monk and the priest the chance to prove their innocence this way—which they both managed to do by enduring the torture. However, the mothers of the monk and priest and the other four people sentenced to death had not been given this chance (WA 170ff, 194).

Salazar was also instrumental in ensuring that the letter with the auto de fe report never reached the King. He insisted that it should follow the chain of command and go first to *la Suprema*. This high body decided that there was no reason to send the letter on. It went into the archives of the Council and the inquisitors were reprimanded: they could have spared themselves the trouble, as it was quite unheard of to produce auto de fe reports in advance (WA 175).

Yet outwardly the inquisitors appeared to be a unanimous tribunal. With the reading of the sentence, which was attended by 30,000 people from large parts of northern Spain, there was no longer any doubt that the Devil’s Sect was a reality. “Having listened to so many ghastly monstrosities for the space of two whole days,” wrote one of the spectators, “we all returned to our several homes, crossing ourselves the while” (WA 193). In the course of the next few months the witch hysteria was to spread and grow to hitherto unheard-of heights.

1. *Letter from the Inquisitors to Philip III*
 (Logroño, 31st October 1610)¹

†

Sir,

We, the servants and clergymen engaged by Your Majesty in the cases concerning the Holy Catholic Faith in the Inquisition of Logroño, have undertaken this year to discover and ascertain the great evils the Devil is attempting to introduce into these Catholic kingdoms of Your Majesty by means of a detestable sect of witches. The sect, although of long standing in the mountains of the Pyrenees, has recently been spreading throughout various parts of the district. We now send Your Majesty a very small sample of the many iniquities we are at present discovering from the evidence provided by the members of the sect, and we include a summary account of the persons we shall bring forth at the auto de fe, to be held on Sunday the 7th of November.

We humbly lay our labours at your feet so that Your Most Catholic Majesty will take pity on these your wretched subjects and will be pleased to foster the spirit with which the Holy Office is striving to discharge the task committed to it by Your Majesty. We recall that Your Majesty has laid upon its shoulders the defense of the Holy Catholic Faith and the preservation thereof which by so many wiles the Devil is attempting to overthrow in these most Catholic kingdoms.

To eradicate so deadly a sect, we for our part offer our lives in the service of our Lord God and Your Majesty, and of the purity of these Catholic kingdoms. We hope that God, Our Lord, although offended will so guide us that, with the support of Your Majesty, we can fight the Devil with all our might. May God preserve the Catholic Person of Your Majesty. The Inquisition of Logroño, the last day of October 1610.

Signatures and rubrics of the three inquisitors:

Doctor Alonso
Becerra

The licentiate Juan
de Valle Alvarado

The licentiate Alonso
de Salazar Frías

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 835, 343r.

1. *Carta de los inquisidores a Felipe III*
 (Logroño, 31 de octubre 1610)^a

†

Señor,

Los criados y capellanes que Vuestra Majestad tiene ocupados en las causas de la Santa Fe Católica en esta Inquisición de Logroño, hemos^b entendido este año en descubrir y averiguar los males grandes que el Demonio va pretendiendo introducir en estos católicos reinos de Vuestra Majestad con una abominable secta^c de brujos, que (aunque es antigua en las montañas de los Montes Pirineos), en estos tiempos ha llegado a extenderse en diversas partes de este distrito. Enviamos a Vuestra Majestad una muestra muy pequeña de las muchas maldades que vamos averiguando con los cómplices de esta secta y la relación sumaria de las personas que sacaremos al auto de fe, que se celebrará domingo siete del mes de noviembre.

Humildemente ponemos a los pies de Vuestra Majestad nuestros trabajos, para que Vuestra Majestad, con su cristianísimo celo, se duela de estos miserables vasallos suyos y se sirva de alentar el ánimo con que el Santo Oficio procura cumplir con la obligación en que Vuestra Majestad le tiene, con haber puesto sobre sus hombros el peso de la Santa Fe Católica y conservación de ella, que con tantos ardides el Demonio pretende derribar en estos cristianísimos reinos de Vuestra Majestad.

Que de nuestra parte, para extinguir tan perniciosa secta, ofrecemos al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de Vuestra Majestad y pureza de estos católicos reinos, las vidas. Y esperamos que Dios Nuestro Señor que tan ofendido está, abrirá camino para que, con el favor de Vuestra Majestad, podamos pelear a brazo partido con el Demonio. Guarde Dios la católica persona de Vuestra Majestad. En la Inquisición de Logroño, postrero de octubre de 1610.

Firmas y rúbricas de los tres inquisidores:

Doctor Alonso
Becerra

El licenciado de Juan
Valle Alvarado

El licenciado Alonso
de Salazar Frías

^a AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 835, 343r.

^b Ms.: habemos.

^c Ms. *aquí y abajo*: seta.

2. *An Account of the Persons to be Brought Forth
at the Auto de fe on 7th November 1610*¹

†

Title: An account of the persons who are to appear at the auto de fe to be held by the Inquisition of Logroño, on Sunday, the seventh day of the month of November, in the year 1610, together with the faults and offences they have committed, and corresponding punishments they are to receive.

I.² *The sect of witches*

1. The abominable sect of witches is of great antiquity and to be found in many areas, especially in those infected by heresy. It is a hundred and fourteen years since its existence was first detected in the valleys of the Pyrenean Mountains which lie in the kingdom of Navarra.¹ This was in the reign of Doña Catalina and Don Juan d'Albret. When the kingdom fell under control of the Catholic kings, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, great pains were taken to suppress the sect and even greater efforts were made in the years 1534 to 1540 in the reign of the Emperor Charles of glorious memory. In the year 1608, the Holy Office of the kingdom of Navarre and district of Logroño discovered that *aquejarres* were still being held in the village of Zugarramurdi and in other places of those mountains.

2. The village of Zugarramurdi belongs to the Baztán Valley. It lies on the other side of the Pyrenean Mountains facing France. The

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 835, 340r-v, 345r-350v. The report continues with the 21 other heresy cases to be sentenced on the same auto de fe (350v-351v, nos. 32-52).

² The numeration of chapters and paragraphs have been added to the present edition.

¹ This brings us back to the year 1496. There is, however, no other evidence left to confirm this information, but the inquisitors may be quoting old documents in the archives of the Tribunal. It must have been a persecution carried out by the secular authorities in Navarra, since the Inquisition was not established there before 1512, when Navarra was conquered by Spain.

2. *Informe de las personas que saldrán
al auto en 7 de noviembre 1610^a*

†

Título: Relación de las personas que saldrán al auto de la fe que se celebrará en la Inquisición de Logroño, domingo, siete días del mes de noviembre de 1610 años, de las cosas y delitos que cometieron y castigos que por ellos se les darán.

I.^b *Secta^c de brujos*

1. La abominable secta de los brujos es muy antigua y usada en muchas partes, y con más frecuencia en las que están tocadas de la herejía. Y ha ciento catorce años^o¹ que se comenzó a descubrir en los valles de los Montes Pirineos, que caen en el Reino de Navarra, siendo reyes doña Catalina y don Juan de Labrid, y habiendo venido aquel reino en poder de los Católicos Reyes, don Fernando y doña Isabel, y con mayor instancia desde el año de 1534 adelante, hasta el de [15]40, reinando el emperador don Carlos, de gloriosa memoria, se puso gran cuidado en extinguir aquella secta, y ahora, en el año pasado de 1608, el Santo Oficio del dicho reino de Navarra y distrito de Logroño ha descubierto cómo en el lugar de Zugarramurdi, y en otros muchos de aquellas montañas, hay diversos aquelarres de brujos.

2. Este lugar de Zugarramurdi^d es del Valle de Baztán, que está de la otra parte de los Montes Pirineos, que mira a Francia, distante

^a AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 835, 340r–v, 345r–350v. La relación continua con los 21 herejes cuyas sentencias se iban a leer en el mismo auto de fe (350v–351v, núms. 32–52).

^b La numeración de capítulos y párrafos se ha añadido en la presente edición.

^c *Ms. aquí y en adelante:* seta.

^d *Ms. aquí y en adelante:* Çigarramurdi.

village stands a little more than half a league from the monastery of San Salvador de Urdax which belongs to the Premonstratensian friars and was founded close to the boundaries dividing the kingdoms of Navarra and France. The said valley borders the French region known as the Pays de Labourd.

3. The word "aquelarre" is not to be found in the Basque tongue which is the language spoken throughout these mountains; it is however the common name used by the witches for their assemblies and the sites and places where they gather. From a study of its possible Basque etymology it appears to be a compound word, meaning "the meadow of the he-goat".⁹²

4. The following case, worthy of note, marked the beginning of the discovery of the great evils. María de Ximildegui, an unmarried girl, twenty years old and daughter of French parents, was reared in the village of Zugarramurdi. Some four years ago she went /340v/ with her father Adame de Ximildegui to live in the village of Ciboure about three leagues from Zugarramurdi in the kingdom of France. There a girl named Catalina took her to the *aquelarre* of that village and turned her into a witch. She was brought before the lord (for this is the name they give to the Devil at the *aquelarre*) to make her renunciation of God; but when it reached the point where she must renounce the Virgin Mary, His Mother, they could not break her resistance. Thus she renounced neither Our Lady nor her own baptism and confirmation, even though she had renounced God, her godparents and parents acknowledging the Devil as her lord and god. Consequently the witches hated her and mistrusted her, suspecting that she would betray them. Therefore they threatened her declaring that, were she to betray them, they would kill her. For this reason, although for a year and a half she continued to be a member of the sect, sharing in its beliefs (yet with some doubts as to whether that demon was God) she never dared divulge the fact nor reveal it to her confessor.

⁹² The inquirers' explanation of *aquelarre* as a compound of *aker* 'he-goat' and *larre* 'meadow' has been repeated from de Lancre (1613, 65) right up to Caro Baroja (1961, 249). This etymology has been questioned recently by the Basque anthropologist Mikel Azurmendi, who claims that *aker* cannot lose its *r* and therefore suggests that the word derives from *alkelarre*, or 'meadow with *alka* flowers' (*dactylis hispanica*) a poisonous plant that can make cows ill when they eat it. Probably there was some translation error during the interrogations, which went through a Basque interpreter, so that what was originally the name of a meadow in Zugarramurdi, where the witches were thought to assemble, was misunderstood by the inquirers

poco más de media legua del monasterio de San Salvador de Urdax, que es de frailes premostratenses,^c fundado junto a los límites que dividen los reinos de Navarra y Francia, y el dicho valle confina, por la raya de Francia, con lo que llaman Tierra de Labor [Pais de Labourd].

3. Este nombre aquelarre no se halla que le haya en el vascuence, que es la lengua que corre por todas aquellas montañas, y es nombre común con que los brujos de ellas llaman sus ayuntamientos, sitios y partes donde los hacen, y mirada la etimología que puede tener conforme al vascuence, parece ser nombre compuesto, y que suena tanto como decir “prado del cabrón”.²

4. Y es caso notable el que dio principio a descubrirse tan grandes maldades, que es en la manera siguiente: María de Ximildegui, moza soltera de edad de veinte años, hija de padres franceses, se crió en el lugar de Zugarramurdi, y habrá cuatro años que se fue /340v/ con su padre Adame de Ximildegui a vivir al lugar [de] Ciboure,^f en el dicho reino de Francia, como [a] tres leguas del de Zugarramurdi, donde una moza llamada Catalina la hizo bruja, llevándola al aquelarre de aquel lugar. Y puesta en presencia del señor (que con este nombre llaman al demonio del aquelarre), para que hiciese el reniego, renegó de Dios, y llegado a que renegase de la Virgen María, su Madre, no lo pudieron acabar con ella, y, así, dejó de renegar de Nuestra Señora, del bautismo y confirmación, aunque renegó de Dios y de sus padrinos y padres, y recibió por su dios y señor al Demonio, de que resultó que los brujos la tomaron odio y se rece-laban de ella, presumiendo que los había de descubrir, y la amenazaban diciendo que si los descubría la habían de matar. Por lo cual, aunque perseveró por año y medio en la dicha secta y creencia de ella, con alguna duda de que fuese Dios aquel demonio, nunca se atrevió a descubrirlo ni confesarlo a su confesor.

^c Ms. *aquí y en adelante*: premostratenses.

^f Ms.: Çiuburo.

as a Basque name for a witches' sabbat (Azurmendi 1993, 226f). The word *aquelarre* first appears in a letter from the Tribunal to *la Suprema*, dated 22nd May 1609, where the inquisitors write they are examining the prisoners about *juntas y aquelarres* ('meetings and sabbats') in other parts of the mountains. The new invented word spread quickly, although with some uncertainty about its spelling (*alquelarre, aquelarre, aquerlarre*). But after the appearance of the printed auto de fe-report, *aquelarre* became the correct form and was later absorbed into Castilian as a Basque loan word (Henningsen 2000).

One day, however, on receiving Holy Communion she felt great heaviness of heart—for she did not see the Consecrated Host the priest administered to her. She began to reflect that for having become a witch she no longer deserved to see the Sacred Host as she had formerly beheld it. For when attending Mass all she saw was that the priest on elevating [the Host] held in his hands something like a black cloud. The more she pondered upon this—and that, for being a witch, she no longer deserved to behold the Body of Christ our Redeemer—her sorrow and anguish grew until after a few days she fell ill.

Nonetheless she dared not say she was a witch until, after seven weeks of affliction, she resolved to confess herself. Thereupon, as soon as she was able, she went to the village of Hendaye, a league away, and made a confession to the prior of the church in that village, who was a very wise man. He supplied her with powerful spiritual remedies with which to defy the Devil, instructing her to call upon the Name of Jesus very regularly. He delayed, however, her absolution until he had received orders from the Bishop of Bayonne to this effect. The absolution took place at the end of July 1608. Never again did the Devil appear to her and she began to behold the Sacred Host just as she used to see it before she became a witch.

5. Free from the witches' sect she came to the village of Zugaramurdi at the beginning of December. Here she revealed that during the time she had been a witch she had attended the *aquelarre* at Zugarramurdi several times. She then went on to name the persons whom she had seen there. Amongst these was a certain María de Jureteguía, the wife of Esteve de Navarcorena. The accused woman at once clamoured for vengeance against her for having borne false witness. Immediately Esteve with other of his kinsmen went to where María de Ximildegui was and besought her to tell the truth, as his wife both denied the charge and sought revenge against her for bearing false witness. María de Ximildegui replied that they should confront one another and she would force the other woman to acknowledge it.

So they brought her back to their house where a lengthy dispute took place between the two. Then the said María de Jureteguía, finding that she was losing the argument, was overcome by such faintness and dismay that they had to make her sit down. It appeared moreover that she had some obstruction in her throat as she was choking and unable to speak. On being urged to tell the truth she

Y habiendo un día llegado a se comulgar—como no vio la forma consagrada que el sacerdote le daba—recibió gran dolor en su corazón y comenzó a pensar que por se haber hecho bruja no merecía ver la hostia consagrada como la veía antes—porque sólo veía cuando oía las misas que los sacerdotes, cuando alzaban, llevaban en sus manos una como nube negra. Y mientras más pensaba en esto y [en] cómo, por ser bruja, no merecía ver el cuerpo de Cristo, nuestro redentor, le crecía el dolor y pena, de manera que dentro de pocos días cayó mala.

Y con todo eso no osaba decir que era bruja hasta que en siete semanas que la apretó el mal, propuso de se confesar. Y luego que pudo se fue al lugar de Endaya, [a] una legua del suyo, y se confesó con el prior de la iglesia de aquel lugar, que era hombre docto, y le dio grandes remedios espirituales para resistir al Demonio, y le mandó que muy de ordinario nombrase el nombre de Jesús, y le dilató la absolución hasta que tuvo orden del obispo de Bayona para ello, y la absolvió a los postreros de julio de 1608. Y nunca más se le apareció el Demonio, y comenzó a ver la hostia consagrada como la veía antes que se hiciese bruja.

5. Libre ya de la secta de los brujos, en los primeros días del mes de diciembre, vino al lugar de Zugarramurdi, donde descubrió que en el tiempo que fue bruja había ido algunas veces al aquelarre de aquel lugar, y nombró las personas que en él había visto, y entre ellas a María de Jureteguía, mujer de Esteve de Navarcorena; la cual, a grandes voces, pedía al dicho la venganza del falso testimonio que le levantaba. Y con otros deudos suyos se fue donde estaba la dicha María de Ximildegui y le pidieron les dijese la verdad, porque su mujer lo negaba y pedía venganza por le haber levantado falso testimonio.

Y habiendo respondido que la pusiesen con ella y se lo haría conocer, la llevaron a su casa y estuvieron las dos gran rato en disputa. Y hallándose convencida la dicha María de Jureteguía, la sobrevino una flaqueza y congoja tan grande, que fue necesario hacerla sentar. Y parecía que en la garganta tenía algún impedimento que la ahogaba y no la dejaba hablar. Y amonestándola a que dijese

remained for a while apathetic. Then with a sigh she exhaled a very evil-smelling breath from her mouth and straightway admitted that she was a witch. She went on to say that she had been one since a small girl and that her aunt María Chipía had first instructed her in the art.

Upon being taken to the priest of the village [Fray Felipe] she made a confession before him /345r/ and, on his advice, publicly asked the parishioners to forgive her for the wrongs she had done to them. This caused others to declare that they too were witches.

The Devil, gravely alarmed, assembled all the witches together to advise them to deny everything. His next concern was to reclaim María de Jureteguía anew for his sect since by her confession she had left it. At the first *aquejarre* they held, the Devil and all his witches went to her house to pluck her out. Yet although they employed every means, they could not extricate her because she defended herself by lifting up the cross of her rosary, exclaiming: "Away! I have served the Devil long enough and no longer seek to be his follower. To this I resolve to commit myself. It is this I love," displaying, with these words, the crucifix and calling on the name of Jesus. Whereupon the Devil and his witches departed in a great rage. To avenge themselves upon her they did some damage in the orchard and smashed a [water]mill belonging to her father-in-law. These events are confirmed by her confession and the confessions of all the other witches *confitentes* and by the evidence of persons who happened to be present.

6. On 7th December,^{2a} the Holy Office commenced its investigations. It began to receive information and the first arrest were made. Acknowledging that there was some substance in the matter, one of the inquisitors set forth on a visit.^{2b} The outcome of the visit—and of the rest of the investigations in progress—is that to date twenty-two *aquejarres*, each with a large number of witches, have been discovered in different villages. It has also been established that the sect is of long standing in all those mountains, being over a hundred years old. The oldest *confitentes*, some of whom are over eighty years of age, allege that they were made witches when very young by their mothers and grandmothers.³

^{2a} Probably an error for 7th January 1609, cf. WA 51.

^{2b} For Inquisitor Valle's journey of visitation 16.8–10.10.1609, see WA chap. 4.

³ This is at variance with the opinion of the Bishop of Pamplona who reached the opposite conclusion, that the witch sect was a new phenomenon since even old people had never heard of it before (cf. doc. 7.3 and above, p. 48f).

la verdad, después de haber estado suspensa un rato con la dicha congoja, dando un suspiro arrojó, por la boca, un aliento de muy mal olor, y luego confesó que era bruja y lo había sido desde muy niña, por enseñanza de María Chipia, su tía.

Y habiéndola llevado al vicario del dicho lugar [fray Felipe] se confesó con él sacramentalmente, /345r/ y por su consejo pidió perdón públicamente a los vecinos de él, de los males que les había hecho, lo cual dio principio a que otras personas dijesen también que eran brujas.

Y el Demonio tuvo de ello gran sentimiento e hizo sus juntas con todos los brujos para aconsejarles que negasen, y para volver a reducir a su secta a la dicha María de Jureteguía que, por la confesión, se había salido de ella. Y en el primer^g aquelarre que hicieron, fue el Demonio con todos los brujos a su casa a la sacar de ella. Y aunque hicieron muchas diligencias, no la pudieron sacar, porque se defendió levantando en alto la cruz de su rosario y diciendo: “Dejadme traidoras, que harto he servido al diablo. Ya no quiero seguir más su bandera. A ésta me quiero encomendar, y a ésta quiero,” mostrándoles la dicha cruz y nombrando el nombre de Jesús, con que el Demonio y los brujos se fueron con mucho sentimiento. Y por se vengar de ella, le hicieron ciertos daños en la huerta y desbarataron un molino de su suegro, todo lo cual se comprueba por sus confesiones y las de todos los demás brujos confitentes, y por la testificación de las personas que presentes se hallaron.

6. A los siete de diciembre,^{2a} el Santo Oficio comenzó a hacer diligencias y recibir informaciones, y se comenzaron a ejecutar las primeras prisiones. Y reconocida la verdad que el caso contenía, se partió uno de los inquisidores a hacer visita,^{2b} de la cual, y de las demás diligencias que se fueron haciendo, ha resultado: que hasta ahora están descubiertos veintidós aquelarres de diferentes lugares—y que en cada uno de ellos hay muy gran número de brujos—y que esta secta está^h muy asentada en todas aquellas montañas de más de cien años a esta parte, porque los más viejos confitentes, que son mayores de ochenta, declaran que [siendo] muy niños los hicieron brujos sus madres y abuelas.³

^g Ms.: en el primero.

^h Ms.: y que es seta.

The number of children *confitentes* over six is very large, but there are actually confessions from all age groups, some fifteen years old, others twenty and others thirty years old or more. Everyone, children and grown-ups alike, even if they belong to different *aque-larres*, state in remarkably similar terms the fundamental and most important details of this sect and the great iniquities which it commits. The amount of information provided depends on the individual's experience. The following are the most important details to have emerged from the confessions.

7. They become witches in two ways. Some start after having reached the age of discretion and "malice".⁴ They are therefore aware that by their renunciation they cut themselves off from God and the Christian faith; they accept the Devil as their lord and god and begin their lives as witches.

8. Others begin their careers before they have arrived at the age of discretion. Those under six are taken from their cots and cradles by the witches and borne away to the *aque-larre* where they are presented to the Devil. The witches are prevented from doing this if the children have been blessed and made the sign of the cross on their foreheads, lips and hearts when put to bed. Nor can they be taken out of the house if Holy Water has been sprinkled over them or relics placed on them, even though the witches can suck them and harm them in other ways.^{4a} /345v/

9. In order to take to the *aque-larre* children between five and the age of discretion—namely those who already possess a will and are able to distinguish good from bad—the witches gain their consent by giving them an apple or some other fruit and asking them whether they would like to go somewhere where they will have great fun with other children. By night the witches go to the bedside of those who have accepted and carry them off through the air to the *aque-larre*, having first anointed them with certain liquids.

The witches present the children to the Devil, making them kiss the same beneath his tail. Some of them are then given little switches with which to guard the "dressed toads" and everything else gathered by the witches to concoct their poisons. The youngest children

⁴ The age of discretion and malice, *i.e.* an awareness of right and wrong, was by Canon Law fixed at fourteen for boys and twelve for girls.

^{4a} For the witches' maltreatment of children, see paragraph 27, below.

Y es muy grande el número de niños de edad de seis años arriba que están confitentes, y muchos [confitentes] de quince, veinte y treinta años arriba. Y todos, chicos y grandes, aunque son de muy diferentes aquelarres, declaran lo substancial y esencial de esta secta, y las grandes maldades que en ella se hacen, en gran conformidad, según lo que cada uno ha alcanzado a saber de ella. Y las cosas más considerables que resultan de sus confesiones son las siguientes:

7. Los brujos se hacen en dos maneras: Unos, que lo comienzan a ser después que han llegado a tener edad de discreción y malicia⁴ para conocer que, mediante el reniego, se apartan de Dios y de la fe de los cristianos, y reciben por su dios y señor al Demonio, y comienzan a ser brujos mediante el reniego.

8. Los otros, que lo comienzan a ser antes que tengan edad de discreción, los más chicos, hasta que son de cinco años, las brujas los sacan de sus cunas o camas y los llevan al aquelarre y presentan al Demonio. Y les impide que no puedan hacer esto el haber persignado y santiguado [a] los niños cuando los acuestan, puéstoles reliquias o echádoles agua bendita, que a los tales, aunque los puedan chupar y hacerles otros males,^o no los pueden sacar de casa. /345v/

9. Cuando los niños son de cinco años arriba—que ya saben discernir y tienen voluntad hasta que llegan a la edad de discreción para los llevar a los aquelarres—les ganan su voluntad dándoles alguna manzana u otra fruta y diciéndoles si quieren ir a unas partes donde se holgarán mucho con otros muchachos. Y a los que consienten que irán, van las brujas de noche a sus camas y los llevan consigo por el aire al aquelarre, untándoles primero con ciertas aguas.

Y los presentan al Demonio y hacen que le besen debajo de la cola. Y dándoles unas varillas pequeñas, los ocupan en que estén con ellas guardando los sapos vestidos^{4a} y loⁱ demás que recogen los brujos para hacer ponzoñas. Y los más niños los traen en los bailes

ⁱ Ms.: los.

are carried by the witches pick-a-back in the dances or seated side by side. Normally the children are kept busy by these activities. Then one day the Devil tells their mistresses that they have reached the age of discretion and can make the renunciation. He reminds them that having been reared from childhood in the practice of those iniquities they will the more readily make the renunciation and will continue in the ways of evil all the days of their lives.

10. Those who begin their careers as witches when adult, having therefore attained the age of discretion, are first persuaded to become witches and then they are told that for this purpose they must make a number of renunciations [of their Christian beliefs], each of which is recited [to them] separately. For the witches are unable to take to the *aquejarre* any who resist: they can take only those who have given their expressed consent, after anointing them with a certain liquid. In the same way when those who began as witches in childhood reach the age of discretion they are instructed by their mistresses with regard to the renunciations; and once they have promised to apostasize, they are anointed on the first night of an *aquejarre* and taken to be presented to the Devil in order to renounce. The ceremony of the renunciation is as follows:

11. The Devil in the form of a black man, hideous, foulsmelling and of monstrous shape, seats himself on a great throne in royal dignity surrounded by other demons—smaller ones—who attend him as servants together with the most senior witches. The witch mistress obliges the one who is to apostasize to fall on his knees before the Devil saying at the same time: “Lord, I present this one to you.” The Devil replies: “We have a new recruit. Let us treat him well so that we shall have more.”

Forthwith he bestows on him the blessing with which he begins all his performances. He raises his left hand half open to his brow, his fingers (which resemble those of a bird of prey) pointing upwards, and then he points them down and swiftly lowers his hand to his waist. Next he raises it aloft again, describing various circles in the air with a scribbling movement.

Then, repeating the words after the Devil, the new recruit makes the renunciation denying God, Holy Mary His Mother, all the Saints, as well as his baptism and confirmation and both the Holy Christmas [received therein] /346r/ together with his parents, godparents and all Christians. He goes on to accept the Devil as lord and god, worshipping him as such. Thereupon he kisses the Devil's left hand,

caballeros en los hombros y los ponen sentados unos con otros. Y en estos ejercicios los ocupan hasta que el Demonio les dice a sus maestros que ya han llegado a edad de discreción y podrán hacer el reniego, porque habiéndose criado desde niños en el uso de aquellas maldades, con mayor facilidad lo harán y prosiguirán el discurso de su vida en ellas.

10. A los que comienzan a ser brujos ya grandes, después que tienen edad de discreción, primero los persuaden a que sean brujos y que, para serlo, han de hacer el reniego, refiriéndoles las cosas de que han de renegar. Y a los que se resisten, no los pueden llevar al aquelarre. Y a los que expresamente consienten, los llevan untándolos con la dicha agua. Y en la misma forma instruyen también sus maestras, cuando han llegado a edad de discreción, a los que desde niños comenzaron a ser brujos. Y habiendo prometido que renegarán, la primera noche de aquelarre los untan y llevan a presentar al Demonio para que hagan el reniego, y le hacen de la manera que se sigue:

11. El Demonio en figura de hombre negro, feo, de horrendo olor y talle muy espantoso, está sentado en una silla con gran trono y majestad, rodeado de otros demonios más pequeños—que le sirven de criados—y de algunos de los brujos más ancianos, y la bruja maestra hace que en su presencia, se hinque de rodillas el que ha de renegar y le dice: “Señor, éste os presento.” Y el Demonio responde: “Gente nueva tenemos. Tratémosla^j bien que, con esto, más tendremos.”

Y luego les echa su bendición—que con ella comienza todas sus operaciones—en esta manera: Levanta en alto, hasta la frente, la mano izquierda medio abierta y los dedos hacia arriba—que son como de ave de rapiña—y luego los vuelve hacia abajo y con mucha prisa baja la mano hasta la cintura, y luego la vuelve a levantar hacia arriba, haciendo unas vueltas alrededor a modo de garabatos.

Y el presentado hace luego su reniego repitiendo las palabras que el Demonio va diciendo, y reniega de Dios, de Santa María su madre, de todos los santos, del bautismo y confirmación, y de ambas las crismas /346r/ de sus padres y padrinos, y de todos los cristianos. Y recibe por su dios y señor al Demonio, adorándole por tal y besándole la mano izquierda y en los pechos y partes vergonzosas y debajo de la cola. Y luego el Demonio le marca hincándole una

^j Ms.: tratémoslo.

breasts and private parts and plants a kiss under his tail. The Devil finally brands him, sticking a nail of his left hand into whatever part of the body he chooses and drawing blood. The pain lasts for many days and the mark forever. He also makes other marks on their eyes, within, upon the pupils.

Then he gives the witch-mistress certain coins as payment for the neophyte just presented as well as a "dressed toad" for the latter. This is a demon in the form of a toad, with its face like a man's, and it is clothed in velvet or cloth which fits closely to its body. From then on it serves as a guardian angel to the new apostate, accompanying him and instructing him in the wrongs he is to commit. The coins which the witch-mistress receives subsequently vanish and rarely does she benefit from them.

The toad always remains in her power until the novice witch is admitted to the honour of preparing poisons. When this occurs the Devil orders the toad to be handed over to the novice, bestowing his blessing on him at the same time, before admitting him to the said office. The witches nourish, pamper and feed the toad giving it food every day. They discuss their affairs with it and the toads in turn inform them when it is time to go to the *aquejarre*.

12. They make use of these "dressed toads" to extract a stinking, dark-green liquid with which they anoint themselves before going to the *aquejarre*. This they extract by whipping the toads with switches until the same toads—or the Devil who sometimes is present on these occasions—tell them not to proceed any further. Whereupon the witches press the toads against the ground with a foot or with a hand and make them spew forth from both ends the liquid which is collected in an eathern pot.

13. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday nights throughout the year they anoint themselves on their hands, temples, breasts, private parts and soles of their feet with this liquid in order to go to the *aquejarre*, [invoking the Devil] with the following words:

Lord, I anoint myself in Thy Name,
From henceforth I am to be one with the Devil.
I am to be a demon
and I must have nothing to do with God.

With this they depart through the air to the *aquejarre*, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in the shapes of dogs and cats, and always

uña de la mano izquierda en la parte que le parece de su cuerpo, de que le saca sangre, y el dolor dura por muchos días, y la señal por toda la vida. Y también les hace otras marcas en los ojos, dentro, en lo negro de ellos.

Y da a la maestra ciertas monedas en precio del nuevo brujo presentado y un sapo vestido para él, que es un demonio en figura de sapo con cara como de hombre, vestido de terciopelo y de paño muy ajustado al talle de su cuerpo, el cual sirve al nuevo renegado desde allí adelante como de ángel de guarda para le acompañar e industriar en los males que ha de hacer. Y los dineros que la maestra recibe se le desaparecen luego, que pocas veces tiene provecho de ellos.

Y el sapo persevera siempre en su poder hasta que el brujo novicio es admitido en la dignidad de hacer ponzoñas, que entonces el Demonio se lo manda entregar echándole su bendición para le admitir al dicho oficio. Y le sustentan, regalan y alimentan dándole de comer todos los días, y con él hablan, tratan y comunican sus negocios, y les da aviso cuando es hora de ir al aquelarre.

12. De estos sapos vestidos se aprovechan para sacar una agua verde, negra y hedionda, con que se untan para ir a los aquelarres. Y la sacan azotándolos con unas varillas hasta que los mismos sapos—o el Demonio, que para dicho efecto asiste ^k los brujos—les dice que no le den más, que basta ya. Y apretándole con el pie contra el suelo, o con las manos, les hacen vomitar por arriba y por abajo la dicha agua que recogen en unas barreñas.

13. Con esta agua se untan—para ir al aquelarre las noches de los lunes, miércoles y viernes de todo el año—las manos, sienes, pechos, partes vergonzosas y las plantas de los pies, diciendo:

Señor, en tu nombre me unto.

Yo, dende aquí adelante,

he de ser una misma cosa con el Demonio.

Yo tengo de ser demonio

y no he de tener nada con Dios.

Y con esto, unas veces en sus propias figuras y otras, en figuras de perros y gatos, se van por el aire, acompañadas de sus sapos vestidos,

^k Ms.: con.

accompanied by their "dressed toads". [On arrival] they fall on their knees before the Devil, worship him and kiss him under the said parts. Taking with them the remains of the liquid extracted from the toads they pour it into a vast cauldron together with that brought by the rest of the witches and from this brew are concocted poisons and powders.

Then the witch-mistresses repair to the houses and beds where the novice witches are, in order to anoint them, awaken them, and fetch them to the *aquejarre* (for until they have received their "dressed toads" they are under the authority of their mistresses who take and return them to their houses).

14. They entertain themselves at their gatherings by holding festivals for the Devil, tripping and dancing round some illusory fires. The Devil tells them that these fires are those of Hell, and he bids them enter therein in order that they can see that the fires neither burn nor hurt and he urges them not to be afraid of doing evil through fear of Hell since there are no torments there at all. Thereupon they trip in and out /346v/ of the fires, making merry to the noise of timbrel, drum and fiddle sounded by the musicians who are present at every *aquejarre*. In Zugarramurdi the musicians were Juanes de Goiburu and Juanes de Sansín, both at present prisoners and *confitentes*.

15. They also amuse themselves by going forth to frighten and harm travellers, appearing in the shapes of cats and dogs to avoid recognition. For it seems that the Devil changes them into these shapes and likenesses as well as into swine, goats, sheep, mares and other animals, according to what best suits his purpose. He indicates to them the people who, when they dine or sup, are not in the habit of saying Grace, so that they can go to their houses to dally therein and to cause harm and mischief.

16. All the time they are at the *aquejarre* they cannot utter the Holy name of Jesus nor that of Holy Mary, His Mother, unless it is during the renunciation. Neither can they cross themselves nor make the sign of the cross on their forehead, lips and heart. They are warned against doing so by the Devil and veteran witches, for great harm is wrought and the *aquejarre* is broken up the very moment these Names are spoken. Those careless enough to make the invocation are cruelly punished.

17. It is also worthy of note that from the moment they begin to be witches they no longer behold the Sacred Host. When the priest

al aquelarre. Y puestas de rodillas delante del Demonio, le adoran besándole en dichas partes, llevando consigo la agua que sobra de la que sacan de los sapos y la echan en una olla grande donde se junta la de todos los brujos para hacer de ella polvos y ponzoñas.

Y las maestras van a las casas y camas donde están los brujos novicios, a los untar y sacar de ellas, y los llevan consigo al aquelarre, porque hasta que han recibido sus sapos vestidos, están debajo del dominio de sus maestras que los llevan y vuelven a sus casas.

14. En sus juntas se entretienen en hacer fiestas al Demonio, danzando y bailando alrededor de unos fuegos aparentes, que el Demonio les dice que son los del infierno, que entren por ellos y verán que no se queman ni hacen daño, animándolos a que no teman hacer todo mal por miedo del infierno, pues en él no hay pena ninguna, con que entran y salen /346v/ por los dichos fuegos. Y se huelgan al son de tamborino o tambor y rabel que tañen los tamborileros, que hay en cada aquelarre. Y en Zugarramurdi lo eran Juanes de Goiburu y Juanes de Sansín, ambos presos confitentes.

15. También se huelgan saliendo a espantar y hacer mal a los pasajeros, yendo en figuras de gatos y perros para que no puedan ser conocidos—que el Demonio, al parecer los transforma en aquellos figuras y apariencias—y en las de puercos, cabras y ovejas, yeguas y otros animales, según que es más apropósito para sus intentos. Y les dice las personas que, cuando comen y cenan, no acostumbran a bendecir la mesa, para que vayan a sus casas a holgarse en ellas y hacer daños y males.

16. En todo el tiempo que están en el aquelarre no pueden nombrar el santo nombre de Jesús, ni de Santa María su madre, si no es para renegar; ni pueden persignarse ni santiguarse, y así se lo advierte el Demonio y los más ancianos. Y suceden grandes daños y se deshacen los aquelarres al punto que los nombran, y castigan cruelmente a las personas que se descuidan en no lo cumplir.

17. También es muy notable cosa que desde el punto que comienzan a ser brujos dejan de ver la hostia consagrada, y cuando diciendo

saying Mass elevates the Host they see nothing but a black cloud which, it seems to them, the priest holds between his hands. Neither do they see the Species they are given when they go to Communion. However, if they abandon the sect of the witches and are restored to the Holy Catholic Faith they immediately see the Sacred Host again, just as they beheld It before they became witches. On this point all the *confitentes*, both children and grown-ups, agree.

18. The *aquelarres* last from ten o'clock at night until cockcrow when all retire to their houses as they can no longer stay there, and with them go their "dressed toads" journeying on the left side. The members of the household who are not witches do not mark their absence because the Devil causes them to sleep profoundly. Furthermore other demons who have assumed the witches' shape and form remain in their beds thus acting as their substitutes until their return from the *aquelarre*.

19. On the eve of the three major festivals of the Christian Year [Christmas, Easter and Pentecost], as well as on the eve of the principal feast days (Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, All Saints, the Purification, Assumption and Nativity of Our Lady and St. John's Eve [*i.e.* Midsummer's Eve]) they assemble by night at the *aquelarre* to render solemn worship to the Devil. They all confess to him, declaring as faults and sins the times they have set foot in a church, the times they have heard Mass, and everything else they have done **/347r/** as Christians, as well as the wrongs they have left undone when they had the opportunity to commit them. The Devil in turn reprimands them severely, telling them that they are never to behave like Christians.

Meanwhile his servants erect an altar—using as a dossal a black cloth, ugly, old and faded—upon which they place some images in the form of the Devil, as well as a chalice, host, missal, cruets and some vestments like those used in a church, except that these are ugly, black and dirty. Then the Devil dresses himself, assisted by his servants who normally number about six or seven. These servants, whenever necessary, form a vast crowd and during the Mass they act as his servers, chanting in gruff, harsh and tuneless voices. The Devil recites the Mass from the missal and preaches a sermon in which he says that they are not openly to acknowledge their belief in any other god than Him, assuring them that it is he who will save and take them to Paradise and that even though in this life they will undergo travail and want, in the life to come he will grant

misa la alzan los sacerdotes, no ven sino una nube negra que les parece alza con las manos, ni tampoco ven la forma que les dan cuando se comulgan. Y luego que se apartan de la secta de los brujos y se reducen a la Santa Fe Católica, vuelven a ver la hostia consagrada como también la veían antes que comenzasen a ser brujos. Y en esto concuerdan todos los confitentes, chicos y grandes, sin discrepar ninguno.

18. Duran los aquelarres desde las diez de la noche hasta que es hora de cantar el gallo, que todos se recogen a sus casas porque no pueden estar más allí. Y sus sapos vestidos se van con ellos, poniéndoseles al lado izquierdo. Y los que en sus casas no son brujos no los echan [de] menos, porque el Demonio los adormece [de modo] que no puedan despertar, y porque en su lugar queda un demonio que toma su propio talle y figura y asiste por cada brujo hasta que vuelven del aquelarre.

19. Las vísperas de las tres pascuas del año [Navidad, Pascua y Pentecostés], por la noche, y de las fiestas principales de la Ascensión, Corpus Christi, Todos los Santos, la Purificación, Asunción y Natividad de Nuestra Señora, y la noche de San Juan Bautista, se juntan en aquelarre a hacer solemne adoración al Demonio. Y todos se confiesan con él y se acusan por culpas y pecados de las veces que han entrado en la iglesia y misas que han oído, y de todo lo demás que han hecho /347r/ de cristianos, y de los males que, pudiendo, han dejado de hacer. Y el Demonio los reprehende gravemente por ello, y les dice que no han de hacer cosa ninguna de cristianos.

Y entretanto, los criados del Demonio ponen un altar con un paño negro, viejo, feo y deslucido, por dosel; y en él, unas imágenes con figuras del Demonio, y cáliz, hostia y misal, vinagreras y unas vestiduras como las que se usan en la iglesia, mas de que son feas, negras y sucias. Y el Demonio se viste ayudándose de sus criados—que ordinariamente son hasta seis o siete, y siempre que es necesario son muchos en gran cantidad—y le ofician la misa cantando con unas voces bajas, roncadas y desentonadas, y él la va cantando por el misal.

Y les predica un sermón, en que les dice que no sean vanagloriosos en pretender otro dios sino a él, que los ha de salvar y llevar al paraíso y que, aunque en esta vida pasarán trabajos y necesidad,

them sure repose. Furthermore he urges them to do every possible harm to the Christians.

The Mass continues with the offerings to him. To receive these he seats himself in a black chair placed there for the purpose. While this is taking place the most senior and pre-eminent witch—the “Queen of the *Aquelarre*”—sits at his side. In one hand she holds a pax,^{4b} on which is painted the face of the Devil, in the other an almsbox such as is used in the church to collect money to purchase candles for the altars of the saints. Round her neck she wears a chain, as of gold, with the Devil’s face enamelled on each of the links. All the witches, starting with the most senior and pre-eminent, go forward one by one to make their offerings. They bow down to the Devil thrice, bending the knee of the left leg to the ground, then they kiss the image of the Devil on the pax. They next cast the money they have brought as a gift into the almsbox declaring that they offer it for the honour of the world—(The women also give loaves of bread and eggs and so on which are received by the Devil’s servants.)—and they kneel down before him and kiss his left hand and his breasts above the heart. Two witches who acts as train-bearers raise his shirts for them to kiss him on the private parts after which, the Devil having turned round on his left hand, they lift up his tail revealing that region which is filthy and foul-smelling. Just as they are kissing him under the tail he lets fly a vile fart in their faces and this he almost always does when they kiss him in those parts.

When the offering has been made he continues the Mass and elevates something round like the sole of a shoe on which is painted the Devil’s face, saying: “This is my body.” Whereupon all the witches fall on their knees and adore him, beating their breasts and crying: “Aquerragoiti, aquerrabeiti!” Which is to say: “Up with the he-goat, down with the he-goat!” They do the same when he elevates the chalice which resembles wood and is black and ugly. The Devil eats the host and drinks the contents of the chalice. Thereafter all the witches gather round and he administers communion, giving each one a black morsel on which is painted the Devil’s face and which is very dry and hard to swallow. Then he gives them a draught of a very bitter drink which chills their hearts.

^{4b} In the Roman Catholic church a tablet bearing a figure of Christ, the Virgin or some saint, which was kissed by the priest and congregation before Communion.

en la otra, él les dará mucho descanso, y que hagan a los cristianos todo cuanto mal pudieren.

Y luego prosigue su misa y le hacen ofertorio sentándose para ello en una silla negra que allí le ponen. Y la bruja más antigua y preeminente, “Reina del aquelarre”, se pone a su lado con un portapaz^{4b} en la una mano, en que está pintada la figura del Demonio, y, en la otra, una bacinilla como las que usan en la iglesia, con que piden para alumbrar los santos, y una cadena como de oro al cuello, que en cada uno de los eslabones tiene esmaltada la figura del Demonio. Y todos los brujos, comenzando por sus antigüedades y preeminencias, van a ofrecer, cada uno por sí, haciendo tres reverencias al Demonio con el pie izquierdo hasta llegar a hincar la rodilla en el suelo, y luego besan la figura del Demonio en el portapaz. Y echan en la bacinilla el dinero que llevan para ofrecer, diciendo que lo ofrecen por la honra del mundo. Y las mujeres también ofrecen tortas de pan, huevos y otras cosas, que lo reciben los criados del Demonio. Y se hincan de rodillas junto a él y le besan la mano izquierda y los pechos encima del corazón. Y dos brujos que hacen oficio de caudatarios, le alzan las faldas para que le besen en las partes vergonzosas. Y revolviéndose el Demonio sobre la mano izquierda, le alzan la cola y descubren aquellas partes que son muy sucias y hediondas. Y al tiempo que le besan debajo de ella, tiene prevenido que les da una ventosidad de muy horrible olor, lo cual, en la mayoría de los casos,¹ hace casi siempre que le besan en aquellas partes.

Y hecha la ofrenda, prosigue la misa y alza una cosa redonda como si fuera de suela de zapato, en que está pintada la figura del Demonio, diciendo: “Este es mi cuerpo”. Y todos los brujos, puestos de rodillas, le adoran dándose golpes en los pechos, diciendo: “¡Aquerragoiti, aquerrabeiti!”, que quiere decir, “¡Cabrón arriba, cabrón abajo!”. Y lo mismo hacen cuando alza el cáliz, que es como de madera, negro y feo. Y come la hostia y bebe lo que hay en el cáliz. Y después se ponen todos los brujos alrededor y los va comulgando, dando a cada uno un bocado negro—en que está pintada la figura del Demonio—que es muy áspero y malo de tragar. Y luego les da un trago de una bebida muy amarga que les enfría mucho el corazón.

¹ Ms.: por la mayor parte.

20. When the Mass is over the Devil has carnal and sodomitic knowledge of everyone, /347v/ both with the men and the women. The witches in turn have intercourse with each other, male with female and male with male. They commit the vilest, obscenest, uncleanest acts without taking into consideration the degrees of kinship. These acts take place whenever they assemble at the *aquelarre*.

21. Outside the *aquelarres* the Devil appears to them by day and by night in their homes and out in the fields. Whenever he meets with them he practises the filthiest acts, normal and anal intercourse with the women and sodomy with the men. All members of the sect take part in these most dreadful sins. Notwithstanding they experience great pain and slight pleasure in any carnal act committed with the Devil.

22. On Midsummer's Eve, after the said ceremonies have been completed, the Devil goes with all the witches to the church and throwing open the doors he himself remains outside while the witches commit offences and outrages upon the Holy Cross and the images of the saints.

23. Amongst themselves, the witches have their own hierarchy of positions and duties and the veteran witches do not admit the latest recruits into the secrets and practices of their greatest wickednesses since they do not feel entirely sure of them. Thus the latter are employed in standing guard over the toads until the Devil gives them his blessing and admit them to the rank of poison-makers. Those who meddle and seek to know more than they are entitled to in accordance with their degree are whipped and punished cruelly. Thus the most recently admitted witches learn few secrets, but as they rise in the scale of duties and rank they enjoy greater favour with the Devil and come to learn more of his secrets.

24. Often during the year, whenever the fruits and harvests are about to ripen, they prepare powders and poisons. For this purpose the Devil calls aside those invested with the requisite powers and tells them the day on which they are to make the poisons. He divides them into bands assigning to each group certain fields in which to hunt for the vermin and other ingredients they are to use for their poisons.

The following day they set out in the morning carrying hoes and sacks, and the Devil, appearing before them with his train, leads them into the fields and deepest hollows. There, they search for and collect vast quantities of toads, snakes, large and small lizards, slugs,

20. En acabando la misa, el Demonio los conoce a todos, hombres y mujeres /347v/ carnal y sodomíticamente.^m Y los brujos y brujas se mezclan unos con otros, y también hombres con hombres, y hacen abominables y torpísimos actos deshonestos, sin tener consideración a grados de parentesco. Y lo mismo hacen todas las demás noches que se juntan en aquellarres.

21. Y fuera de los aquellarres, el Demonio se les aparece de día y de noche en sus casas y en los campos, y ejercita actos torpísimos con las mujeres por ambas partes, y con los hombres sodomíticamente, cometiéndose por todos horrendas maldades y recibiendo mucho dolor y poco gusto en los actos carnales que con el Demonio tienen.

22. En la noche de San Juan, después de acabadas las dichas ceremonias, va el Demonio con todos los brujos a la iglesia y, abriéndoles las puertas, se queda él fuera y los brujos hacen muchas ofensas y ultrajes a la Santa Cruz y a las imágenes de los santos.

23. Tienen los brujos entre sí sus mayores oficios, grados y ascendenncias, y a los más modernos no los admiten los brujos ancianos a los secretos y ejercicio de sus mayores maldades, porque no se fianⁿ de ellos. Y así los ocupan en guardar sapos hasta que el Demonio les echa su bendición y los recibe a la dignidad de poder hacer ponzoñas. Y a los que se entrometen en querer saber más de lo que les pertenece según sus grados, los azotan y castigan con mucha crueldad. Y así los brujos modernos alcanzan a saber poco de aquellos secretos, y mientras más subidos en oficios y dignidad, tienen mayor privanza con el Demonio y alcanzan más de sus secretos.

24. Muchas veces en el año, siempre que los frutos y panes comienzan a florecer, hacen polvos y ponzoñas, y para esto el Demonio aparta los que tienen este poder y les dice el día en que los han de hacer, y les reparte los campos para que en cuadrillas vayan a buscar las sabandijas y cosas de que se han de hacer.

Y el día siguiente salen por la mañana llevando consigo azadas y costales. Y luego el Demonio y sus criados se les aparecen y los van acompañando a los campos y partes más cavernosas, y buscan y sacan gran cantidad de sapos, culebras, lagartos, lagartijas, limacos,

^m Ms. *aquí y abajo*: sométicamente.

ⁿ Ms.: no se aseguran.

snails and puffballs. Gathering them into their sacks they take them into their houses, and in the presence of the Devil they concoct their poisons, sometimes at the *aquejarre*, sometimes in their houses.

The Devil having bestowed his blessing, they begin to flay the toads, biting the head with their teeth and tightening their bite until they break the skin, which they strip off in one piece and hand over to the Devil. Then they quarter the toads and the rest of the vermin. Next they put the pieces into a cauldron along with the bones and brains of corpses which they remove from the churches and together with the stinking green liquid <they have collected from the "dressed toads">.³ All this they stir together. The brew seethes in the cauldron until it is turned into a powder. A certain amount of the concoction is reserved to be mixed with a larger quantity of the said liquid in order to make venomous ointments, /348r/ all of which the Devil distributes amongst those present and each one of them carries his share back home.

25. They make use of these powders and poisons to destroy the harvests and to slay or injure human beings or their livestock. Those who are most successful in causing harm enjoy the greatest favour and esteem of the Devil and this makes them happy in their task.

26. When the harvest is ripe all the witches assemble at the *aquejarre* and set out in the Devil's company to destroy it. On these occasions Miguel de Goiburu, who is the second in rank, being the "King of the Witches", bears with him the Devil's cauldron full of the said powders. He normally brings the cauldron with him to the *aquejarre* tucked under his arm. The office he holds is a very high one and the second greatest sign of distinction. The other senior witches, their pots filled with powders, follow the Devil and behind them go all the children and junior witches, assuming different shapes, some go as dogs, some as cats. They pass through the air to the highest peaks whence they start to scatter their powders over the crops, casting it over their shoulders with their left hand while the Devil cries out: "May all be lost!" or "May half be lost!" according to the degree of damage the witches intend to cause.

The witches repeat the same words adding: "May mine be saved!" However, their own strips of land do not benefit, as all the villagers receive serious harm and the harvest is lost. For although the ears

³ *Interpolation from a parallel text in the Joint sentence, Lib. 835, 264r; our Ms. appears to have a misreading.*

caracoles, pedos de lobo. Y habiéndolos juntado y recogido en sus costales, los traen a sus casas y, unas veces en el aquelarre y otras veces en ellas en compañía del Demonio, forjan y hacen sus ponzoñas, echando primero sobre todo su bendición el Demonio. Y comienzan a desollar los sapos, mordiéndolos con sus dientes por las cabezas, apretando hasta que con ellos les cortan el pellejo, del cual van tirando y se lo arrancan al rodopel, y lo entregan al Demonio. Y descuartizan los sapos y todas las demás sabandijas, mezclándolas en una olla con huesos y sesos de difuntos que sacan de las iglesias, y con el agua verde y hedionda <que tienen, que han sacado de los sapos vestidos>.^o Y todo lo cuecen hasta lo conficionar en polvos, reservando cierta parte con que mezclan mayor cantidad de la dicha agua y hacen ungüentos ponzoñosos, **/348r/** que todo se lo reparte el Demonio, llevando cada uno a su casa la parte que le cabe.

25. De estos polvos y ponzoñas usan para destruir los panes, matar o hacer mal a las personas o a sus ganados. Y los que más se aventajan en hacer mayores males son los más privados y estimados del Demonio, con que animosamente los acometen.

26. Estando los panes o frutos en flor, juntos todos los brujos en aquelarre, van en compañía del Demonio a destruirlos, llevando consigo Miguel de Goiburu—que es el segundo en dignidad y como “Rey de los brujos”—la caldera del Demonio llena de los dichos polvos, que es oficio muy preeminente y la segunda insignia de mayor honra, y así de ordinario la trae consigo en los aquelarres metida en el brazo. Y todos los demás brujos antiguos, con sus ollas llenas de los dichos polvos, siguen al Demonio—y tras ellos van todos los demás brujos, mozos y modernos, en diferentes figuras de perros y gatos—yéndose por el aire a los cerros más altos, donde los comienzan a desparramar sobre los frutos con la mano izquierda, echándolos hacia atrás. Y el Demonio va diciendo: “Piérdase todo” o “Piérdase la mitad”, según los daños que pretenden hacer.

Y los brujos repiten las mismas palabras y van también diciendo: “Salvo sea lo mío”. Mas no por eso son de mejor condición sus heredades, que todas reciben grandes daños. Y se pierden los panes,

^o *Interpolación de la Sentencia conjunta, Lib. 835, 264r, ya que el texto del Ms. parece estar corrompido: que tienen junta de la que han sacado de los sapos vestidos.*

grow they do not swell but remain hollow, and the little grain they produce is unripe and spoiled. The beans are covered with greenfly, the apple blossom is blighted and the fruit is lost. And although the chestnut trees produce chestnuts they are but husks without a kernel. Yet even if the witches lose their own crops they rejoice greatly at causing this harm because of the satisfaction they give to the Devil and the pleasure they feel injuring their neighbours.

27. At the instigation of the Devil, or in order to avenge their feuds, they cause mischief to people by killing them or making them fall sick with grievous illnesses. If they have been offended or insulted by anyone they bring some of the above-mentioned powder or ointment to the sabbat wrapped in a piece of toadskin and submit their complaints to the Devil, stating the reasons for their anger and the revenge they plan to carry out. For such persons or their children they petition the Devil, for a mortal illness or whatever sickness they would have befall them. The degree of their demands depends upon their thirst for vengeance, and in this the Devil obliges them.

He always accompanies them, and on occasions takes with him some of the most senior witches. He lights their way with a horn he has in his forehead—for although he has two more in the crown of his head, that is the only one which gives light—and he opens the doors for them and guides them to the beds where the victims lie sleeping. Upon these he bestows his “blessing” together with slumber from which they cannot awake. The witch who seeks revenge opens the mouth of the intended victim and pushes in a little of the powder wrapped up in a piece of toadskin. On other occasions they anoint them on the neck and on the left shoulder near the breast saying: “May the Lord send you a mortal illness” or “Such and such disease for so long”. Whereupon the person begins to sicken and suffer severe pangs dying within a short space of time. /348v/ Those damned mortally die in fearful agony; whilst those against whom the vengeance of illness alone was sought endure grievous disease and pain.

As for the tiny children, they suck their private parts and anus, squeezing them tightly with their hands on their loins until they draw blood, which they suck. They pierce the temples, the crowns of their heads, the spines and other parts of the body and suck them there also. The Devil tells them: “Suck and swallow that, for it will do you good.” Whereupon the children die or remain ill for a long time. On other occasions they kill them at once, squeezing them with their hands or biting their throats until they choke them.

que, aunque crecen las espigas, no granan y se quedan vacías, y el poco pan que echan es mal sazonado y enfermizo. Y las habas se llenan de pulgón; y a los manzanos se les enferma la flor y se pierde el fruto que había de nacer en ella; y los castaños, aunque dan erizos, no tienen dentro castañas sino cáscaras. Y, aunque [los brujos también] pierden sus propios frutos, huelgan mucho de hacer estos daños por el contento que dan al Demonio y por el que ellos reciben con los males que hacen a sus prójimos.

27. A las personas hacen mal matándolas o haciéndolas enfermar con graves enfermedades por inducción del Demonio, o por vengar sus enemistades. Y cuando han recibido algún enojo o agravio de alguna persona, llevan al aquelarre de los dichos polvos o unguentos y algún pellejo de los sapos y dan sus quejas al Demonio, contándole las causas de su enojo y venganza que pretenden hacer, y pidiéndole para las tales personas o para sus hijos mal de muerte, o la enfermedad que pretenden tenga, según el apetito de su venganza. Y el Demonio se lo concede.

Y luego se va en su compañía—y otras veces lleva consigo algunas brujas de las más ancianas—y les va alumbrando con un cuerno que tiene en la frente, que aunque trae otros dos en el colodrillo, sólo aquél es el que da luz. Y les abre las puertas y guía a las camas donde están durmiendo, y les echa su bendición y sueño que no puedan despertar. Y luego la bruja que pidió venganza abre la boca a la persona de quien se pretende vengar y le mete en ella unos pocos de aquellos polvos, envueltos en un pedazo de pellejo de sapo, o les unta por el pescuezo y hombro izquierdo hacia los pechos, o en otras partes de su cuerpo, con el dicho unguento, diciendo: “El señor te dé mal de muerte”, o tal enfermedad por tanto tiempo. Y, luego, las tales personas comienzan a enfermar y padecer grandes dolores y trabajos, muriendo en breve tiempo y con **/348v/** grandes ansias los que han de morir, y padeciendo graves enfermedades y dolores los contra quien pidieron venganza de enfermedad.

Y a los niños que son pequeños, los chupan por el sieso y por su natura, apretándolos por las hijadas con las manos fuertemente, hasta que le sacan y chupan la sangre. Y con alfileres y agujas les pican las sienas, y en lo alto de la cabeza, y por el espinazo y otras partes y miembros de sus cuerpos. Y también por allí les chupan, diciéndoles el Demonio: “Chupad y tragad eso, que es bueno para vosotros”, de que mueren los niños, o quedan enfermos por mucho tiempo. Y otras veces los matan luego, apretándolos con las manos y mordiéndolos por la garganta hasta que los ahogan.

Older people they whip cruelly with thorns or twisted osiers, without their victims being able to moan and wake those in the house, for the Devil casts a spell on these. [In the confessions of the witches] reference is made to a large number of people whom they have slain or caused to fall seriously ill, as well as a vast number of children whom they have sucked or choked. Their names and those of their parents, as well as the occasions on which these crime were committed are specified clearly.

28. Whenever a witch has died—or whenever the witches have killed a person or child—the following rite takes place on the first night of *aquejarre* after the burial. The witches' assemble with the Devil and his servants and armed with hoes they go to the grave and dig up the body. The nearest kinsfolk, tearing off the shroud, open the corpse up and disembowel it with machetes, which they carry for the purpose. Then they quarter it on the top of the grave so that whatever falls out of the corpse remains there. Afterwards they cover up the grave, the Devil taking great care that all is left as before and that no one can see that they have been disturbing it.

Thereupon the nearest kinsfolk carry the corpse on their shoulders and, parents bearing their children or children their parents (or their brothers and sisters), they go to the *aquejarre* and cut up the corpse, dividing it into three portions, one of which they boil, another they roast, and the third they leave raw. Then the nearest relations share it out on a table they have in the field and they eat it cooked, raw or roasted. The Devil devours the heart whilst his servants consume the part which falls to them. The "dressed toads" are given their share which they eat up, snarling and growling among themselves.

The witches maintain that however decayed and stinking the corpse the flesh tastes better than mutton, capons or fowls and more so if it is the flesh of witches. They add that men's flesh is better and more tasty than that of women. Likewise they disinter many other persons who are not witches and who have died from natural causes. Whatever the origin the bones of the corpses are always gathered up and kept for another night.

29. At the following *aquejarre* they put the bones of previously devoured corpses into a cauldron and cook them up with a plant they call "belarrona" [deadly nightshade]. This herb possesses the property of softening the bones and leaving them like boiled turnips. Part of the pot's contents they eat and the rest the Devil and the

Y a los mayores los azotan cruelmente con unos espinos o mimbres retorcidos, sin que ellos se puedan quejar ni despertar los que están en casa, porque el Demonio los tiene encantados.

Y refieren gran número de personas, que han muerto y hecho que tuviesen gravísimas enfermedades. Y muy gran cantidad de niños que han chupado y ahogado, declarando sus nombres y los de sus padres, y el tiempo en que cometieron estas maldades.

28. Siempre que se mueren algunos brujos, o los brujos han muerto algunas personas o criaturas, en las primeras noches que han de ir al aquelarre después de los haber enterrado, se juntan con el Demonio y sus criados. Y llevando consigo azadas, van a las sepulturas y desentierran los tales muertos. Y quitándoles las mortajas los parientes más cercanos, con machetes que para ello llevan, los abren y sacan las tripas y los descuartizan encima de la sepultura para que lo que cayere del cuerpo, todo quede en ella. Y luego lo cubren con la tierra, concertándola y poniéndola el Demonio de la manera que estaba, que no se echa de ver que la han revuelto.

Y luego toman a cuestras el difunto los parientes más cercanos, y llevando los padres a sus hijos, o los hijos a sus padres y hermanos, se van al aquelarre y lo despedazan en puestas, dividiéndolo en tres partes. La una cuecen, la otra asan, y la otra dejan cruda. Y en una mesa que tienen en el campo los parientes más cercanos, lo reparten y lo comen cocido, crudo y asado, comiendo el Demonio el corazón y sus criados la parte que les cabe. Y a los sapos vestidos les dan su parte, que la comen rifando y gruñendo entre todos.

Y afirman que aunque más podridas y hediondas estén las carnes, les saben mejor que carnero, capones y gallinas; y mucho más que todo, la carne de los brujos; y que la de los hombres es mejor y más sabrosa que la de las mujeres. Y que en la misma forma desentierran otras muchas personas que no son brujos y mueren de sus enfermedades. Y los huesos de todos los recogen y guardan para otra noche.

29. La primera vez que después vuelven al aquelarre, echan a cocer los huesos del difunto que comieron antes, y con ellos una hierba que llaman “belarrona”,^p que tiene virtud de ablandar los huesos y les pone como si fueran nabos cocidos. Y una parte de ellos comen, y otra, el Demonio y brujos más ancianos, la machacan^q

^p Forma vasca de “belladona”.

^q Ms.: machan.

most senior witches pound in a mortar and squeeze through thin cloths, extracting from the bones a clear yellow liquid, which the Devil collects in a flask. The servants of the Devil gather up the sediment from the bones and brains of the corpses and keep it for the manufacture of powder and poison. The Devil gives /349r/ a little drop of the yellow liquid to each of the most favoured witches whom he holds in reserve for the perpetration of the major iniquities. The poisonous property of that evil liquid is such that anyone touched by it on any part of the body dies very shortly after, there being no known remedy.

30. Some of the witches who are kinsfolk and friends gather also of their own accord, especially when a child or relative of their's has died while yet small. Without the Devil they go to the church, dig up the corpse, bear it back to their house and devour it. The owner of the house provides the necessary bread and wine while the cost of the meal is shared out equally between them.

31. The witches confess to these and many other wickednesses, and large numbers of *confitentes* from other *aquejarres* confirm that they commit the said iniquities in the above-mentioned ways and with the same ceremonies. Truly the task of ascertaining all the abominations perpetrated by this treacherous sect is a prodigious one. And the persons who have been convicted for committing such crimes and who shall appear at the auto de fe are the following:

II. *List of the delinquents*

Reconciled for following the Sect of the Witches.

1. Graciana de Barrenechea—wife of Juanes de Iriarte, shepherd—“Queen of the *Aquejarre*” of Zugarramurdi, of eighty years.
2. Miguel de Goiburu, shepherd, *vecino* of Zugarramurdi, of sixty-six, “King of the *Aquejarre*” and “co-parent-in-law” with the said Graciana.
3. Estevanía de Iriarte—wife of Juanes de Goiburu, shepherd,—of thirty-six years.
4. María de Iriarte, of forty years, both daughters of the said Graciana.
5. Estevanía de Navarcorena—widow of Petri de Telechea, peasant—over eighty years.
6. María Pérez de Barrenechea—wife of Juanes de Burua—seventy years.

en unos morteros y los exprimen en unos paños delgados, y sacan de los dichos huesos un agua clara y amarilla que el Demonio recoge en una redoma. Y el cisco que queda de los huesos y sesos de los difuntos, los recogen y guardan los criados del Demonio y lo guardan para cuando se hacen polvos y ponzoñas.

Y de la dicha agua amarilla, da el Demonio /349r/ una poquita a cada uno de los brujos más privados, que él tiene reservados para que cometan mayores maldades. Y es tan grande la ponzoña y virtud de aquella mala agua que, tocando con ella a cualquiera persona en cualquier parte de su cuerpo, muere con mucha brevedad, sin que haya remedio humano para ella.

30. Y también acostumbran concertarse algunos parientes o amigos de los dichos brujos—mayormente cuando se ha muerto algún hijo o pariente suyo que sea pequeño—y van sin el Demonio a las iglesias y le desentierran y llevan a su casa y se lo comen, poniendo el dueño de la casa el pan y vino que es menester, y el gasto que se hace después lo reparten entre todos y lo pagan a escote.

31. Estas y otras muchas maldades confiesan estos brujos, y se comprueban con mucho número de confitentes de otros aquellarres que, en la misma forma y con las mismas ceremonias, cometen las dichas maldades. Y es piélagos muy hondo el haberse de averiguar todas las abominaciones que se cometen en esta pérvida secta. Y las personas que por haber cometídlas salen al auto, son las siguientes:

II. *Lista de reos*

Reconciliados por la secta de brujos.

1. Graciana de Barrenechea—mujer de Juanes de Iriarte, pastor—“Reina del aquellarre” de Zugarramurdi, de edad de ochenta años.
2. Miguel de Goiburu, pastor, vecino de Zugarramurdi, de edad de sesentaseis años, “Rey del aquellarre” y consuegro de la dicha Graciana.
3. Estevanía de Iriarte—mujer de Juanes de Goiburu, pastor—de edad de treintaseis años.
4. María de Iriarte, moza por casar, de edad de cuarenta años, ambas hijas de la dicha Graciana.
5. Estevanía de Navarcorena—viuda de Petri de Telechea, labrador—de edad de más de ochenta años.
6. María Pérez de Barrenechea—mujer de Juanes de Burua—de edad de setenta años.

7. María Juanto—widow of Juanes de Zapaguindegui, labourer—sixty years.
8. Martín Vizcar, peasant, apparently over eighty years.

All these eight persons were *vecinos* of the village of Zugarramurdi and witches of the *aquejarre* there. While prisoners and *confitentes* they died after receiving all that was expedient /349v/ for the healing of their souls. They were admitted to reconciliation, the pronouncement of their sentences being deferred until the day of the auto de fe. At the auto de fe their effigies in the habit and with the emblems of *reconciliados* shall be brought forth, whereupon the sentences of reconciliation shall be read out with confiscation of goods. And their bones shall be ordered to receive Christian burial.

9. María de Jureteguía—wife of Esteve de Navarcorena, peasant—twenty-two years.
10. Juana de Telechea—wife of Juanes de Lecumberri, miller—thirty-eight years.
11. Juanes de Goiburu, shepherd, son of the said Miguel de Goiburu, thirty-six. He is the drummer at the *aquejarre*.
12. Juanes de Sansín, who is a sievemaking, son of Sansín, first cousin of the afore-mentioned drummer at the *aquejarre*, over twenty years.
13. María Presona, a spinster, apparently of seventy years, and sister of the said Mari Juanto [no. 7, above].
14. María Chipía de Barrenechea—wife of Sabat de Zalayeta, carpenter—of fifty-two.
15. María de Echegui—wife of Martín de Machingorena, peasant—forty years.

The said seven persons are *vecinos* of Zugarramurdi and have attended the *aquejarre* of this village. They shall come forth at the auto de fe in the habit and with the emblems of *reconciliados*. They are to be admitted to reconciliation with confiscation of goods and perpetual habit and imprisonment except for the said Juana de Telechea. She shall be condemned to the habit and prison for one year. As for María de Jureteguía, her *sambenito* shall be removed publicly from her in the auto de fe and salutary penances shall be imposed on her so that she may be an example to everyone of the mercy shown to good *confitentes*.

7. María Juan—viuda de Juanes de Zapaguindegui, jornalero—de edad de sesenta años.
8. Martín Vizcar, labrador, de edad, al parecer, de más de ochenta años.

Estas ocho personas son todas vecinas del dicho lugar de Zugarramurdi, brujos del aquelarre que allí hay, y murieron estando presos y confitentes, habiéndoseles administrado todo lo que fue conveniente **/349v/** al remedio de sus almas. Y fueron admitidas a reconciliación, reservando la pronunciación de sus sentencias para el día del auto, al cual se sacan sus estatuas con hábitos e insignias de reconciliadas, donde se les leerán sus sentencias de reconciliación con confiscación de bienes, y a sus huesos se les manda dar eclesiástica sepultura.

9. María de Jureteguía—mujer de Esteve de Navarcorena, labrador—de edad de veintidós años.
10. Juana de Telechea—mujer de Juanes de Lecumberri, molinero—de edad de treintaiocho años.
11. Juanes de Goiburu, pastor—hijo del dicho Miguel de Goiburu—de edad de treintaisiete años; es el “Tamborino del aquelarre”.
12. Juanes de Sansín, que tiene oficio de hacer cribas—hijo de Sansín, primo hermano del precedente, “Atabalero del dicho aquelarre”—de edad de más de veinte años.
13. María Presona, mujer soltera, de edad de setenta años, al parecer, y hermana de la dicha María Juanto.
14. María Chipia de Barrenechea—mujer de Sabat de Zalayeta, carpintero—de edad de cincuenta años.
15. María de Echegui—mujer de Martín de Machingorena, labrador—de edad de cuarenta años.

Las dichas siete personas son vecinos y brujos del aquelarre de Zugarramurdi. Salen al auto con hábito e insignias de reconciliadas, y serán admitidas a reconciliación con confiscación de bienes, hábito y cárcel perpetua, excepto la dicha Juana de Telechea, que se le da hábito y cárcel por un año, y María de Jureteguía, que se le quita el sambenito en el tablado y se le ponen otras penitencias saludables para que sea ejemplo a todos de la misericordia que se usa con los buenos confitentes.

16. Beltrana de la Farga—the wife of Martín de Guarteburu—both poor beggars. She is a native of the village of Amou in the kingdom of France and a member of six *aquejarres* in the kingdom of Navarra, and forty years old. She confessed immediately after the Edict of Faith was read out.
17. Juanes de Lambert, black-smith, a witch of the *aquejarre* of the town of Rentería in the province of Guipúzcoa, native of Labastide in the kingdom of France, twenty-seven years old.
18. Juanes de Iribarren, black-smith, resident and a witch of the town of Echalar in the kingdom of Navarra, forty years old.

The three persons shall come forth at the auto de fe in the habits and with the emblems of *reconciliados* and they are to be admitted to reconciliation with confiscation of goods, a limited period of the habit and prison, and perpetual exile from the kingdom of Navarra and the province of Guipúzcoa. /350r/

Relaxed [*i.e.* burnt] on account of the said sect.

19. María de Zozaya Larramendi, a spinster from Oyeregui in the kingdom of Navarra, was a resident of the town of Rentería in the province of Guipúzcoa and witch of the same town's *aquejarre*. She died [in prison] at the age of eighty as a good *confitente* and admitted to reconciliation. Notwithstanding, since she has died, her bones shall be produced at the auto de fe with confiscation of goods and her effigy shall be relaxed to the secular arm, on account of her having been a notorious proselytiser for the sect.
20. Juanes de Echegui, peasant, sixty-eight years old.
21. María de Echalecu—widow of Pedro Sáinz, carpenter—forty years old.
22. Juanes de Odiá y Berechea, charcoal burner and sieve-maker, sixty years old.
23. Estevanía de Petrisancena—wife of Juanes de Azpilcueta, peasant—thirty-six years old.

All four persons were *vecinos* and witches of the *aquejarre* of Zugarramurdi and the farms of Urdax. They were imprisoned after being accused by a large number of witnesses of being witches of the said *aquejarre* and of having committed all the said evils. During the course of

16. Beltrana de la Farga,—mujer de Martín de Guarteburu—pobres mendigos. Natural del lugar de Amou,^r en el reino de Francia. Bruja de seis aquelarres del reino de Navarra, de edad de cuarenta años, y confesó luego que se le leyeron los edictos de la fe.
17. Juanes de Lambert, herrero, brujo del aquelarre de la villa de Rentería, en la provincia de Guipuzcoa. Natural de Labastida, en el reino de Francia, de edad de veintisiete años.
18. Juanes de Iribarren, herrero, vecino y brujo en el aquelarre de la villa de Echalar, del reino de Navarra, de edad de cuarenta años.

Estas tres personas salen al auto con hábitos e insignias de reconciliados, y son admitidos a reconciliación con confiscación de bienes, hábito y cárcel por tiempo limitado, y perpetuo destierro del reino de Navarra y provincia de Guipuzcoa. /350r/

Relajados por la dicha secta.

19. María de Zozaya Larramendi, mujer soltera, natural de Oyeregui, en el reino de Navarra, residente y bruja en el aquelarre de la villa de Rentería, de la provincia de Guipuzcoa, de edad de ochenta años. Murió siendo buena confitente y recibida a reconciliación. Por su muerte se sacan al auto sus huesos—con confiscación de bienes—y su estatua, serán relajados a la justicia y brazo seglar, por haber sido famosa dogmatizadora de brujos.
20. Juanes de Echegui, labrador, de edad de sesentaiocho años.
21. María de Echalecu—viuda de Pedro Sáinz, carpintero—de edad de cuarenta años.
22. Juanes de Odiá y Berechea, carbonero y cedacero, de edad de sesenta años.
23. Estevanía de Petrisancena—mujer de Juanes de Azpilcueta, labrador—de edad de treintaisiete años.

Vecinos todos cuatro y brujos del aquelarre de Zugarramurdi y caserías de Urdax. Fueron presos por estar testificados con mucho número de testigos, que eran brujos del dicho aquelarre y habían cometido todas las dichas maldades. En el discurso de sus causas

^r *Escrito:* Ayamau.

their trials they remained adamant and died in the secret prisons^{94c} as perverse and impenitent deniers. Their bones together with their effigies shall be produced at the auto de fe in the habit and with the emblems of the relaxed and they shall be handed over to the secular arm with confiscation of goods.

24. María de Arburu—widow of Juanes de Martinena, miller—is apparently seventy years of age. She succeeded Graciana de Barrenechea as “Queen of the *Aquelarre*”.
25. María Baztán de Borda—widow of Martín de Arburu, peasant—fifty-eight years old.
26. María de Echachute—wife of Juanes Francés—fifty-four years old.
27. Graciana Xarra—widow of Martín de Borda, shepherd, matron of the hostel of Urdax—sixty-six years old.
28. Petri de Juangorena, peasant, thirty-six years old.
29. Domingo de Subildegui, charcoal burner, native of Espelette in the kingdom of France and resident of Zugarramurdi, fifty years old.

The said six persons were imprisoned after being accused by a large number of witnesses of being witches of the *aquelarre* of Zugarramurdi and of having committed many offences. During the course of their trials they have remained perverse and impenitent deniers and they shall come forth at the auto de fe in the habit and with the emblems of relaxation and they shall be handed over in person to the secular arm with confiscation of goods.

30. Fray Pedro de Arburu, a priest and professed friar in the monastery of Urdax of the Premonstratensian Order which stands half a league from Zugarramurdi, his native town. He is a son of the above mentioned María de Arburu, the relaxed, and he is forty-three years old. **/350v/**
31. Don Juan de Borda y Arburu, priest and cleric, a first cousin of the said Fray Pedro de Arburu and son of the said María Baztán de Borda, relaxed. He is a native of Zugarramurdi and 34 years old.

^{94c} For witches who died during trial, see WA 145ff (table 4) and 150ff.

permanecieron y murieron en las cárceles secretas,^{4c} protervos, impenitentes, negativos. Salen al auto sus huesos con sus estatuas, hábito e insignias de relajados, y serán relajados a la justicia y brazo seglar con confiscación de bienes.

24. María de Arburu, viuda de Juanes de Martinena, molinero—de edad, al parecer, de setenta años. “Reina del aquelarre”, que sucedió en el oficio a Graciana de Barrenechea.
25. María Baztán de Borda—viuda de Martín de Arburua, labrador—de edad de cincuentaiocho años.
26. María de Echachute—viuda de Juanes Francés—de edad de cincuentaicuatro años.
27. Graciana Xarra—viuda de Martín de Borda, pastor—hospitalera del hospital de Urdax, de edad de sesentaseis años.
28. Petri de Juangorena, labrador, de edad de treintaseis años.
29. Domingo de Subildegui, carbonero, natural de Ezpeleta, en el reino de Francia, y vecino de Zugarramurdi, de edad de cincuenta años.

Las dichas seis personas fueron presas por estar testificadas con mucho número de testigos, que son brujas del aquelarre de Zugarramurdi y que han cometido gran número de maldades. En el discurso de sus causas han estado protervas, impenitentes, negativas. Salen al auto con hábito e insignias de relajados, y lo serán en persona a la justicia y brazo seglar, con confiscación de bienes.

30. Fray Pedro de Arburu, presbítero y fraile profeso en el monasterio de Urdax, de la orden de premostratenses, media legua de Zugarramurdi, donde es natural—e hijo de la dicha María de Arburu, relajada—de edad de cuarentaitres años. **/350v/**
31. Don Juan de Borda y Arburu, clérigo presbítero, primo hermano del dicho fray Pedro de Arburu, e hijo de la dicha María Bastán de Borda, relajada, natural de Zugarramurdi, de edad de treintaicuatro años.

[Here in the manuscript the inquisitors left space open to be filled in with the definitive sentences of the Council.]

Numbers 32 through 52 of the report are delinquents of other heresies whose sentences were to be read at the same auto de fe (cf. above, p. 101).

[. . .] **/351v/**

[Rubrics of the three inquisitors]

[Aquí, en el manuscrito, dejaron los inquisidores espacio en blanco para poder añadir las sentencias definitivas del Consejo.]

Los números del 32 al 52 del informe corresponden a reos de otras herejías: judaísmo, mahometismo y luteranismo, proposiciones heréticas e impostores del Santo Oficio. Dichas veintiuna personas fueron sentenciadas en el mismo auto que las brujas, pero ninguna con pena de muerte.

... /**351v**/

[Rúbricas de los tres inquisidores]

CHAPTER TWO

THE DISCLOSURES OF THE JESUIT

Introduction

On 5th September 1610, during the visit to Lerma, Philip III has written to a number of high-ranking clerics asking them to send preachers up into the mountains to preach against the evil sect of the Devil. The Jesuit Provincial for Castile, Father Gaspar de Vegas in Valladolid, is one of those who has received the King's circular. He passes the request on to a Jesuit college in Bilbao, where the necessary language skills are available. Two Basque-speaking Jesuits, Hernando de Solarte and Diego de Medrano, are given the task. The former is just out of university, the latter has recently assisted at the witch-sentencing in Logroño, where he has confessed two of the condemned.¹ Around 21st November—just two weeks after the auto de fe—they arrive in Lesaca, the largest of the so-called “Five Towns” (*Las Cinco Villas*) of the Bidasoa Valley not far from Zuggarramurdi. There the witch-madness is at boiling-point and rumours and accusations are rife. According to Solarte the town has 300 households and of these 200 are suspected of being in league with the Devil. The Jesuits continue to the other four towns—Vera, Echalar, Aranaz and Yanci—where things are just as bad.

At first Solarte is shaken to hear how children and young people are abducted during the night and taken to the witches' sabbat, and the parents can do nothing—either with crosses, rosaries or holy water. Yet before long he realizes that the real problem is not the witches, but the lies, the accusations, the persuasions, the conspiracies, the violence and the illegal torture that is being applied to coerce confessions of witchcraft. In Yanci, the last of the towns visited, Solarte succeeds in opening the eyes of the acting parish priest Martín de Irisarri to the true facts of the matter. Irisarri, said to be the most learned man in the region, has hitherto been a zealous persecutor of the witches, but after the meeting with Solarte he

¹ Cf. above, p. 55.

becomes their most energetic defender. The report is built up as two conversion narratives: first there is the story of Solarte's conversion from believer in witchcraft to sceptic; and framed within this we have another narrative of the "conversion" of the parish priest in Yanci.²

After staying a month in the Pyrenees, the Jesuits return to their college in Bilbao. But no sooner is Solarte home than he receives one letter after another from the parish priest of Yanci telling him of new tragedies and reminding the Jesuit of his promise of help to the distressed region. "If it were not for trusting in you, Father, I would direct myself to other bodies in search of a solution," writes Irisarri in one of these letters, which Solarte copies and, trusting in the discretion of his superior, includes in the reports to Gaspar de Vegas in Valladolid.

Solarte's reports totally undermine the Tribunal's theory of a witches' plot, and he is clearly afraid of having trodden on the toes of the Inquisition: "It could be objected that we appear to be going against the findings of the lord inquisitors," he says at one point, then immediately glosses over it in good Jesuitic fashion: in the first place the witches in Las Cinco Villas can in no way be compared to those from Zugarramurdi and other towns, who have been sentenced at the auto de fe, and about whose confessions he has himself read a report; in the second place the inquisitors, in the case of Las Cinco Villas, cannot help having been misled by the local authorities as well as their own agents in the area (doc. 3, 2r-v).

On his journey home Solarte has already written to his Provincial from Pamplona. But either Don Gaspar has not received these letters or else he has chosen to ignore them. The latter is the most likely possibility, for when he receives the two long reports from Solarte in Bilbao (docs. 3 and 4), they appear to burn his hands so much that he does not dare keep them but delivers them up to the Inquisition.³ This is why the two letters are covered in underscor-

² Martín de Irisarri (or "Yrisarri" as he writes his name) belonged to a prominent family of Yanci, whose *palacio* with its coat of arms is still found on a hill side at the outskirts of the town. From the parish register we learn that he died on 19th December 1622 as parish priest of Yanci (courtesy of José Luis Sales Tirapu, archivist of the ADP). In a lawsuit from 1618, however, he is referred to as curate (*vicario*), the parish priest (*rector*) being Antonio de Argarate, who at the time was living in Rome (ADP 672-24, 1r, 5r).

³ The two letters were delivered to the Tribunal by the Principal of the Jesuit College in Logroño (WA 223).

ings, indignant exclamations and fuming marginal comments, all from the Senior Inquisitor, Becerra, who personally presented the letters in the Tribunal on 11th February 1611 (doc. 3, note a).

It was a complete surprise to the inquisitors that there had been any preachers up in the area at all; they had in fact given a procrastinating reply to some religious houses in Logroño when they had declared their willingness to go up into the mountains. The brain behind this undermining of the Logroño Tribunal's authority was the Bishop of Pamplona, but he was too high-ranking a cleric for the Inquisition to strike out at him. Nor do they seem to have wished to touch Solarte. Instead the two senior inquisitors, Becerra and Valle, decided to issue arrest orders for the parish priest Irisarri for working against the Inquisition. But the plan was foiled by Salazar, who exercised his veto, so that the issue had to be submitted to the Inquisition Council.

After shelving the case for a few months the Council once more decided in favour of Salazar and urged his colleagues to greater openness in the whole matter: "If there be in this affair any zealous and pious Christian persons who may wish to elucidate something to you which might be at variance with the opinion you yourself have formed, you are not to be angered. On the contrary, you should hear what they have to say with mildness and gratitude."⁴

⁴ *Lib.* 333, 170v–171r, C/T 28.6.1611, signed by four inquisitorial councillors: Alonso Márquez de Prado, Juan de LLano y Valdés, Gaspar de Quiroga and Rodrigo de Castro y Bobadilla.

3. *First Letter of the Jesuit Hernando de Solarte to the Provincial of the Company of Jesus, Gaspar de Vegas at Valladolid (Bilbao, 17th January 1611)*¹

*2

JHS³

Pax Christi, etc.

I have received the letter from Your Reverence dated the 7th of this month replying to one I wrote from Arteaga. It appears from this that others which I wrote by way of Pamplona concerning this case of witches cannot have reached Your Reverence's hands.⁵ In these I gave an account of what happened to me in each village and what I discovered. Therefore I see myself obliged to repeat the narrative even though it is very long and requires much time if it is to be told with the necessary clarity and explicitness. Nonetheless I shall endeavour to tell it as best I can.

The week before Advent I arrived at the town of Lesaca. I have informed Your Reverence of the importance of this town in the matter of witchcraft. My report was based on what I learned from those making direct investigations and what was already common knowledge. Out of three hundred *vecinos* [residents or "heads of families"] two hundred [persons] were suspected of being witches.⁶ The second

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 8[a], 1r-2v.

² *In the upper margin written in the hand of the Tribunal:* The Señor Inquisitor, Doctor Alonso de Becerra, delivered this letter to the Tribunal on 11th February 1611. It was written to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus. *And the text underlined: "1611 . . . Society of Jesus".*

³ *Monogram for "Jesus Hominum Salvator".*

⁴ *In the left hand margin written in the hand of Inquisitor Becerra:* Attention! *And the text underlined: "others which I wrote . . . Your Reverence's hands. In these".*

⁵ None of the letters referred to at the beginning of the text have been kept, but from the passage about Pamplona we may infer, that Solarte and his colleague after their journey to Las Cinco Villas made their way home via Pamplona. Counting backwards from 7th January, this must have been before Christmas 1610. However, it does not appear that Solarte had any opportunity to speak to the Bishop on that occasion.

⁶ One *vecino* is estimated to count for five inhabitants. Cf. WA 213, the statistics on witches issued by the Tribunal on 9th March 1611. The Lesaca figure of witches under suspicion was by then 253 out a total of 1,190 inhabitants.

3. *Primera carta del jesuita Hernando de Solarte
al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús Gaspar de Vegas en
Valladolid (Bilbao, 17 de enero 1611)*^a

*b

JHS

Pax Christi, etc.

He recibido la de Vuestra Reverencia de 7 de éste, en respuesta de una que escribí a Vuestra Reverencia desde Arteaga, y por ella me parece no deben de haber llegado a manos de Vuestra Reverencia, *c otras que acerca de este caso de brujas escribí a Vuestra Reverencia por vía de Pamplona,⁵ en las cuales daba cuenta a Vuestra Reverencia de lo que en cada pueblo me sucedía y lo que en cada lugar iba descubriendo al punto, y así será forzoso hacerlo de nuevo, aunque la historia es muy larga y requiere mucho tiempo para le contar con la distinción y claridad que era menester. Con todo eso procuraré decirlo con el mejor modo que pudiere.

Yo llegué una semana antes de Adviento a la villa de Lesaca, cuya disposición en esta materia de brujería, según me dijeron los que tratan de la cosa y era público en el lugar, era el que dije a Vuestra Reverencia, que de trescientos vecinos, los doscientos estaban infamados.⁶ La segunda villa adonde fui era la villa de Vera.

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1 No. 8[a], 1r–2v.

^b *En el margen superior, escrito con letra del Tribunal:* Esta carta entregó en el Tribunal el señor inquisidor, doctor Alonso Becerra, en 11 de febrero de este año de 1611. Escrita al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús. Y con texto subrayado: “de 1611 . . . Compañía de Jesús”.

^c *En el margen izquierdo con letra del inquisidor Becerra:* ¡Ojo! Y el texto subrayado: “otras que acerca . . . Pamplona, en las”.

town I visited was Vera which has about as many *vecinos*.⁷ In this place I learned that certain persons had fled. The third town was Echalar where the best informed [person] said there would be about eighty witches.⁸ The fourth town was Aranaz and the last Yanci both of which have roughly as many [witches].⁹

*5 In all these towns I encountered great confusion and widely differing stories accompanied by grievous distress and obvious anxiety. As the people began to flock round us I was immediately informed by the agent of the Inquisition that some persons in the town of Lesaca, who had at first admitted to being witches, had later retracted their
 *6 confessions. Since the inquisitors had issued express orders that no one was to hear the confession of any witch I declared we would on no account hear their confession. This in truth grieved me and caused me to wonder. I was struck not by the novelty of denying them absolution, but by the refusal even to receive and hear them. However, these were the circumstances and I continued my journey to Vera.

Here there were more people involved and the plague of witchcraft had wrought greater harm. It was also widely discussed in this village. Even though we had little time available the priests who came to see us immediately gave us a report on the situation. I pondered on what each one told me. I noticed that in one town they had kept vigil over the children for more than a year without sleeping a single night, and that if by chance they had been careless one night, the children had been taken immediately. In another town the people told us that the children were no longer taken. In yet

⁵ *Marginal note in the hand of Solarte*: In all this it should be noted that there are three different groups among these people. Some people although accused have never confessed. Others confessed once to being witches and later went back on their statements. To these two groups I do not attach much importance. The third group consists of those who confess to being witches and pride themselves on it. It is here that the difficulty lies.

⁶ *In the margin a cross and written in the hand of the Council*: Concerning the instructions from the inquisitors that no one was to listen to the confession of a witch.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.* The Vera figure of witches under suspicion was by 9th March 219 out of a total of 950 inhabitants (see above, p. 40f).

⁸ Solarte's figure for Echalar corresponds almost exactly with that given in the *Tribunal's Statistics by 9th March 1611*: 82 persons under suspicion out of a total of 425 inhabitants (WA 213).

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, where the figures of persons under suspicion are given as respectively 129 for Aranaz (with Sumbilla) and 94 for Yanci.

En ésta, que es de otros tantos vecinos,⁷ supe que escapaba cual o cual. La tercera villa fue la de Echalar, adonde el que mejor decía, era que serían como ochenta [brujas].⁸ La cuarta fue Aranaz, y la última Yanci, que tenían otros tantos, poco más o menos.⁹

*^d Topé en todos ellos grande confusión, mucha variedad y poca constancia; por otra parte, grave aflicción y notable pena. Como la gente comenzó a cargar sobre nosotros, lo primero que me notificó un ministro de la Inquisición, fue que unas personas, que había en la villa de Lesaca, habían^c confesado una vez ser brujas y después *^f lo habían negado. Había orden de los señores inquisidores, no las confesase ninguno. Dije que en ninguna manera las oiríamos de confesión. Bien es verdad que me dio pena y reparé, porque me pareció cosa nueva, no el negarles la absolución, sino el no admitirlos aun a oírlos. Pero pasó esto y pasé a Vera.

Fue mayor el número y el mal de esta pestilencia, y más lo que se hablaba de ello; y aunque teníamos poco tiempo, con todo eso, los sacerdotes que nos venían a ver, luego nos daban cuenta de lo que pasaba. Yo reparaba en lo que unos y otros decían, y hallaba que en una villa velaban los muchachos, había un año, sin dormir noche ninguna. Y acaso una [noche] que se descuidaron, luego los llevaron. En otra villa ya nos decían que no los llevaban; en otra,

^d *En el margen con letra de Solarte:* Para todo lo que se dice se note que hay tres diferencias de estas personas: Unas que acusadas nunca han confesado; otras que una vez han confesado ser brujas y luego volvieron a negar, y de estos dos no hago yó caudal; las terceras son las que confiesan ser brujas y se precian de ello, y de estos es toda la dificultad.

^c *Ms.:* que habían.

^f *En el margen una cruz y con letra del Consejo:* Lo del confesor que había orden de los inquisidores para que nadie confesase a ningún brujo.

another they claimed they knew the women who attended the *aque-larre*; and in another that every one of them went disguised so as to pass unrecognized.

It touched me to the quick to imagine innocents ill-treated in the way the people said. I prayed earnestly to the Lord, placing the matter in His Hands and I told them to call on His Name or to make the sign of the Cross when they found themselves at the gathering. They, however, answered me that they could not because they were prevented from doing so. I suggested that in the evenings they should sprinkle Holy Water and have *agnusdéis*¹⁰ and rosaries at hand. To this they replied that none of these were of any use. I proposed other remedies which I told them were recommended by the authorities against this evil, but they all laughed at my suggestions. I was struck by this and it also caught the attention of other priests.

By chance they brought to me a young lad of some sixteen years with a lively mind and the morals of an angel. He was the nephew of the rector of Vera. The other children in the village accused him of having been seen at the *aque-larre*. This charge he strongly denied. His uncle, who as it happens is an agent of the Inquisition, has done the most extraordinary things to the boy in order to make him confess. He has gone so far as tying the boy naked to a bed and thrashed him senseless, whereupon they had to take him up wrapped in some sheets. I spoke with this lad and inquired why he would not tell the truth. He replied by asking me whether he could say a thing was true when it was not. I answered no, but that it was a serious matter when so many agreed in saying that they had seen him [at the witches' sabbat]. He said to me: "Father, all those who speak thus are boys who once would have been glad of maize bread [i.e. poor men's food] but now that they are being given very good things to eat and drink they declare whatever they are required to by those who question them. Others are placed beside boiling cauldrons so that they speak from fear and lie without restraint whilst others are subjected to similar violence." /1v/ Although what this boy told me appeared to be childish nonsense, yet from the statements of the priests and other persons I found it indeed to be true.

⁷ *In the margin in the letter of the Council:* The parents and kinsfolk torture them so that they confess to being witches and they treat gently those who do confess. *And the text underlined:* "Who once would have been glad of eating maize . . . similar violence".

¹⁰ *agnusdéis*, a small disk of wax stamped with the figure of the lamb, as an emblem of Christ, bearing a cross or a banner.

que conocían a las que iban a la junta y aquellarre; en otra, que todas iban cubiertas y que no las conocían.

Llegábame al alma ver unos inocentes ser maltratados como ellos decían. Encomendaba la cosa con veras a Nuestro Señor. Decíales invocasen su nombre cuando se hallasen en la junta, o hiciesen la señal de la Cruz^g; decíanme que no podían porque se lo estorbaban. [Decíales] que a las noches echasen agua bendita, tuviesen agnus,^{o10} rosario, etc.; [contestaban] que de nada aprovechaba^h al fin éstos y otros remedios [que] les decía, que traen los autores para este mal, y todos se reían. Causóme admiración y lo mismo causaba a otros sacerdotes.

Acaso trajéronme un mocito de hasta dieciseis años, de vivo ingenio y un ángel en las costumbres, sobrino del rector de Vera, que le habían acusado los demás muchachos del lugar haberle visto en el aquellarre, y él había negado fuertemente. Es su tío familiar de la Inquisición, y ha hecho en el muchacho extraordinarias cosas para hacerle confesar, hasta atarle a una cama en carnes y darle tantos azotes, que era menester envolverle en unas sábanas, faltándole ya la respiración. A éste le dije que por qué no decía la verdad. Respondióme que si él podía decir que lo era no lo siendo. Díjele que no, pero que era cosa recia el concertarse tantos y decir que le habían visto. Díjome: “Padre, todos esos que lo dicen son muchachos que no se hartaban de borona y ahora danles muy bien de comer y beber, y dicen lo que quieren que digan los que les preguntan, y a otros pónenlos junto a calderas hirviendo y hacen otras cosas a este modo, y con eso dicen de miedo y mienten largo.” **/lv./** Esto que me dijo este muchacho me pareció muchachería, y hallé que era mucha verdad a dicho de sacerdotes y otras personas.

^g En el Ms. señalado con una cruz: la †.

^h Ms.: que nada aprovechaban.

ⁱ Nota marginal con letra del Consejo: Que hacen tormentos los padres y deudos para que confiesen son brujos, y a otros que confiesan alagan. Y el texto subrayado: “que no se artaban . . . y mienten largo.”

At this time a girl, already quite old, also came to me with a priest asking if I would listen to her confession; for although she had declared that she was a witch, in reality she was not. I said that I would not hear her [confession] because there were instructions from the Inquisition to this effect. They begged me at least to listen to her misery and console her though it were outside the confessional. This I did and she related how the word had gone about that she had been seen at the *aquelarre* and how her kinsfolk and father in consequence had put pressure on her. They had been so insistent that they had forced her to lie: her father placed a dagger at her breast and told her that if she confessed she would be free, neither would she be taken to Logroño nor be exposed to any other penalty. Accepting this end and thinking that by confessing her lie to a priest the matter would be settled, she admitted her “guilt” and in doing so she added details which are appalling to hear and which would take a long time to recite.⁸

Profoundly impressed by what I had seen I made my way to the third town which is called Echalar. My misgivings were already aroused by this time. At this town, quite by chance, a person came up to me and said: “Father, I have a shepherd boy of some sixteen years who is a witch and has admitted it before the commissioners. Every night he is borne off and [on his return] he speaks of those whom he recognizes. I should like you to talk to him.” I agreed and they brought him to the house [where I was staying]. On a sudden impulse, I took the lad into a room alone where I questioned him. He told me that he was a witch and went to the gathering every night, and that he guarded toads which were dressed in black cloth with a ribbon of bells. He also claimed that he saw the he-goat who had three horns, the one in the middle being like a lighted candle, and went on to make similar assertions. His face was scratched and

⁸ In the margin a squiggle that goes down to the “Attention!” noted by Becerra (see below note 10). Over this is added a marginal note by the Council: Investigations made by the *teatino* [i.e. the Jesuit] into witchcraft to see if witches exist.

⁹ In the margin in the hand of the Council(?): ¡Attention! And the text underlined: “His face was scratched”.

¹¹ This girl may be identified as 21-year-old María de la Peña of Vera (case no. 453) who had made her confession to the inquisitorial commissioner at Lesaca on 28th March 1610. She is mentioned in a letter from Vera’s parish priest, Hualde, to the Tribunal reporting on the Jesuits’ visit to Vera during his absence at Christmas time, where they refused to give absolution to María de Peña’s aunt who confessed to having persuaded her niece to make a false confession (WA 219).

Aquí también, a esta sazón, vino una doncella de edad crecida, con un sacerdote, pidiendo que la confesase, que, aunque había dicho que era bruja, en realidad de verdad no lo era. Yo dije que no la confesaría porque había orden de la Inquisición para ello. Rogáronme que siquiera fuera de confesión le oyese su desdicha y la consolase. Yo la oí, y me dijo cómo habiendo dicho de ella que la habían visto en el aquelarre, la apretaron sus parientes y padre
 *j tanto, que la habían hecho mentir, poniéndole su padre un puñal en los pechos y diciéndole que con que confesase sería libre, y ni la llevarían a Logroño, ni tendría otra pena ninguna. Ella, pareciéndole aquello bien, y que después con confesar a un sacerdote su mentira, estaba acabado, lo había dicho, y otras cosas que espantan el oírlas y sería largo el decirlas.¹¹

Lleno de estas cosas, pasé a la tercera villa, que se dice Echalar, adonde ya me dio mala espina y comencé a maliciar. Vino por ventura una persona y díjome: “Padre, yo tengo un pastorcico de hasta dieciseis años, que es brujo y ha confesado delante del comisario, y le llevan cada noche, y dice de los que conoce, y querría que le hablase.” Yo dije que en hora buena. Me lo trajeron^k a casa, y no sé con qué impulso cogí al mozuelo a solas en un aposento, preguntéle y díjome que era brujo y que cada noche iba a la junta, que guardaba sapos que estaban vestidos de paño negro con una cinta de cascabeles; que veía al cabrón que tenía tres cuernos, y el
 *l de[] medio era como una vela encendida, y otras cosas. Traía arañada la cara, y preguntéle que qué era aquello. Respondióme

^j Al margen un renglón que llega hasta donde pone Becerra “¡Ojo!” (véase abajo, nota l). Encima una nota añadido con mano del Consejo: Diligencias que hizo el teatino [i.e. el Jesuita] con los brujos para ver si es cierto que los hay.

^k Ms.: Trújole, pero, véase abajo donde menciona las mujeres que trajeron al chico.

¹ En el margen con letra del Consejo(?): ¡Ojo! Y el texto subrayado: “traía arañada la cara”.

I asked him why. He answered that the wicked woman who was taking him had done it because he had exposed her. Finally, when *¹⁰ he had finished speaking, I put my arms around him, patting him and telling him as kindly as I could, that he should tell me the truth and that he was not to be afraid of anyone. No one, I assured him, would know and he would not come to harm. For it was impossible that all this should be true. Someone for certain had been misleading him.

At first he refused but as he mumbled something I took heart and the second or third time he told me all openly. He said that three women had summoned him and promised him a shirt, four *reales* and other things, if he would declare that a particular woman had made him a witch against his will and that he had seen certain persons at the *aqueelarre*. These three women had told him what he was to say and what he was to do.¹¹ However, their real motive for bribing the boy was their personal hatred of these people. I asked him whether they had done the same with other boys and he replied that he only knew of two others, no more.¹²

This was the beginning of the exposure. I feigned ignorance for the time being and some priests who were in the house at the same moment read the Gospels over him.¹³ I assured those women who had brought him that after such blessings it was impossible for him to be taken. Keeping up the pretence, the boy went away. The following day, however, it was spread abroad that he had been taken once again. On the pretext that I had forgotten to give him a piece of *agnusdei* I summoned him. They brought the boy to me, although unwillingly. Once he was alone with me he confirmed all he had said the first time. He added that the women who kept him in their house had been unwilling to let him come, and that on the way to my lodgings they had warned him against telling me the truth. I

¹⁰ *In the margin in the hand of Becerra: Attention! And text underlined: "I put my arms . . . it was impossible".*

¹¹ "and what he was to do"; added in the right hand margin by Solarte.

¹² This 16-year-old shepherd boy from Echalar cannot be properly identified, but see below, doc. 9.2, where Solarte returns to his case. The same shepherd boy is also mentioned in *Solarte's Fourth Report*, 190v–191r.

¹³ Reading the Gospel over bewitched people was a kind of exorcism and the Church's traditional way of dealing with witchcraft and possession. The text was usually the beginning of Saint John.

*m que la mala mujer que le llevaba, se lo había hecho porque la había descubierto. Al fin, después que hubo desembuchado, abracéle, acariciéle y díjele con las mejores palabras que pude, que me dijese la verdad, que no tuviese miedo de nadie, que nadie lo sabría y que nada perdería, y que no era posible que aquello fuese verdad, que alguno le habría engañado sin falta.

Díjome la primera vez de no, aunque entre dientes. Yo me animé más, y a la segunda o tercera, declaróme todo de plano; y era que tres mujeres le habían llamado y ofrecídele una camisa, cuatro reales, etc., con que dijese que, sin querer, le había embrujado fulana, y que dijese que veía allí a zutana y zutana, y que aquellas tres, le habían dicho lo que había de decir, etc., <y cómo había de fingir>,ⁿ porque tenían odio con estas personas. Preguntéle que si habrían hecho lo que con él, con otros. Díjome que de otros dos solos, sabía él, y no más.^{o12}

Este fue el principio del descubrirse. Disimulé por entonces, dijéronle unos evangelios^{o13} unos sacerdotes que estaban a la sazón en casa, y dije a las que le traían, que no era posible que de allí [en] adelante le llevasen con tales bendiciones al muchacho, y con toda disimulación se fue; pero, luego, el día siguiente se divulgó que le habían llevado. Trajéronmele otra vez con achaque de que se me había olvidado de darle un poco de agnus; vino, aunque le enviaron de mala gana, confirmóse en lo primero y [en] que aquellas mujeres que le tenían en su casa no le querían dejar venir, y que cuando le traían, no le encargaban otra cosa, sino que se guardase de decirme

^m En el margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Ojo! Y el texto subrayado: “abracéle, acariciéle . . . que no era posible que aquello fuese verdad”.

ⁿ “y cómo había de fingir”; añadido en el margen derecho por Solarte.

explained to him how he was to avoid sinning from then on and to lie and speak in such a way that they [*i.e.* the three women] would not realize the true situation—no mean task. Afterwards, a similar case occurred. Here the circumstances were repeated, except that the boy told me that his parents would not let him alone until he had confessed; thus his confession was the result of direct pressure.¹⁴

At this point I became aware of the two principal sources of this evil, first, the inventions of the wicked persons motivated by hatred and desire for revenge, and, secondly, fear of parents. The latter takes the following form: one or two children declare: “We have seen so-and-so, son of such-and-such at the gathering.” These remarks next reach the parents who, zealous for their faith and their honour, are eager that their child should not be condemned. They do not stop at anything, just or unjust, until they have forced the children to declare what is palpably false. Thereupon the parents are satisfied and fuss over them, for once the confession has been made they consider all their problems as solved. We could dwell at great length on what is happening and how the parents have become the tormentors of their children.

It is, however, far easier to explain why all the children agree with one another, for there is nothing more discussed than the events of the gathering and there is no child that does not know the main details. Further, when on special points they are asked “Have you seen this or that?”, they invariably answer yes. The process repeats itself: word travels from one village to another where everything that has happened is commented upon with much lamentation and weeping. In a short space of time the children of the neighbouring village come to know all about witchcraft and the parents, fearful lest their children should have become infected, squeeze them until they draw blood. In this way the whole district falls prey to fear and, unless Our Lord provides a remedy, the evil will continue to increase. /2r/

We reached the fourth town [Aranaz] where we were further confirmed in our impressions by many other testimonies. For example, I came across a boy who had claimed that he recognized the witches on sight and that he had “the seal”. However, to me he

¹⁴ Cf. doc. 9.4 where Solarte returns to this case informing that it is about a 13-year-old shepherd boy from Echalar.

a mí la verdad. Yo le dí modo cómo de allí adelante no pecase <mintiendo, y hablase> de manera^o que ellas [*i.e.* las tres mujeres] no entendiesen nada, que no fue poco. Después de éste vino otro y sucedióme con éste lo mismo, pero éste me dijo que lo había dicho por pura persuasión de sus padres, que no le dejaban hasta que lo confesase.¹⁴

Y ya aquí descubrí los dos principios de la maldad, que eran ficción de algunas malas personas por odios y venganzas; el otro, por miedo de sus padres, y de esta manera que los muchachos, uno o dos, dicen: a fulano, hijo de zutano, hemos visto en la junta. Van a sus padres, y ellos, como tan celosos de la fe, de la honra y de que su hijo no se condene, no hay medio que no pongan ni inventen, justo o injusto, hasta hacerles decir lo que no es; y, entonces, están contentos y los regalan, porque, en cofesándolo, luego, les parece está remediado. Y en este particular es largo de contar lo que pasa y ver a los padres hechos verdugos de sus hijos.

Pero cómo concuerdan los unos muchachos con los otros es fácil y cierto, porque no hay cosa de que más se hable, que de lo que pasa en la junta, y no hay niño que lo común no sepa, y en lo particular dícenles: “¿Y habéis visto esto y esto?” Y responden, sí. Y esto no sólo es en un pueblo, pero, de un pueblo pasa la voz a otro, y allí se dice todo cuanto pasa en éste, con mil llantos y lástimas; y así, a pocos trechos, saben los niños del otro pueblo la ciencia; y los padres, también medrosos de que no haya llegado por sus hijos, apriétanles y sacan sangre. A este modo está perdida toda la tierra, y, si el Señor no lo remedia, ha de cundir y pasar adelante. /2r/

Llegamos a la cuarta villa [Aranaz], y aquí nos confirmamos con el dicho de otros muchos de la misma manera, y, entre ellos, a uno topé que había dicho conocía de vista a las brujas y que tenía el sello,

^o En el Ms. corregido de: no pecase y de manera. La corrección “mintiendo y hablase” añadido por Solarte en el margen.

confessed that all he had said was made up. In reality he bore the marks of an abscess which he had declared to be “the seal”.¹⁵

I proceeded to Yanci where the truth of all this struck me yet
 *12 more forcibly. However, we did not want to inquire further lest the whole thing should get out, even though we always imposed the strictest silence in every case. In this town there was a rector named the licenciado [Martín de] Irisarri, a very learned man and greatly revered in that district, and one whom the Inquisition holds in high esteem. He relates so many experiences which appear to provide unassailable proofs that they are beyond count. I saw that this man was totally convinced, and one of the chief advocates of the persecutions of witches. We became friends and we used to enjoy a debate together. Once when alone I said to him in strict privacy: “Could
 *13 we not look at the problem in a variety of ways? You must understand that I am saying this merely for the sake of argument.” He fell silent, arched his brows, and promising me full secrecy he admitted that this had never occurred to him before.

The next day he summoned a girl about nineteen years from the town of Lesaca¹⁶—about half a mile from there—who was notorious for having denounced many. He took her into a room with Father Juan López and said to her: “Look, María, the Lord has sent us these fathers to heal our souls and in particular yours, should it be necessary. See that you tell us the truth if, God forbid, you have borne false witness against anyone.” Father Juan López¹⁷ relates that

¹² *In the margin in the hand of the Tribunal: Attention! And text underlined: “However, we did not want . . . strictest silence”.*

¹³ *In the margin with letter of Becerra: Attention! And the text underlined: “named the licenciado Irisarri . . . never occurred to him before. The next day he summoned”.*

¹⁵ ‘The seal’ (*el sello*), literally ‘the mark’. A mark on the body—not to be confused with the witch mark—believed to be a token of the bearer’s supernatural powers, e.g. for curing snakebites, rabies, or the gift for recognizing the witches. In Spain this kind of virtuous gifted individuals were called *saludadores*, literally ‘healers’. Cf. below, doc. 9.5, where more details are given about this witch-finder boy and we learn that he was French.

¹⁶ Cf. doc. 9.8, where Solarte returns to the case of 19-year-old María of Lesaca. Strangely enough, she is not among the 80 *revocantes* in Volume “F” of Salazar’s *Visitation Book*, as we could have expected, but maybe she was among the people in Lesaca who by October 1613 were still waiting for an opportunity to recant their confession (cf. doc 14.18).

¹⁷ No further information is found about this Father Juan López. But from the way Irisarri introduces him to the girl, “the Lord has sent us these fathers”, we

y me dijo que todo era ficción cuanto había dicho, y que una postemilla que había tenido, aquella yaguilla había dicho que era el sello.^{o15}

*p Pasé a Yanci y aquí topé aún más clara la cosa, y no quisimos ya preguntar más porque no se descubriese la cosa, aunque siempre encargábamos todo silencio en el caso. En esta villa había un rector que se dice el licenciado Irisarri, hombre muy docto y el oráculo de aquella tierra, y de quien la Inquisición hace mucho caso, y el que en esta materia cuenta tantas experiencias que parecen evidencias, que no se pueden decir. Como yo vi a éste tan fuerte, o que era toda la fortaleza de la cosa, como se me hizo del amigo y disputaba conmigo de algunas cosas con gusto, díjele a solas, una vez, con todo secreto: “Señor licenciado, ¿no podría ser ésto de ésta
 *q y de ésta manera? Haga cuenta Vuestra Merced que lo digo por modo de disputa.” Enmudeció y arqueó las cejas y ofrecióme todo secreto, y [dijo] que hasta entonces no había caído en la cosa.

Llamó el día siguiente una moza de hasta diecinueve años, de la villa de Lesaca^{o16}—media legua de allí—que era famosa y había dicho mucho y contra muchas. Metióla en un aposento con el padre Juan López^{o17} y díjola: “Mirad María, que estos padres nos ha enviado el Señor para remedio de nuestras almas, y en especial de la vuestra, si acaso tiene necesidad, etc. Mirad que nos digais la verdad, si acaso, lo que Dios no quiera, habeis levantado a alguno algún testimonio.” Dice [el padre Juan López] que comenzó a llorar y

^p Al margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Ojo! Y el texto subrayado: “y no quisimos . . . silencio”.

^q Al margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Ojo! Y el texto subrayado desde: “dice el licenciado Irisarri . . . no había caído en la cosa. Llamó el día siguiente”.

might infer that he belonged to the group of Jesuits. However, in that case it is strange that Solarte does not mention him along with his companion, Father Medrano (cf. above, p. 55).

she began to weep saying: “Sir, what happened was that two women threatened to kill me if I did not declare against so-and-so and so-and-so.” Thus she affirmed how much she had lied, and Father López says that the *licenciado* went as white as a sheet. Secrecy and absolute silence were imposed on them.¹⁴

With this we set off for Lesaca where it befell that I questioned a half-grown lad who had also said he was a witch together with many other things. His story was the same as the others’.

So this is the case. Just as these have said, so without fail will everyone declare, the day it all begins to come out.¹⁵ Through the denunciations of these unfortunates the district is betrayed. People are branded, wrongs are committed that can neither be defined nor calculated and [many] are committed to the prisons of the Inquisition. We are told that they are ready to retract if it is necessary for the salvation of their souls and indeed they are eager to do so. Yet they remain unconfessed to the great harm of their spiritual welfare. We consoled them as best as we could and promised to return to confess them in due course.

*16 I am loath to tell Your Reverence of the excesses and abuses of the law committed by the agents of justice, of the people who have been stoned, of the houses which have been torn down, of the roofs shattered by stones with the connivance, indeed, the encouragement, of the children’s parents, of the bonfires round the houses and other things which I do not think could have happened anywhere else. And the law turns a blind eye to it all. Yet I shall not omit to relate what the *licenciado* Irisarri, whom I mentioned above, now writes to me. Confirming what I have just said, he tells me in his letter:

Before the festivals, two girls—sisters—arrived at my house and said that after being subjected to pressure by four persons over a period of fifteen days, they eventually declared that they were witches bearing false witness against themselves and many other persons who were already suspected. One of them is twenty, the other eighteen. On more than eight occasions their father put a dagger to their throats threatening them if they would not declare that they were witches. The father did this at the instigation of an agent of the Holy Office who

¹⁴ *Text underlined by Becerra(?): “sheet. Secrecy . . . imposed on them”.*

¹⁵ *Text underlined by Becerra(?): “Just as these . . . the day it all begins to come out”.*

¹⁶ *Marginal note by the Council: excesses by the agents of justice, and the text underlined: “the excesses and abuses . . . bonfires round the [houses]”.*

juntamente a decir: “Señor, si lo que pasa es que dos mujeres me amenazaron con la muerte si no decía contra fulana y fulana, etc.” Y así dijo cuánto había mentido. Dice el padre, que quedó el licenciado blanco como un papel. Encargóseles secreto^r y todo silencio.

Y con esto pasamos ya, para venimos a casa por Lesaca, adonde de paso [estaba] un mozuelo grandecillo que había dicho también serlo [*i.e.* brujo] y [dicho] muchas cosas. Le pregunté yo, y me dijo todo lo que los demás.

De manera que ésta es la historia, y lo mismo que éstos dicen, dirán infaliblemente todos el día que se comience a divulgar.^s Por el dicho de éstos está perdida la tierra, infamada la gente, causados los males que no se pueden explicar ni contar, [y muchos] presos actualmente en la Inquisición. Dicennos están aparejados para desdecirse si fuere menester para la salvación de sus almas, y deseosos de esto, quedan aún por confesarse, con harto peligro de su salud, en pecados tan graves. Consolámoslos lo mejor que pudimos y ofrecímosles que volveríamos a los confesar a su tiempo.

* No quiero decir a Vuestra Reverencia las cosas y desafueros que los ministros de justicia han hecho, las personas que se han apedreado, hecho pedazos sus casas, sus tejados a pedradas, consintiéndolo y aún alentándolo los padres de los muchachos, poniendo hogueras alrededor de las casas, y otras cosas que no sé dónde pudieran pasar, disimulando la justicia en ello; pero no dejaré de decir lo que me escribe ahora el licenciado Irisarri, de quién arriba hablé. Díceme pues en una suya, confirmando lo que he dicho:

Antes de las fiestas [de Navidad] llegaron a esta casa de Vuestra Merced dos mozas hermanas, que dijeron que por solicitud de cuatro personas, por quince días, vinieron a decir cómo eran brujas, levantándose falso testimonio a sí propias y otras muchas personas que estaban acusadas. Ellas son de veinte años, la una, y, la otra, de dieciocho. Su mismo padre, más de ocho veces, les puso el puñal a la garganta, amenazándolas dijese cómo eran brujas; y el padre hacía esto a persuasión de un oficial, por que el ministro del Santo Oficio le ofrecía

^r *Texto subrayado por Becerra(?): “papel. Encargóseles secreto”.*

^s *Subrayado en el manuscrito por Becerra(?): “lo mismo que ellos . . . el día que se comience a divulgar”.*

^t *Nota marginal del Consejo: desafueros de la Justicia. Y texto subrayado: “las cosas y desafueros . . . hogueras alrededor de las”.*

promised the father that if his daughters made a voluntary confession they would be freed from infamy and punishment. So the father and kinsfolk inspired by worthy zeal induced them to state a falsehood as terrible as this.¹⁸

The above comes from the said *licenciado* whom I have advised not to question anyone.

In view of all this, what I have to say about the matter is that, in my humble opinion, its falsehood is evident for two reasons, one theoretical and the other practical. As for the theoretical aspect, anyone who studies what the authorities have to say about this question will perceive a fundamental contradiction. For these [supposed witches of Las Cinco Villas] entirely go against what the Church and authorities tell us about the signs known as the “*nota eclesiástica*”.¹⁹ These witches claim that neither Blessed water nor *agnusdēi* have any effect. Yet those at the auto de fe of Logroño last year [according to a printed account] which I have read,²⁰ admitted such remedies to be of use. These witches [on the contrary] make no use of ointments nor other preparations which the authorities mention and which those at the auto confessed to having used. All of these people are taken¹⁷ against their will, which is unheard of, and at all hours of the night, which is contrary to what those at the auto de fe said.

¹⁷ Text underlined by *Becerra(?)*: “*nota eclesiástica*” and “*Last year . . . all these people are taken*”.

¹⁸ These two sisters are probably identical with the two half-sisters of Yanci, Hipólita de Arbiza and Juana Fernández de Arbiza (case nos. 454 and 456), who made their confessions to the inquisitorial commissioner of Lesaca, in February 1610, and later recanted them (cf. above, p. 62f). Juana explained to Salazar how her father on various occasions had come drunk home at night and taken her out into the field where he maltreated her in order to make her confess. The only problem is that their age is given as 16 and 14 while Irisarri talks about two sisters of 20 and 18, respectively.

¹⁹ I have not been able to find the term “*nota eclesiástica*” in contemporary literature. It might be referring to the signs of possession listed in the *Rituale Romanum*, cf. the entries “Exorcism” and “Possession” in Rossell Hope Robbins’ *Encyclopedia* (1959, 180–189, 392–398).

²⁰ For printed accounts of the auto de fe, cf. above, p. 4.

al padre, haciendo confesión espontánea, sus hijas serían libres de la infamia y castigo. Y el padre y parientes, con estos celos buenos, les persuadieron a que dijese una maldad tan terrible como es la dicha.¹⁸

Esto es del dicho licenciado, a quien tengo avisado no pregunte a nadie.

Estos, supuesto lo que tengo que decir acerca de este negocio es que, a mi pobre juicio, por dos principios se descubre su falsedad. El uno es especulativo y el otro, práctico. En lo especulativo, porque cualquiera que viere lo que los autores dicen acerca de esta materia, echarán de ver ser mentira, porque éstos destruyen totalmente cuanto la Iglesia nos dice y los autores, acerca de las señales o nota eclesiástica¹⁹ que llaman. A ellos no les vale agua bendita, agnus, etc. Y valerles, confesaron aún en [una relación impresa de] el auto de Logroño del año pasado que yo he leído.²⁰ Estos no usan de unciones ni de otras preparaciones que dicen los autores y confesaron las del dicho auto. Estas las llevan a^u todas contra su voluntad, que es cosa nunca vista, a todas horas de la noche, que es contra lo que dijeron las del auto, etc.

^u *Texto subrayado por Becerra(?): “o nota eclesiástica” y “del año pasado . . . estas las llevan a”.*

As for the practical or empirical aspect, I have already stated what I have seen myself. I know very well that many objections will be raised but I believe all of them can be explained. Those to which Your Reverence draws attention are very sound and will occur to many people. Therefore I would like to make my views clear on them. /2v/

The first is that in these matters there is normally much confusion and deceit and since the Devil is the Father of Lies it is possible that the witnesses lie to us. I assure you, Father, that I do not doubt this possibility. I only mention that one must observe and consider the facts to discover which carries most weight. These unfortunate people have confessed to the inquisitors and their agents the following: That they are borne off to the *aquejarre* against their will, that they are taken by such-and-such a woman, and that they see so-and-so [at the meetings]. Thus they are admitting to something for which they cannot be held responsible. What they undergo is rather a burden and torment, since they assert they are taken entirely against their will and with deep reluctance. At the same time they make accusations against other people. Yet what they state to me is an iniquity and a most grievous offence on their part for which they deserve the severest penalties, at least those who are of age. Yet to counterbalance this their statements can acquit others of guilt. Your Reverence must judge in the matter.

There is a further consideration which merits reflection. All of them confessed to the inquisitors and their agents only after undergoing the harsh treatment which I have mentioned above; but in my own case I simply had to make a loving proposal for their welfare and salvation for them to confess the truth to me. On the other hand from the way in which they spoke I have reached the conclusion that it is impossible that they should have deceived me since at the outset they told me exactly the same as they had told the others. But after they had finished their stories I began to exhort

¹⁸ *In the margin in Becerra's hand: Attention!, and text underlined: "Those Your Reverence draws attention to are very sound".*

¹⁹ *Text underlined: "These unfortunate people have confessed to the inquisitors and their agents the following: That they"; and in the margin in Becerra's hand: It is false!*

²⁰ *The text underlined: "inquisitors and their agents . . . for them to confess the truth to"; and in the margin with Becerra's hand: It is all false!*

²¹ *Marginal note of Becerra: Counteraction against the Inquisition, and text underlined: "finished their stories . . . on no account do they wish anyone to know about it".*

En lo práctico y experimental, ya yó he dicho lo que he palpado. Las objeciones, bien sé que serán muchas y quizás se satisfarían a todas; pero las que Vuestra Reverencia apunta son muy buenas y en las que muchos toparán, y quiero decir lo que se me ofrece a ellas. /2v/

La primera, que en estas cosas suele haber engaños y marañas, y que el Demonio es padre de mentiras, y así es posible nos mientan. Digo Padre, que de la posibilidad no dudo, sólo digo que el hecho debe mirar y ponderarse y ver quién lleva más camino; lo que a aquellos señores y sus ministros ha confesado esta pobre gente, es que involuntariamente son llevados al aquelarre, y que son llevados de fulana y ven a zutana y zutana, de manera que confiesan lo que no es culpa ninguna suya, sino sólo pena y trabajo, pues dicen son llevados contra toda su voluntad y con todo disgusto. Por otra parte cargan y acusan a otros. Pero lo que a mí me dicen es una maldad y culpa gravísima suya, y por la cual merecen gravísimas penas, por lo menos los de edad crecida. Por otra parte descargan y disculpan a otros, juzgue Vuestra Reverencia.

Lo segundo, el modo de confesar, también es bien se pondere, porque a aquellos señores y sus ministros [i.e. la Inquisición] lo han dicho, siendo todos apremiados, espantados, amenazados con medios rigurosos como tengo dicho; pero a mí, sólo con una amorosa y sencilla proposición de su bien y de su salvación. Por otra parte, en el mismo modo de decir, tengo para mí que, moralmente hablando, es increíble me engañen, pues la primera vez lo que me decían era todo lo que a los demás, y después de haber desembuchado, les

^v Al margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Ojo!, y el texto subrayado: “pero las que Vuestra Reverencia apunta son muy buenas”.

^w El texto subrayado: “lo que a aquellos señores y sus ministros ha confesado esta pobre gente, es que”, y al margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Es falso!

^x El texto subrayado: “señores y sus ministros . . . su bien y de su salvación”, y al margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Todo es falso!

^y El texto subrayado: “desembuchado les comenzaba yó a exhortar . . . que esto se sepa”, y en el margen con letra de Becerra: Contraposición a la Inquisición.

them to tell the truth, promising them that not a living person would know other than ourselves. It was this close secrecy which had most effect on them, for they have revealed the truth in such a way that on no account do they wish anyone to know about it. When I inquired their purpose in coming to me and whether by chance they had intended to tell me the truth, they replied no. Their intention had been to relate to me only what they had told the rest and to deceive and lie as on other occasions. On observing, however, the love and deep desire for their welfare with which I addressed them they had plucked up courage and told me what they had never dreamed of saying.

*²² It could be objected that we appear to be going against the findings of the lord inquisitors. But I maintain this affair will appear in a different light when studied in detail. Those [witches] who have been sentenced are from Zugarramurdi and other villages and not one is from Las Cinco Villas.²¹ It is indeed true that there are some prisoners [from there] but the inquisitors, being so just and Christian, were not responsible for the imprisonment since in their opinion there was not sufficient evidence. The imprisonments were made on account of overwhelming pressure, the village authorities declaring that if the Inquisition did not arrest them and judge them, they themselves would kill the suspects in question.²² Thus it is also known that in the affair of these five towns the inquisitors are proceeding less on the actual evidence than on experience and insight gained from the first trials.

The next point is that after the persons I mentioned were held prisoners it was rumoured that they were no longer bringing the children to the gatherings but that their places had been taken by other women. Now, however, it is said that the first group *do* leave the prison in order to take the children. Such is the degree of con-

²² *In the margin written by Becerra: Attention!, and text underlined: "It could be objected . . . the lord inquisitors. But".*

²¹ On this point Solarte was misinformed, for although almost all the witches at the auto de fe were from Zugarramurdi and Urdax, there were actually also three from Las Cinco Villas, namely Mari Juanto and Beltrana de la Farga from Vera and the blacksmith Juanes de Iribarren from Echalar (see above, doc. 2.II, nos. 7, 16 and 18).

²² For the people from Las Cinco Villas who on 3rd March 1610 were imprisoned by the Inquisition, see WA 260f, table 8, nos. 1–11, 14–16b.

comenzaba yó a exhortar, prometiéndoles que hombre nacido no lo sabría sino ellos y yo; y este secreto tan grande es lo que más les movía, con que descubrían la verdad, de manera que en ninguna manera quieren que esto se sepa. Y preguntando con qué intentos venían, si acaso traían intento de decirme aquella verdad, me respondían que no, sino solamente lo que a los demás y engañarme y mentirme como a otros; pero que visto el amor y el deseo grande de su bien y remedio con que yó les hablaba, con eso se habían animado a decirme a mí lo que nunca pensaban decir.

La segunda objeción es que parecerá que vamos contra lo que los señores inquisidores han juzgado; pero, bien mirado, digo que es diferente este negocio, porque los que han ajusticiado son de Zugarramurdi y otros pueblos, y ninguno de Las Cinco Villas.²¹ Bien es verdad, que hay algunos presos, pero a éstos no los han preso aquellos señores, como tan justos y cristianos [que son], por su voluntad, pareciéndoles aún no tenían paño bastante, sino por pura persuasión y conjuración de los pueblos que decían que si no les prendían y hacían justicia de ellas, ellos mismos las matarían.²² Y en el negocio de estas cinco villas, se sabe andan aquellos señores muy lúbricos, como tan doctos y cuerdos por muchas causas.

Y la próxima es que, habiendo llevado estas personas que digo presas, se divulgó que ellas ya no llevaban a los muchachos a las juntas, sino otras en su lugar, ahora han vuelto a decir que vuelven de la cárcel a llevarlos. Tal es su variedad. Y para saber esta verdad,

² En el margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Ojo!, y el texto subrayado: “La segunda objeción . . . los inquisidores han juzgado, pero”.

*23 tradiction! To learn the truth of the matter the commissioners have been advised that on a certain day—let us say the Circumcision—they are to change the prisoners’ clothes and then to ask the children what dress they saw them in. Among those who have said that the witches come out of the cells of the Inquisition to take them away I have come across some who have admitted to me that what they said were lies as was all the rest.

When saying farewell to one of the agents of the Holy Office I implored him for the love of God to remember that he was both a father and a shepherd of that flock and therefore he should not confine himself to admonishing and chastising them. To this he replied: “Father Solarte, I promise I will, and I assure you that I am filled with anxiety and misgivings about all I have said against them.”

Finally, if what I say is carefully studied, no one shall be singled out for blame or dishonour. Rather all should be considered equally responsible, whether parents or ministers of justice. For if they have committed some excesses in the course of the investigation their motive was in all probability that of holy zeal. The only people who merit wholesale condemnation are those wicked persons who invented this evil. As for the rest the welfare of souls, the quiet peace of that flock, and the restoration of their honour should be our objective. May the Lord bring the truth to light and act as best may serve His Will.

*24 Your Reverence in the name of Charity will forgive me if I have carried on too long or have in any respect exceeded the limits of civility and modesty. My intentions are wholly good, being to obey what Your Reverence commands.

As to what Your Reverence says about my transfer, I deeply appreciate the great charity He shows me, and I have nothing to reply. Only as the Father Rector, with the great charity he has always shown me, appears to have some details to mention to Your Reverence, I will merely say that wherever there is a Community [of Jesuits] I have always felt at home and nowhere more than in this college

²³ *The text underlined: “commissioners have been advised . . . what dress they saw them in”, and in the margin in Becerra’s hand: It is false!*

²⁴ *Marginal note in the hand of Becerra: This corresponds to his instructions as he indicated above. And the text underlined: “My intentions are wholly good, being to obey what Your Reverence commands”.*

*aa tienen avisados a sus comisarios que para tal día—digamos, el de la Circuncisión—las mudarán de vestido y que les pregunten con qué vestido las han visto, etc. Y de éstos que han dicho que vienen [de las cárceles] de la Inquisición a llevarlos, he topado quién me ha declarado que lo ha dicho mintiendo como en lo demás.

Y a uno de sus ministros, rogándole yó a la despedida que, por amor del Señor, mirase que era padre y pastor juntamente de aquellas ovejas, y que así no fuese todo [a] ahogarlas y darles del palo, me repondió: “Padre Solarte, yo se lo ofrezco de hacerlo, y le certifico que, con cuanto le he dicho contra ellas, estoy con harta duda y cuidado.”

Finalmente, digo que si bien se mira por lo que yo digo, a nadie se carga ni se desdora, sino a todos [se hace] bien. Bien a los padres y ministros de Justicia, cuando mucho alguna demasía en inquirir que lo habrían hecho sin culpa, con santo celo. Sólo si ha habido algunas personas odiosas, inventoras de la maldad, ésas serán culpadas. En lo demás se consigue [el] bien de las almas, quietud de aquella cristiandad y remedio de su honra. El Señor descubra la verdad y haga lo que fuere para su servicio.

*ab Perdone Vuestra Reverencia, por caridad, que me he extendido demasiado y, en todo, habré excedido los términos de toda urbanidad y modestia. Sólo el ánimo es bueno, que es de obedecer a lo que Vuestra Reverencia me manda.

En lo que Vuestra Reverencia me dice de mi mudanza, estimo mucho la caridad grande que Vuestra Reverencia me hace, y no tengo yó que replicar. Sólo el padre rector, con la mucha caridad que siempre me ha hecho, parece que tiene algunas cosas que representar a Vuestra Reverencia, por las cuales me detiene lo que yo sé decir a Vuestra Reverencia, que donde quiera que hay comunidad, me he hallado bien, y en este colegio, muy mucho, porque

^{aa} El texto subrayado: “comisarios que para tal día . . . con qué vestidos los han visto, etc.”, y al margen con letra de Becerra: ¡Es falso!

^{ab} Nota marginal con letra de Becerra: Esto responde a la instrucción que llevó, como arriba lo significa. Y el texto subrayado: “Solo el ánimo es bueno, que es de obedecer a lo que Vuestra Reverencia me manda”.

since they have shown great charity to me and there is so much good everywhere. Glory to the Lord from Whom I hope to receive greater glory than I deserve. Your Reverence will act according to your will. May Our Lord preserve Your Reverence as I pray He will do. Bilbao, 17th January 1611.

Hernando de Solarte

me la han hecho muy grande, y donde quiera hay tanto bueno. Gloria al Señor, que espero me la hará mayor de la que merezco. Y así Vuestra Reverencia disponga a su gusto. Nuestro Señor nos guarde a Vuestra Reverencia como se lo suplico. Bilbao, enero 17 de 1611.

Hernando de Solarte

4. *Second Letter of the Jesuit Hernando de Solarte to the
Provincial of the Company of Jesus at Valladolid,
with copies of two more letters from
the licentiate Martin de Irisarri
(26th and 27th January 1611)*¹

*2

JHS

Pax Christi, etc.

By now I think that Your Reverence must be tired of reading my letters about the witches. Nonetheless I feel bound to continue to communicate to Your Reverence part of the information which I continue to receive. Therefore I shall do no more than copy faithfully a letter from the rector of the town of Yanci, who is the most learned man of the district and one whose words and opinions are revered [by the local dignities] almost as Gospel truth. As I have already written to Your Reverence, he was once the last person to suspect that this might be a fraud; but he now writes to relate the following cases which will cause Your Reverence wonder and pity. His letter runs as follows:

*4

The latest news to be forwarded to You Father is that matters are going from bad to worse. In the village of Sumbilla last Tuesday at the hour of Mass certain women from the same village subjected an old woman of over seventy to torture. After they had tormented her for more than an hour—without her admitting anything other than that she had never confessed nor committed the sin of witchcraft—the same women stopped the torture and bore her off to the parish

¹ AHN, Inquisición., Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 28[a], 1r–2r. *On the reverse of the letter, folio 2v, we read the address:* Father Gaspar de Vegas, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the province of Castile etc., Valladolid.

² *In the upper margin written in the hand of the Tribunal:* The Señor Inquisitor Doctor Alonso de Becerra, delivered this letter to the Tribunal on 11th February 1611. *And below:* It was written to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus.

³ *In the margin in the hand of the Tribunal:* The Señor Inquisitor, the *licenciado* Juan de Valle Alvarado, is acquainted with this priest and declares that he has only studied grammar and arts, but no other sciences. [Unidentified rubric.] *And text underlined:* “*who is the most learned man . . . be a fraud*”.

⁴ *In the margin written in the hand of the Council:* Tortures which certain women inflicted on female witches.

4. *Segunda carta del jesuita Hernando de Solarte al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Valladolid, con copias de dos cartas más del licenciado Martín de Irisarri (26 y 27 de enero 1611)*^a

*b

JHS

Pax Christi, etc.

Ya creo estará Vuestra Reverencia cansado de leer cartas mías acerca del negocio de las brujas. Con todo eso me es forzoso el continuar en dar a Vuestra Reverencia parte de lo que me van avisando, y así sólo trasladaré en ésta fielmente una del rector de la villa de

*c Yancí, que es el hombre más docto que tiene aquella tierra, cuyas palabras y parecer veneran casi como evangelio y tienen como oráculo todos; y es que [él] estaba más lejos de pensar que esto fuese embeleco, que todos, como ya tengo escrito a Vuestra Reverencia. Este, pues, me escribe los casos siguientes, que causarán admiración y lástima a Vuestra Reverencia. Dice de esta manera:

*d

Lo que de nuevo hay que avisar a Vuestra Paternidad, es que las cosas de aquel negocio van de mal en peor. El martes pasado, en el lugar de Sumbilla, a hora de misa, a una vieja de setenta y más años, dieron cuestión de tormento ciertas mujeres del mismo lugar y, habiéndole dado tormento por más de una hora entera y no confesando nada la vieja, sino sólo decir que ella jamás había confesado ni hecho pecado de brujería, ni había llevado a ninguna criatura a aquellarre,^c

^a AHN, Inquisición, Legajo. 1679, Exp. 2.1, Núm. 28[a], 1r–2r. *Al reverso de la carta, folio 2v, se lee la dirección:* El padre Gaspar de Vegas, Provincial de la Sociedad de Jesús en la provincia de Castilla etc., Valladolid.

^b *En el margen superior añadido con letra del Tribunal:* Esta carta entregó en el Tribunal, el señor inquisidor, doctor Alonso Becerra, en 11 de febrero de mil y seiscientos y once años. *Y más abajo:* Escrita al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús.

^c *En el margen con letra del Tribunal:* Este clérigo conoce el señor inquisidor licenciado Juan de Valle Alvarado y dice que sólo ha estudiado gramática y artes en que esta graduado, y no otra ciencia. [Rúbrica no identificado.] *Y texto subrayado:* “que es el hombre más docto . . . que esto fuese embeleco”.

^d *Nota marginal del Consejo:* Tormentos que dan otras mujeres a brujas.

^e *Ms.:* aquerllarre.

church of San Juan in the same village. Here, alternating their fierce threats with blandishments, they questioned her closely in an effort to make her confess to being a witch. At last, since they threatened to repeat the rope torture she told them that if they would let her be and not take her back to her house [where they had tortured her] she would admit to being a witch. She added, however, that she had never wrought any harm through witchcraft. On being asked by the same women to name her accomplices she replied that she knew none and therefore could not name any. As she remained firm on this point the women returned her to her house and submitted her to the same rope torture with the result that she died. She expired thus without the benefit of the Sacraments, without making her will, without anything. I repeat, she breathed her last under torture without even being taken down [from the ropes].

This is the truth because they came here by night to ask me whether or not they were to bury her in hallowed ground. And I wrote instructing them to bury her with all the rites just as if she had never confessed to being a witch, for such a confession being null and void, did not affect her honour nor the well-being of her soul. Sumbilla lies two leagues from my village.

During the recent heavy frosts they seized two women in the village of Legasa /Iv/ on the same pretext. Laying them on the cold damp ground they placed them in stocks putting their legs into large tubs full of freezing water, and the water came halfway up their calves. They left the women thus in this cold dark spot making dire threats in the event of their refusing to confess. [They also assured them that] if they confessed they would not be taken to Logroño, but would be absolved immediately without infamy falling on them or on their families. However, as the women remained firm in their denial, the others together with a cleric who is involved in these matters left the poor creatures there. Within a couple of hours the water in the tubs froze and the two women suffered such fearful pains that they screamed for the cleric to come, crying that they wanted to make a confession. Having admitted to being witches they were immediately released.

In this matter it is evident that the methods of compulsion revealed to me by you, Father, continue to be used. Of this there is no doubt. The children from Lesaca and the children of this village are now retracting their confessions, declaring that they have never been to the *aquejarre*. I beg you, Father, to make haste in this matter for you know well how essential it is for God's glory and the welfare of innocents. Please make haste! Yanci, 13th January [1611].

The *licenciado* Irisarri

la bajaron del tormento y la llevaron a la parroquial de San Juan, del mismo lugar, las mismas mujeres, y allá, con muchos halagos, unas veces, y otras, con grandes amenazas, la hicieron muchas preguntas para que dijese cómo era bruja; y ella, al cabo, como le prometieron de ponerla en el mismo tormento de cuerdas, dijo que la dejaran y no la llevaran a casa y que confesaba ser bruja, pero jamás había hecho mal ninguno de brujería. Y preguntada por ellas mismas, dijese las cómplice, respondió no sabía y no podía decir cómplices ningunos, y como en esto estuvo fuerte, las mismas mujeres volvieronla a su casa y la pusieron en la misma cuestión, adonde expiró y murió, sin otra cosa y sin sacramentos, ni testamento ni nada. Digo murió y expiró en el mismo tormento sin bajarla.

Es verdad esto, porque de noche^f acudieron a mí, si la habían de enterrar en sagrado o no. Yo les escribí le hiciesen toda la honra fúnebre, como si tal no confesara, pues aquella confesión inválida y nula no le perjudicaba en su honor y conciencia. Este lugar de Sumbilla está [a] dos leguas de mi lugar.

Con las grandes heladas pasadas, prendieron a dos mujeres en el lugar de /1v/ Legasa por la misma opinión, y las pusieron en un cepo echadas en el suelo frío y húmedo, y les metieron los pies hasta medias piernas en unas gamellas grandes de agua fría, y así las dejaron en lugar oscuro y frío con grandes amenazas si no confesaban, y si confesaban no serían llevadas a Logroño, sino luego absueltas sin infamia de ellas ni de los suyos. Ellas, estando fuertes en su negativa, se despidieron y un clérigo, quien anda en estas cosas^g [*sic*]. De allá a dos horas o antes, a las dichas mujeres se les heló el agua de las gameillas, y de grandísimos dolores que sentían, vocearon al clérigo que viniese, que querían decir y confesar, y así confesaron que eran brujas [y] con esto las soltaron.

En esta materia andan los mismos inducimientos que Vuestra Paternidad me comunicó; y se han descubierto todos; y los de Lesaca y los niños de este lugar niegan todo y dicen que no van a aquelarre. A Vuestra Paternidad suplico la brevedad de este negocio, pues sabe lo que importa para la gloria de Dios y bien de estos inocentes. Como digo, la brevedad suplico. En Yancí, 13 de enero, etc.

El licenciado Irisarri

^f Ms.: de noches.

^g La frase al parecer descompuesta o sin acabar.

*⁵ This then, Father, is what the *licenciado* writes me. I only took him into my confidence for the reason I explained to Your Reverence. He wrote to me about the case I described in my last letter and I have kept the originals lest they should be needed. He always urges me to make haste and with reason, since it is advisable to complete our mission before people begin to suspect.

As for what he mentions at the end of his letter—that the children of Lesaca and his own town are in the process of retracting—this is a sign that we have little time left. Thus I beg Your Reverence to advise me what I ought to say to this man because I have promised him that he will be instructed on how to remedy the evil provided that he maintains complete silence. To this he has replied that he has dissembled and endured an ill such as this long enough. May God redress it as only He, in His Omnipotence, can. I have nothing more to say here other than what I have said before, nor dare I put more in a letter.

As for the question of San Sebastián it seems to me that the Father Rector of Vergara went there but did not receive my [letter] which Your Reverence told me that you would send him. The Father Rector appears to have proceeded blindly so that he neither came across anyone involved in the case nor did he manage to deal with it as he should have. Nor did he show the requisite patience. Yet it is not unusual that the outcome of such disasters should be of much service and glory to God.²³

⁵ *Marginal note in the hand of Inquisitor Becerra:* Everything from this point on indicate that they are searching for a solution. *And the text underlined:* “I only took him into my confidence . . . Your Reverence”. *Below more underlinings:* “what I ought to say . . . endured an ill such as this long enough” and “As for the question of San Sebastián . . . to deal with it as he should have”.

²³ Head of the Jesuit community at Vergara was at the time Father Pedro de Muru, a 33-year-old professor of Latin who came from Muru in the province of Logroño (ARSI, Cast. 15.I, p. 221, courtesy by José Antonio Yoldi S.J.). The Jesuit Provincial appears to have selected him for the mission because Vergara is close to San Sebastián. Solarte appears to have been informed about the outcome of Muru’s mission and regrets that he did not receive his letter which must have dealt with how to handle witchcraft. In San Sebastián there had been isolated witch cases since 1609 (WA 120ff), but this is the first time we have an indication of San Sebastián having fallen victim to the witch-craze. Two months later the Tribunal had witchcraft confessions from this town (for some reason are the figures combined with those of Asteasu in the *Tribunal’s Statistics by 9th March 1611*): 7 confessions and another 41 persons under suspicion (WA 213).

*^h Esto es, Padre, lo que me escribe este hombre, a quien solamente me descubrí por la causa que a Vuestra Reverencia tengo escrito, y este mismo me escribió el caso que en la pasada escribí, cuyos originales tengo guardados por si fuere menester. Siempre me da gran prisa, y con razón, porque conviene antes que se descubra.

Y a lo que dice a lo último de la carta, que los muchachos de Lesaca y su lugar se van desdiciendo, es señal de que la cosa va muy adelante. Así suplico a Vuestra Reverencia me avise lo que debo decir a éste, porque yo le tengo ofrecido que por acá se dará orden cómo se remedie el mal con que calle y disimule. Y a lo que dice, harto se ha disimulado y sufrido una maldad como ésta. Dios lo remedie como Su Majestad puede. Yo no tengo más que decir en esto de lo que tengo dicho otras veces, ni se puede más por carta.

A lo de San Sebastián me parece que fué el padre rector de Vergara, y como no recibí la [carta] mía que Vuestra Reverencia me dijo se la enviaría, procedió al parecer muy a ciegas, y así ni topó con persona que estuviese en el caso, ni procuró lo que se debía negociar, ni para cuándo, tampoco paciencia; que no es cosa nueva el tener, de estos azares, las cosas mucho servicio y gloria de Dios.²³

^h *Nota marginal con mano del inquisidor Becerra: Todo esto de aquí abajo parece que arguye negociación. Mas el texto subrayado: “a quien solamente me descubrí . . . tengo escrito” y más abajo: “lo que debo decir a éste . . . una maldad como ésta”; “A lo de San Sebastián . . . lo que se debía negociar”.*

Nothing else has arisen which has to be communicated to Your Reverence whom the Lord preserve for us, as we beseech Him in the holy sacrifices and prayers for Your Reverence. Bilbao, 26th January 1611.

Hernando de Solarte /2r/

*6 Having already sealed this for Your Reverence I have received another letter from the same rector of Yancy from whom I have had three letters in three days. He says the following:

My Father,

The situation is now truly disastrous. In Sumbilla, in Santesteban, in Legasa, in Oyeregui, in Oronoz, in Arráyo, in all these places they have used torture. The result has been the infliction of great wrongs. Those who confess to witchcraft are lavishly praised, those who maintain their innocence are subjected to the most fearful abuse. The clergy, the village mob (including even children and women), and, above all, the relatives of those involved make their way, in twos and threes, to the place where the victims are being tortured. They all urge them to confess, assuring them that once having confessed they will be free in goods, in honour and in everything, and that they will not be sent to Logroño. A further assurance is given that neither they nor their descendants, nor their ancestors, will ever be branded. In this way they force them to declare to being what, perhaps, they are not.

As for those who maintain their denial, these suffer a different fate. They are most cruelly harrassed, chiefly by their kinsfolk and parents who tell them that their offences have been established beyond a shred of doubt by more than thirty or forty witnesses. They are urged to confess with the promise that if they do so they will be free. Conversely they are told that if they do not comply their denials will be of no use to them.

These lies are poisoning all the region. The knowledge of these events sickens me. And to date I have placed my entire confidence in you, Father, from whom not a single letter has appeared with your promised remedies. If it were not for trusting in you, Father, I would

⁶ *In the margin a squiggle running to the end of Solarte's letter.*

⁷ *The text underlined: "trusting in you, Father, I would direct myself to other bodies".*

²⁴ The Yanci rector was probably thinking of directing himself to his Bishop, the influential Venegas de Figueroa, with whom he seems to have been on good terms. Maybe Irisarri stood behind the idea of obtaining a jubilee from Rome, that is a letter of indulgence, so that those suspected of witchcraft without problem could be admitted to Holy Communion. Already the following year such an indulgence was obtained by at least one parish in the mountains of Navarra (see below, doc. 11.5).

No se ofrece otra cosa de qué avisar a Vuestra Reverencia, a quien nos guarde el Señor como se lo suplicamos en los santos sacrificios y oraciones de Vuestra Reverencia etc. Bilbao, enero 26, de 1611.

Hernando de Solarte /2r/

- *i Después de tener ya cerrada ésta para Vuestra Reverencia, he recibido otra del mismo rector de Yancí, y, dentro de tres días, he tenido tres suyas. Dice pues así:

Padre mío,

El negocio va tan a la descubierta y a la rota, que en Sumbilla, en Santesteban, en Legasa, en Oyeregui, en Oronoz, en Arráyo, han dado tormento en todos estos lugares, haciendo grandes tiranías, halagos grandísimos a los que confiesan y, a los otros que están a la negativa, terribles vituperios, llegando a los puestos de la tortura, de dos en dos, los clérigos y los del lugar, hasta niños y mujeres, parientes sobre todo, halagándoles que confiesen, que, confesados, serán libres en hacienda y en honra y en todo, sin ir jamás a Logroño, que ni ellos ni sus descendientes ni ascendientes jamás de ello serán notados. Y así les hacen decir quizás lo que no son.

Al contrario, a los que estaban en la negativa, les vejan cruelísimamente, principalmente los deudos, los padres, diciéndoles que sus delitos constan por más de treinta y cuarenta testigos, y que digan, pues serán libres; cuando no, no les vale la negativa.

Con estos embustes van corrompiendo la tierra. Y yo estoy muriendo de ver una cosa como ésta confiado en Vuestra Paternidad, de quien no parece ni aún una carta para poner remedio, que yo, sino fuera por confiar en Vuestra Paternidad, quebrara por otros medios.^j ²⁴ Suplico

ⁱ Al margen un renglón que llega hasta el fin de la carta de Solarte.

^j Texto subrayado: “confiar en Vuestra Paternidad, quebrara por otros medios”.

direct myself to other bodies in search of a solution.^{7 924} I entreat you that some order might be sent soon instructing the villagers to cease from these cruelties. And I also entreat you to notify me immediately as to whether I am to find another solution. Yanci, 21st January [1611].

The *licenciado* Irisarri

This is the latest letter from the man who, although he speaks obscurely, reveals his concern and suffering. Your Reverence will observe how what I said emerges quite clearly from the letter, namely, that this evil if unchecked would go on to consume the entire district. I draw Your Reverence's attention to the fact that those responsible for these tortures are not the Lords Inquisitors but the victims' own kinsfolk who take it upon themselves to make them confess to preserve their welfare and the honour of their lineage. And if it is not the kinsfolk it is the mob who act with no other authority or evidence than the statement of the children, although this is not of sufficient weight to be given credit at a trial.

There are a thousand details to relate but as I will have wearied you with my writing I do not want to say more. I only wish to assure Your Reverence that even with my simple understanding I feel I could answer any objection which might be made since the truth of the matter is so obvious and evident.

I most earnestly entreat Your Reverence to advise me with all speed what you think ought to be done in this case so that I may reply to this rector of Yanci. I have nothing more to say since the very affair clamours for a remedy. Bilbao, 27th January 1611.

Hernando de Solarte

a Vuestra Paternidad haya en breve con algún propio, algún mandato de que se notifique en estos lugares [que] cesen de estas crueldades, y luego, como digo, se me dé aviso para que busque otro remedio. En Yancí, 21 de enero [de 1611].

El licenciado Irisarri

Esta es la última carta del hombre en que, aunque habla oscuramente, descubre su sentimiento y aflicción, y de ella echará Vuestra Reverencia de ver cómo sale al pié de la letra lo que yo dije que había de ir abrasando toda la tierra este mal; y advierta Vuestra Reverencia que los autores de estos tormentos no son los señores inquisidores, sino sus propios deudos, con parecerles que en hacerles confesar está su bien y su honor de todo su linaje; o si éstos nó, el vulgo mismo, sin otra autoridad ni otro testimonio que el dicho de los niños, que no es bastante para hacer fe en juicio.

Mil cosas hay que decir, y porque ya tengo cansado harto por escrito, no quiero decir más, sólo certifico a Vuestra Reverencia que, con mi corto entender, me parece que satisficiera a cualquiera dificultad, que en esto se pusiera, por ser la cosa tan razonable y verídica como lo es.

Lo que suplico a Vuestra Reverencia con todo encarecimiento es que me avise con brevedad de lo que a Vuestra Reverencia pareciere se debe hacer en el caso, para que yo responda a este rector de Yancí, y con esto no tengo más que decir, pues la misma cosa está clamando. Bilbao, 27 de enero de 1611.

Hernando de Solarte

alonso / 1

1

Relacion hecha a Don Alonso Vinyas de
 Figueroa Obispo de Pamplona del Consejo Real
 mag. por las gerencias que su señoria a regado, en
 si acausado como otras en los lugares donde se ha
 dicho que ay una mala seta de Brusas
 y otras Camionando desde Lons
 de junio del año de mill y
 de uno de dictos.

De Armino una

1.°

Mas de Mubia Cavallero famoso en la galicia con
 dos leguas de las cunas de Mubia en el Reyno de Galicia
 gerencia otras cosas con su jurisdiccion y en el
 de las prietas una en ellas sea en numerias de
 Brusas que ay en el lugar de Vrina, a donde reside
 el dho. mis de Mubia y presentados en el dho.
 monesterio en el parlamento de Paris, conbio el par
 la misma en el dho. lugar de Vrina y otra de la bota jub
 para inquirir y sentenciar los que hallare de ha seta
 de brusas, y por que los contramita en el dho. mon.
 au. el dho. como lego un de contramita y contramita
 del dho. mis de Mubia en los dho. lugares de
 Vrina y la bota, y el jub. que precede en las dho.
 causas de brusas, gerencia que n. sustitucion. Los p. q. n.

Cuenta los indios
 y tornenari con
 hacen y confieson
 son b. v.

que por el p. q. n. sustitucion
 de las prietas
 y colligim sulla
 uor her los p. q. n. sustitucion
 y serovacion

Fig. 22. The Report of the Bishop of Pamplona to the Inquisitor General with annotations of the Council. (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid)

CHAPTER THREE

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BISHOP

Introduction

On 25th February 1611 the Inquisitor General Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas approaches some bishops and other prominent people and asks them for suggestions as to what should be done about the burgeoning witch problem. One of those asked is the Bishop of Pamplona, Don Antonio Venegas de Figueroa, who replies immediately, begging the Inquisitor General not to come to any decision in this matter until he has received the report that Venegas is drawing up. The report (doc. 7) will be forwarded as soon as he has had a chance to talk to certain people he has arranged to meet so that they can report on the situation in the witch-ridden area.

But the Bishop wishes to anticipate a couple of points: in the first place he is sure that two thirds of what the witches confess about themselves and others is lies and fabrications; secondly, the Inquisition's commissioners in the area have approached their task with exaggerated zeal; and thirdly, the whole fuss is connected with the witch-hunts on the other side, in France, where a special commissioner went on a burning spree and managed to execute a large number of innocent people before he was stopped. The Bishop ends his letter by assuring the Inquisitor General that even if there may be a grain of truth in this affair, most of it is "fiction, delusion and calumny", stirred up in the wake of the French witch-burnings (doc. 5).

Four weeks later the Bishop sends his report and at the same time makes his recommendations. They are couched in diplomatic phrasing, but are in fact ultraradical: the Inquisition's agents, who bear the main responsibility for the fuss in the area—especially the parish priests of Vera and of Lesaca and the latter's curate—must immediately be ordered not to concern themselves any more with these cases. Nor should the case be handled by the Tribunal in Logroño—at least not by the two oldest inquisitors, who because of their personal involvement are unable to make the inquiries with the necessary objectivity. Instead Venegas proposes that a couple of inquisitors

should be called in from the outside, and he will personally familiarize them with the case when they arrive. Finally, the King should appoint a secular judge to deal with the many attacks on innocent people that have taken place, so that the guilty can be punished (doc. 6).

Bishop Venegas was an experienced man who knew what he was talking about. In his younger days he had himself been an inquisitor and until just five years before he had been a member of the Inquisition Council. In the autumn of 1609, when the Inquisitor Valle went on a visitation to Zugarramurdi and Las Cinco Villas to seek out witches, the Bishop followed on his heels to set up his own investigation.¹ This had what we would almost call an anthropological character today. To a large number of elderly people he put the same question: when did they hear for the first time that there were witches among them? And they all replied with one voice that they had never heard of any such thing until a few years before, when an association of witches had been exposed in France twenty kilometres away. Indeed, the Basque word for a witches' sabbat, *aquelarre*, was new, since many old people could assure him that they had never heard the word before, or even knew what it meant.

For most of the winter the Bishop seems to have stayed in the area, for as late as February 1610 he wrote from Lesaca to the Tribunal about the illusions and deceits involved in this matter. He had been unable to make an impression on the inquisitors, but later the Bishop had made his dissociation clear by demonstratively staying away from their auto de fe.

At some point in the middle of March 1611 the meeting Venegas had called was held in Pamplona, and it was also attended by the parish priest of Yanci, Martín de Irisarri. The title of the report is formulated as if it was written by others and addressed to the Bishop, but this may have been for tactical reasons, for elsewhere Venegas explicitly says that he must personally deal with the compilation and editing of the information that comes to him (doc. 5, 1v). The first section is about the French background of the witch disturbances and about the participation of the parish priest Lorenzo de Hualde in the mass trials held by the special commissioner Pierre de Lancre. If Venegas is so well informed, it is probably because he has been

¹ Bishop Venegas' journey of visitation lasted from 14th Sept. 1609 to 17th March 1610 (Goñi Gaztambide 1987, 142).

in contact with his French colleague the Bishop of Bayonne, Bertran d'Echaud, who had also become sceptical and had helped to ensure that de Lancre was stopped. The second section mentions—so very briefly that it is striking—the trial of the witches from Zugarramurdi and the auto de fe in 1610. The third section describes how the Inquisitor Valle's attempts to expose witches in Las Cinco Villas were at first a failure, but were later turned into a success thanks to the propaganda of the local priests. Sections 4–5 are especially about the child-witches, and section 6 is about the extrajudicial violence that took place, but about which the agents of the Inquisition had kept quiet.

Along with the report the Bishop enclosed a letter and a report he had just received from Solarte (docs. 8 and 9). The content is more or less the same as in the reports to the Jesuit Provincial (docs. 3 and 4), but it is more clearly formulated and therefore conducive to a better understanding of the latter documents.

5. *First Letter of the Bishop of Pamplona to the
Inquisitor General (4th March 1611)*¹

*2

†

Most Noble Lord,

*3 I have received a letter from Your Eminence dated the 25th of February. In it I behold the great zeal which Your Eminence shows, as fitting for such a noble Prince of the Church, to remedy the extensive harm which the Devil is causing and can cause among souls through this evil sect of witches. As various villages and their inhabitants are so defamed by this mischief in my bishopric, I cannot fail to be most grateful for the boon that Your Eminence bestows upon us all by endeavouring to uproot and exterminate this evil sect, so harmful and pernicious to the Christian religion. I kiss the hands of Your Eminence and appreciate the grace Your Eminence bestows on this your bishopric and the villagers therein. They are Your Eminence's flock which is the best title and honour they can have.²⁵

However, one thing remains to be pointed out. I have received the greatest favour in your letter and esteem the great kindness that Your Eminence has shown me by it. Yet, I feel some regret that it has reached my hands before I could present to Your Eminence with the report which I am at present preparing on the question of witchcraft. Last year I visited all the villages claimed */Iv/* to be infected by this evil, and I could thus have been accused of not having attended to its remedy with greater thoroughness. But I assure

¹ AHN, Inquisicion, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 26[b], 1r-2v, No. 31[a], 1r. *On the reverse of the letter (fol. 4v) written in the hand of the Council's "reporter":* The Bishop of Pamplona says that he will send papers referring to the witches wherein it shall be clearly seen that all that is said about them is not certain, especially in regard to the children, and thereafter he will give his opinion.

² *In the upper margin:* Received in Madrid on 14th March 1611.

³ *Marginal note written in the hand of the Council's "reporter":* From the Bishop of Pamplona to the señor Inquisidor General: the former declares that the affair contains much delusion and deceit and that he will send a report. *And added with the same hand:* The report is here attached.

²⁵ An allusion to the fact that Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas himself had been Bishop of Pamplona (cf. above, p. 16).

5. *Primera carta del Obispo de Pamplona al Inquisidor General*
(Pamplona, 4 de marzo 1611)^a

*b

†

Ilustrísimo Señor,

*c He recibido una de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, su fecha de 25 de Febrero, y veo por ella el gran celo que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima tiene, como tan gran Príncipe, de que se remedie el daño tan grande que con esta secta^d mala de brujos hace el Demonio y puede hacer en las almas. Y como están algunos lugares de mi obispado y las personas de ellos tan difamadas de este daño, no puedo dejar de ser muy interesado de la merced que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima nos hace a todos en procurar se desarraigue y quite esta mala secta, que tan dañosa y perjudicial es a la religión cristiana. Besando a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima las manos como se las beso, y estimando en lo que es razón la merced que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima hace a éste su obispado y a los lugares de él, pues son ovejas de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, que es el mayor título y más honrado que pueden tener.^{e25}

Afirmo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima una cosa, que aunque he recibido grandísima merced con su carta y estimado en lo que es justo el favor grande que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima me hace en ella, en alguna manera me ha pesado que haya llegado a mis manos antes que hubiera puesto en las de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima lo que acerca^e de esta materia de brujos voy poniendo en orden para enviarlo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, que como el año pasado visité los más lugares de los que dicen **!v!** que están más inficionados de este mal, podría haberseme hecho cargo de no haber acudido al remedio de él con más vivo cuidado, y no me ha faltado, afirmo a

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 26[b], 1r–2v; *ibid.*, 31[a], 1r. *Al reverso de la carta (fol. 4v) con mano del relator del Consejo*: El obispo de Pamplona dice que enviará papeles tocantes a los brujos, por donde conste que no es cierto todo lo que se dice de ellos, y más en cuanto a los niños, y entonces dará su parecer.

^b *En el margen superior*: Recibida en Madrid, a 14 de marzo 1611.

^c *Nota marginal del relator del Consejo*: Del obispo de Pamplona para el señor Inquisidor General, que dice que tiene el negocio mucho de ilusión y embuste y que enviará un memorial. *Y añadido con la misma mano*: Está aquí cosido el memorial.

^d *Aquí y en adelante en los manuscritos del obispo*: seta.

^e *Ms.*: cerca.

Your Eminence I have not been negligent. Nor have I failed to do what seemed necessary, either personally or through those friars whom I have sent repeatedly to all these places to convert the guilty by their preaching and to guide them in whatever way necessary for their salvation. As a result they have written to me on various occasions to give their impression of the situation. Their accounts confirm what I found when I was in the said villages gathering first hand information.

Owing to a lengthy illness I suffered this winter I have been unable to order all the notes and details which have been sent to me. It was so very important that they should not fall into any other hands on account of the great secrecy required by the case. Furthermore my informants have asked me to remain silent. For these reasons I was unable to render an account to Your Eminence before now. Indeed as I stated above to Your Eminence I was in the process of dealing with the matter when your letter arrived. As it was necessary for me to talk to the friars I mentioned before, and my other correspondents, I have sent for them to be summoned that I might meet them in order to scrutinize and set down clearly all that might be involved in the case so that what I have managed to gather could be forwarded to Your Eminence in a manner which was perfectly clear. Out of the deep respect and consideration I owe to the Inquisition of Logroño—which is engaged in the matter—I did not wish to draw others into the affair.

I have decided that the best policy is to relate to Your Eminence everything and to place in Your hands all that has come into mine. I further hold it as my duty to tell Your Eminence what I as a person */2r/* involved in this affair—so detrimental to the souls of my flock—feel about the whole matter. I will shortly send to Your Eminence my completed report. I entreat Your Eminence therefore to be pleased not to make any decision in this matter until you have examined it.

I will now tell Your Eminence outright that I have always held it to be certain that there is much of falsehood and fraud in this affair. I maintain, moreover, that two thirds of what they [the witches] say is untrue and that much of what is rumoured about children, young girls and grown up people is an invention. All of it has been the product of the excessive diligence on the part of the commissioners of the Inquisition who were motivated either by honest zeal or by personal ends. Their activities have reached an extraordinary

Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, ni he dejado de hacer todo lo que me ha parecido necesario, así por mi persona como por las de religiosos que he enviado en diversos tiempos a todas esas partes, para que con su doctrina y predicación pudiesen reducir a los que estuviesen culpados y encaminarlos en todo lo que conviniese para su salvación. Y de ello ha resultado haberme escrito diversas veces, lo que han entendido que pasa en este negocio, que es lo mismo que a mí me pareció cuando estuve en los dichos lugares y lo toqué con las manos.

Y con tan larga enfermedad como yo he pasado este invierno, no he podido poner en orden todos los apuntamientos y cosas que me han escrito, e importar tanto que no pasase por otra mano que por la mía, por el secreto grande que el caso requiere y que las dichas personas me piden que guarde, no he podido dar cuenta a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima antes. Si bien, como he dicho a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima arriba, estaba cuando llegó su carta de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, tratando de ello, y porque ha sido necesario verme con las mismas personas religiosas y las demás que me han escrito, las he enviado a llamar para juntarme con ellas, para apurar y poner en limpio todo lo que acerca de esto puede haber, y que con distinción y claridad se pueda remitir a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima todo, que no he querido poner la mano en apurarlo por otros caminos por el buen respeto y consideración que debo tener de haberla puesto la Inquisición de Logroño.

Y he escogido por el más cierto y verdadero, el dar cuenta a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima de todo, y poner en sus manos todo lo que ha venido a las mías, y decir a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, como persona que tengo */2r/* la obligación de cuidar de este negocio (que tan perjudicial es a las almas de mis ovejas), lo que siento de él, que todo lo enviaré a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima con brevedad. Y suplico a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima se sirva de que no se tome resolución ninguna en esta materia hasta que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima lo vea.

Y ahora, por mayor, digo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima que siempre he tenido por cierto que en este negocio hay gran fraude y engaño, y de tres partes de lo que se dice, las dos no son verdaderas, y que mucho de lo que publican de niños y de mujeres mozas y de hombres es levantado, nacido todo de la demasiada diligencia que los comisarios de la Inquisición han hecho, ahora sea movidos con buen celo, ahora con fines particulares, solicitando y haciendo grandes diligencias y extraordinarias, como lo verá Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima

intensity. Your Eminence will come to the same conclusion from the statements of my correspondents and from the individual cases which have occurred. Moreover, this is borne out of the people who have resorted to the same friars and confessors to unburden their consciences and to seek penance for having falsely accused themselves and others. They declared that they had done so because they had been compelled by a variety of means. I assure Your Eminence that ever since the allegation of witchcraft first began to be heard and I was obliged to go there, I was convinced that there was much fantasy, delusion and deceit, especially in all that related to the children. I remember I wrote thus to the inquisitors of Logroño from the town of Lesaca.²⁶ This conclusion I reached on the basis of close personal observations, and after seeing what my correspondents have written I am yet more certain.

There is one argument I wish to advance in the present letter without waiting to include it with the rest I propose sending Your Eminence. This I hold to be fundamental for the understanding of all the other things and it has been decisively confirmed by the /2v/ people [who are investigating these matters]. It runs thus: On my visit to the said villages I made close inquiries to discover when it was first rumoured that there were witches among them. And I learned that the word [*aquelarre*] has previously not been known. Nor had they heard of such a thing until a coven was discovered in the neighbouring villages across the French border some three or four leagues distant. There many were sentenced to death by a judge sent out from Paris;²⁷ and he acted so precipitately and without substantiating the cases as he should have done, that he was relieved from his commission and forbidden to proceed. This, however, did not take place before he had burnt many who, as has come to light, died innocent.²⁸

²⁶ The Bishop's letter has not been kept, but it was commented upon in a letter from the Tribunal to *la Suprema*, dated 14th Febr. 1611 (see WA 482 n. 72). According to recent research Venegas was still in Lesaca by 28th Febr. 1610 (Goñi Gaztambide 1987, 142 n. 95).

²⁷ This must be referring to judge Pierre de Lancre, 50-year-old lawyer and member of the Parlement of Bordeaux. He was commissioned by Royal Decree from Paris, 10th Dec. 1608 (cf. WA chap. 1.7).

²⁸ Venegas had probably first hand information from his French colleague the Bishop of Bayonne the learned Bertrand d'Echaux.

por los dichos de las personas que me han escrito sobre ello, y los casos particulares que ha habido, demás de haber acudido muchos a los mismos religiosos y confesores a descargar sus conciencias, pidiendo penitencia de haberse culpado a sí mismos y a otros, no siendo cierto, declarando el haberlo hecho por haber sido inducidos para ello por diversos caminos. Y certifico a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima que desde que comenzó esta voz en estos lugares y me obligó a ir a ellos, me persuadí por muchas razones que toqué y apuré, que había mucho de ilusión y de engaño y embuste, y particularmente todo lo de los muchachos, y así desde la villa de Lesaca me acuerdo que escribí a los inquisidores de Logroño.²⁶ Y después que he visto lo que me escriben estas personas que he dicho, me afirmo mucho más en ello.

Una razón quiero decir a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima en esta carta, sin aguardar a ponerla con las demás que pienso enviar a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, que la tengo por fundamental de todas las demás que hay para entender esto, y que las dichas /2v/ personas han apurado. Y es que cuando yo estuve en los dichos lugares, hice apretada diligencia para saber desde cuando comenzó a correr que había brujos y brujas en ellos, y hallé que nunca había habido tal nombre ni se había entendido cosa semejante, sino después que en los lugares de Francia, circunvecinos a estos a tres y a cuatro leguas, hubo aquella complicitad de ellos, de que se hizo justicia de muchos por un juez que vino de París,²⁷ el cual procedió de suerte y tan atropelladamente, sin sustanciar los procesos como los había de sustanciar, que se le quitó la comisión y se le mandó que no pasase adelante; pero fue después de haber hecho justicia de muchos que hoy en día se va verificando que murieron sin culpa.²⁸

Since a large number of people from these villages happened to be present when many of the sentences were carried out, from that time onward talk began to circulate about what had been witnessed and heard there concerning this sect. After discussions held amongst themselves they have acquired a knowledge of the terms and the manners of talking about witchcraft and the peculiar practices of the sect, to such an extent that there is now neither child nor woman nor anybody who is not an expert at replying to questions on the subject.

Moreover someone from these villages well-versed in a particular aspect of witchcraft must have set the affair in motion. In doing so he provoked an uproar and confusion among these people who are so ignorant and simple that they neither understand what is being said nor what is involved. As I have said, the commissioners of the Inquisition have made use of unheard methods. At times they have intimidated the suspects and at others they have promised that if they confessed they would emerge unscathed and without public scandal. Many of those who have suffered in this way have made this clear to their confessors, as Your Eminence shall see in the papers I shall send shortly. /3r/

The question I ask myself is: how is it possible that where there are such a large number of suspects and offenders—both children and old women, young women and men—some of whom admit to being witches not for one or two years but for many years—[how is it possible] that nothing has been known about it in all these parts until the recent events in France? Nor has anything like this been heard of until now. It is not possible that so many, young and old alike, would have failed to reveal their activities as they are doing now. In truth, Your Eminence, I myself am convinced that the affair is not as serious as has been made out and I reach this view on the basis of evidence which has been proven conclusively. While there may be some element of truth in it, much is fiction, delusion and calumny which has been caused by the children and ignorant people who have talked about these matters and have picked up the terms from what they have heard and from the news which, as I said, reached them about the events in France.

Since I will write to Your Eminence [again] when I send the papers, I will then state my final opinion as to what ought to be done. I will do this after I have seen and spoken with my correspondents. I do not wish to weary Your Eminence further over this but rather entreat Our Lord to preserve Your Eminence many happy

Y como desde entonces comenzó a correr esta plática y muchos de estas villas se hallaron presentes a la justicia que se hizo allí de muchos, de las cosas particulares que allí oyeron, que hacían en razón de esta secta, y después de la comunicación que han tenido de esta secta unos con otros, han venido a saber los términos y modos de hablar de ella, y las cosas particulares que se hacen, de manera que no hay muchacho ni mujer ni persona que no esté diestra para responder a las preguntas cerca de ella.

Y como debió de dar principio alguna persona de estos lugares, estando indiciada de alguna cosa particular de estas brujas, se comenzó a levantar una polvareda y una confusión entre esta gente, que es ignorantísima y llana, de manera que ni ellos se entienden ni saben lo que se dicen. Y los comisarios de la Inquisición, como dicho tengo, han hecho tan extraordinarias diligencias, poniéndoles miedo unas veces y, otras, que si confesaban saldrían sin daño ninguno y con secreto; que muchos de ellos, como Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima verá por los papeles que **/3r/** enviaré con brevedad, lo confiesan así a los confesores.

Lo que yo saco de todo esto, es que cómo es posible que donde hay tanto número de indiciados y culpados—así muchachos como mujeres viejas, y mozas, y hombres, y no de un año y dos, sino de muchos años—no se haya sabido antes de lo de Francia, ni oído cosa semejante en aquellos lugares? Pues muchachos y gente moza y tan gran número de gente, no era posible dejarlo de publicar como lo publican ahora, sino que, realmente, Señor Ilustrísimo, tengo para mí por cierto, con todas las demás razones que hay y se han verificado, que en este negocio no hay tanto daño verdadero como se encarece; que lo más de él, aunque haya algo, es ficción e ilusión mucho de ello, y levantamiento nacido de muchachos y de gente ignorante que han hablado en estas materias y deprendido términos de ellas por lo que han oído, y de la comunicación que han tenido de lo que, como he dicho, pasó en Francia.

Y porque escribiré a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima cuando envíe los dichos papeles y, entonces, diré mi parecer de lo que se debería hacer con más deliberación; pues será después de haber visto a estas personas y habládolas.

No quiero cansar más a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima en esto, sino suplicar a Nuestro Señor nos guarde a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima

years for the good of His Church, which we His servants desire.
Pamplona, 4th March 1611.

Your Eminence, Your most faithful
servant kisses Your hand
the Bishop of Pamplona⁴

⁴ *Only the last three lines are written in the hand of Bishop Venegas.*

muchos y felices años para bien de su Iglesia, como sus servidores deseamos. De Pamplona, en 4 de Marzo de 1611.

Ilustrísimo Señor, besa la mano a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima su mayor servidor el Obispo de Pamplona^f

^f *Solamente las tres últimas líneas están escritas por mano del obispo Venegas.*

6. *Second Letter of the Bishop of Pamplona to the
Inquisitor General (1st April 1611)*¹

*2

†

*3

Most Noble Lord,

*4 Your Eminence might think that I have delayed in writing to You and in sending the papers with my opinion as I promised and as You were pleased to order. I therefore entreat Your Eminence to accept that I could have done no more since I have needed this time to consult with the necessary persons. The report which I am now sending Your Eminence contains everything they have written to me and everything that I have discussed with them. From the report Your Eminence will gather what is really happening and why the matter is not as grave as once thought. Finally Your Eminence will perceive that it is his duty to ensure that the truth is brought to light and that the harm wrought by witchcraft is brought to an end wherever it is found. Where no evidence of its existence is discovered the fact also shall be made known, however, those who have been the cause of these lies and commotion should be punished. Since Your Eminence orders me to tell him my opinion as to what ought to be done, I hereby declare it.

Firstly, I can assure Your Eminence that the inquisitors of Logroño are outstanding men who have proceeded in this affair with considerable care and zeal and done all that could be expected.

Secondly, it is my opinion—and this is shared by all those who are concerned with the affair—that the agents who have taken charge of the matter bear the responsibility for the harm. I believe there are three commissioners involved, two in the town of Lesaca and the third in the town of Vera. These I can assure /9v/ Your Eminence

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[d], 9r–10r. *On the reverse of the letter (fol. 10v) written in the hand of the Council's reporter: † The Bishop of Pamplona to His Eminence. Dated on the first of April 1611. With an enclosed report of the investigations which he has made into this outbreak of witchcraft.*

² *In the upper margin written in the hand of the Council: To the Council.*

³ *In the upper margin to the right written with a different hand: To be delivered to the reporter. Madrid, 21st April 1611.*

⁴ *Marginal note in the hand of the reporter of the Council: From the Bishop of Pamplona to the señor Inquisitor General. The former sends his report and states his opinion.*

6. *Segunda carta del Obispo de Pamplona al Inquisidor General*
(Pamplona, 1 de abril 1611)^a

*b

†

*c

Ilustrísimo Señor,

*d Suplico a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima que si le pareciere que he tardado en escribir a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima y enviar los papeles que ofrecí y mi parecer, en lo que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima fue servido de mandarme le diese, crea Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima que no he podido más, porque todo este tiempo he habido menester para comunicarme con las personas que ha sido necesario. Y de lo que me tenían escrito, y de lo que he hablado con ellos, se ha hecho ese papel que remito a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima. Y por él verá Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima lo que pasa y las razones grandes que hay para entender que no es tan grande el daño de este negocio como se entendía, y la obligación que corre a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima en procurar se aclare esta verdad y que el [daño] que hubiere, se ataje, y donde no le hay, que se sepa y aún que se castigue a los que han sido causa de este embuste y levantamiento. Y porque Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima me manda que le diga mi parecer y lo que se debería hacer, digo Señor que obedeciendo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima lo diré.

Lo primero que afirmo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, es que los inquisidores de Logroño son muy grandes inquisidores y que han procedido en este negocio con muy gran cuidado y celo, y que de su parte han hecho lo que debían hacer.

Lo segundo, que el daño ha estado, a mí parecer y al de todos los que sienten bien de este negocio, en los ministros que han entendido en él. Estos, creo, son tres comisarios, dos de la villa de Lesaca y otro de la de Vera, de los cuales puedo afirmar /9v/ a Vuestra

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[d], 9r–10r. *En el dorso de la carte (fol. 10v) escrito por el Consejo: †/Pamplona a Su Señoría 1611/el obispo, de primero de abril/Con la diligencia que ha hecho en razón de los brujos.*

^b *En el margen superior con mano del Consejo: Al Consejo.*

^c *En el margen superior a la derecha añadido con otra mano: Entréguese al relator. Madrid a 21 de abril 1611.*

^d *Nota marginal con mano del relator del Consejo: Del obispo de Pamplona al Señor Inquisidor General. Envía el memorial y dice su parecer.*

are neither intelligent nor learned.²⁹ I am well acquainted with them and their abilities since they are my parish priests, and without doubt it would be advisable to issue immediate instructions forbidding them to meddle in this affair and to place them under strict orders to have nothing to do with the investigations.

Thirdly, if we wish to arrive at the truth of the matter it would be an advantage if it were not the inquisitors of Logroño who managed this affair, at any rate not the senior one and the *licenciado* Alvarado. I urge this exclusion since, even though they are excellent inquisitors they are not capable of carrying out the investigations with the necessary objectivity. Alvarado was responsible for the first investigations into this evil sect during his visitation. The senior one, from what I have understood, is too involved in this affair and determined to maintain the truth of the matter at all costs.

Thus in my opinion Your Eminence should order one or two inquisitors, men of knowledge and integrity, to come here and take charge of the affair with the firm intention of investigating the matter exhaustively in order to reach the truth. I am quite sure that they will find a wealth of evidence to help them to ascertain the truth. For my part, I would talk to them once they were here and try to help them all I could, as would everyone else who has assisted me in the investigations, so that this time everything should come to light once and for all.

We should make efforts to find a suitable remedy for this evil, as Your Eminence sees it is now my responsibility to provide. For if my flock is stricken, it is right that I should cure them of their ills, and if they are not, to make this fact known. I assure Your Eminence that they are the most worthy people, Christian and devout. And it is the greatest pity in the world to see such honest people who are all Old Christians, defamed on such flimsy grounds.

I have thought of suggesting **/10r/** to Your Eminence that it would be a good thing if in addition to the inquisitor who is to come here—and I think *one* would be sufficient—His Majesty provided one, or perhaps two qualified judges so that all that is invention and

²⁹ “Intelligent nor learned (*intelligentes ni scientes*)”, a Biblical expression: “Vae igitur qui intelligentes estis in vobismetipsis, et coram ipsis scientes” (Isaiah 5.21), see also Ecclesiastes 20.32 and Matthew 25.25. “Men of knowledge and integrity (*personas de ciencia y conciencia*)” appears to have been one of the humanistic Bishop’s favourite expressions, cf. below, pp. 198/199 and 220/221.

Señoría Ilustrísima que no son nada inteligentes ni scientes,²⁹ porque como son vicarios los conozco y sé sus talentos; y convendría desde luego dar orden que éstos no entendiesen en éste negocio, sino que se estuviesen quedos sin hacer diligencia en él de ninguna manera.

Lo tercero es que el apurar esta verdad y aclararla, debería ser por persona o personas que no fuesen los inquisidores de Logroño, a lo menos, los dos de ellos, que es el antiguo y el licenciado Alvarado, porque aunque son los que he dicho, me parece que como el uno de ellos ha sido el que comenzó a entender en el descubrimiento de esta mala secta en la visita que hizo, y el antiguo a lo que he entendido, está demasadamente embarcado en este negocio, y con gran resolución de parecerle que es todo verdad, no podrían hacer la diligencia que conviene tan libremente que se pudiese sacar a la luz lo que se pretende.

Y así mi parecer es que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima debería mandar venir aquí uno o dos inquisidores que fuesen personas de ciencia y conciencia, y que tomasen este negocio en las manos y fuesen con buena resolución de apurarlo y aclararlo. Y entiendo cierto que han de hallar mucho de que echar mano para averiguar la verdad, y venidos aquí yo me veré con el que viniere, o los que vinieren y los procuraré ayudar de mi parte todo lo que pudiere, y lo mismo harán todas las demás personas que me han comunicado, de manera que de esta vez, se aclare y sepa lo que hay, y se procure poner el remedio que conviene a semejante daño, que ya Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima vea si me corre a mí obligación de procurarlo, pues si mis ovejas le padecen, razón es curarlas y quitársele, y si no, que sepa que no están con esta roña, pues afirmo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima que es toda gente bonísima y cristiana y pía, y que es la mayor lástima del mundo ver difamada tanta gente honrada y cristiana vieja, sin mucho fundamento.

También he pensado proponer /10r/ a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima si sería bueno que juntamente con el que ha de venir aquí, que me parece bastaría uno si fuese tal, que Su Majestad proveyese dos jueces, o uno diestro, y que tuviese experiencia de negocios, para que él por su parte fuese averiguando todo lo que fuese invención

commotion can be thoroughly investigated.³⁰ I consider that this would be a great help to the inquisitor in charge of the matter since he could remit to the Inquisition all that fell within its competence, and at the same time take action against those who were guilty of invention and falsehood.

I can assure Your Eminence that there must be many guilty of fraud who deserve punishment; and it is desirable to deal with them once and for all. Therefore, in my opinion, it would be most fitting if an exemplary punishment were meted out and it would be best for royal authorities to carry out the sentence. Your Eminence shall consider and ordain everything in the expedient fashion. Truly my lord, it is pitiful to see what is happening!

After finishing the present report there has come into my hands this memorial with a letter from a father of the Society who on my instructions has been visiting these villages and You will see how all he says bears out my account.

May God in His mercy bring forth the truth and free those wretched people by expelling the Devil from their souls and liberate them from the dominion of the Devil and this evil sect. As for those who are not infected may the Lord free them from false witnesses and frauds. And may he preserve Your Eminence many years in high esteem as we your servants desire and have need of. Pamplona, 1st April 1611.

Most Noble Lord, Your most faithful
servant and chaplain kisses your hand
the Bishop of Pamplona⁵

⁵ *Only the three last lines are written in the hand of the Bishop.*

³⁰ As witchcraft was a “mixed crime” Venegas proposes that the cases partly be handled by the secular jurisdiction.

y levantamiento,³⁰ que me parece sería grande ayuda para el inquisidor que viniese, porque de esta diligencia resultaría que lo que hallase que era verdaderamente caso de Inquisición lo remitiría, y [en] lo demás él procedería contra los que estuviesen culpados en esta invención y embuste.

Y digo a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima que a mí parecer convendría mucho—porque estoy cierto que ha de haber muchos culpados que se hayan de castigar por este embeleco—y que conviene, para quitarle de una vez, haya algún castigo ejemplar, y éste está mejor que se haga por la Justicia Real. Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima lo verá y ordenará todo lo que más convenga. ¡Qué cierto, Señor, que es lastimosa cosa ver lo que pasa!

Y después de haber escrito la relación que envió a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, me ha venido a las manos ese memorial con esa carta de un padre de la Compañía, que anda en estos lugares por mi orden, que por lo que dice en él, verá Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima cómo todo se corresponde.

Dios, por su misericordia, aclare la verdad y libre a esta miserable gente, que hubiere el Demonio hecho presa en sus almas de él y de tan mala secta, y a los demás que no están inficionados de testimonios y embustes. Y guarde a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima muchos años con la grandeza de estado que sus servidores de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima deseamos y hemos menester. De Pamplona y abril a primero de 1611.

Ilustrísimo Señor, besa la mano a Vuestra Señoría
Ilustrísima su mayor servidor y capellán
el obispo de Pamplona^c

^c *Solamente los tres últimas líneas están escritas por mano del obispo.*

7. *The Report of the Bishop of Pamplona*
(1st April 1611)¹

*2

†

*3 *Title:* A report to Don Antonio Venegas de Figueroa, Bishop of Pamplona and member of His Majesty's Council, made by the persons, both lay and religious, whom his Lordship has employed in the places where this evil sect of witches is said to exist. It covers the period from June 1610 to the month of december of the same year.

*4 1. The Lord of Urtubie, a French nobleman³¹ whose manors lie in the kingdom of France, two leagues from Las Cinco Villas, seized on his own authority certain old women and, holding them prisoners, extracted from them an account of all the witches in the village of Urrugne where the same Lord of Urtubie lives. On the said account being submitted to the Parlement of Paris, this body sent a judge to the village of Urrugne and Pays de Labourd to investigate and to sentence those found belonging to the witches' sect.³²

Since those mentioned in the account, both religious and lay, were enemies and opponents of the Lord of Urtubie in the said places of Urrugne and Labourd—and it seemed that the judge who was holding the witch trials */Iv/* was condemning them without due process

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[e], 1r–9r. *On the reverse (fol. 10v) written in the letter of the Council's "reporter":* Report presented to the Bishop of Pamplona with respect to the witches of his bishopric.

² *In the upper margin:* To the Council.

³ *Marginal note in the hand of the reporter of the Council:* It relates the inducements and tortures used to make people confess to being witches.

⁴ *Marginal note of the reporter:* A judge from the Parlement of Paris initiated proceedings and punished people without substantiating the cases properly and he was recalled.

³¹ The Lord of Urtubie was Tristan de Gamboa d'Alsatte, commandant of the troops at Labourd and *bailli d'espée*.

³² In fact the complaint was forwarded by two noblemen, the other being Jean Caupenne d'Amou, Lord of Saint Pée and lower court judge (*bailli*). The judge alluded to must also here be the councillor Pierre de Lancre of the Parlement of Bordeaux.

7. *Informe del Obispo de Pamplona*
(Pamplona, 1 de abril 1611)^a

*b

†

*c *Título:* Relación hecha a don Antonio Venegas de Figueroa, Obispo de Pamplona, del Consejo de su Majestad, por las personas que Su Señoría ha ocupado—así religiosas como otras—en los lugares donde se ha dicho que hay esta mala secta de brujos y brujas, comenzando desde el mes de junio del año de 1610 hasta el mes de diciembre del mismo año.

*d 1. Monsieur de Urtubie,^c caballero francés,³¹ cuyos palacios son dos leguas de Las Cinco Villas, en el reino de Francia, prendió ciertas viejas con su privada autoridad y, teniéndolas presas, a una con ellas sacó un memorial de los brujos que había en el lugar de Urrugne,^f adonde reside y vive el dicho Monsieur de Urtubie. Y presentando el dicho memorial en el Parlamento de París envió el Parlamento al dicho lugar de Urrugne y Tierra de Labourd^g juez para inquirir y sentenciar los que hallase de la secta de brujos.³²

Y porque los contenidos en el dicho memorial, así clérigos como legos, eran enemigos y contradictores del dicho Monzieur de Urtubie, en los dichos lugares de Urrugne y Labourd—y el juez que procedió en las dichas causas de brujos pareció que, sin sustanciar los procesos **¶** conforme a derecho, los condenaba—vino el caso a

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[e], 1r–9r. *En el dorso (fol. 10v) con mano del Consejo:* Memorial que se ha dado al obispo de Pamplona cerca de los brujos que hay en su obispado.

^b *En el margen superior con mano del Consejo:* Al Consejo.

^c *Nota marginal del relator del Consejo:* Cuenta los inducimientos o tormentos con que hacen que confiesen son brujos.

^d *Nota marginal del relator:* Que un juez del parlamento de Paris procedió y castigó sin substanciar bien los procesos, y le revocaron.

^e *Ms. aquí y abajo:* Mus. de Ustubia.

^f *Aquí y en adelante escrito:* Urnia.

^g *Aquí y en adelante escrito:* La Bort o La Borlt.

of law—the affair came to the notice of the Parlement which suspended the commission of the judge, giving orders that he was to return home and that the matter was to be left as it stood.

It happened that the first old woman from whom the account was taken, and the others who later confirmed the same account, were condemned to death. However, in their last confessions they declared the statements they had made to be false, explaining that they had made them at the promptings of the Lord of Urtubie. They added that they had implored the said judge and the Lord of Urtubie to tear up the account and consider the content as false and invalid; for unless this was done their souls were damned on account of the false witness they had borne against the said persons.

*5 As assistant and instructor to the Lord of Urtubie a certain *licenciado* Hualde, the rector of Vera and at present commissioner of the Holy Office, happened to be involved in all these matters. As both are French and the Lord of Urtubie had presented the former to the living of Vera [cf. above, p. 42], they are very close friends. At that time the said rector always accompanied the judge and the Lord of Urtubie to all the abovementioned places. For the same reason, the rector and the Lord of Urtubie have always been, and are, bitter enemies of most of the residents in the town of Vera. The town opposed the rector arguing that he was French and that it was not advisable that there should be a French rector in Vera, the first town on the frontier with the Pyrenees and France, nor in any similar village at such a short distance from the French border, /2r/ for fear of the many incidents which could occur later on, wherein His Majesty would be ill-served.

*6 2. At the same time several persons belonging to this evil sect were discovered in Zugarramurdi, a village within this kingdom (although on the outskirts of the mountains and adjacent to the said localities of Labourd and Urrugne in France). When the *licenciado* Alvarado, inquisitor of Logroño, made his visitation he seized various of them and these were punished at the last auto de fe held in Logroño.

3. Although the same *licenciado* Alvarado visited Las Cinco Villas and other places in person, it does not appear that he found a sin-

⁵ *Marginal note of the reporter.* The rector of Vera, a friend of the Lord of Urtubie who brought the judge.

⁶ *Marginal note of the reporter.* Witches discovered in Zugarramurdi.

noticia del dicho Parlamento, el cual suspendió la comisión del dicho juez, mandándole, dejando el negocio en el ser y estado que estaba, volviese a su casa.

Y aconteció que la primera vieja con quien hizo el dicho memorial y las otras que después confirmaron aquel mismo memorial fueron sentenciadas a muerte, y dijeron en su última confesión ser falso el dicho memorial, y que le hicieron a instancia del dicho Señor de Urtubie, y que suplicaban a los dichos juez y [Señor] de Urtubie rompiesen aquel memorial, teniéndole por falso y nulo todo lo contenido en el dicho memorial, y que a no hacerse esto, sus almas iban condenadas por el mal testimonio que levantaban a las dichas personas.

*^h Y en todas estas cosas se halló como ayudante e instructor al dicho [Señor] de Urtubie, el licenciado Hualde, rector de Vera y, al presente comisario del Santo Oficio—porque por ser ambos franceses y el dicho [Señor] de Urtubie haberle presentado para la rectoría de Vera, tienen estrecha amistad—y asistía siempre en este tiempo el dicho rector, en los dichos lugares, en compañía de los dichos Juez y Señor de Urtubie. Por lo mismo, los dichos rector y Monsieur de Urtubie han estado y están grandemente enemistados con la mayor parte de los vecinos de la dicha villa de Vera, porque el dicho rector le contradijo la villa, alegando que era francés, y no convenía, en el primer lugar fronterizo a Francia y Pirineos—por temor de muchos casos y sucesos que podían acontecer adelante de deservicio de Su Majestad—hubiese rector francés en la dicha [villa], ni en otro lugar /2r/ semejante, de tan poca distancia y tan fronterizo a Francia.

*ⁱ 2. En este mismo tiempo, en Zugarramurdi, lugar de este reino (aunque de ultrapuertos y pegantes a los dichos lugares de Labourd y Urrugne), se descubrieron algunas personas de esta mala secta, y habiendo hecho su visita de Inquisición el licenciado Alvarado, inquisidor de Logroño, prendió [a] diversas personas de ellos que han sido castigados en el auto último hecho en Logroño.

3. Aunque el mismo licenciado Alvarado visitó Las Cinco Villas y otros lugares con su misma persona, no se entendió en ellas hubiese

^h *Nota marginal del relator.* El rector de Vera, amigo del Señor de Urtubie que trajo el juez.

ⁱ *Nota marginal del relator.* Se descubrieron brujos en Zugarramurdi.

gle person contaminated by the evil sect.³³ Notwithstanding the large number of old people in these places, no one knew what it was to be a witch or anything which savoured of this evil art. Neither did anyone know what was an *aquelarre*. Upon the departure of the Inquisitor the *licenciado* Hualde, Don Domingo de San Paul, and his curate, Don Juan de San Paul, were left as commissioners of the Holy Office and they hold the same posts at present.³⁴

*7 After the departure of the Inquisitor, both the rector of Vera and Don Domingo de San Paul forthwith gave sermons on the theme of the innumerable persons in both towns belonging to this evil sect. They claimed that they knew who they were and that they had lists of the names. They consequently urged these people to come forth since, however anxious they were to escape detection, their identities were already known. In their sermons they maintained that out of the entire population of the two villages more than three quarters were witches. This, they declared, was a fact and they would repeat it a thousand times if necessary. According to the same priests many of those who had that very day confessed to */2v/* them and received Holy Communion from their hands, belonged to the hateful sect. They added that they knew of the *aquelarres* in the said villages, both the formal and informal ones, the membership, the methods of travel, and what took place in these assemblies. Thus the rector and his curate preached from their pulpits exactly what the child witches of France had said both in regard to the witches' catechism and everything else related to the sect and its doctrine.

With regard to the witches' catechism, they filled their sermons with descriptions of how at the *aquelarre* there is an enclosure newly made within which many boys and girls stand guard over toads with a rod in each hand. According to their progress and aptitude in the

⁷ *Marginal note of the reporter*: When preaching against the witches the rector of Vera and his assistant recounted all the details of witchcraft.

³³ The Bishop's statement was not entirely correct, for Inquisitor Valle had actually obtained the first witch confession before leaving Las Cinco Villas. It was made on 10th Oct. 1609 by 14-year-old Diego de Marticorena from Echalar (WA 129). Apparently the inquisitor also got a confession from a grown-up witch of Vera, Beltrana de la Fargua, who "confessed immediately after the Edict of Faith was read out" (doc. 2.II.16). This must have been on Sunday, 27th September 1609 (cf. WA 115).

³⁴ The 80-year-old rector Domingo de San Paul at Lesaca had been inquisitorial commissioner for a long time. His curate and apparently relative, Juan Martínez de San Paul, was appointed by Inquisitor Valle Alvarado in 1609, and so was the rector of Vera, Lorenzo de Hualde, at the beginning of 1610 (WA 131).

ninguna persona indicionada de esta mala secta, y con haber muchas personas ancianas en ellas, ninguna sabía qué cosa era ser brujo ni cosa que oliese a esta mala arte, ni qué cosa era aquellarre.^j Después de la partida de dicho inquisidor, quedaron por comisarios del Santo Oficio el dicho licenciado Hualde, don Domingo de San Paul y su teniente don Juan de San Paul, quienes, al presente, hacen el mismo oficio ambos, el rector de Vera y don Juan de San Paul.

*k Luego, después de la partida del dicho inquisidor, dijeron y predicaron en sus parroquias y púlpitos que en ambas las dos villas había innumerables personas de esta mala secta, y que ellos sabían quienes eran y que tenían roldes de ellos y de sus nombres, y que se descubriesen porque ya sabían (aunque lo quisiesen celar) quienes eran, y que, repartida la gente de las dos villas en cuatro partes, las tres y más eran brujos; y que ello era cierto y que lo afirmaban mil veces ser ello así, y que muchos que en aquel día habían confesado con /2v/ ellos y comulgado de ellos, eran de aquella maligna secta, y que ellos sabían los aquellarres de las dichas villas, así los solemnes como los privados, y quiénes y cómo iban, y lo que hacían. De suerte, que los dichos rector y teniente predicaron de sus púlpitos todas aquellas cosas que los niños brujos de Francia dijeron: tanto todo lo que toca al catequizar de esta secta de brujos, cuanto todo lo que toca a la doctrina de esta secta.

En cuanto al catecismo, decían cómo en el dicho aquellarre había una cuadra hecha de nuevo,^l adonde estaban muchos niños y niñas guardando sapos con sendas varas en las manos, y a los que iban mejor enseñándose y aficionándose a la dicha secta, les daban su número de sapos; y como de allí, algunas veces, veían muchas

^j Aquí escrito “aquellarre” pero en adelante también “aquerrlarre”, “aquerrlare” y “aquellarre”.

^k Nota marginal del relator: Que el rector de Vera y su teniente, predicando contra los brujos referían las brujerías.

^l Ms.: un quadro hecho de nueve [cuadrados?]. Apoyándome en el contexto y la expresión “cuadra de los sapos” apareciendo a continuación (véase nota n, abajo) he optado por esta interpretación.

sect the children are allotted a corresponding number of toads. From this enclosure the children sometimes see many people celebrating. In order for them to see this the Devil breaks down the enclosure and then replaces it again as before.³⁵ In order to persuade the children to go to the *aquejarre* the mistresses first give them something to eat, or wheedle them and pat them on the head. Once they have consented it is impossible for the children not to be taken on the first occasion. Thus they are taken to the sites of the sabbats and presented before the he-goat at the most solemn moment of the *aquejarre* while everybody sings:

Tupulu tupu
orain ere gende berria dugu.³⁶

which is to say:

Be of good cheer
for now we have new people here.

Amid these rejoicings the mistresses, according to the priests' account, draw near to the he-goat with the children. Whereupon the he-goat **/3r/** gives coins to the sponsor, according to the bargain he has with them, for each child. Then the he-goat orders them to take the children to the enclosure with the toads where each child is given a toad and a little rod to hold.

With regard to the doctrine of the sect, the clergy preached that at the *aquejarre* there is a devil in the form of a he-goat. Sometimes he takes the form of a man and on these occasions he has carnal intercourse with all the women present; and that while all the assembly looks on he has intercourse with them one by one. Immediately afterwards he takes the form of a maiden or a married woman or a spinster and all the men at the *aquejarre* have carnal knowledge of him.

After this, the priests continued, sumptuous tables are prepared with all kinds of food and everyone sits down to eat; but when they raise a morsel to their lips they find nothing but a little mud.

After the banquet the Devil shows them a roaring fire, higher than a lofty mountain, at some distance from the *aquejarre*. He tells them that this fire is Hell, where he has places prepared for himself

³⁵ Correspondingly, in a confession from Arráyo (case no. 477) we are told of a thick fog at the sabbat separating the different groups of witches so that they could not see each other (*Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 250v).

³⁶ "Tupulu tupu" seems to be a play on words which could be translated "Be of good cheer for (*ánimo que*)". A more correct translation of the second line would

personas de muchos regocijos, y que para ver esto deshacía el Demonio la cuadra y otra vez la^m volvía a poner como antes.³⁵ Y que las maestras de este arte hacían consentir a los niños para ir a los dichos aquelarres, dándoles algunas cosas a comer primero o halagándoles y tocándoles en la cabeza; y después de dichos consentimientos era imposible no llevar a los niños la primera noche, y que así los llevaban a los dichos niños a los puestos de los aquelarres y los presentaban ante el cabrón del dicho aquelarre a la hora de la mayor solemnidad, cantando todos:

Tupulu tupu
orain ere gende berria dugu,³⁶

que quiere decir:

Animo que ahora y todo
gente nueva tenemos.

Y a estas alegrías, las maestras con sus niños se acercaban al cabrón **/3r/** y entonces el cabrón daba dineros a la portadora, según el concierto que tiene con cada una de ellas por cada niño que lleva. Y que luego mandaba el cabrón llevar al dicho niño a la cuadraⁿ de los sapos, entregándole uno de ellos con una vara en la mano.

En cuanto a la doctrina de la dicha secta, predicando que en aquelarre hay un demonio en figura de cabrón, y que otras veces toma figura de hombre, y cuando toma figura de hombre tiene acceso carnal con todas las mujeres que se hallan en el dicho aquelarre, y que estando a la mira todo el aquelarre se junta con todas, de una en una, como dicho es; y que, si bien en continente a esta fiesta toma figura de doncella, o de mujer casada o soltera, y se hace conocer carnalmente de todos los hombres del dicho aquelarre.

Y que después de esto [pre]paraban unas mesas espléndidas de todo género de comidas y todos se sentaban a comer, y al llevar el bocado a la boca no hallaban nada, sino un poco de barro.

Y después de los banquetes, les mostraba un fuego grandísimo, mayor que un monte grande, algo lejos del aquelarre, y les decía que aquel fuego era el infierno adonde él para sí y ellos tenía asientos

^m *Ms.*: el cuadro y otra vez lo.

ⁿ *En el Ms. escrito*: la quadra.

be: “Now we have also new people (*ahora también tenemos gente nueva*)” (courtesy of Roldán Jimeno).

and them *ab eterno*,⁸ and he assures them that everything their confessors /3v/ and preachers told them about the pains of Hell are lies and nonsense. In order to prove the truth of what he says he suggests they should all enter together with him and pass through the midst of the fire. For they would learn how the fire in no way causes pain but rather great happiness and joy. Upon this they all enter with him.

The sermons went on to relate the duties which were a part of the *aqueelarre*. With regard to the children old enough to be catechized the priests explained how their duties merely consist of standing guard over a greater or lesser number of toads. They went on to enumerate the other duties of the witches explaining how some are to fetch children, others to act as stewards, others to skin toads, others to make sauces with toads, herbs, snakes and other filthy creatures, others to sprinkle poison over the wheat and every kind of crop, other to slay men with poison, others to render them impotent, others to inflict illnesses such as colic and similar infirmities. And the priests continued to elaborate on the many other offices which they claimed existed.

*9 As a result of all this everyone, boys and girls, youths and maidens, married people and old people, indeed every member of the family, without being witches, knew by heart like a Hail Mary the entire art of witchcraft and all that the preachers had asserted from their pulpits.

Once the details concerning the sect had become common knowledge /4r/ the preachers strongly urged everyone to reveal himself. Thus parents kept asking their children whether they were witches and vice versa, and masters did the same to their servants and family. Inevitably various children began to disclose to their mothers certain of the details concerning the sect and art of witches and named other children of their own age as accomplices. Yet on being taken before the agents of the Holy Office they denied everything.

*10 The said commissioners—namely those of Lesaca—had two women to coax and threaten those children who did not want to confess to being witches. They kept the children day and night in closed rooms.

⁸ *ab eterno*, Latin "from eternity".

⁹ *Marginal note of the reporter*: Having heard all this from the priests and his assistant people began to denounce themselves and one-another.

¹⁰ *Marginal note by the reporter*: The commissioners made the children confess using threats and blandishments.

preparados *ab eterno*, y que era burla y mentira todo lo que decían los confesores /3v/ y predicadores de las penas del infierno, y que para estar ciertos de ello entrasen a una con él todos por medio de aquel fuego, y experimentarían ser verdad lo que él decía, cómo en ninguna manera daba tormento aquel fuego, sino mucho contento y alegría; y, con esto, entraban todos con él.

Predicaban también los oficios y cargos que había en el dicho aquelarre, tanto en los que son de la edad del catecismo—que es sólo tener en custodia mayor o menor número de sapos—y en cuanto al uso de los oficios, cómo unos son portatarios de niños; otros, mayordomos; otros, descolchadores de sapos; otros, hacedores de salsas con sapos y hierbas y culebras y otros animales sucios; otros, derramar ponzoña por los panes y todo género de frutos; otros, mata-dores de hombres con ponzoña; otros, ligadores; otros, causadores de enfermedades de hijada y semejantes dolores; y otros muchos oficios que dijeron haber.

De todo esto nació que todos los niños y niñas, mozos y mozas, casados y casadas, viejos y viejas, y toda la gente de familia—aunque en ninguna manera fuesen brujos—sabían de memoria como el avermaría todo el arte de los brujos y todo lo que los dichos predicadores dijeron y predicaron de sus púlpitos.

*o Después que las dichas cosas de la dicha secta fueron tan públicas como dicho es, y que la gente /4r/ común estaba tan industriada y enseñada en ella, instaron fuertemente los predicadores en que se descubriesen todos. Y así los padres preguntaban a los hijos si eran brujos, y asimismo a los padres los hijos; y en sus casas, los amos a sus criados y gente de familia. Y de esto aconteció que comenzaron algunos niños a descubrir a sus madres algunas cosas de las dichas de la secta y arte de los brujos, nombrando por cómplices a otros niños de su edad; y llevados a los ministros del Santo Oficio, negaban todo.

*p Y los dichos comisarios—es, a saber, los de Lesaca—tenían dos mujeres para halagar y amenazar y tenerlos días y noches en aposentos cerrados a estos niños que no querían confesar que eran brujos.

^o *Nota marginal del relator.* Que de lo que decían el cura y teniente aprendían todo el vulgo y se delataban a sí y a otros.

^p *Nota marginal del relator.* Que los comisarios, con amenazas y alhagos, hacían confesar a los niños.

When after several days they came to confess, the children related everything they had heard about the *aque-larres* from the preachers and from their child companions. Thus all came to give the same answers. The only difficulty they had was in naming those who had taken them.

*¹¹ This point caused the greatest trouble until two children came to mention two persons in the town of Lesaca. Whereupon all the other infant witches named the same two, affirming that they had been taken by them as well. On learning this, the agents of the Holy Office and the inhabitants of the town confronted all the accused in the manner /4v/ described below.

*¹² 4. The children also stated that they were taken off to the *aque-larres* while asleep and that the mistresses took them out through chinks in the walls and skylights. At other times they were taken through the very doors of their rooms. They also explained that although they had been in bed undressed, at the said sites they found themselves dressed as if it were day. At the *aque-larre* the Devil, having made them apostates, branded them as his followers with a blazing iron which did not burn them. Thereafter he made them worship [*i.e.* kiss] him under his tail. Once they had done this he turned round and embraced them saying: "Henceforth you are mine, for you have renounced God, Holy Mary and the Sacraments of the Church; you have renounced the Saints, your parents and godparents; and you have avowed and promised never to do good when you are able to do evil." Both the children and the preachers coincided in stating that the renunciation took place before kissing the Devil.

As a result of this the population of Las Cinco Villas became utterly convinced that the majority were infected by the evil sect. At the same time they grew increasingly afraid of one another lest innocent people should be punished on account of private vendettas. A devotion towards religion, never before witnessed, began to make itself evident. This reached such an intensity that they abhorred and will always abhor anyone (be he son, husband, or brother) who might be subject to the taint of witchcraft although there exists no other evidence than the statements /5r/ of the children, which need only

¹¹ *Marginal note by the reporter.* After some children named two women as abductors all the rest accused them as well.

¹² *Marginal note by the reporter.* What the children said.

Y al cabo de algunos días, cuando venían a confesar, decían y contaban todo lo que habían oído de los aquelarres por los dichos predicadores, o por otros niños compañeros, de manera que todos venían a contestar de una misma manera. Sólo hubo dificultad en confesar quiénes eran las portadoras, lo cual confesaron con mucha dificultad.

*^q Y después que dos niños vinieron a nombrar dos personas en la villa de Lesaca, todas las demás criaturas confitentes nombraban y decían ser llevadas por aquellas mismas. Y en entender esto, los ministros del Santo Oficio y la gente de las dichas villas, se hubieron con todos los acusados en la forma que /4v/ abajo se dirá.

*^r 4. Decían también los dichos niños que, estando ellos durmiendo, eran llevados a los dichos aquelarres, y que los sacaban las dichas maestras por unos resquicios de paredes y luceras, y otras veces, por las mismas puertas de los aposentos; y aunque ellos estaban en la cama desnudos, se hallaban vestidos como de día en los dichos puestos. Y en el dicho aquelarre, el Demonio, después que les hacía renegar, les marcaba por sus sectarios con un hierro ardiente de fuego, sin que los quemase, y luego les hacía le adorasen debajo de la cola, diciendo y volviéndose a abrazarle: “Tú, de aquí adelante, mío eres, pues que has renegado de Dios y de Santa María y de todos los sacramentos de la Iglesia, y de sus santos, y de los padres y padrinos del bautismo, y protestado y ofrecido de jamás hacer bien, pudiendo obrar mal.” Y esta abnegación decían así los dichos niños y también los dichos predicadores, que les hacían hacer antes de la dicha adoración.

De todo lo dicho sucedió en la gente de Las Cinco Villas fe grandísima de que la más de la gente estaba inficionada de esta mala secta, y grandes temores unos de otros, porque por causas particulares no fuesen castigados muchos inocentes. También nació un amor extraordinario, jamás visto, en favor de la religión, de tal suerte que aborrecieron y aborrecerán para siempre a cualquiera (aunque fuese hijo, marido o hermano) que fuese tocado de este nombre, sin haber otra probanza que el dicho /5r/ de los niños, y sin que otro

^q *Nota marginal del relator:* Que nombrando unos niños a dos llevadoras, las nombraron los demás niños.

^r *Nota marginal del relator:* Lo que decían los niños.

concur to be accepted as proof. So the parents along with the above-mentioned women [of Lesaca], their kinsfolk and the clergy, treated their children very harshly.

*¹³ The parents would say: “Look child, you must listen to what the Lord Commissioners are saying to you and confess if you are a witch, because they will absolve you at once from the offence and will spare you from death and the confiscation of your goods. Neither will any infamy befall you or your descendants, rather you will be absolved in secret. They have assured us of this, and therefore you are not going to allow all your descendants to suffer perpetual infamy through your not wanting to confess to the sin of witchcraft. You face an alternative but you can only save yourself by admitting that you are a witch. If you deny it there is no redemption because, according to the commissioners, your offence has been sufficiently proved already.” The rest of their relatives and friends would give a similar warning in the manner described below. If the children persisted in their denials they would be submitted to the rope torture and other methods as will be mentioned later.

If anyone under examination stammered, it was then said that truly the Devil had got into his throat so as not to let him speak. Whereupon they poured large quantities of Holy Water down his throat alleging that he was possessed by a demon. Thus the commissioner of Lesaca told us that he saw demons in the throats of many people who were prevented by these [demons] from confessing to the sin of witchcraft. He further maintained that he had seen demons come out of others after he himself had exorcised them with Holy Water.

*¹⁴ The commissioner of Vera, noticing how the witches were so loath to confess and how later they denied the statements they had made before a judge, went to another extreme. He summoned a great number of children and adults from each section of the town allowing no one to return to his home for over forty days /5v/ except for some very old people. Keeping them all in his house he used the most singular methods, administered by himself or others, to cajole them into admitting they were guilty of witchcraft. He made

¹³ *Marginal note by the reporter:* Parents were persuading their children to confess under the Edict of Grace.

¹⁴ *Marginal note by the reporter:* The commissioner of Vera compelled people to confess.

fundamento hubiese que el común apellido nacido del dicho de los niños.

*^s Y así los padres a sus hijos, y las dichas mujeres y los parientes y los clérigos, los trataban muy fuertemente, diciendo los padres: “Mirad, hijo, oíd lo que os dicen los señores comisarios y confesad si soys brujo, que a la misma hora os absolverán del dicho delito y os librarán de la muerte y de confiscar vuestros bienes, y ni a vos ni a vuestros descendientes les resultará infamia alguna, antes os absolverán en secreto, y esto me han asegurado; y pues ello es así, no permitais que toda vuestra descendencia padezca una infamia perpetua, por no querer vos decir una palabra de cómo sois brujo, pues estais entre dos vados, que sólo por el uno os podeis salvar, que es confesando cómo sois brujo; y negándolo no hay redención, porque vuestro pecado, dicen los comisarios, está ya probado suficientemente.” Y los demás parientes y amigos les amonestaban lo mismo en la forma que abajo se dirá. Y estando en esta negativa, se les daban los tormentos y tratos de cuerda y otros de que abajo se hará mención.

Y si acaso en estas molestias alguno titubeaba, decían luego que realmente el Demonio se le ponía en la garganta, que no le dejaba hablar, y luego le echaban por el cuello y por la boca gran cantidad de agua bendita a beber, con esto haciéndoles de brujas energúmenas. Y así nos dijo el comisario de Lesaca que a muchos vio demonios en las gargantas, que les impedían el confesar de cómo eran brujos, y a otros vio salir, y sacó demonios, de esta manera.

* El comisario de Vera, visto [lo] que los dichos confitentes con tanta dificultad querían decir y lo dicho por el juez luego negaban, dio en otro extremo, que de cada barrio llamó tantos niños y personas crecidas, y a ninguno dejó volver a sus casas en más de cuarenta días, /5v/ excepto a algunos muy crecidos y viejos. Y teniéndolos en casa, por su persona y las de otros, persuadió y amenazó con modos extraordinarios a que confesasen haber incurrido en brujería; y para

^s *Nota marginal del relator:* Persuadían los padres a los hijos confesasen en el Edicto de Gracia.

^t *Nota marginal del relator:* El comisario de Vera inducía a que confesasen.

use of the parents and kinsfolk for this purpose, promising them that if their relatives confessed he himself would free and absolve them without punishment or penalties, doing this out of the love he bore to them all. But if they did not respond to this, he promised them they would be taken to Logroño and punished by death, confiscation of goods, and the infamy of *sambenitos* which would be hung in the church of Vera.³⁷

Upon this the parents, the relatives or the friends did everything in their power to bring about a "confession" since, as their offence had already been proved, their denials constituted willful and wicked obstinacy and would be of no advantage to them, and they pleaded with them to answer a simple "yes". If they complied they would be freed, since the commissioner had promised as much. In this way some were made to confess by blandishments, others by torture; the latter, however, later reiterated their denials declaring they had done wrong in confessing to what they were not.

*15 In the town of Aranaz they did not, and could not, discover a single person for more than eight months after the Inquisitor Alvarado had been in Las Cinco Villas. Then it happened that one day last November [1610] while a father was asking his children the questions written above, a boy /6r/ said: "Father I now know what an *aquejarre* is."—"Who has taken you?" replied the father.—"The cowherd Iricia," answered the boy.—Solely on the basis of this the man went to the shed where Iricia kept his herd and straightway threw him to the ground, placed a dagger at his throat and demanded to know why he had bewitched his son. After abusing him violently he made Iricia admit to being a witch. As soon as he heard this confession the aggressor went off to make a denunciation. On receiving the information the commissioner of Lesaca seized Iricia and sent him prisoner to Logroño where he remains to this day.³⁸

¹⁵ *Marginal note by the reporter.* Because of the statement of his child a father used threats to force a man to confess that he was a witch.

³⁷ According to inquisitorial practice the *sambenito* of a heretic who had been burnt was hung up in his or her parish church with a label stating the name, the crime and the year of the execution. The *sambenitos* of those who had been reconciled were also hung up when the sentence had been served. These sackcloths remained on display indefinitely as a constant reminder of heretical infamy (cf. WA 45).

³⁸ "Iricia" may be identical with Pedro de Andrade, a shepherd who spent over a year in the Tribunal's prison without making a proper confession so that he could be reconciled. He must have died in prison shortly after Oct. 1611 (cf. WA 275 with n. 155).

esto, valiéndose de padres y parientes, ofreciéndoles que si confesaban les libraría y absolvería él a solas, sin castigo y pena, y que esto hacía por el amor que a todos tenía. Y si en esto no venían, serían llevados a Logroño y castigados con pena de muerte y confiscados todos sus bienes, con infamia de sambenitos que se pondrían en la iglesia de Vera.³⁷

Con esto, los padres hacían todo el hincapié que podían; y los parientes, con parientes; y los amigos, con amigos; pues su delito estaba probado, su negativa era obstinación pura y maligna, y que no les aprovecharía; y que dijese un “sí”, que con ello serían libres, pues así lo ofrecía el comisario. A unos hicieron confesar de esta manera, con halagos, y, a otros, con tormentos, los cuales luego volvieron a su negativa, diciendo habían hecho mal en confesar lo que no eran.

*^u En la villa de Aranaz, no se descubrió ni se pudo descubrir persona ninguna en más de ocho meses después que el dicho inquisidor Alvarado estuvo en las dichas Cinco Villas. Y aconteció en un día del mes de noviembre último pasado, haciendo un padre a sus hijos las preguntas que de suso están escritas, /6r/ dijo un niño: “Padre, ya yo sé qué cosa es aquelarre.” Respondióle: “¿Quién os ha llevado?”—Dijo el niño: “El vaquero llamado Iricia.”—Este hombre, sin otro fundamento, fue al acubullamiento del ganado del dicho Iricia y luego, derribándole por el suelo, le puso un puñal en la garganta, diciéndole que por qué había embrujado a su hijo. Después de haberle dicho muchos malos tratos, le hizo confesar que era brujo y luego, oída esta confesión, el dicho agresor fue a denunciar al dicho Iricia. Y el comisario de la dicha villa de Lesaca, habiendo recibido la información, le prendió y envió a Logroño preso, adonde está hasta el presente día.³⁸

^u *Nota marginal del relator:* Por el dicho de un niño hizo el padre confesar a otro, con amenazas, que era brujo.

*16 The child got together with other children in the town, some thirty or more in number. All of them declared that they were witches and that Iricia had bewitched them and taken them off to the *aquelarres*. When Iricia was taken prisoner they asserted that a woman called Juana de Argarate took them to the *aquelarre* in the place of Iricia. And after they said Juana had been sent prisoner to Logroño as well³⁹ the children stated that another woman took them in her place. This was the origin of the witch craze in the town of Aranaz where it is pitiful to see the people thrown into such confusion.⁴⁰
/6v/

5. In the villages of Sumbilla, Santesteban, Elgorriaga, Ituren, Zubieta, Donamaría, Aoiz and those of Ibarгойen, Legasa, Navarte, Oyeregui, Oronoz, Arráyoз, Garzain, Elizondo, Azpilcueta and other villages, they have acted upon the statements of children, as has happened in Aranaz and the rest of Las Cinco Villas. The rector, parents, and kinsfolk, after making the investigations described above and questioning the children as to whether they have been taken to the *aquelarres*, believe the allegations of witchcraft on the basis of a mere “yes”. The adults whom the children in these towns named as witches have been seized immediately by the residents and the local justices, who have tortured them so fiercely that they have either admitted to being witches or died under torture.

*17 A woman died in Sumbilla, another who was pregnant died in Aurtiz, another in Oronoz, another in Arráyoз, and another in
*18 Elizondo. Those who confessed under torture all retracted their confession once the torture was over, declaring that they had never been, nor were, witches, and that they had only confessed because

¹⁶ *Marginal note by the reporter*: The child got together with thirty others and all confessed that they were witches.

¹⁷ *Marginal note by the reporter*: Those denounced by the children have been forced to admit under torture that they are witches.

¹⁸ *Marginal note by the reporter*: Once the torture was over, they recanted.

³⁹ Juana de Argarate, does not appear among the prisoners of the Inquisition, so she was probably imprisoned by local justice (WA 502 n. 33). She is with all probability identical with the 60-year-old Juana de Argarate who was reconciled by Salazar on the visitation (see below, doc. 12.65 gloss 87). In *Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation Book* she is mentioned as the witch mistress of two young girls of Aranaz, Hipólita de Arbiza and Catalina de Juangotenea (ff. 84r and 130r, respectively).

⁴⁰ Three months later, according to the statistics issued by the Tribunal on 9th March 1611, Aranaz and its neighbouring village, Sumbilla, had 19 confessing witches and another 110 persons under suspicion (WA 213, table 6 no. 6).

*v Y el dicho niño se juntó con otros niños de la villa, hasta en número de treinta y más, y todos dijeron que eran brujos y que el dicho Iricia los había embrujado y llevado a los aquelarres. Y como el dicho Iricia fue preso, dijeron que una mujer llamada Juana de Argarate los llevaba a los aquelarres a falta del dicho Iricia; y porque a la dicha Juana llevaron también a Logroño por el dicho caso,³⁹ dijeron que otra mujer de la villa los llevaba en su lugar, y de aquí ha nacido el brujío de la villa de Aranaz, adonde anda la gente tan alborotada que es lástima.⁴⁰ /6v/

5. En los lugares de Sumbilla, Santesteban, Elgorriaga, Ituren, Zubieta, Donamaria, Aoiz y los pueblos de Ibarroyen, en Legasa, Navarte, Oyeregui, Oronoz, Arráyo, Garzain,^w Elizondo, Azpilcueta y otros pueblos, en todos los cuales se ha procedido de dichos de niños como dicho es de Aranaz y de las demás Cinco Villas. Y habiendo puesto los rectores, padres y parientes la diligencia de susodicha en inquirir de los niños si han sido llevados a los aquelarres, sólo
 *x con el “sí” de ellos, han creído en el brujío de ellos. Y las personas crecidas que los dichos niños han nombrado ser brujos, han sido luego prendidas en los mismos pueblos por los vecinos y Justicia de ellos, y les han dado tan fuerte cuestión de tormento, que han confesado ser brujos o han muerto en el tormento.

En Sumbilla murió una mujer, en Aurtiz^y murió otra estando preñada, y en Oronoz otra, y en Arráyo otra, en Elizondo otra; y
 *z los que confesaban con el miedo del tormento, todos ellos, acabado el tormento, volvían a negar lo confesado, y que ellos en ninguna manera han sido ni son brujos, que lo dijeron por miedo del tormento.

^v *Nota marginal del relator:* El niño se juntó con otros 30 y todos confesaron que eran brujos.

^w *En el manuscrito escrito:* Gazen.

^x *Nota marginal relator:* Que a los delatados por los niños les han hecho a tormentos confesar que son brujos.

^y *Ms.:* Aioztiz. *Pero cf. abajo donde el caso de la mujer preñada muerto en el tormento está localizada a “Aurtiz, barrio de Ituren”.*

^z *Nota marginal del relator:* Acabado el tormento, negaban.

of the torture. However, because those who retract are tortured anew, many do not */7r/* have the courage to assert that they are not witches except to their confessors and intimate relations whom they can trust to maintain secrecy. So, awaiting the mercy of God Who will look to their innocence—they adhere to what they have originally said. Should some disinterested persons, of learning and principles, come to ascertain and reveal the truth, they would tell these persons that they are not witches and never have been.

*19 Likewise in Las Cinco Villas there are various persons of up to the age of eighteen or twenty who clearly maintain that they stated they were witches under compulsion and because of personal reasons such as fear of their parents. They further maintain that they are not witches, neither do they know of others who are, and that on account of their statements there now are several innocent persons in the cells at Logroño. No one will listen to them for fear of the commissioners of the Holy Office. There are also many children who say they are not witches, having previously confessed that “Yes, they were” and who state the personal reasons for doing so. When these children are cross-examined on the question of witchcraft it is quite clear that they have never been witches. */7v/*

*20 6. Although all the confessions have thus been extracted out of court and illegally, the commissioners of the Holy Office have written them up as being spontaneous and made by the *confitentes* quite freely without fear or compulsion. On the contrary, they used to write at the beginning of the record that so-and-so came to confess his offence asking mercy of the Holy Office and throwing himself onto its merciful grace in order to unburden his conscience. Thus they made them swear according to legal forms when the circumstances of the case vitiated the procedure. The accused were thus made to perjure themselves since everyone was subject to compulsion after undergoing the above-mentioned investigations, and many of the said persons had been harried into confession by fear, torture and unlawful procedures.

When the victims approached the friars, Jesuits, parish priests and other confessors in this diocese, these were unwilling to absolve them for fear of the inquisitors. Those suspected of being witches have now passed two Lents without confessing themselves [as required by

¹⁹ *Marginal note by the reporter:* Revocantes.

²⁰ *Marginal note by the reporter:* The commissioners have written that the confessions are spontaneous when in fact they are not.

Y porque a los que así niegan les dan tormento de nuevo, no **/7r/** osan ahora desdeirse si no es a sus confesores y a otros muy familiares de quien esperan secreto de cómo no son brujas; por el temor de las penas y aguardando misericordia de Dios que mirará por su inocencia de ellos, están en lo que han dicho. Pero si hubiese personas desinteresadas, de ciencia y conciencia, que viniesen a averiguar y soltar en limpio la verdad, la dirán de cómo no son brujos ni han sido jamás.

*aa Y de la misma manera en Las Cinco Villas hay diversas personas de hasta dieciocho o veinte años, los cuales claramente afirman cómo por inducimiento y respetos particulares y temor de sus padres dijeron ser brujos y que no lo son ni saben que otros lo sean, y que por sus dichos hay algunas personas presas en Logroño sin tener culpa. Y no hay quien los oiga en esto por miedo de los comisarios del Santo Oficio. Y así bien hay muchos niños que dicen no ser brujos, habiéndolo antes confesado que sí lo eran, y diciendo los respetos particulares por que lo hicieron. Y todos quedan convencidos, haciéndoseles repreguntas en la materia de brujos. **/7v/**

*ab 6. Habiendo sido todas las confesiones, como dicho es, fuera de término de derecho y ex abrupto, los comisarios del Santo Oficio han puesto todas las confesiones ser espontáneas, y haberlas hecho los dichos confitentes sin ser inducidos ni compelidos por miedo ni por otra cosa, ni alguno otro respeto humano, antes a lo contrario ponían siempre después del nombre de la persona que la dicha fulana o fulano venía a confesar su delito pidiendo misericordia al Santo Oficio y sometándose a su piedad y clemencia y en descargo de su conciencia. Y así les hacían jurar en forma de derecho, siendo al contrario el caso en que les hacían perjurar, viniendo todos inducidos y habiéndose hecho con ellos las diligencias arriba dichas.

Y muchas de las dichas personas que han sido afligidas, que hicieron sus confesiones, como dicho es, con extorsión y temor del tormento y otros respetos particulares, los cuales, habiendo llegado a frailes y padres de la Compañía y rectores de parroquias y a otros confesores de esta diócesis, no los han querido absolver de miedo de los inquisidores. Y ha dos cuaresmas que por esta razón dejan

^{aa} *Al margen con mano del relator:* Revocantes.

^{ab} *Nota marginal del relator:* Los comisarios han escrito que las confesiones son espontáneas, no lo siendo.

the Church].⁴¹ These unhappy people wander about afflicted and distressed, begging for a remedy which no one will provide them. They live in permanent despair realizing that **/8r/** in their particular case the Church could not and cannot help them.

As has been said before, the moment a person is accused on the basis of the statements of two, three, or more children, a large crowd of people rush to his house and in the name of justice they seize him, submitting him to monstrous and cruel tortures (as will be described below) because of the hatred and bitterness felt towards anyone accused of this crime.

*21 The crowd tortured some lying them on their backs along benches and binding them with ropes from their feet up to their arms. Then using the garrotte or stick they twist the rope tighter and tighter. Under this form of torture a woman in Sumbilla died. Others they torture by tying them from their feet up to their arms to the trunk of an apple tree. And turning the garrotte they tighten the ropes so that they suffer hideous pain. Some even died, as did a pregnant woman in Aurtiz, a section of Ituren.

They torture others with a very long ladder; that is, they place some four or five of the said persons within [the rungs] of one end of the ladder and then force them to walk round dragging the ladder. Now and again someone lifts the end which is trailing along the ground and, giving the ladder a good push, **/8v/** throws them all to the ground so that they fall flat on their faces. Then they pull up the end of the ladder and with great violence force them to get up; but before they have found their balance they hurl them backwards, this time so that their bodies receive severe bruises.

In this fashion they bring them to the bridges to be found in the said villages. On arrival, having stripped the accused and bound *22 them, they lower them until they touch the water.⁴² They keep them

²¹ *Marginal note by the reporter.* The tortures.

²² *Marginal note by the reporter.* This confirms a letter from the inquisitors which is in the legajo 13.

⁴¹ Catholics were, and still are, obliged to confess themselves at least once a year preferably during Lent.

⁴² The letter of 5th March 1611, "in the *legajo* 13 [of the Council's archives]", referred to in the marginal note *22, is actually preserved in *Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 32, along with the inquisitors' divided vote, *ibid.*, No. 34 (see WA 223, with n. 72).

de cumplir con el precepto de la confesión,⁴¹ y las cuitadas así afligidas y atribuladas andan pidiendo remedio y no hay quién se lo dé; y viven en este desconsuelo continuo de ver que sólo **/8r/** para ellas ha faltado y falta remedio en la Iglesia.

Y como se ha dicho arriba, en estando testificada alguna persona por el dicho de dos o tres o más niños, con el odio y rencor que tienen con los dichos así acusados por brujos, van luego a su casa en tropel y voz de justicia y les prenden y les dan los tormentos tan extraordinarios y crueles que aquí se dirán.

*ac Primeramente han atormentado a unos echándolos sobre un banco boca arriba, atándoles con cuerdas desde los pies hasta los brazos, apretando el cordel con garrotes, dando muchas vueltas. En este género de tormento murió una mujer en Sumbilla. A otros atormentan atándoles en pies de manzanos desde los pies hasta los brazos y apretando el cordel con vueltas de garrotes vienen a mucho mal y a morir, como murió una mujer preñada en Aurtiz, barrio de Ituren.

A otros atormentan en una escalera larguísima, y es que meten en un cabo de la escalera hasta cuatro o cinco personas de las dichas, y las hacen caminar arrastrando la dicha escalera, y de cuando en cuando del cabo que van arrastrando coge alguno y, empujando fuertemente con la escalera, derriba **/8v/** a todos boca abajo por el suelo, dando en él con todo el cuerpo y cara, y luego tiran del mismo cabo de la dicha escalera y les hacen levantar con gran violencia y sin ponerse bien sobre los pies los derriban y echan para atrás, dando grandísimos golpes con sus cuerpos. Y de esta manera los llevan hasta los puentes que hay en algunos de los dichos lugares.

*ad Y llegando a las dichas puentes los desnudan y ponen en cuerda y les dan trato hasta que llegan al agua.⁴² Allá les detienen algún

^{ac} *Al margen con mano del relator:* Tormentos.

^{ad} *Nota marginal del relator:* Esto confirma una carta de los inquisidores, que está en el legajo número 13°.

here some time slackening the rope sufficiently so that they sink right to the bottom of the river and they duck them in the water several times until certain that they are thoroughly exhausted. Thereupon they haul them up and (having ducked them one after the other) place them anew in the ladder and make them wander through the streets of the town throwing them to the ground as mentioned above. This goes on all night to the accompaniment of shouts and cries and lights in the streets while a thousand insults are hurled at the victims.

They torture others by placing them in stocks with their feet and calves set in tubs of water; and as soon as the weather becomes cold enough **/9r/** the water freezes and they suffer agony. In the village of Legasa they tortured five women thus, and these, while under such pain, confessed to being witches although later on they again retracted their confessions.^{°42a}

They have other methods of torture such as the wheel. This can be described as follows: in an ordinary working mill they tie the accused one by one to the beam that joins the two wheels just in the place where the water which drives the wheels falls. Then they release the water from the millpond and pour three quaters of a *fanega* of wheat into the hopper. Until the wheat is milled the wheels and beam will revolve, always with one of the aforesaid bound to the beam and spinning round on the wheel and beam while being struck continually by the water.

^{°42a} This appears to be the same cases reported on by Martín de Irisarri, the priest of Yanci (see above, p. 174). But the Bishop has knowledge of *five* cases, while Irisarri in his letter to Solarte only reported on *two*. So apparently the Bishop was in possession of more recent information.

espacio de tiempo, de cuando en cuando soltando el cordel hasta hundirlos en el fondo del agua, y esto de hundirlos y sacarlos del agua lo hacían diversas veces, hasta que conocían haber faltádoles del todo ya las fuerzas. Entonces, a todos los sacaban del agua y, de uno en uno, habiendo hecho con todos lo que dicho es, los volvían otra vez a meter en la dicha escalera y hacerles andar todas las calles del pueblo, derribándolos por el suelo como dicho es, continuando esto toda la noche, con muchas voces y clamores, y luces por las calles, diciéndoles mil afrentas.

A otros atormentaban metidos en unos cepos, y los pies y pantorrillas metidas en unas gamellas de agua, y con los grandes fríos /9r/ venía a helarse el agua, sufriendo la dicha helada con mucho dolor. De esta manera atormentaron cinco personas en el lugar de Legasa, las cuales estando en esta pena confesaron ser brujos, aunque luego volvieron a negar y a desdeñarse.^{°42a}

Y tienen también otros modos de atormentarles, como es el tormento de la rueda. Y es que en un molino corriente y labrante, entre el pilar de entre las dos ruedas adonde hiera el agua para correr y labrar el molino, ataban de uno en uno los dichos acusados, y soltaban el agua de las anteperas y echaban tres cuartales de trigo en la cevera, y hasta acabar de moler el dicho trigo corrían las dichas ruedas y pilar, y siempre uno de los dichos atado al dicho pilar, hiriéndole el agua y corriendo el curso de la dicha rueda y pilar.

8. *Father Solarte's Letter to the Pamplona Bishop*
*(Oyarzun, 25th March 1611)*¹

*2 Since I returned from kissing Your Lordship's hands I have been kept so busy with the good people in this valley that I have not been as prompt as I could have wished in obeying Your Lordship's commands. This letter is accompanied by a short report of all that I have been able to recollect about that matter on which Your Lordship will already possess more recent and more abundant evidence from other sources, especially from the Franciscan fathers. According to what I was told, one of the fathers had come across more than sixty persons who through delusion or fear have lied against themselves and against others. In my opinion these particular cases will fully complete Your Lordship's report.

As I know that this will meet with Your Lordship's full approval I shall relate what happened to me when on my return I met the rector of Santesteban.⁴³ He told me that it was true that there had been many who had confessed under coercion and violence but that he also had others who had done so spontaneously. Don Juan Martínez from Lesaca⁴⁴ admitted to me that he now realized the evil was not so great as was once imagined. He himself had a lengthy case relating to the confession of a woman from Sumbilla who, through falsehood and malice, had accused many. The fact that they are coming round to recognize at least this marks a considerable advance.

¹ AHN, Inquisition, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[b], 5r.

² *In the upper margin:* To the Council. *And below written in the hand of the Council's reporter:* Father Solarte of the Society of Jesus to the Bishop of Pamplona. The former states that many have confessed through fear and he sends a report dealing with them.

⁴³ The parish priest of Santesteban was Miguel de Irisarri, dean and inquisitorial commissioner. Solarte appears to have talked with him on his return from visiting the Bishop of Pamplona.

⁴⁴ Next stop on Solarte's way back to Oyarzun in Guipúzcoa appears to have been Lesaca, where the curate Juan Martínez de San Paul served as notary to the old inquisitorial commissioner and rector Domingo de San Paul (cf. WA 131).

8. *Carta del padre Solarte al Obispo de Pamplona*
(Oyarzun, 25 de marzo 1611)^a

*^b Por haber sido tantas las ocupaciones que con esta buena gente he tenido en este valle desde que volví de besárselas [*i.e.* las manos] a Vuestro Señoría Ilustrísima, no he sido tan puntual como quisiera en obedecer a lo que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima me mandó. Con ésta va una memoria breve de lo que me he podido acordar acerca de aquella materia, de la cual ya, por otras vías y en particular por los padres de San Francisco, tendrá Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima más recientes y copiosos testimonios, porque, según me dijeron, sólo el uno había encontrado con más de sesenta que por engaño y por miedo habían mentido contra sí y contra otros; y con estos casos particulares, a mí ver, estará cumplidísima y acabada la relación que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima tiene.

Porque sé que Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima holgará, quiero decir lo que a la vuelta me pasó con el rector de Santesteban,⁴³ y es que me dijo que era verdad que había muchos que, con violencia y extorsión, habían confesado, pero que también tenía otros que voluntariamente lo habían hecho. Y don Juan Martínez, el de Lesaca,⁴⁴ me confesó que ya estaba en que no es tan grande la maldad como se suena; y que él mismo tenía un gran proceso de la confesión de una de Sumbilla que, por engaño y malicia, había acusado a muchos.° Que no es poco que siquiera vengan a reconocer ellos esto.

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[b], 5r.

^b *En el margen superior.* Al Consejo. *Y más abajo escrito con mano del relator del Consejo:* Del padre Solarte, de la Compañía, para el Obispo de Pamplona. Dice que muchos han confesado por miedo, y envía memorial de ellos.

May God disclose the truth and divide the wheat from the chaff and grant Your Lordship health and grace to continue with this and many other undertakings to the Glory of God and the well-being of souls. As for me, I am summoned with all haste to Bilbao because the Father Rector leaves for the Congregation after Easter and he wants us to meet there for *Quasimodo*.⁴⁵ At all events I shall remember Your Lordship in my offerings and humble prayers. Oyarzun, 25th March 1611.

Hernando de Solarte

⁴⁵ *Domingo de Cuasimodo*, “Low Sunday”, is the first Sunday after Easter.

Dios descubra la verdad y aparte el grano de la paja, y a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima dé salud y gracia para que salga con ésta y otras muchas empresas de la gloria de Dios y bien de las almas. A mí me llaman a toda prisa a Bilbao, porque el padre rector se parte a la Congregación después de Pascua, y para *Quasimodo*⁴⁵ quiere que nos veamos allí, y donde quiera tenemos viva la memoria de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima en mis sacrificios y pobres oraciones. Oyarzun, marzo 25 de 1611.

Hernando de Solarte

9. *Father Solarte's Report to the Bishop*
(25th March 1611)¹

Title: Report of the persons who because of deceit or violence declared against themselves or against others before the agents of the Inquisition in Las Cinco Villas of Navarra.

1.² In the town of Vera, among others who explicitly retracted all that they had said, there are two sisters who had made a lengthy confession, entirely contrived and fictitious, under the relentless pressure of their kinsfolk. Their father went so far as to strip them naked and point a dagger at their breasts several times. Now they are constantly bewailing their perjury with abundant tears.⁴⁶

2. In the town of Echalar a shepherd boy, about fifteen years of age, stated that his mistress and another woman promised him a shirt and four *reales* if he said that such-and-such a woman used to take him to the *aquejarre* and that there he saw so-and-so and so-and-so. They trained him each morning as to what he had to say and at the end of all this they warned him that he was on no account to reveal that they had induced him to do this. The boy said [to me] that he knew these women had done the same with three other boys. This shepherd declared, moreover, that he had seen other boys [at the *aquejarre*] and whatever the other [children of the village] stated to have seen [at the witches' sabbat] he claimed to have seen as well in order to back up his lie. He has now declared in public and to the faces of these deceitful women that he was deceived.⁴⁷

3. In the same town [of Echalar] another, or rather two more, stated that without having been taken [to the *aquejarre*] they had

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[c], 6r-7r.

² A numeration of paragraphs has been added in the present edition.

⁴⁶ It is tempting to identify the two sisters with the two mentioned in Irisarri's letter (doc. 3, 3r). But as the latter according to my conjecture were from Yanci and the former as explicitly stated by Solarte were from Vera, we might consider another possibility: that we have to do with María de Peña of Vera (cf. above, note °11) who actually in her confession admitted to having made her younger sister a witch (*Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 78v).

⁴⁷ Cf. above, note °12.

9. *Memorial del padre Solarte al Obispo*
(Oyarzun, 25 de marzo 1611)^a

Título: Memoria de las personas que por engaño y violencia dijeron a ministros de la Inquisición contra sí y contra otros en Las Cinco Villas de Navarra.

^b En la villa de Vera, entre otras que hay que claramente se volvieron a desdecir, hay dos hermanas que por la mucha importunación de sus deudos y fuerza que su padre les hizo hasta ponerles varias veces un puñal en los pechos, desnudándolas, dijeron una larga confesión, toda maquinada y fingida, y ahora lo lloran con hartas lágrimas continuamente.⁴⁶

2. En la villa de Echalar, un pastorcillo de hasta quince años dijo que habiéndole prometido su ama y otra mujer una camisa y cuatro reales, le dijeron dijese que fulana le llevaba al aquelarre^c y que allá veía a fulano y fulana, de manera que cada mañana le catequizaban, y al cabo le exhortaban que no dijese en manera ninguna que ellas le habían impuesto en ello. Y éste mismo dijo que sabía habían impuesto también a otros tres muchachos estas mismas mujeres. Este pastor dijo que había visto a otros muchachos, y cuanto los demás decían que veían, él también decía lo veía por llevar adelante su mentira. Y éste ya públicamente lo ha dicho que fue engañado, y a las engañadoras en su propia cara.⁴⁷

3. En esta villa también dijo otro, u otros dos, que sin haber sido

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 31[c], 6r-7r.

^b En la presente edición se ha añadido la numeración de los párrafos.

^c Ms. aquí y abajo: aquerlar.

declared thus against themselves. They added that they had confessed because the other children were denouncing them and because their parents would not leave them alone.⁴⁸

4. There is a boy in this town of Echalar, roughly thirteen years old who, the shepherd boy told, had been imposed upon and falsely accused. This same boy, more than anyone else, relates filthy and abominable details, even saying that the Devil had carnal relations with him every night. On being told gently that this was impossible for everything he said to be true he at once began to cry and be extremely unhappy. They suffer exceedingly on being told they are not witches as they fear their parents will no longer love them.⁴⁹

5. In the town of Aranaz there was a French boy about fourteen who had come from Sumbilla. He declared that he had made mischief and lied in Sumbilla as well as in Aranaz because some women had fed and pampered him. This boy used to claim that he could immediately recognize any woman who was a witch by her eyes. He further claimed that he was marked, displaying as evidence what was but a small sore on a certain part of his body. To me, however, he revealed that this was nothing but an abscess which had come out there.

6. In this town there were about five other girls and boys who stated that, after many accusations /6v/ by other children and pressures exerted by their own parents, they had declared against themselves.

7. In the town of Yanci a young girl of about fifteen years testified against herself after being accused by others. The agents who examined her stated that she had the Devil's mark in a mole near her left arm. But in fact she had never had such a thing nor had she ever been to the *aquelarre*. Some four others said the same.

There are many more cases of this sort, but although we thought that the same would be true with the rest of the boys and girls in these villages, we did not want to question more people so as not to stir the matter up lest it [Solarte's secret inquiry] become known. The girls in this town claimed that they had had intercourse with the Devil. However, on being examined they were found to be virgins.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The two other boys (*otros dos*) might be identical with the two examined by Solarte's colleague, Father Medrano (see above, p. 56).

⁴⁹ Cf. above, note ^o14.

⁵⁰ In the *Fourth Report of Solarte* (f. 131v) he returns to comment on this event. Salazar has similar information on girls found to be virgins in spite of their claim about having had intercourse with the Devil (doc. 12.32).

llevados dijeron contra sí y confesaron, porque les acusaban los otros muchachos y no les dejaban en paz sus padres.⁴⁸

4. Un muchacho hay en esta villa de Echalar, de hasta trece años, que dijo el pastorcillo haber sido impuesto o acusado del mismo falsamente. Este dice más que nadie cosas sucias y abominables, hasta decir que el Demonio cada noche tenía acceso con él. A éste, diciéndole con blandura que no era posible tanto como decía no ser fingido, comenzó luego a llorar y hacer extremos de sentimiento, porque sienten mucho el que les digan que no son llevados, porque les parece que no les regalarán sus padres.⁴⁹

5. En la villa de Aranaz había un muchacho de hasta catorce años, que había venido de Sumbilla y era francés. Este dijo había enredado mucho y mentido en Sumbilla, y lo mismo en Aranaz, porque le dieron de comer y le regalaron unas mujeres. Este decía que conocería luego cualquiera que fuese bruja en los ojos, que estaba sellado, y le mostraba sensible que era una llaguilla que tenía en cierta parte del cuerpo, y dijo que no era sino de una postema que le había salido allí.

6. En esta villa hubo otras muchachas y muchachos, como hasta cinco, que dijeron habían dicho contra sí mismas después de muchas acusaciones de otros muchachos e importunaciones de sus propias madres y padres.

7. En la villa de Yancí, una mozuela de hasta quince años dijo contra sí por haber sido acusada de otros, y los ministros que la examinaban decían que tenía el sello en un lunar junto al brazo izquierdo, siendo verdad que jamás tuvo tal cosa ni había estado en aquelarre.

Y de esta manera hay muchos, y dijeron lo mismo hasta otros cuatro. Y aunque nos pareció que era lo mismo en los demás niños y niñas en estos lugares, no quisimos preguntar a más, por no hacer ruido y porque no se sintiese. Las muchachas de esta villa decían tener acceso con el Demonio, y haciéndose examen se han hallado enteras.⁵⁰

8. A girl about nineteen from the town of Lesaca who had denounced many, stated with copious tears that she had declared all this because two women seized her on a hillside and threatened to kill her unless she repeated what they told her. They promised her many things if she complied, and thus she declared the things which are recorded before the commissioner of Lesaca.

Another boy of about sixteen from this town, told us in order to relieve his conscience, that all he had declared had been false. He had perjured himself to escape the harassment of the agents of Justice who are pursuing him on account of the statements and accusations of the other children. The children used to declare all this to me with remarkable simplicity and sincerity, and they would ask me if, having stated the truth and confessed it, they would go to heaven.

9. In this town [of Lesaca] there are adults who under pressure from their relations have declared falsely against themselves. Subsequently they weep all night long over their perjuries.

From Vera the people resorted [to us] with solemn appeals. They were so harassed and distressed by threats and fear of death that they were sometimes tempted to despair and to seize a knife and stab themselves on being falsely accused. All this happens constantly in the other */7r/* villages as well. For the Enemy of the human race never sleeps and is always ready to profit from these opportunities.

10. In a place near Ituren a man of about forty came forward for help. He had admitted to being a witch through fear of being lowered by a rope from a bridge. Those he accused, however, were people who already had confessed.⁵¹ There is no lack of such unfortunate people in the town of Rentería and similar places where the same truth may be observed by whoever seeks to examine these affairs with Christian charity.

⁵¹ The 40-year-old man in a place near Ituren could be Juanes de Arroqui of Zubieta (case no. 502). From his file in *Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book* (395r–405v) it appears that he first made a witchcraft confession to the local authorities. In April and June 1611 he repeated his confession to the agents of the Inquisición and was reconciled by Salazar on the visitation (28th June). A month later he presented himself again and recanted everything, and Salazar admitted him as the first *revocante* (cf. WA 297).

8. Una moza de la villa de Lesaca, de hasta diecinueve años, que ha dicho mucho y contra muchas, dijo con muchas lágrimas y sentimiento haberlo dicho todo porque dos mujeres, en un monte, la cogieron y la amenzaron de muerte si no decía lo que ellas la decían, y que si [lo] decía le darían muchas cosas, y así dijo las cosas que constaran ante el comisario de Lesaca.

Otro muchacho de esta villa, de hasta dieciseis años, nos dijo que cuanto había dicho había sido falso para descargo de su conciencia y por librarse de la vejación de los ministros de justicia, que le perseguirían por el dicho y acusación de los otros niños. Y esto decían con tanta sencillez y verdad, que preguntaban si dicha esta verdad y confesándolo habría cielo para ellos.

9. En esta villa [de Lesaca] hay gente de crecida edad que, engañadas e inducidas por sus parientes, dijeron falsamente contra sí y están llorando las noches enteras su pecado.

Acude la gente perseguida y afligida de Vera con varios conjuros y maneras, con amenazas y temores de muerte, tentada a desesperación y, varias veces, a tomar un cuchillo y atravesársele por verse infamadas y sin culpa. Y de esto hay harto en las demás **17r**/ villas, que no duerme el enemigo del linaje humano para hacer sus mangas en estas ocasiones.

10. De junto a Ituren acudió por remedio un hombre de hasta cuarenta años, que por miedo de no ser echado de una puente abajo, con una soga atado, confesó ser brujo y acusó a otros que decían serlo.⁵¹ Y no faltan de la villa de Rentería y otras villas otros semejantes, que se hallaran ser verdad quien con cristiandad y blandura lo quisiere experimentar.

H ^{mas} ^{se} ^{hacian} ^{con} ^{una} ^{replica} ^{en} ^{todas} ^{las} ^{partes} **H**
 que esta escrita en los papeles de la palabra Actos
 con las personas Brufas de en el mismo aguardar y compleuidad que
 participan de sus entendimientos y en el lugar mismo donde se da La Junta de
del de San de de Los Las verificaciones y comprehensiones de las preguntas

1^a Que sin faver otras cosas sean llevadas en diferentes dias y
 dias quando no sean vistas Las tales personas con el di
 simulation y ante un fornicario y notario diablos o raza
con ellas de este rugerant

2^a Respondeen en el lugar puntual m. donde se dan jurados y con
 currido declarando quanto ay de su vida y de ael

3^a Que alli señalen el pueblo donde se acienta el demonio y sacen
 Las demas cosas de donde se comen las bayles y frondary
 Las demas

4^a Quando eran al aguardar estancoradas Las puertas y benta
 nas de sus carras y por donde salen del Saca el demonio y
 se son llevados por el ayre y en que forma los lleva y quanto car
 dan en llegar alla

5^a Si ban muchas juntas y alli se comen de donde se non
 acoran o iba cada uno solo

6^a Si la yda sbuelta de San Diego de gento y La Sablan
 ose aparran de ella

7^a Por donde buelben a donde se comen las bayles y frondary
 que los son Lorno y los otros

8^a Si ay ffetos o campanas en donde y se dan y en on
 Las demas circunstancias concernientes y combenientes
 a lo que se parezcan apropiado para el ynterrogatorio de
 La mayor claridad y verificacion que se buera

Fig. 23. The eight questions to the witches which Salazar had drawn up on the basis of the Council's Instructions, see below, p. 247. With endorsement in his own handwriting. (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE INQUISITION COUNCIL

Introduction

Don Bernardo's circular of 25th February 1611, discussed in the previous chapter, had also been sent to Logroño, and three weeks later *la Suprema* received the Tribunal's recommendations. The letter was dated 9th March and signed by all three inquisitors, but the writers were of course the oldest two, Becerra and Valle. So that the Council could fully understand the gravity of the situation, they had enclosed statistics for the approximately 2,000 witches who had been exposed to date: 339 people had made confessions, while 1,607 others were suspected of belonging to the Devil's sect.¹

The Inquisitor General's letter is known only indirectly from the Tribunal's reply, but he and his councillors were clearly concerned about the situation in the northern region, for the circular speaks not only of amnesty for the witches, but also of tackling the problem with rigour and putting an end to the evil as quickly as possible—indeed even of moving the Tribunal to Pamplona, so it could be closer to the infected area. And the inquisitors were asked if they needed reinforcements to cope with the task.²

In other words, the powers-that-be were at this time prepared for the mass trial that the Tribunal was anticipating. So it is all the more surprising to read *la Suprema's* instructions, drawn up just a month later. The Council now seems quite unaffected by the Tribunal's alarming bulletins. In almost every point the instructions run counter to the proposals of the Tribunal: in order not to risk that Salazar, with all his inexperience, was sent on a visitation, the Tribunal had suggested something as unusual as the dispatch of *two* inquisitors. One was to go to the witch-ridden area in Navarra, while the other

¹ See WA 212ff, with table 6.

² The letter of the Inquisitor General has not been preserved, but the content is summarized in the Tribunal's letter of 9th March 1611 (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 20, 1r).

was to travel through the rest of the district and see what could be revealed there. (Who the latter task was destined for we can easily imagine.) When the four months' amnesty had expired, they were to begin the prosecution of all those who had failed to report themselves or had relapsed.³

The Edict of Grace, as it further says in the instructions from the Council, is not to apply for four, but for six months, and the amnesty is to encompass *everyone*, including the witches who are in prison. The confessions of the witches are to be written down only in summary form, and they are not to take the trouble to interrogate them about accomplices, since this is nothing but a waste of time. The bishops in the Basque area and the heads of the religious orders are to be urged to send preachers off, but the latter are not, as the Tribunal had proposed, to be directed to monasteries in the area to await further orders. Other proposals of the Tribunal are simply passed over in silence—for example to prohibit public or private discussions of whether witches exist, to move the Tribunal temporarily to Pamplona (originally the Inquisitor General's own idea), or to take severe measures after the expiry of the Edict of Grace.

We find the reason for this turnaround in the information that has come into the hands of Don Bernardo and his high council in the intervening weeks. On 14th March the provisional reply arrived from the Bishop of Pamplona (doc. 5). We can disregard the other material (docs. 6–9) here, since it did not arrive in time. The same goes for the replies from the Royal Historiographer, the humanist Pedro de Valencia, and others whose advice had been asked. They all only managed to reply *after* 26th March and this had no influence on the Council's decision.⁴

Besides the Bishop of Pamplona, the Tribunal in Logroño itself seems, paradoxically enough, to have contributed to the Council's drastic change of tack, although that could hardly have been the intention of the inquisitors—at least not of the two oldest. For on 14th February the Tribunal wrote a ten-page letter to *la Suprema* about the Devil's machinations: even the Bishop of Pamplona had

³ Cf. WA 228–229, where the Tribunal's proposal is summarized in great detail.

⁴ This is true of most of the Bishop's material (docs. 6–9), which did not arrive before 21st April 1611, almost simultaneously with the answer from Pedro de Valencia, who sent the Inquisitor General a most sophisticated essay entitled "Concerning the witches' stories (*De los cuentos de los brujos*)", dated 20th April 1611 (cf. above, pp. 4, 6f, and 93).

been fooled into thinking that there was no witches' sect, but this was the fault not least of the Jesuit Solarte, whose head the Devil had completely turned. The Council could be persuaded of this by reading Solarte's reports, which the inquisitors had obtained and which they enclosed as documentation (docs. 3-4).⁵

It was in forwarding these papers that the inquisitors committed their strategic error. From some endorsements on the Tribunal's letter it is evident that it was discussed by the Council twice. The first time was on 28th February, when the inquisitors' demonological conspiracy theory failed to make an impression. The second time was 15th March, the day after the receipt of the Bishop of Pamplona's elegantly formulated but merciless criticism of the Tribunal's witch-hunt. Once doubt had been raised, the Council evidently took the long letter out again to look more closely at the documentation. It was probably read aloud, as was the custom of the Council,⁶ and we can imagine the feelings with which they listened to Solarte's shocking account and to the cries of distress from the parish priest of Yanci.

As for the instructions in general, several of them had been copied from older regulations on witches that the Council had looked out from its archives. This applies to both no. 12, on erecting a cross and chapels at the witches' meeting-places, and no. 13 with questions for the people who are to be interrogated. The Council had also furnished the Tribunal with the same questions during the trial of the Zugarramurdi witches, yet without them becoming any the wiser, for as we know this kind of investigation stands or falls with *who* does the questioning.⁷ It was therefore quite crucial that the Council had given the task to another man this time. As the beginning of the letter says, "the inquisitor whose turn it is to make the visitation . . . shall set out . . .". And that inquisitor was Salazar.⁸

⁵ *Leg.* 1679, Exp 2.1, No. 28, T/C 14-2-1611, received in Madrid 28-2-1611.

⁶ Royal Library of Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 128^c, p. 75 (for description of this manuscript, see WA 566).

⁷ Cf. WA chap. 4.4 "The fourteen questions from *la Suprema*".

⁸ Becerra and Valle had undertaken journeys of visitation in 1607 and 1609 respectively (WA 59, 107ff).

10. *The Inquisition Council's Instructions to the Tribunal at Logroño Concerning the Visitation and Edict of Grace to the Witches (Madrid, 26th March 1611)*¹

*2 The letters and papers which you have sent to the Council dealing with male and female witches who are to be found in every quarter of the kingdom of Navarra and the surrounding mountains have been inspected along with all that you have written on the subject. After consultation about the affair, the Inquisitor General has resolved that the inquisitor whose turn it is to make the visitation of the district this year shall set out forthwith to the area where you say this scourge is most virulent. He shall take with him /144v/ two secretaries of the *Secreto*, the one whose turn it is and the other, he who seems to you the most suitable. The inquisitor will be accompanied by two learned friars who understand and speak the language. You are to provide the wherewithal for their maintenance out of Inquisition funds. As for the male and female witches the following order shall be observed at the Tribunal as well as on the visitation.

1.³ The Edict of Grace which the Inquisitor General has been pleased to grant is to be published in its original form and in authentic copies. These you shall have read out if possible on the same day in Logroño, Pamplona and some of the most important villages affected by the ill in order that it shall come to everybody's notice. Although previously the period ran for four months His Eminence grants that it shall now last for six months, and this shall be made known at its publication.

2. The intention of the Inquisitor General and the Council is that, in view of the situation, all who come forward confessing their apostasies and errors in this matter shall avail themselves of the grace conferred by the Edict, without exception, even if they are held prisoners by the Holy Office or any other body. Notice of this is to be

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 333, 144r–147r, *i.e.* the original letter book of *la Suprema*.

² *In the margin a note by the Council:* Logroño. Witches. This letter was delivered for mailing to a certain Hernando Diaz. He departed on Palm Sunday at noon on the 27th of March and he was given a hundred *reales* for his journey.

³ A numeration of paragraphs has been added to the present edition.

10. *Las instrucciones del Consejo de la Inquisición al Tribunal de Logroño, concernientes a la visita del Edicto de Gracia para los brujos (Madrid, 26 de marzo 1611)*^a

*^b Los papeles y cartas que habeis enviado al Consejo en razón de la materia de los brujos y brujas, que tan extendida está en todo ese reino de Navarra y montañas, se han visto con lo que en esta razón habeis escrito diversas veces; y consultado con el Ilustrísimo Señor Cardenal Inquisidor General, ha parecido que el inquisidor a quien toca hacer la visita del distrito este año, salga luego a ella, a la parte donde decís que cunde más esta plaga, el cual llevará consigo **/144v/** dos notarios del Secreto: al que le toca y a otro que os pareciere más apropiado, y a dos religiosos doctos que entiendan y hablen la lengua; a quien hareis proveer^c lo necesario para su sustentación por cuenta del Fisco. Y en el Tribunal y visita, [en] cuanto a los dichos brujos y brujas, se guarde el orden siguiente:

1.^d El Edicto de Gracia que el Ilustrísimo Señor Cardenal Inquisidor General ha sido servido de conceder, se publique por su original y copias auténticas que hagais sacar de él, si puede ser en un mismo día en Logroño, Pamplona y algunos de los lugares más principales donde está el daño, para que venga a noticia de todos. Y aunque se dio por tiempo de cuatro meses, su Señoría Ilustrísima concede que sea por seis meses, y se dirá así en la publicación.

2. La intención del Ilustrísimo Señor Cardenal Inquisidor General y del Consejo es que por justos respetos gocen de la gracia de este edicto todos los que vinieren confesando sus apostasías y errores en esta materia, sin exceptuar ninguno, aunque estén presos en el Santo Oficio o fuera, y se dé noticia de eso a los presos para que,

^a AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 333, 144r–147r (Registro de cartas del Consejo).

^b *Al margen*: Logroño. Brujos. *Y con otra mano*: Despachóse correo a las 11 con esta carta, llamado Hernando Díaz. Partió el Domingo de Ramos a las 12 de mediodía, 27 de marzo, y diéronsele cien reales para el viaje.^o

^c *Ms.*: hareis proveeris.

^d *En la presente edición se ha añadido la numeración de los párrafos.*

given to the prisoners so that they may avail themselves of it if they wish. For the moment, however, *relapsos* are to be excluded from the terms of the Edict. If somebody should come and confess to having fallen into the sin of witchcraft a second time, without arresting them and without allowing them to be reconciled you are to ask for further instructions.

3. In order to encourage people to confess it will be made clear at the publication of the Edict that those who wish to confess can go to **/145r/** Logroño or to the inquisitor on visitation or to the commissioners whom the inquisitor shall send through the villages for this purpose. The inquisitor, keeping one secretary of the *Secreto* with him permanently, shall send the other with a commissioner to the areas most afflicted to hear confessions. He shall choose others, as many as he judges necessary (whether from among those who are commissioners already or from people in the villages whom he shall appoint) to hear the confessions before notaries whom he also shall appoint. The confessions shall be forwarded to the inquisitor or the Tribunal.

4. Those who go to the villages are instructed to be brief in hearing the confessions. They should take down only what is of vital importance, such as the time and manner of departure [of an individual for the witches' sabbat], the form of devil worship, and the nature of apostasy. In their examinations they are not to inquire as to accomplices or to waste time in any other way for this will only delay the search for the general remedy required by the affair.

5. The Tribunal shall write to the bishops informing them about the Edict of Grace and requesting their authority for the despatch of the cases which arise as a result of the Edict. Further, the Tribunal is to tell them that now would be a fitting moment for sending people to preach and teach in the villages.

6. For the more rapid dispatch of the cases it shall be permitted for the moment to copy down the confessions outside the Book in loose sheets. But you must remember **/145v/** to sew them together in due course and have them bound in volumes. It shall also be permitted for the moment to print [the formulas of] the *curadurías* and and abjurations for [the despatch of] the cases.⁵²

⁵² When the accused was under 25 years he or she was assisted by a guardian (*curador*). The formula used on these occasions was called a *curaduría*.

si quisieren, puedan gozar de ella; pero por ahora no se concede a los relapsos, y si alguno viniere confesando caso de relapsía, sin prenderle ni admitirle a reconciliación, consultareis al Consejo.

3. Para facilitar más las confesiones se diga en la publicación que los que las quisieren hacer pueden acudir a **/145r/** Logroño, o adonde estuviere el inquisidor de la visita o algunos comisarios que el inquisidor enviara por los lugares para este efecto; y el inquisidor, quedándose con un notario del Secreto, enviará el otro con algún comisario a las partes más necesarias, para oír las dichas confesiones, y pondrá los ojos en otras personas, cuántas y cuáles juzgue ser convenientes, así de los que ya son comisarios, como de los lugares que les señalare, [para que] oigan como comisarios ante un notario que les señale el inquisidor las dichas confesiones y las remitan al inquisidor o al Tribunal.

4. Que ordene a los que fueren por los lugares a oír las confesiones, que sean breves en ellas, escribiendo solamente lo sustancial de las culpas cuanto a la ida y forma de ir, adoración del Demonio y apostasía, sin alargarse en cómplices ni en otra cosa con que se gaste el tiempo y se deje de acudir a tan general remedio como el daño pide.

5. El Tribunal escriba a los obispos dándoles aviso del Edicto de Gracia y pidiéndoles poder para el inquisidor, para que pueda en la visita despachar las causas que se ofrecieren conforme al edicto, y diciéndoles sería ahora muy apropósito el enviar personas que predicasen e instruyesen esos lugares.

6. Por ahora se permite para más despacho de las causas, que las confesiones se reciban fuera del libro, en pliegos sueltos, y a su tiempo se tendrá cuenta **/145v/** de hacer cuadernos y libros de ellas, y también se permite por ahora que se impriman las curadurías y abjuraciones para estas causas.⁵²

7. Since it is doubtful whether minors (males up to fourteen and females up to twelve) are capable of malice and thus formally can be declared heretics they shall be absolved *ad cautelam*. The normal process of law as established by the instructions and style of the Holy Office shall be observed in the case of the rest (minors up to the age of twenty-five and all adults). All those who avail themselves of the Edict shall be treated summarily with a minimum of delay so that they benefit from everything contained in the Edict. Before sending them away you are to exhort them to be on their guard against relapsing into the same errors.

8. The Tribunal shall write to the heads of the religious orders, whom His Majesty has charged to send forth to preach in the villages, that now is the time to do this and the service rendered thereby will be most pleasing to Our Lord and His Majesty.

9. The inquisitor shall announce publicly that no one, /146r/ not even a parent, is to induce, threaten or punish another into a confession. Neither is anyone to be molested for a witchcraft confession which he or she may have made to the Inquisition.

10. As to what you say about the clergy hesitating to admit people who have made a witchcraft confession (*brujas confitentes*) to the divine services, in order to remove all doubts you shall see to it without delay that the benefit of absolution is made available to them. On no account shall you forbid sacramental confession to the witches. This shall be left to the discretion of the priests who shall discharge their duty as they think fit according to law and conscience.

11. Neither shall you hinder the ecclesiastical and secular judges in the discharging of their normal duty. If they discover cases of apostasy it is to be expected that they will remit them to you.

12. In the places where they say the gatherings of witches are held the inquisitor shall by blandishments and without compulsion try to induce the people to erect chapels and crosses.

13. In order to gather more evidence both your lordships and the inquisitor on visitation shall take special care once more⁵³ to make investigations and question those who make or have made confessions on the following specific points:

⁵³ "Once more" is an allusion to that the Council already on an earlier occasion had given instructions for this type of empirical investigations to be carried out (cf. WA 57ff).

7. Los menores—varones de catorce años y hembras de doce—por la duda que hay de si son dolicapaces, como es necesario para ser declarados por herejes formales, sean absueltos *ad cautelam*, y con los demás menores hasta de edad de veinticinco años y con los mayores, se guarde lo dispuesto en Derecho e instrucciones y estilo del Santo Oficio, procediendo con los que vinieren a gozar de la gracia, breve y sumariamente, de manera que gocen de ella en todas las cosas contenidas en el edicto, y que no sean detenidos por el despacho, exhortándoles mucho se guarden de reincidir en esos errores.

8. Escriba el Tribunal a los prelados de las órdenes, a quien Su Majestad encargó enviasen personas a la instrucción de los lugares, que ahora es tiempo de hacerlo, y que será muy acepto a Nuestro Señor y a Su Majestad el servicio que en esto se hiciere.

9. El inquisidor haga publicar que ninguna persona, /146r/ aunque sean sus padres, se entremeta a inducir, amenazar ni castigar a otro sobre confesión que se haya de hacer ni se haya hecho en el Santo Oficio en esta materia.

10. Y en cuanto a lo que decís [que] dudan los clérigos de admitir a los brujos confitentes a los divinos oficios, proveeréis con brevedad se les^e dé el beneficio de la absolución, para que cesen dudas. Y de ninguna manera prohibireis las confesiones sacramentales a los brujos, dejando que eso corra por cargo de los curas que hagan su oficio, como hallaren lo deban hacer en derecho y en conciencia.

11. Y no impidiereis a los jueces eclesiásticos y seculares el proceder contra ellos, pues descubriéndose apostasía es de creer os los remitirán.

12. Y en las partes y sitios donde dicen se hacen las juntas de los brujos hará instancia el inquisidor con los pueblos [para] que hagan ermitas y pongan cruces, con medios suaves sin compelerles a ello.

13. Y para más verificación de las cosas de los brujos poneis de nuevo,⁵³ así vosotros señores como el inquisidor de la visita, gran cuidado en averiguar con los [que] hicieren o hubieren hecho

^e Ms.: le.

The witches /146v/ from each coven are to be questioned about the *aquejarre* and place where they assemble and how far it is from their village. Arrangements are to be made for several of the most competent and intelligent people to be taken to the site of their *aquejarre* on different days and without there being any communication between them, and they are to identify the site before a competent commissioner and notary.

They are furthermore to point out the place where the Devil seats himself and where they do the other things. They must state these and other circumstances under oath, all of which is to be written down so that it may be seen whether or not the accounts agree.

Likewise you shall inquire whether the doors and windows of their houses were closed at the hour they set out. You must ask how they get out, whether the Devil fetches them and, if they are taken by him, how he conveys them and how long they take to arrive at the *aquejarre*.

Furthermore you are to question them: if they go together or singly; if they recognise each other once there; if, on their journey there or when returning from the gathering, they meet or are met by people, and if they speak to them or avoid them.

You are also to ask how they re-enter their houses, at what time they leave and return, whether there are clocks or bells [near the sabbat] and if they hear them or not; and [they are to be questioned on] everything else which appears relevant in order to settle doubts over the /147r/ question whether they go bodily or not to the sabbat.⁵⁴

14. As you say it would be advisable to establish two monasteries⁵⁵ near these villages which are understood to be the most afflicted by the evil, you must notify us where we could found the monasteries to the greatest effect, what orders would be most acceptable, and where and how they could be endowed.

⁵⁴ These questions correspond to the questionnaire which Salazar used for cross-examining the witches (cf. doc. 16.8 and WA 296).

⁵⁵ It does not appear that the Tribunal had made any proposal for founding convents in the witchcraft infected area. Apparently it was the Inquisitor General himself who had come up with the idea. This is quite possible since he already was the founder of several monasteries. It also tallies with the fact that Salazar when he reported back, that there was no economic basis for more monasteries in the area, expressly referred to the idea as a "wish" expressed by His Eminence (doc. 11.6).

confesiones de tales brujos de **/146v/** una misma complicidad y junta, en un mismo aquelarre^f y lugar donde se han juntado, y cuánto hay de su lugar a él, haciendo que algunos de los más capaces y de mejor entendimiento sean llevados en diferentes días, sin saber unos de otros, al mismo aquelarre, y que le reconozcan ante un comisario y notario diestros, y señalen el puesto donde se asienta el Demonio y hacen las demás cosas, declarando eso y las demás circunstancias con juramento y poniéndolo por escrito para que se vea si conforman, o no. Y así mismo, a la hora que van, si están cerradas las puertas y ventanas de sus casas por donde salen o las saca el Demonio; y si son llevados por él; y en qué forma los lleva; y cuánto tardan en llegar; y si van muchos juntos; y si allí se conocen unos a otros, o cada uno [va] sólo; y si a la ida o vuelta topan o han topado gente y la hablan o se apartan de ella; y por dónde entran en sus casas; y a qué hora es lo uno y lo otro; y si hay reloj o campanas y las oyen o no; y todo lo demás que os pareciere a propósito para salir de la duda que hay en esta **/147r/** materia sobre si van corporalmente o no.⁵⁴

14. Y porque decís sería bien poner dos conventos de religiosos⁵⁵ cerca de estos lugares, donde se entiende hay este trabajo, avisarnos eis en qué parte será a propósito y qué religiones serían más aceptas y de adónde y cómo se podrían fundar.

^f Ms.: aquelarre.

15. It has been reported that printed ballads about the auto de fe held last year are in circulation. It would be desirable to publish an edict forthwith commanding, under pain of censures and other penalties, that nobody is to keep, read or sell them and that all those hitherto printed are to be surrendered to the Holy Office.⁵⁶

16. Shortly His Majesty's warrant relating to the confiscation of goods shall be forwarded to you. It is His pleasure that this should not happen to the property of those who have taken advantage of the Edict [of Grace]. In the meantime you shall proceed without making confiscations. Madrid, 26th March 1611.

Their Lordships Márquez, Valdés, Zapata, Castro⁵⁷

⁵⁶ For a surviving copy of the broadside ballads, see above, p. 4.

⁵⁷ The full names of the signing councillors of *la Suprema* were: Alonso Márquez de Prado, Juan de Llano y Valdés, Juan Zapata y Osorio, and Rodrigo de Castro y Bobadilla. The first one had been appointed in 1605, the others in 1608. While Márquez de Prado apparently had died before 1614, the three others were to follow the witch case of Logroño right up to its conclusion. For Llano y Valdés, see above, p. 14.

15. Tiénese relación que del auto de fe, que celebrasteis el año pasado, andan coplas impresas. Convendrá que luego publiqueis edicto, mandando debajo de censuras y otras penas, que ninguna persona le tenga, lea ni venda, y entreguen en ese Santo Oficio los que hasta ahora estuvieren impresos.⁹⁵⁶

16. Y con brevedad se os remitirá cédula de Su Majestad sobre la confiscación de bienes de que hace merced que no la haya a los que usaran de la gracia, y entre tanto procedereis sin hacer confiscación. En Madrid, 26 de marzo 1611.

Señores Márquez, Valdés, Zapata, Castro⁹⁵⁷

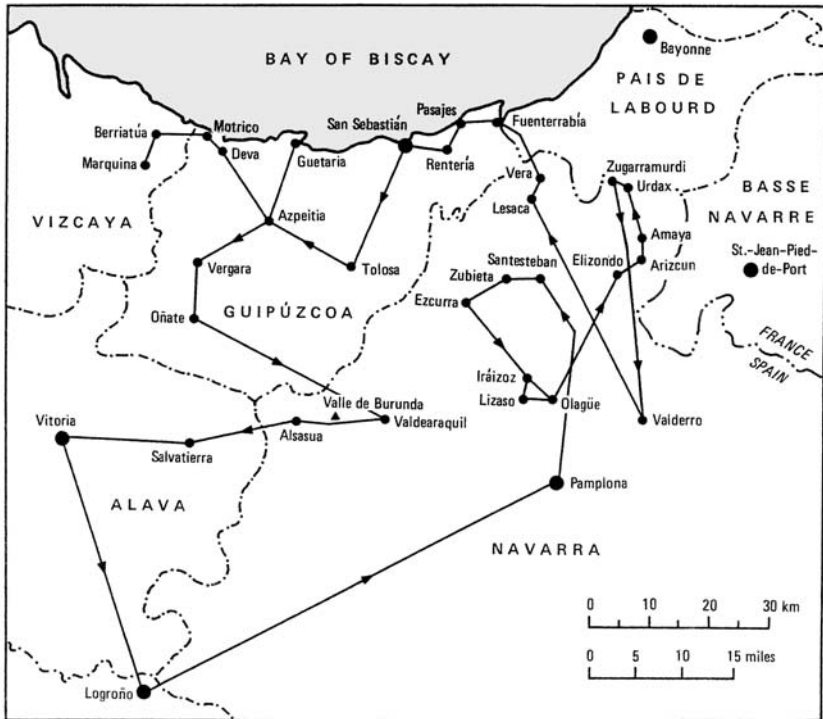


Fig. 24. Map of Salazar's journey of visitation (WA). The chronology of the journey may be reconstructed as follows: Departure from Logroño 22nd May; Pamplona [last week of May]; Santesteban 2nd June–5th July; Ezcurra 14th July; Elizondo 23rd–30th July; Urdax and Zugarramurdi 3rd Aug.; Lesaca 8th–14th August; Vera 16th–19th Aug.; Fuenterrabía 22nd–29th Aug.; San Sebastián 11th Sept.–8th Oct.; Larrea 9th–11th Oct.; Alsasua 18th Nov.; Salvatierra 26th–27th Nov.; Vitoria 29th Nov.–28th Dec. Return at Logroño 10th January 1612. For the rest of the sessions, see below, p. 254 (cf. WA 235ff, 280ff).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INVESTIGATIONS OF INQUISITOR SALAZAR

Introduction

On Whit Sunday, 22nd May 1611, Salazar set out on his journey of visitation, which was to last for almost eight months. He was accompanied by two inquisitorial secretaries and two Basque interpreters, the Franciscan Fray Domingo de Sardo and the Premonstratensian Fray José de Elizondo. Both friars were qualified for this mission, the former having been a witch-preacher and the other himself a witch-hunter during the preceding year. A certain number of servants went with them, and they all travelled on horseback, the only appropriate means of transport for mountain regions. The luggage, which was to be carried on mules, comprised several document chests with the 338 witchcraft confessions received by the Tribunal, and several thousand sheets of writing paper. Along with all the other necessities for the journey, they also brought with them a portable altar for saying Mass every morning before starting the hearings.

On their way to the Pyrenees they stopped for a couple of days in Pamplona, where Salazar paid a courtesy visit to the Bishop of Navarra. Don Antonio now had the opportunity to inform the younger inquisitor of the investigations he had undertaken and of the report that he had sent to the Inquisitor General. All this was new to Salazar, for *la Suprema* had not troubled itself to inform the Tribunal. We have no details of the meeting, but the atmosphere must surely have been a cordial one, for the Bishop lent Salazar his own damask canopy, which Salazar adorned with the coat of arms of the Inquisition and under which he presided throughout the visitation.

On the following Sunday, 29th May, Salazar published the Edict of Grace in Santesteban and surrounding parish churches. The rush of people who wanted to confess and obtain the forgiveness of the Inquisition was overwhelming. Salazar had to enlarge his staff with local clergymen until hearings were held simultaneously in six provisional courtrooms. Not until five weeks later had Salazar finished

in Santesteban and could continue to other panic-stricken mountain towns and set up his “office for witch cases” there. On this part of his journey Salazar became acquainted with Hualde, the witch-hunting parish priest of Vera, as well as Irisarri, the learned parish priest of Yanci, who had become the witches’ ardent advocate.

At the beginning of September Salazar arrived at Fuenterrabía at the Bay of Biscay, and from there he sent the Inquisitor General a preliminary report on the situation. No fewer than 1,546 witches had been dealt with, the overwhelming majority being children under the age of criminal responsibility.¹ Salazar was totally in agreement with what Solarte and the Bishop of Pamplona had already reported: “A great deal of terrible injustice has already been imposed in the name of Christian zeal on those suspected of belonging to this sect” (WA 255). The reaction of the Inquisitor General was to prolong the witch amnesty for another four months with the result that the Edict of Grace was now valid until 29th March the following year (WA 258).

At the inquisitorial sessions in Renteria and San Sebastián there were still a certain number of witches to be dealt with. However, when Salazar proceeded to western Guipúzcoa and came into Vizcaya, almost no one appeared to avail themselves of the Edict. It was only when he reached the Valley of Burunda in western Navarra and the Alava province, both of which are close to Logroño, that the witches appeared again, although not to the extent expected by the Tribunal, after the campaign that his colleagues had organized in these regions over the entire summer.

Salazar’s two reports are both dated 24th March 1612, that is a few days before the expiry of the Edict of Grace. The first report (doc. 11) deals with the journey of visitation in general, the other (doc. 12) gives an account of the witch amnesty in particular. This report was accompanied by a series of surveys with summaries of the cases of each of the five main groups (cf. beginning of doc. 12), but this material has unfortunately not been preserved. The same is the case with the two reports on investigations carried out in the field: the sophisticated experiment comprising 36 witches from nine different sabbats, and the examination of the 22 jars of flying ointment and

¹ The age of discretion was 12 for girls and 14 for boys, cf. note ^o4, above.

witches' powder (see above, p. 88f). There was also a report on the ordinary visitation cases that had nothing to do with the Edict of Grace. This important document is now lost. The same is the case with Salazar's visitation book in eight volumes containing the original records, except for Volume "F" with the 81 *revocantes* and a single record (E 386) from the four volumes ("B"–"E") of *reconciliados*.² However, thanks to the system of references used in the notes it is possible to some extent to reconstruct the contents of this lost documentation. In the first place, Salazar gives the letter of the volume, and in the second place he indicates the folio where the record starts (e.g. E 386).

The Second Report is divided into four chapters (*artículos*). Chapter I is a statistical and phenomenological analysis of the witches' statements about how they go to and return from their meetings (12.1–9). This is followed by a chapter with examples of witches' experiences inside and outside the sabbats (12.10–24). These individual cases are studied in more detail in chapter III, on the attempts that have been made to prove the witches' statements (12.25–51). In the fourth and last chapter Salazar, following the usual practice on inquisitorial journeys of visitation, tries to draw conclusions about who can be accused on the basis of the evidence collected. As far as the witchcraft cases are concerned, the answer is "No one!". But on his way to his conclusion Salazar is constantly exercised by the questions that are his real concern. How can such a panic arise when the only foundation is rumours and illusions? What makes people accuse themselves and their neighbours falsely? For what errors can the Inquisition be held responsible? And how can this madness be brought to an end and peace be re-established? (12.52–77).

² Cf. the reconstruction of Salazar's visitation book in WA 404–437.

11. *First Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General*
*(Logroño, 24th March 1612)*¹

Title: First letter. A general account of the visitation and the Edict of Grace.²

*3 In accordance with the order which Your Eminence was pleased to give in the letter of 26th March 1611 [doc. 10], to set forth on the visitation, I obtained the relevant papers and books together with the authorities from the Bishops of Pamplona and Calahorra to dispatch the cases which should occur in their bishoprics. On 22nd May, the Tribunal having named as Basque interpreters Fray Domingo de Sardo of the order of St. Francis and Fray Joseph de Elizondo of the Premonstratensian order, both preachers and suitable persons, I left for the visitation in the mountains of Navarra as my colleagues had instructed.

I proceeded to the towns and villages of Santesteban de Lerín, Zubieta, Ezcurra, Olagüe, Lizaso, Iráizoz, Elizondo, Maya, Arizcun, Zugarramurdi, the Valley of Erro, Lesaca, Vera, the Valley of Burunda, and the Valley of Araquil, all in the kingdom of Navarra. In the province of Guipúzcoa I visited Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Tolosa, Azpeitia, Rentería, Los Pasajes, Vergara, Deva, Guetaria and Motrico; in Vizcaya, Berriatúa, Marquina, Oñate; and in [the province of] Alava, the town of Salvatierra and the city of Vitoria.

I stayed a number of days in each of the above-mentioned places and published the Edict of Grace granted to the witches, and, where I thought necessary, I also published the Edict of Visitation with the Anathema.⁵⁸ The latter, however, only occurred in the towns of

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 795, 357r–368r.

² The title is written on the cover, fol. 368v. It is repeated in the left hand margin of fol. 357 recto, where, however, the designation “First letter” is left out.

³ *In the upper margin written in the hand of the Council:* Received in Madrid on 31st March 1612.

⁵⁸ The “Edict of Visitation”, as Salazar has it, normally called the Edict of Faith, was the standard “questionnaire” of the Inquisition where people were urged to denounce all kinds of heresy. It was usually published on a Sunday during Lent. The Anathema was an excommunication read on the following Sunday and directed against all those who had failed to turn themselves in or kept silent about others (see WA, chap. 6).

11. *Primer informe de Salazar al Inquisidor General*
 (Logroño, 24 de marzo 1612)^a

Título: Carta primera. Lo que ha resultado de la visita y publicación del Edicto de Gracia generalmente en todos negocios.^b

*^c Siguiendo el mandato y orden que Vuestra Alteza fue servido de dar en la carta de 26 de marzo de 1611, para salir a la visita, cobré los poderes de los obispos de Pamplona y Calahorra para el despacho de las causas que en ella ocurriesen, y los demás papeles y libros concernientes a esto. Y habiendo nombrado el Tribunal como religiosos intérpretes vascongados, a los padres fray Domingo de Sardo, de la orden de San Francisco, y fray Joseph de Elizondo, de la orden premostratense^d—ambos predicadores y personas de satisfacción, que llevé conmigo—comencé, a 22 de mayo, la visita en las montañas de Navarra, por orden de mis colegas, prosiguiéndoles en las villas y lugares de Santesteban de Lerín, Zubieta, Escurra, Olagüe, Lizaso, Iraízoz, Elizondo, Maya,^e Arizcun, Zugarramurdi, Valle de Erro,^f Lesaca, Vera, Valle de Burunda y Val de Araquil, todo del dicho Reino; y de la provincia de Guipúzcoa, en Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Tolosa, Azpeitia, Rentería, Los Pasajes, Vergara, Deva, Guetaria y Motrico; y de Vizcaya: Berriatúa, Marquina y Oñate; y de Alava: la villa de Salvatierra y ciudad de Vitoria—haciendo sesión y determinimiento en cada uno de los dichos lugares para la publicación del Edicto de Gracia concedido a los brujos; y en las partes que parecía conveniente, también juntamente el de la visita y anatema,⁵⁸ como

^a AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 795, 357r–368r.

^b *El título está escrito en la cubierta, fol. 368v. Va repetido fol. 357r en el margen, izquierdo, pero la designación “Carta primera” se ha omitido.*

^c *En el margen superior, escrito con mano del Consejo:* Recibido en Madrid a 31 de marzo 1611.

^d Ms.: premostense.

^e Ms.: Amaya.

Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Azpeitia and the city of Vitoria. At each session of the visitation I summoned people from the surrounding villages and archdeaconries who usually attend on such occasions. Thus being informed in this way of the visitation and of the edicts everyone was able to come and see me without difficulty.

1. Everywhere the people received the visitation very well /357v/ and showed that they had been looking forward to it. The magistrates and municipal authorities paid me every courtesy both on my arrival and departure. Indeed, everywhere they were particularly anxious to help and to please me except in Vitoria as Your Eminence already knows.⁵⁹

2. During the first four months which I spent in the kingdom of Navarra 1,546 people availed themselves of the Edict of Grace, as I informed Your Eminence in my letter of 4th September.⁶⁰ During the later months, when I stayed in the provinces of Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya and Alava, only 256 came forward, thus making the sum total of 1,802. This disparity shows that in all the latter regions the trouble [from witchcraft] was not so severe as in the mountains of Navarra. I should also like to call attention to the care with which I endeavoured to discover the evil by tarrying longer over the sessions of the last part of the visitation.

This was especially true of the province of Alava and the Burunda Valley which lie near the city of Vitoria. Here we [Salazar and his colleagues] expected to discover great evil in view of all the information and evidence presented in the Tribunal. However, very few witches came forward; and from people who were not members of the sect we only received the few testimonies which have been set down in the records of the ordinary visitation.⁶¹ From the latter and from the statements of those who revoked their confessions it can clearly be seen that the province is in fact not as infected with witchcraft as the Tribunal, fearful of its increase, had concluded from the confessions of the first witches.

⁵⁹ In Vitoria Salazar had had a dispute with the Cathedral Chapter concerning the ceremonial to be observed during publication of the Edict of Faith (WA 290).

⁶⁰ For a summary of Salazar's letter from Fuenterrabía to the Inquisitor General, see WA 252–259.

⁶¹ Simultaneously with the matters concerning the Edict of Grace Salazar carried out a normal visitation. It appears that he opted for recording the testifications of people who were not themselves witches, separately along with the other heresy cases in what he refers to as “the cases of visitation (*las causas de visita*)”. These records were later summarized in a special *relación de visita*, but neither the records nor the summary report have survived.

fue en las villas de Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Azpeitia y ciudad de Vitoria solamente, convocando en cada uno de estos los demás lugares o arciprestazgos que solían acudir a tales ocasiones, de suerte que, sabiendo todos [de] la visita y edictos de ella, pudiesen, sin descomodidad, venir a buscarme.

1. Y en todas partes admitieron muy agradablemente la visita /357v/ haciendo muestra de haberla deseado en todo, y en hacerme respectivamente muy buena acogida, con lucidos acompañamientos de la Justicia y Regimiento, a la entrada y salida, con particular atención de quererme favorecer y agradar en ello en cada parte muy de veras, excepto la limitación y suceso de la ciudad de Vitoria que Vuestra Alteza ha sabido.⁵⁹

2. Y aunque en los cuatro meses primeros que pasé en el Reino de Navarra, vinieron a gozar de la gracia del edicto las 1.546 personas [de] que avisé a Vuestra Alteza, en carta de 4 de septiembre,⁶⁰ en los postreros que estuve en las provincias de Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya y Alava, solamente fueron los 256⁸ restantes a cumplimiento de 1.802, mostrando esta desigualdad, que en todos los últimos lugares y sus comarcas juntos, no fue tanto el daño como en las dichas montañas sólo, aunque con más espacio y detenimiento lo busqué y procuré descubrir, deteniéndome más en estas postreras sesiones que en las primeras.

Y especialmente, en la dicha provincia de Alava y Valle de Burunda, que caen juntos cerca de la ciudad de Vitoria, donde, con todas las informaciones y testificaciones que tenía el Tribunal de aquella tierra, por recelos de haber gran daño en ella, salieron muy pocos confitentes de la gente de esta complicidad. Y de fuera de ella, también solamente las pocas testificaciones que van puestas en las causas de visita,⁶¹ para que por ellas, y por las declaraciones de revocantes, se vea la seguridad de no haber en aquella provincia los daños que los otros confitentes hicieron sospechar en el Tribunal, con tales miedos de que hubiese crecido.

^f Ms.: Valderro.

^g Ms.: docientos y setenta y seis, *que evidentemente es un error*.

This can also be said about all the other places I visited after the mountains of Navarra, except for Fuenterrabía, which is nearby, and for San Sebastián which, although unaffected by witchcraft, had been thrown into panic by news of what was happening in the vicinity.

3. By insisting, everywhere I went, on the secrecy and circumspection with which Your Eminence has charged us, I managed to convince those involved that they should at least maintain the discretion and silence normally observed in cases dealt with by the Inquisition. Perceiving the great advantage of this for the smooth dispatch of the business of visitation I would have liked to have increased ~~/358r/~~ this secrecy with a view to ensuring that it would continue to be maintained after my departure since this is of great service to Our Lord.

4. As I mentioned in the said letter of 4th September, all who came to me were dealt with briefly and secretly without delay. Their material needs were sufficiently cared for, even in the first rush at the sessions of Santesteban and Elizondo, where throngs of people gathered to be dealt with, and this although the residents took little care to assist the many people who arrived there on these occasions.

5. When the people of the mountains were exhorted to build chapels on the sites of the *aquejarres*, as Your Eminence ordered, they accepted this fervently and they rapidly took up the task with great enthusiasm, especially in Santesteban where a beautiful chapel was completed by Michaelmas Day [29th September].⁶² Mass was celebrated there at Michaelmas with large numbers from the surrounding villages attending the procession and they have even acquired a letter of indulgence for the occasion.⁶³ In the village of Errazu they were building another chapel in great haste.⁶⁴ It was already well advanced [when I saw it last] and I hope the other neighbouring villages are following the example.

⁶² The chapter of Saint Michael (*Ermita de San Miguel*) in Santesteban is actually preserved. It is situated on the outskirts of the village on a rise north of the road to Elgorriaga. According to *Catálogo Monumental de Navarra* V.2 (Pamplona 1996, p. 587 with photograph), the building is from the beginning of the 17th century. The original altar with Saint Michael in the centre has been kept. Recently the entrance was decorated with a Saint Michael in wrought iron. The parish priest Don Jesús Goldáraz, who showed me the chapel, was greatly surprised to hear about the origin of the chapter. He told me that they are still celebrating Mass there every Saturday.

⁶³ Cf. above, note ^o24.

⁶⁴ I have not succeeded in localizing the “witch chapter” of Errazu. According to the inventory *Catálogo Monumental de Navarra* V.1 (1994) pp. 364–366, there are

Y también se podrá decir esto mismo de todos los demás lugares que anduve después de las dichas montañas, excepto Fuenterrabía, por ser tan cercana de su vecindad, y a San Sebastián por haberse alborotado haciendo ruido de estas cosas sin fundamento, más del temor de verse inquietos como sus vecinos.

3. Y así, poniéndoles en todas partes el secreto y recato que Vuestra Alteza nos ha encargado, le reduje a que, a lo menos, guardasen en estas cosas el decoro y silencio que suelen en los demás delitos que se tratan en la Inquisición, y sintiendo gran utilidad de esto, para la expedición y quietud de los negocios de visita, quisiera haber estrechado más /358r/ este secreto para traer seguridad de que, en mi ausencia, se continúe siempre, pues se ha de servir de ello mucho Nuestro Señor.

4. Y a toda la gente que acudió en cada parte, se les dio despacho tan breve y secretamente como significué en la dicha carta de 4 de septiembre, sin que jamás fuese nadie detenido por ello, ni aún en el primer ímpetu, en las sesiones de Santesteban y de Elizondo, donde acudieron de tropel muchas gentes a ser despachadas y, aunque entonces tampoco cuidaron en las villas y lugares de socorrer la gente pobre, que allí vino mucha, todavía se remedió su necesidad bastantemente a todos.

5. Y exhortando la gente de aquella tierra [a] que, en los puestos de las juntas y aquelarres de brujos, pusiesen por memoria de devoción las ermitas que Vuestra Alteza manda, lo admitieron tan devotamente en las dichas montañas, que, con mucho gusto, lo fueron cumpliendo con efecto, especialmente en Santesteban,⁶² donde la acabaron muy decente para el día de San Miguel, y con nombre de su vocación, dijeron allá misa en su fiesta, haciendo procesión, con gran concurso de otros lugares, y han traído jubileo para ella;⁶³ y al tanto, a su imitación, quedaban haciendo otra tal muy apriesa en el lugar de Errazu, que ya estaba adelante, y lo mismo espero de otros lugares circunvecinos.⁶⁴

three chapters in Errazu and the *Ermita de San Pedro ad Vincula* situated outside the village in direction of the pass of Izpegui could actually be a possibility, but the altar is from the 18th century and there is no information on whether the building is older.

6. In the instructions issued by Your Eminence you expressed a wish to found in addition two monasteries in the same area so that the people of that district might have the spiritual education which has been so lacking. Unfortunately I did not find a suitable place. Indeed there is none where one could be founded or sustained even provisionally. For the monastery there of old, San Salvador of Urdax, which belongs to the Premonstratensian Order and lies on the other side of the Pyrenean mountains near the border of France, enjoys good revenues from an ancient royal endowment and yet maintains itself with difficulty. The reasons for this are the poverty of the land and frequent raids by the French.

Having now studied the matter at first hand it seems that with the above mentioned monastery the other two will not be necessary, since the people, although rough and uncultured, are yet of a most pious and devout nature and above all well disposed towards the Church and the Clergy. Occasional missions /358v/ made by monks from monasteries in the city of Pamplona where every order can be found, should be sufficient. However, the abbots, the Bishop and even the Viceroy must remedy the past neglect and see to it that the monks carry out the visits since it is to be feared that the friars will be discouraged by the misery and roughness of the area.

7. In all the more populated towns, especially San Sebastián, Azpeitia, Vitoria and their surroundings, I found that many superstitions, sorceries and methods of divination had crept in as a form of devotion and something very praiseworthy. Besides constituting an offence against God these superstitions seriously unsettled the people who believed them, and passed from these into other errors. I strove to remedy these by admonishing each one [of those who dabbled in magic] individually according to his fault with warnings and severe threats if they were to relapse, but without proceeding further nor taking down anything. In effect this would have been impossible since there were so many. Thus there are only the few testimonies about the matters related to witchcraft which have been taken down in the [general] records of the visitation. These may serve as a sample of the rest in order to assist Your Eminence in the decision He shall be pleased to make in the matter. The secular and ecclesiastical courts have allowed them to pass unpunished, holding these matters

6. Mirando la disposición que Vuestra Alteza deseaba de fundar también dos conventos en el mismo paraje, donde tuviesen la enseñanza y educación de sus almas, que había menester la gente de aquella tierra, no lo hallé, ni tal hay en efecto, en que poder fundar ninguno, ni cómo sustentarle, ni aun de prestado poco tiempo; pues el que hay antiguo de San Salvador de Urdax, de la orden premostratense, sito en el cabo de esta montaña, de la otra parte de los Montes Pirineos, en la raya de Francia, con bastante renta y antigua fundación real, se conserva dificultosamente en las miserias de la tierra y continuos incursos de los franceses que suelen molestar a los religiosos, antes bien, mirado esto allá de cerca, tampoco parece que, con el sobredicho, hacen falta los otros dos monasterios; pues, con ser la gente inculta y agreste, es todavía de grande natural y discurso, muy pía y devota y, sobre todo, bien afecta a las cosas de la Iglesia, veneración del culto divino y respeto a las personas eclesiásticas. Con que cualquier misión /358v/ que hiciesen allá algunas veces los religiosos de los conventos de la ciudad de Pamplona, donde los hay de todas órdenes, les bastaría—cuidando de mandárselo a sus prelados el Obispo y aun el Virrey, que todo será menester conforme al olvido pasado, pues aún para ir así de prestado, algunas veces, será de temer que siempre les detenga como antes la dicha miseria y fragosidad de la tierra.

7. Casi en todos los lugares más populosos, especialmente en San Sebastián, Azpeitia, Vitoria y sus distritos, hallé introducidas muchas supersticiones, hechizos, o modos de adivinar, como por cosa de devoción o muy loable, de que juntamente, tras la ofensa de Dios, resultaba a la gente gran inquietud entre sí, creyendo en estas cosas, para descender de ellas a otros desatinos, que procuré remediar con reprehenderlo particularmente a cada uno conforme a su culpa, con apercebimientos y mayores conminaciones si reincidiesen, sin hacer proceso, ni escribir contra ninguno, como en efecto fuera imposible (habiendo sido de este género tan grande copia), excepto en las pocas testificaciones que de esto y cosas de brujería van apuntadas con las causas de visita, para que, sirviendo de muestra de lo demás, ayude a la resolución que Vuestra Alteza sea servido de tomar en ello, por mayor supuesto que la justicia real y eclesiástica lo deja pasar sin

of sorcery and divination as cases for the Inquisition according to the *motu proprio* of Sixtus V.⁶⁵

8. There were besides a great many so-called *santiguadores*⁶⁶ and *ensalmadores*⁶⁷ of every class and condition, even a considerable number of priests. These claim to have [special] knowledge of these matters and also of the witches, and some even claim to know who and how many caused the damage. The villagers have come to believe in them, and they supply as many remedies as they are asked for in return for the payments and benefits which they shamelessly extort. A certain Juan de Aramburu, resident of San Sebastián and a lay man, poor but well born, even came to convince [people] that his family had **/359r/** acquired a congenital power to cure all wounds and illnesses similar to that of the King of France to cure scrofula.⁶⁸ He and certain brothers, nephews and relatives, now scattered about in Azpeitia and other places, make use of this to remedy every kind of bone-fracture. Without bringing any of them to trial I admonished them and gave them a severe warning as the Tribunal is accustomed to do with these kind of people.

The rest of the report has been omitted as irrelevant to our subject. Paragraphs 9–15 deal with other heresies, i. g. the popular opinion that fornication was no sin, the great concursus to certain persons renowned as “saints”, and cases of priests who during confession had solicited their female parishioners for sexual

⁶⁵ The *Motu proprio* of Sixtus V refers to a papal rescript issued on 5th January 1585. It denounced astrology and other species of divination, all kinds of magic incantations, invocations and consultations of demons, etc. The argument of Salazar is surprising, for the Spanish Inquisition actually retained the bull from being published until 1612; in the opinion of Henry Charles Lea because of fear of claims on jurisdiction from the episcopal courts (1906–7, vol. 4, 189f). However, magical crimes had for long been considered as cases of “mixti fori”, which could be prosecuted equally by secular, episcopal and inquisitorial courts (cf. Tedeschi 1991, 241). For an English translation of Sixtus V’s bull, see Summers 1927, 542–544.

⁶⁶ *Santiguador*, of the verb *santiguar*, ‘to bless’.

⁶⁷ *Ensalmador*, soothsayer, derivation from the word *ensalmo* ‘magical spell’.

⁶⁸ For scrofula and the “royal touch” see Bloch 1961 (1973). Spanish examples of healing by touch are given in Laurens 1609, chap. 4, and Lancre 1622, disc. III, p. 156f (courtesy of Stuart Clark).

castigo, teniendo esto de los hechizos y adivinanzas por caso de Inquisición, después del *motu proprio* de Sixto V.⁶⁵

8. Y también hubo otra tal copia de santiguadores⁶⁶ y ensalmadores⁶⁷ de todos géneros de estados, y muchos de ellos sacerdotes, que con muestra de tener conocimiento de todas las dichas cosas y también de las brujas, y aún de saber cuáles y cuántas hiciesen los daños, han venido a ser creídos en los pueblos, ofreciendo de su mano cuantos remedios les piden por la paga y grande utilidad que codiciosamente han sacado de ello. Tanto que un don Juan de Aramburu, vecino de San Sebastián, hombre seglar, pobre, aunque bien nacido, vino a persuadir que, por gracia muy antigua, habían **/359r/** conseguido los de su casa, para todas enfermedades y heridas, otra tal prerrogativa como el Rey de Francia en la cura de los lamparones,⁶⁸ usando de ello, en toda rotura, él y ciertos hermanos, sobrinos y parientes, que ya están esparcidos en Azpeitia y otros lugares de aquella tierra, a todos los cuales, sin hacer proceso contra ninguno, les puse otra tal prohibición, con reprehensión de esto, conforme al estilo que usa el Tribunal con esta gente.

El resto de la relación se ha omitido por no ser relevante en el caso que nos atañe. Párrafos 9–15 conciernen a otras herejías, por ejemplo, la opinión pública de que la simple fornicación no era pecado; el gran concurso a ciertas personas con fama de ser “santas”; y casos de sacerdotes que durante el acto de la

purposes; paragraphs 16–44 inform of the inquisitorial agents in the district;⁷⁶⁹ and paragraphs 45–55 contain a survey of the sambenitos found in the churches. The report ends:

/368r/ May God preserve Your Eminence. The Inquisition of Logroño,
24th March 1612.

The *licenciado* Alonso de Salazar Frías

⁷⁶⁹ This part is summarized in WA 292–295.

Confesion habían solicitado a sus feligreses femeninos para actos sexuales. Párrafos 16–44 informan sobre los agentes de la Inquisición del distrito⁶⁹ y párrafos 45–55 contienen relación de los sambenitos hallados en las iglesias.

/368r/. . . Dios guarde a Vuestra Alteza. En la Inquisición de Logroño, 24 de marzo de 1612.

El licenciado Alonso de Salazar Frías

12. *Second Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General*
*(Logroño, 24th March 1612)*¹

Title: Second letter. An account of the whole visitation and publication of the Edict with special reference to the witches' sect.²

*3

†

Most Excellent Sir:

In a letter which I addressed to Your Eminence from Fuenterrabía, on 4th September, I reported how, as a sequel to the Edict of Grace granted to those members of the witches' sect, 1,546 persons of all ranks and ages came forward to avail themselves of it, even though, when I left this city of Logroño, there were no more than 338 confessions laid before the Tribunal from people in the mountains of Navarra and from the rest of the district.

*4

I now report that—during the period from 22nd May when I set forth on the visitation, to 10th January this year, when I finished—a total of 1,802 cases has been dispatched by all of us. The figure can be broken down into the following groups: 1,384 children (girls under twelve and boys under fourteen) were absolved *ad cautelam*. Of those older than twelve or fourteen, 290 were reconciled; 41 absolved *ad cautelam* with abjuration *de levi*; 81 retracted the confessions which they had made to the Holy Office in order to be reconciled either before the commissioners, in [the Tribunal at] Logroño, or during the visitation; and, finally, 6 confessed to having relapsed by returning to the *aquejarres*. Among the 290 whom I reconciled there were

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 21[a], 1r–17r; including the Glosses, *ibid.*, No. 6, 1r–6v.

² *The title is written in the left hand margin at the bottom of fol. 1r. The designation "Second letter" is found only in the title of the cover which reads: Logroño./Witches./Letter about everything that resulted from the dispatch of the Edict of Grace granted to the members of the witches' sect. Second letter./It is from the Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías who has made the witches' visitation. On an inserted sheet in octavo: Arguments of the Inquisitor Salazar to prove that what the witches confess are illusions and dreams; and the replies of the inquisitors who maintained the contrary. This gave rise to the instructions of 1st September 1614 [our doc. 18].*

³ *At the top of the page is added the date: 24th March 1612. More to the right in the hand of the Council: Madrid, 31st March 1612. And in the upper right corner in the hand of Salazar: A A A.*

⁴ *Marginal note in the hand of the Council's reporter: 1,384 children/290 reconciled/41 absolved ad cautelam/81 revocantes/6 relapsed.*

12. *Segundo informe de Salazar al Inquisidor General*
(Logroño, 24 de marzo 1612)^a

Título: Carta segunda. Lo que ha resultado de toda la visita y publicación del edicto en el negocio de la secta de brujos.^b

*c

†

Muy Poderoso Señor:

Con una carta que escribí a Vuestra Alteza desde Fuenterrabía, a 4 de septiembre, dí cuenta cómo en la prosecución del Edicto de Gracia, concedido a los de la secta de brujos, habían entonces acudido a gozar de él 1.546 personas de todas clases y edades; aunque cuando salí de esta ciudad no habían más de 338 confesiones, manifestadas en el Tribunal, de personas de aquella tierra y de todo el distrito.

Y ahora la doy de que desde el 22 de mayo de 1611, que salí a la visita, hasta 10 de enero de este año, que la acabé, son 1.802 los que por todos se han despachado de esta manera; las 1.384 de niños absueltos *ad cautelam*, de 12 y 14 años abajo; y 290 de ahí [para] arriba, que fueron reconciliados; y 41 absueltos *ad cautelam* con abjuración *de levi*; y 81 revocantes de sus confesiones, hechas en el Santo Oficio, ante sus comisarios, en Logroño, o en la visita, para ser reconciliados con ellas. Y 6 que confesaron relapsía por haber vuelto a los aquelarrés. Y de los dichos 290 que yo reconcilié, fueron las

*d

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, Núm. 21[a], 1r-17r; con las glosas inclusive, *ibid.*, Núm. 6, 1r-6v.

^b *El título va escrito al margen izquierdo del fol. 1r. La enunciación "Carta segunda" se encuentra solamente en el título de la cubierta, donde dice: Logroño/Brujos/Carta de lo que ha resultado en ejecución del Edicto de Gracia de las cosas de la secta de brujos./Carta segunda./Es del inquisidor Alonso de Salazar Frías, que hizo la visita de los brujos. En una hoja insertada, en octavo: Argumentos del inquisidor Salazar para probar que son ilusiones y sueños lo que confiesan las brujass; y réplicas de los inquisidores que sintieron lo contrario; que fue lo que dio ocasión a las instrucciones de 1º de septiembre 1614 [doc. 18].*

^c *En el margen superior va añadida la fecha: 24 de marzo 1612. Hacia la derecha, con letra del Consejo: Madrid, 31 de marzo 1612. Y en el extremo, a la derecha, con letra de Salazar: A A A.*

^d *Nota al margen con letra del relator del Consejo: 1.384 niños/290 reconciliados/41 absueltos ad cautelam/81 revocantes/6 relapsos.*

a hundred persons over twenty, of all ages, many of them being sixty, seventy, eighty or even ninety years old. A survey of the cases of each one of the said groups has been set down separately in special reports.⁷⁰

Observing the instructions of Your Eminence in the letter of 26th March 1611 where You ordered us to dispatch the cases without delay and without exceeding the period of grace I yet endeavoured to verify all the acts of witchcraft whenever possible, as can be seen from the files and other documents to be found in the papers of the visitation all of which are arranged and bound in such a way that (although they amount to 5,000 folios) one can **/!v/** look up and without difficulty find what one is seeking. For all of it is available in the same way as the materials contained in the above-mentioned surveys. Your Eminence need only to order that all the original proceedings be forwarded.

All these results will be more easily understood if drawn up under the following four headings:

- I. Of the manner in which the witches set out to, are present at, and return from the *aquefarras*.
- II. Of the things they do and experience as witches.
- III. Of the *actos positivos* or external proofs which we have endeavoured to substantiate.
- IV. Of the evidence which might result from the above and serve to convict the guilty.

If we allow that all the statements and confessions that have been recorded are in general of the same sort—and this we have concluded from many reports and papers—I shall, to avoid repetition, only make the points and reflections on them which can best further the inquiry and the truth which we are seeking.

⁷⁰ A total of seven surveys with summaries of the cases of each group was sent in as documentary appendices to the report. These materials have not been kept. However, from Salazar's allusions and references the contents of the lost materials can be reconstructed as follows: (a) The 1,384 children absolved *ad cautelam*; (b) The 290 adults (*i.e.* women over twelve and male over fourteen) who were reconciled; (c) The 41 adults who were absolved *ad cautelam* with renouncement of heresy *de levy*; (e) The 81 adults and children who recanted their confessions; (f) The 6 adults and children who relapsed; (g) Survey of the hearings in connection with the investigation of the witches' meeting places; and (h) The investigations made into the witches' ointments and powders (WA 317f).

100 personas de veinte años [para] arriba, en todas edades y vejez, y muchos de ellos de 60, 70, 80, 90 años. Y de cada una de las dichas clases, va puesta relación sumaria en papel distinto y separado.⁷⁰

Y sin exceder de la brevedad de ser sus causas sumarias y del tiempo de gracia que Vuestra Alteza nos manda advertir en la carta de 26 de marzo, de 1611, todavía procuré sacar la noticia y verificación posible de los actos que, de sus procesos y otras diligencias, han resultado en los papeles de visita que están encuadernados y puestos en claridad, de manera que (aunque llegan a cincomil hojas) se pueda **/Iv/** hallar y ver sin fastidio lo que para esto se buscare en ellos, tan a mano como en las relaciones dichas, si Vuestra Alteza se sirviere de mandar que se envíen todos los procesos originales.

Y todo cuanto de esto resulta, para la claridad, se coligirá más facilmente, reducido a los cuatro puntos siguientes:

El primero.

Del modo que los brujos tienen en la salida, estada y vuelta de los aquelarres.

Segundo.

De las cosas que hacen y pasan como tales brujos.

Tercero.

De los actos positivos o verificaciones exteriores de estas cosas que se han procurado comprobar.

Cuarto.

De las testificaciones o probanza que podría resultar de todo lo sobredicho para castigar [a] los culpados.

Y supuesto que todas las declaraciones y confesiones presentes, en lo general de ellas, son de la misma suerte y modo que por tantas relaciones y papeles se ha coligido, excusando de repetir ahora lo mismo, diré solamente los puntos y consideraciones de ello que más pueda ayudar al examen y resolución de la verdad que se busca.

First article.

Of the manner in which the witches set out to, are present at, and return from the *aquelarres*.

- *5 1. As to the manner of setting forth to the reunion of the witches or *aquelarre* they agree that it was always after they had fallen asleep in their beds. A hundred and two persons alleged that this was so.^{#1} Although others say that they also used to go while awake and before

Title: Witches. The Glosses of the preceding report.⁶

The glosses on the witnesses and papers referred to in the numbers enclosed within the paragraphs of the preceding report can be found in this paper (under the same number and sign corresponding to the aforesaid as shall be seen below). One must bear in mind that each person is cited only by the letter-signature of the volume and the number of the title page of his or her file (and not by the number of the actual page where the reference is to be found, because it is likely to have been repeated more than once. The record consists of so few leaves that all can be easily looked through as far as the verdict and its sequel. Furthermore the keyword is always noted in the margin of the record).⁷¹

^{#1} The one hundred and two persons who said they set forth after they had gone to bed and fallen asleep are the following (as the gloss is so long the name of each person has been omitted):⁷ B 11, B 194, B 271, B 281, B 315, B 494, B 529, B 579, B 601, B 663, C 97, C 107, C 124, C 133, C 165, C 173, C 209, C 227, C 235, C 285, C 403, C 413, C 425, C 477, C 489, C 531, C 619, C 657, C 697, D 13, D 29, D 65, D 86, D 122, D 142, D 152, D 184, D 196, D 239, D 253, D 275, D 317, D 337, D 359, D 370, D 399, D 420, D 451, D 522, D 532, E 9, E 61, E 114, E 147, E 169, E 177, E 185, E 259, E 266, E 285, E 293, E 303, E 316, E 371, E 381, E 413, E 429, E 439, E 469, E 671, F 472, F 503, G 1,

⁵ *Marginal note of Salazar:* Number 1. The numbers refer to the glosses which (with similar numbers and signs) have been put down in a different paper further on.

⁶ *The title is written in the left hand margin of the page. In the original papers the glosses form a separate manuscript, as previously indicated.*

⁷ Here and in the following glosses I have arranged the references in alphanumeric order.

⁷¹ An example of how keywords have been added in the margin of the original record may be seen in WA 244 fig. 16.

Artículo primero.

Del modo que los brujos tienen en la salida, estada
y vuelta de los aquelarres.

- *^c 1. Y el modo de salir para la junta de los brujos y aquelarre convienen [los testigos en] que siempre era después de haber comenzado a dormir en sus camas, conforme al dicho de las 102 personas que van apuntadas para esto.^{#1} Y aunque otras personas que también solían ir estando despiertas, y antes de haberse acostado y dormido,

Título: Brujas. La glosa del papel y relación precedente.^f

Las glosas de testigos y papeles citados en los números que corren por dentro de los capítulos de la relación precedente, se hallarán en este papel por otros tales números y señales que corresponden a los sobredichos de la manera siguiente, advirtiendo que cada uno va citado en la primera plana de la cubierta de su proceso solamente, y no en la misma donde dice lo referido, porque suele decirlo más de en una parte, y siendo todo el proceso de tan pocas hojas, se podrán mirar fácilmente todas, hasta la sentencia y después de ella, y, ordinariamente, está señalado a la margen de lo que se cita.^{g1}

^{#1} ^g Las ciento y dos personas que dijeron haber salido después de acostadas y dormidas en sus camas, se hallarán con los números siguientes, y por ser la glosa tan larga se ha dejado de poner el nombre de cada persona:^h
C 489, F 472, B 315, B 194, B 494, B 281, C 133, D 122, E 147, B 271, C 531, E 9, F 503, B 529, C 403, C 413, D 399, B 663, E 114, D 337, D 359, D 370, B 11, C 425, C 477, C 173, C 619, C 657, C 227, C 107, C 235, C 97, E 429, E 381, E 266, E 185, C 209, E 316, E 439, C 697, D 420, D 13, D 196, D 29, D 142, D 65, D 275, D 239, D 253, D 86, D 317, D 184, D 152, D 522, D 451, D 275, E 285, E 293, E 413, E 381, E 371, E 266, E 61, E 259, E 169, E 671, D 152, B 579, B 601, C 124, C 107, E 177, E 303, C 173, C 165, E 169, C 285,

^c *Nota marginal de Salazar.* Primero. El número que corre por dentro va declarado en las glosas que con otros tales números y señales van puestos en papel diferente adelante. *Cf. el título de las glosas en la página anterior, mas nota d.*

ⁱ *El título va escrito en el margen izquierdo de la página. En los papeles originales, las glosas forman un documento por separado, como indicado arriba.*

^g *Ms.:* Glosa primera.

^h *Aquí en adelante dejó las referencias en el desorden que tienen en el Ms., cf. el arreglo que he hecho en la versión inglesa.*

they had gone to bed and fallen asleep, they are very few, **/2r/** less than ten.^{#2} Yet the majority in both of the categories answered that they woke up on the way and maintained that during the outward journey, their presence at the *aquejarre*, and on their return they were awake.^{#3}

2. Most of the afore-mentioned say that they usually went and came back flying through the air, although on a few occasions they used to go on foot or on the shoulders of their misstresses who had made them witches.^{#4} Likewise one said that she was wont to go in the form of a housefly^{#5} and another stated that she went in the form of a raven.^{#6}

3. As to how they leave their bedchamber, almost all of those referred to in the first gloss^{#7} say that they got out through some chink or hole, window or chimney through which naturally nobody could pass without danger. A number of the same (the minority) say that they went out through the doors and down the staircases of their houses, returning in the same fashion.

G 11, G 27, G 41, G 55, G 63, G 71, G 121, G 137, G 145, G 166, G 184, G 194, G 202, G 218, G 246, G 278, G 302, G 336, G 348, G 360.^{°72}

^{#2} The persons who say they always, or at least on some occasions, went and came back awake are the following: B 335, C 393, C 477, D 522, E 303, E 361, E 473.

^{#3} A vast majority of the persons referred to in the previous glosses state that they woke up on the way and that going to the *aquejarre*, remaining there and returning to their homes they were awake and fully conscious. For the sake of brevity their numbers will not be repeated here.

^{#4} Those who say they went and came back through the air, are to be found in gloss 1 and 2 and will not be quoted here.

^{#5} Juana de Echegui, a girl of eighteen from Zugarramurdi, who is in volume C, folio 687, says that she flew thither in the form of a housefly.

^{#6} Catalina de Sastrearena **/1v/** of seventeen stated that she went in the form of a raven, E 391.

^{#7} As regards getting out through chinks and holes, windows or chimneys and sometimes through doors as well, those already quoted in gloss 1 and 2 deal with these items.

⁸ *Marginal note written in the hand of the reporter of the Council:* This is denied by those who maintain the contrary [*i.e.* the colleagues of Salazar], numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. They only admit it in 45 cases.

^{°72} In the manuscript there are 102 references, but nine of them are repeated, so the sum is actually 93.

son tan pocas, /2r/ que no llegan a diez.^{#2} Y todavía la mayor parte de unas y de otras contestan en que recordaban en el camino y, que por la idaⁱ, estada y vuelta, lo pasaban despiertas.^{#3}

2. Y también dicen la mayor parte de las sobredichas, que ordinariamente iban y venían por el aire, aunque algunas pocas veces solían ir a pie o en hombros de sus maestras que las embrujaron;^{#4} y en esta conformidad, alguna dice que solía ir volando en figura de mosca,^{#5} y otra que en figura de cuervo.^{#6}

3. Y en cuanto al salir de su aposento, casi todas las mismas referidas en el primer número,^{#7} dicen que salían por algun resquicio, agujero, ventana o chimenea, por donde naturalmente no podía salir persona ninguna sin riesgo; y alguna cantidad de las mismas—la menor parte—dicen que salían por las puertas y escaleras de su casa, y que por ellas volvían a entrar de la misma suerte.

E 469, D 13, D 253, D 532, G 1, G 11, G 121, G 166, G 184, G 218, G 202, G 194, G 246, G 278, G 302, G 145, G 137, G 55, G 27, G 63, G 71, G 41, G 336, G 348, G 360.⁷²

^{#2} Las personas que dicen que salían e iban despiertas siempre, o por lo menos algunas veces, son: E 303, C 393, B 335, E 361, E 473, C 477, D 522.

^{#3} Que recordasen en el camino y que en la ida, estada y vuelta del aquelarre pasasen recordadas estando en su ser, lo dicen las mismas referidas en los mismos párrafos antecedentes y mucho más de la mayor parte de ellas, conque se dejan de repetir ahora por brevedad.

^{#4} Y lo mismo digo en cuanto a citar las que decían iban y volvían por el aire, que también se comprehenden en los números sobre dichos.

^{#5} Que fuese volando en figura de mosca, lo dice Juana de Echegui, moza de dieciocho años, natural de Zugarramurdi, que está en el volumen C [folio] 687.

^{#6} Y que fuese en figura de cuervo, lo dice Catalina de Sastrearena /1v/ de edad de diecisiete años, E 391.

^{#7} En cuanto a salir por resquicios, agujeros, o ventanas, o chimenea, aunque otras veces también por las puertas, se comprehenden en las que iban citadas al párrafo primero y segundo.

ⁱ Nota marginal del relator del Consejo: Esto lo niega los de la cont[rari]a, núms. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; sólo se lo concede en 45 personas.

^j Ms.: por el ayda.

4. Replying to the questions put to them on this point a further one hundred and eight stoutly maintain that they never came across anyone else on the way, neither did they hear any noise of people or animals, or the sound of church bells; nor did they see any lights; and (what is more) nor did they get wet, even if it was raining or snowing at the time.^{#8} Thus one of the said women, Catalina de Aresu, fifty-two years old, found herself in the town of Santesteban to be reconciled on the night of the 3rd of July when the most violent and widespread storm in living memory broke out, and she confessed that she had been to and returned from her *aquejarre* which was eight leagues there and back, without hearing the unceasing peals of the church bells nor getting herself wet in spite of the rain and the hail. But this is nothing compared to what happened in the village of Iráizoz, six leagues from there, which suffered the same severe storm: here all the bewitched children said that on attending the *aquejarre* the same night they did not feel the rain and storm more than did the aforesaid Catalina de Aresu.^{#9}

^{#8} The one hundred and eight persons who replied to the questions^{o73} are the following: B 11, B 23, B 33, B 87, B 148, B 194, B 251, B 315, B 327, B 371, B 383, B 403, B 458, B 499, B 529, B 541, B 567, B 591, B 601, B 611, B 635, B 651, B 663, C 97, C 147, C 209, C 227, C 245, C 255, C 265, C 273, C 281, C 331, C 413, C 425, C 457, C 477, C 501, C 531, C 561, C 597, C 657, C 687, C 697, C 719, D 13, D 29, D 55, D 65, D 86, D 142, D 152, D 174, D 184, D 196, D 253, D 275, D 317, D 359, D 370, D 389, D 399, D 411, D 420, D 494, D 502, D 522, D 551, E 9, E 33, E 43, E 61, E 100, E 114, E 185, E 199, E 256, E 266, E 285, E 293, E 361, E 371, E 381, E 413, E 439, E 461, E 537, E 651, E 671, F 463, F 491, F 503, F 513, E 539, G 1, G 27, G 41, G 63, G 67, G 97, G 184, G 202, G 238, G 246, G 266, G 302.^{o74}

^{#9} The file of Catalina de Aresu is in volume E, folio 416. The six children from Olagüe, who are in volume H, were examined in Olagüe by the commissioner and the secretary Peralta^{o75} who happened to be there.

⁹ *The numbers in the left hand margin running from 3 to 23 are possibly referring to a report of the colleagues which dealt with "The facts that have been proven" (cf. WA 336). Unfortunately the report is no longer extant, so our assumption remains a hypothesis.*

^{o73} Salazar is referring to a questionnaire with eight questions concerning the sabbats and the witches' goings and comings from their meetings. He had drawn it up on the basis of the Council instructions (doc. 10.13, cf. above, p. 236, fig. 23).

^{o74} In the manuscript there are 108 references, but two of them are repeated, so the sum is actually 106.

^{o75} The *licenciado* Francisco Ladrón de Peralta was one of the two inquisitorial secretaries who accompanied Salazar on the visitation.

*3^k 4. Y respondiendo a las preguntas que se les hacían en este artículo, otras 108 dicen resueltamente, que jamás toparon a nadie en el camino, ni sintieron ruido de gentes, animales, ni sonido de campanas, ni vieron luces, ni (lo que más es) tampoco se mojaron, aunque entonces lloviese o nevase.^{#8} Tanto, que una de las dichas, llamada Catalina de Aresu, mujer de cincuenta y dos años que—hallándose en la villa de Santesteban para ser reconciliada, en una noche a 3 de julio, [en] que sucedió la más fragosa y general tempestad que han visto las gentes—confesó haber ido y venido a su aquelarre, que era ocho leguas de ida y venida, sin haber oído el ruido continuo que hubo de campanas, ni mojándose con toda la dicha tempestad de agua y granizo. Y con eso no fue mucho que también en el lugar de Iráizoz, seis leguas de allí, donde alcanzó la misma tempestad rigurosa, dijese todos los niños embrujados, que habiendo ido y estado en el aquelarre aquella noche, tampoco sintieron el agua ni tempestad más que la dicha Catalina de Aresu.^{#9}

^{#8} Las ciento y ocho personas que respondieron a los capítulos^{o73} lo que va referido son las siguientes: C 331, C 147, F 463, F 513. B 315, F 491, C 477, B 371, B 194, C 687, B 383, B 148, B 499, C 147, B 458, B 251, C 501, C 531, C 561, E 9, F 539, F 503, E 33, B 33, B 529, C 413, D 399, D 411, E 199, C 597, E 537, B 663, B 591, B 651, B 567, B 601, B 635, E 100, E 114, D 359, D 370, B 541, E 461, B 327, B 87, B 23, B 11, B 403, B 611, C 425, C 457, C 657, D 389, C 227, C 245, C 97, C 255, C 273, C 281, C 265, E 285, E 293, E413, E 381, E 371, E 266, E 61, E 185, E 256, C 209, E 361, C 719, E 439, E 43, C 697, E 651, D 420, D 13, D 196, D 29, D 142, D 55, D 65, B 251, D 253, E 671, D 86, D 317, D 184, D 174, D 152, D 494, D 502, D 522, D 551, D 275, G 184, G 202, G 238, G 246, G 266, G 302, G 97, G 67, G 1, G 27, G 63, G 41.^{o74}

^{#9} La dicha Catalina de Aresu está en la E 416. Seis niños fueron estos de Olagüe, referidos en la H, que allí fueron examinados por el comisario y [el] secretario Peralta^{o75} que allí se hallaron.

^k *Los números en el margen izquierdo de 3 a 23 se refieren probablemente al informe de los colegas que trataba de “Los actos positivos comprobados” (cf. WA 336), pero como aquel informe se ha perdido esta hipótesis no se puede verificar.*

Others, about twenty, stated the opposite. On being presented with the same questions they asserted that they did get wet, heard noises and met people /2v/ both witches from their coven as well as people who were not witches. However, none of them gave particulars or facts which could be verified nor was it possible to substantiate such details through the testimony of their associates.^{#10}

5. Thus, by whatever means they have left and returned to their houses, none of them confess that they have been seen or heard by anyone in their house or outside. This will be made clear later in the third article [of this report] which deals with the external proofs of these things. The only exception is one Juan de Saldías, a man of eighty years and of a very sound disposition and reason. He stated that his wife had heard him many times and had asked him whence he came so cold when he returned to his bed. Unfortunately, his wife has been dead a long time.^{#11}

*4 6. Indeed it is remarkable that in a village where everybody is on the watch for this event, because of the general pain and grief which afflicts the community, they have never come across the witches, even though so numerous, nor seen what happens among them. Even those in the same house or in the very chamber from which they depart remain in ignorance. For until now I have never met with anyone who has seen what takes place. It is still more a cause for wonder that neither have two accomplices leaving the same bed felt the other getting out or coming back. The latter is implied by seven mature and responsible persons referred to in the glosses.^{#12}

^{#10} The twenty persons who stated this are the following: B 172, C 1, C 133, C 301, C 381, C 393, C 403, C 413, C 441, C 615, C 719, C 729, D 164, E 159, E 247, E 617, F 437, G 153, G 194, G 218. Apart from these there were others from among those quoted under gloss 8 who replied that at least on some occasions this had occurred to them, these are: B 315, B 371, B 611, B 635, C 231, C 477, F 491, F 513.

^{#11} The file of Juan de Saldías, alias Juanes de Estevecorena, is in volume C, folio 1.

^{#12} That two accomplices leaving the same bed to go to the sabbat neither spoke nor saw each other when setting out or returning is very plainly indicated by the replies of: B 315, C 301, C 657, D 152, D 164, E 671, and most clearly of all by María de Echevarría,¹⁰ eighty years old, E 9.

¹⁰ Ms.: Echavarria.

Y otros, que serán hasta veinte personas, diciendo lo contrario en estas preguntas, responden que se mojaron, sintieron ruido y toparon [con] gente /2v/ de su complicidad y de fuera, aunque ninguno de ellos con circunstancia y actos que fuesen perceptibles, ni se hayan podido verificar por otros contestes de los tales artículos.^{#10}

5. Y así, por cualquiera de los modos dichos, que hayan salido y vuelto a sus casas, todavía ninguno de ellos confiesa que le hubiese visto o sentido jamás persona de su casa, ni de fuera de ella, como en el artículo tercero [de la carta presente], de lo que resulta de los actos se dice adelante, excepto un Juan de Saldías, hombre de ochenta años y de muy buen natural y discurso, que dijo le había sentido muchas veces su mujer, preguntándole [de] donde venía tan frío cuando volvía a la cama; y esta tal mujer ha mucho tiempo que murió.^{#11}

*4 6. Y si es admiración, que en un pueblo donde acechan todos este caso, por la parte de dolor y sentimiento que le toca a cada uno, no hayan topado jamás cómplices de estos, siendo tantos, ni visto lo que entre sí pasan, ni aun los mismos de la casa de donde salen, ni aun de su aposento, como no lo¹ he topado hasta hoy; mucho más admira que saliendo dos cómplices de una cama, tampoco se hayan sentido el uno al otro salir ni volver, como lo significan las siete personas de edad y discurso que van apuntadas.^{#12}

^{#10} Estas veinte personas, que dijeron lo referido en este número son: E 159, B 172, C 729, F 437 C 133, C 301, C 441, C 1, C 381, C 393, C 403, C 413, E 247, C 615, C 729, D 164, E 617, G 218, G 194, G 153; y sin ellas, hubo otras de las anteriores, citadas en el párrafo 8, que también respondieron de afirmativa como ellas, a lo menos de haberles sucedido algunas veces como son: C 231, F 513, B 315, F 491, C 477, B 371, B 635, B 611.

^{#11} Este Juan de Saldías, llamado por otro nombre Juanes de Estevecorena, está en la C, folio 1.

^{#12} Que saliendo dos cómplices de una cama para ir ambos al aquelarre no hubiesen hablado ni visto a la salida ni vuelta, lo significan bien claramente en sus respuestas: B 315, C 301, C 657, D 152, D 164, E 671, y mejor que todos, María de Echevarría, de ochenta años, E 9.

¹ Ms.: le.

*5 7. Even if we leave aside this incongruity we are faced with another yet greater. Several people who had come to confess stated that while fully awake in the middle of the day, eating or talking to people in public, without turning aside one single moment from the people to whom they were speaking, they have been transported to their *aquelarre*. In this way they once departed from the public procession of litanies in which the whole village was taking part to hold another one simultaneously before the Devil at the *aquelarre*.^{#13} They tell of a similar departure when the entire village was present in church to hear Fray Domingo de Sardo declaring the Edict of Grace during a sermon.^{#14} A third translation took place, they say, when those to be reconciled during the visitation came to the towns **/3r/** of Santesteban and Elizondo. The actual transfer occurred in the latter town.^{#15} These events always took place by day and always without anyone noticing that the participants were missing. Another said that she also set out by daylight, while awake, and flew through the air in front of her parents and others in the house without any of them noticing her.^{#16}

8. After the referred cases we come across yet stranger narratives. A large group, more than fifty,^{°76} came to confess that they did not know, nor could they see how, nor in what way, they had left or returned. Thus it is not surprising that we are ignorant in the mat-

^{#13} Catalina de Sastrearena whose confession is in E 391, mentions this occurrence, alleging that she was attending similar processions of litanies conducted by **/2r/** the Devil at the same time as people were holding them in the village.

^{#14} The same Catalina de Sastrearena also recounts that during the sermon which Fray Domingo de Sardo preached in the church against the witches she was snatched away in like manner to the witches' sabbat without being noticed or missed by those standing beside her. As a result of this she did not hear a single word of the sermon.

^{#15} Everything about the departure from Elizondo to the sabbat is contained in the same trial of this Catalina de Sastrearena.

^{#16} This flying young girl, thirteen years old, is called María de Daterebera and her confession is in volume G, folio 121.

^{°76} Three of the 51 references in gloss 17 are repeated so there were in fact only 48.

*5 7. Y en dejando esta confusión, se topa otra mayor de algunas personas, que vinieron a confesar que estando despiertas a mediodía, comiendo y conversando con gente públicamente, sin haberse divertido un instante de las tales personas con quien hablaban, dijeron haber ido y estado en su aquelarre; y que en esta forma habían salido una vez de la procesión pública de letanías, cuando la hacía el pueblo estando junto, para hacer, como la hicieron, otra tal al mismo tiempo ante el Demonio en el aquelarre;^{#13} y otra salida semejante dicen, estando todo el pueblo en la iglesia, oyendo a fray Domingo de Sardo un sermón en que declaraba el Edicto de Gracia.^{#14} Y otra tercera vez, dicen que fue habiendo venido a ser reconciliadas en la visita, estando en las villas **/3r/** de Santesteban y Elizondo, donde pasó esto postrero^{#15} todo de día, y siempre sin que las sintiese ni echase [de] menos nadie. Y otra dijo, que también de día claro, estando así despierta salió por el aire volando ante sus padres y personas de casa, sin sentirla ninguno de ellos.^{#16}

8. Y tras la dicha, traen otra mayor maravilla en venir a confesar mucha copia de estos, que serán más de cincuenta,^{o76} que no han sabido ni podido percibir cómo, ni por qué modo, hayan sido

^{#13} Esto refiere Catalina de Sastrearena, que está en la E 391, afirmando haberse hallado en las mismas procesiones de litánias que hacía **/2r/** el Demonio el mismo tiempo que las hacía el pueblo.

^{#14} También refiere la dicha Catalina de Sastrearena, que estando oyendo predicar contra los brujos un sermón, que hizo en la iglesia fray Domingo de Sardo, fue sacada de la misma suerte para el aquelarre de brujos sin ser vista ni echada de menos de las que estaban junto a ella, aunque ella, con esto, quedó sin haber percibido ni entendido palabra alguna del dicho sermón.

^{#15} Y en el mismo proceso de la dicha Catalina Sastrearena se contiene lo de la ida desde Elizondo al aquelarre.

^{#16} Esta moza voladora que es de edad de trece años, llamada María de Daterebera, está en la G 121.^m

^m *En Ms. corregido de.* 129.

ter when they themselves fail to understand it. They admit a total inability to explain the case unless one accepts their claim that they were taken to and from the sabbat against their will and were powerless to resist. On this ground some of the *confitentes*, seeking to be reconciled, have exculpated themselves.^{#17}

Some also confessed to having been at the witches' sabbat the night before^{#18} or even the selfsame day and hour when their cases were dealt with.^{#19} Accepting their excuses I granted them reconciliation without delay. Nonetheless I subjected the whole matter to the most careful review, particularly the cases of Catalina de Sastrearena, Martín de Errazuri and others about which I shall speak later.

9. Let us suppose that one was willing to give credence to all this, and to believe that the Devil is able to make persons present when they are not and make others invisible when they pass before people who would certainly recognize them, with the result that nobody can be sure that he or she who is present is any more real than he or she who is with the witches. Surely one could conceive far more readily another explanation: the Devil only deludes those "invisible" ones—or those who think that they have been absent without this ever happening—in order that the deceived ones should speak in good faith and find acceptance for these and similar lies, and consequently also be believed when they say that they have seen at their sabbat other people whom they subsequently denounce. Thus, immediately and without any effort, the Devil leaves the village in an uproar, and those *¡3v!* unjustly incriminated exposed to condemnation and other afflictions to be described later in the fourth article.

^{#17} Those who were determined to make it clear that they had not been able to perceive, nor knew how to explain by what means they had been taken or brought back are the following: B 251, B 271, B 315, B 579, B 601, C 35, C 97, C 107, C 124, C 133, C 163, C 165, C 173, C 235, C 301, C 413, C 643, C 657, D 13, D 29, D 65, D 114, D 142, E 9, E 61, E 143, E 169, E 177, E 256, E 266, E 285, E 293, E 303, E 371, E 381, E 391, E 413, E 429, E 439, E 661, G 1, G 71, G 87, G 121, G 137, G 166, G 266, G 302.

^{#18} There were many people who had been at the *aquejarre* the previous night although only the following have been noted down: Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391; Catalina de Echetoa, C 643, in whose trial María de Echetoa can be found to whom the same occurred; and María de Echeverría, E 9.

^{#19} Martín de Errazuri who is in volume E, folio 361, María de Datuebera, G 121, and María de Aitajorena, C 657, confessed to having been at the *aquejarre* the same day and hour of their dispatch.

llevados ni traídos. Y así no es mucho ignorar nosotros de sus cosas, lo que ellos mismos no alcanzan a entender de sí propios, dándose por rendidos de que no atinan a saber ni decir más que esto, sino antes bien, confesando que contra su voluntad, o a lo menos, sin ella ni consentir en esto, los hayan llevado y vuelto sin poder resistirlo, con lo cual se han disculpado algunos confitentes que, pidiendo ser reconciliados.^{#17}

También confesaban haber estado en los aquelarres la noche próxima anterior,^{#18} o aquel mismo día y hora de su despacho.^{#19} Y así admitida su disculpa, se les concedió luego sin dilatárseles, habiendo conferido y disputado esto por todas conjeturas, muy particularmente, en las causas de Catalina de Sastrearena y Martín de Errazuri y otros semejantes de quien se dice adelante.

9. Y cuando se quisiese traspasar aún todo esto, creyendo de la facultad del Demonio que fuese bastante para ello, haciendo presente al que no lo está y que otro sea invisible cuando pasa por ante quien le conoce, ya que nadie puede asegurar que sea el fingido más éste que el que está con los brujos. Todavía pudiera más fácilmente admitirse, por obra del Demonio que, en efecto, solamente engañó a aquellos invisibles, o a los que piensan que se ausentaron, sin que tal haya pasado, para que así engañados, sean después creídos en ésta y en otras tales mentiras. Y por consiguiente, les crean también que vieron allá ser brujos los que nombran, con que, a menos costa, de una vez deja el Demonio al pueblo enredado en cizaña y a los **3v**/ inocentes, sujetos a ser condenados sin culpa, con otras miserias que se dicen adelante en el artículo cuarto.

^{#17} Las que con toda resolución vienen a resolver, que no han podido percibir ni saben manifestar por qué modo han sido traídas o llevadas, son: E 143, C 133, C 301, E 9, B 271, C 413, D 114, E 391, C 173, C 657, C 124, C 107, C 235, C 35, E 429, E 381, E 439, D 29, D 142, D 65, C 643, E 371, E 266, E 61, E 256, C 163, B 251, C 165, E 169, B 315, B 579, B 601, C 124, C 107, E 177, D 13, E 661, E 303, C 97, E 285, E 293, E 413, E 381, G 121, G 166, G 266, G 302, G 137, G 87, G 1, G 71.

^{#18} De gente que hubiese estado en el aquelarre la noche antes hubo muchas, aunque solamente se han apuntado, la dicha Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391, y Catalina de Echetoa, C 643, y en su proceso está María de Echetoa a quien sucedió lo mismo, y María de Ordoqui, G 145, María de Aitajorena, C657, y María de Echevarría, E 9.

^{#19} Y el mismo día y hora de su despacho, confesaron haber estado en el aquelarre Martín de Errazuri, que está en la E 361, y María de Datueberea, G 121, y la dicha María de Aitajorena, E 657.

Second article.

Of the things they do and experience as witches.

10. Some of the things that cause most surprise are those experiences they say they undergo as witches. Thus one man says that, while living in sin with a certain woman (whom he named) he used to attend the *aque-larres*, and although both partners saw each other in the crowd, they never spoke to one another nor exchanged a single word about their illicit relationship.^{#20} Again, a man who at the sabbat used to have sexual intercourse with another woman, says that outside the meetings they never talked about it.^{#21}

Another, an older man of eminently sound reason, stated that the Devil had married him off to a certain female witch at the *aque-larre* and that for a long time he had had sexual intercourse with her there. On the death of this woman he married another (whom he also named) and had marital relations with her for some time. But this only took place at the sabbat, for when they met outside the gatherings he never succumbed to temptation with either of those women, nor was the topic ever mentioned.^{#22}

11. Besides this they generally maintain that at the gatherings they never talk about nor discuss outside affairs, just as outside the *aque-larre* they never in any place make known or divulge anything of what goes on therein.^{#23} For the Devil forbids it with strict orders

^{#20} Miguel de Oteiza, a man of seventy, C 425, refers to the said silence and claims that he never spoke at the *aque-larre* to the woman with whom he was living in sin outside the gatherings.

^{#21} Miguel de Ustárroz, also seventy, B 281, relates /2v/ that outside they never talked about the times they had sexual intercourse at the *aque-larre*.

^{#22} Martín de Igunen, sixty years of age, is the man who recounts the two marriages. His file is in volume B, folio 651. Another girl called Gracianato de Legarrea, ten years of age, H 470, said that at the *aque-larre* she had intercourse with a certain boy but assured that this did not take place outside the gatherings, nor was it ever mentioned.

^{#23} C 227, C 301, C 457, E 16, E 185, E 293, E 371, E 381, G 97, G 266, G 388 declare that they never talked about outside affairs while at the sabbat and that what went on within the *aque-larre* similarly was never discussed outside the gatherings. For an inviolable silence was preserved about everything. In accordance with this seven children from the village of Ituren state that although seeing and recognizing each other clearly at the sabbat, they were unable to speak a word as they gazed at each other, H 52, and María de Iraízoz, ninety-four years old, B 625, says the same.

Artículo segundo.

De las cosas que hacen y pasan como tales brujos.

10. Y no son de menos, sino de más admiración, las cosas que dicen que pasan como tales brujos; pues uno dice que viviendo amancebado con cierta mujer que nombró, en el mismo tiempo que acudía a los aquelarres, aunque se veían ambos asistir en la tropa con los demás brujos, jamás se hablaron allí ni comunicaron de su amancebamiento palabra ninguna.^{#20} Y por el contrario, otro que en el
*7 aquelarre solía tener acceso carnal con otra mujer, dice que fuera de él, tampoco trataron jamás de ello.^{#21}

Y otro varón mayor, de muy buena razón, dijo que el Demonio le casó en el aquelarre con cierta mujer bruja, y que con ella se trató carnalmente allí mucho tiempo; y que por muerte de esta mujer, le casó después con otra que también nombró, con quien hizo también vida maridable algún tiempo estando allá solamente, porque fuera del aquelarre jamás trató con ninguna de las dos, de obra ni de palabra, nada de estas flaquezas.^{#22}

11. Y demás de esto, también dicen generalente, que no hablan ni [se] comunican jamás en la dicha junta, de cosas de acá fuera; como, tampoco, acá afuera dicen ni revelan, en ninguna parte, cosa alguna de lo de allá adentro,^{#23} porque con riguroso precepto y amenazas se lo prohíbe el Demonio, como lo certifican muchos de los

^{#20} Miguel de Oteiza, hombre de setenta años, C 425, refiere el silencio dicho, de no haber hablado en el aquelarre con la mujer [con] que estaba amancebado acá fuera.

^{#21} Miguel de Ustárruz,ⁿ también hombre de setenta, B 281, también refiere /2v/ que no trató acá fuera de las cópulas que tenía en el aquelarre.

^{#22} Martín de Igunen, hombre de sesenta años, es el que refiere los dos casamientos que se apuntan, y está en el B 651. Y otra niña de diez años, llamada Gracianato de Legarrea, H 470, dijo que en el aquelarre tuvo cópula con cierto muchacho, y que fuera de allí no lo continuó ni trató de ello jamás.

^{#23} Y que no haya comunicado en el aquelarre de las cosas de acá fuera, ni acá fuera de las cosas de allá dentro del aquelarre, sino guardado inviolable silencio de todo, lo dicen C 457, C 227, E 293, E 381, E 371, E 16, E 185, C 301, G 388, G 97, G 266. Y conforme a este silencio del aquelarre dicen siete niños del lugar de Ituren, que viéndose y conociéndose distintamente unos a otros en el aquelarre, aunque se estaban mirando todos unos a otros no se podían hablar palabra, H 52, y lo mismo dice María de Iraízoz, de noventaicuatro años, B 625.

ⁿ Ms.: Hurroz.

and threats, as many of the aforesaid affirm without calling this in question. Only two or three, I found, were willing to affirm that at the *aquejarre* and away from it they used to discuss these affairs.^{#24} Yet another proceeded more prudently than the rest. She said that she was asleep during the time she attended the sabbat **/4r/** and therefore had no idea of what went on there.^{#25}

12. Another three women stated that two hours after having had sexual intercourse with the Devil they gave birth to large toads.^{#26}

*8 A fourth says that, feeling a heavy obstruction in her throat, she gave birth to another such toad through her mouth.^{#27} Thus she alleviated her discomfort and was free to reveal things about witchcraft, having been previously prevented by the said toad in her throat. Notwithstanding, none of the four produced witnesses, either from inside or outside the coven, who could substantiate their stories.

13. Another says that the Devil butted her with his horns like a ram;^{#28} another that the Devil whipped her with his tail at the *aquejarre*;^{#29} and yet another that at the sound of any church bell the sabbat was broken up and that anyone hearing them beforehand was unable to leave for the meeting. Once again there was no witness for any of the details mentioned, not even from among people attending the same *aquejarre*. Neither has any such thing been seen or heard of although those who tell these things are old women; nor were there any witnesses to substantiate the claim of another woman who said that the witches held their *aquejarre* in the middle of the sea without getting wet.^{#30}

^{#24} Nevertheless there are also some who say just the opposite: that they talked freely about these matters both at the sabbat and outside the gatherings, see for instance C 255, E 185, G 41.

^{#25} She is called María de Oteiza, twelve years old, abjured *de levi*, G 356.

^{#26} Estevanía de Escobarreta, sixty years old, E 190, and another, E 100, and likewise another, B 97, declare this about giving birth to toads.

^{#27} María de Permosa, G 238, is the one who claims that she gave birth to a toad through her mouth.

^{#28} María de Mariarena, a woman of sixty, whose file is in volume B, folio 371, says that the Devil butted her with his head and horns like a ram.

^{#29} The woman who says they whipped her with the Devil's tail is in volume F, folio 435. **/3r/**

^{#30} Sabadina de Echetoa, of sixty, who is in volume C, folio 709, is the one who gave this information about the bells; and Mari López de Aula, of nineteen, E 52, said that they held sabbats in the sea without getting wet.

sobredichos sin poner duda en esto, excepto dos o tres, que solamente hallé que han querido decir que dentro y fuera suelen comunicar las dichas cosas,^{#24} y aun otra lo cauteló mejor que todas, diciendo que se dormía el rato que estaba en el aquelarre **/4r/** con que ignoró las cosas que allá pasaban.^{#25}

*8 12. Otras tres mujeres dicen que, habiendo tenido acceso carnal con el Demonio, dentro de dos horas, parieron unos sapos grandes,^{#26} y otra cuarta dice que sintiendo un grande embarazo en la garganta parió otro tal sapo por la boca,^{#27} con que alivió su congoja y tuvo libertad de manifestar las cosas de brujería, que antes le impedía el dicho sapo de la garganta; aunque ninguna de las cuatro dio contestes de dentro ni fuera de la complicidad con quién verificar nada de ello.

13. Otra dice que el Demonio le daba cabezadas con los cuernos como carnero,^{#28} y otra, que en el aquelarre la azotaba con la cola el Demonio,^{#29} y otra, que, en oyendo las campanas de cualquier parte, se deshacía el aquelarre, y que si las oía antes, tampoco podía salir para ir allá—sin haber contestes de ninguna de las cosas de este capítulo, ni aún de gente del mismo aquelarre, ni visto ni oído tal cosa, aunque son viejas cuantas lo dicen; <ni tampoco los hubo de otra que dijo hacían aquelarres en medio de la mar sin mojarse>.^{#30}

^{#24} Aunque también hay algunos que dijeron lo contrario, y que así hablaban promiscuamente^o en ambas partes de todas estas cosas, como son C 255, E 185, G 41.

^{#25} La cual se llamaba María de Oteiza, de doce años, que abjuró de levi, G 356.

^{#26} Estevanía de Escoberreta, de sesenta años, dice esto del parto de sapos, E 190, y otra, E 100, y otra, B 97.

^{#27} María de Permosa, G 238, es la que dice que parió el sapo por la boca.

^{#28} María de Mariarena, mujer de sesenta que está en la B 371, dice que el Demonio le daba porradas con la cabeza y cuernos como carnero.

^{#29} Y la que dice que la azotaban con la cola del Demonio está en la F 435. **/3r/**

^{#30} Y Sabadina de Echetoa, de sesenta años, que está en la C 709, es la que dijo lo que va referido de las campanas, y Mari López de Aula, de diezinueve años, E 52, dijo que hacían aquelarre en la mar sin mojarse.

^o *Ms.*: premiscoamente.

14. Another says that when she went with a crowd of witches to tear down and desecrate the images in a church, the same images defended themselves with might and main like living persons.^{#31}

15. Catalina de Aresu—who as has been mentioned went so many leagues from Santesteban to be at her sabbat—also stated that there they all plotted to produce the storm, as in fact they did. In the town of Vera Catalina de Busti, a Frenchwoman who confessed, although in a way both contradictory and confused, to her pacts with the Devil, indicated that through these she was aware that the previously mentioned storm had been planned on another occasion and by different devils.^{#32}

16. Others say that when I was in Santesteban they agreed at their *aquelarre* to wreak vengeance upon me and my family, and that together with the Devil, a troop of them came flying through the air from a league and a half away to put this into effect. They entered the audience chamber at midday and were present in person /4v/ during the hearings. More than forty witches, men and women, came in there.^{#33} On this point the witnesses were all in accord. Nonetheless, they became confused in the cross-examination, as so often happens, since the very effort to make such an extraordinary lie sound convincing confounds itself. For all of us happened to be present in the room, and this was so low, so small, and so narrow, that with the altar for the celebration of Mass and the table for the Tribunal there was scarcely space left for anyone, let alone so many persons, unless they were exercising the privilege claimed for them of being invisible so that their presence could not be felt.

Others refer to a similar decision to kill me on the Night of St. James. To carry this out they entered my bedroom several times—so they maintained and went on to describe how they poured their powders into my mouth as I lay asleep.^{#34} Yet it is not surprising

^{#31} Catalina de Aresu is the one who relates the incident of the images and her file is in volume E, folio 461.

^{#32} It is the same Catalina de Aresu who relates all the contents of this number, E 461; and Catalina de Busti, a Frenchwoman, who was discharged *de levi*, [is in] G 278.

^{#33} This was declared by Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391; Juanes de Perlichinecoa, thirteen, E 177; Catalina de Bozate, nineteen, E 195; and Gracianato de Oyeretena, fourteen, E 351; Maria de Ordoqui, G 145; and everything that happened to them on this occasion is recorded in their files.

^{#34} Catalina de Bozate, a girl of nineteen, said that she saw them sprinkling

14. Y otra dice que, yendo en tropa con algunas brujas a ultrajar y arrastrar las imágenes de una iglesia, se les defendieron las tales imágenes con fuerza y manos como personas sensibles.^{#31}

15. La dicha Catalina de Areso—que desde Santesteban fue tantas leguas a estar en su aquelarre, como queda dicho—también dijo que en él fraguaron y resolvieron todos de hacer la dicha tempestad, como en efecto, lo cumplieron. Y en la villa de Vera, Catalina de Busti, francesa que confesó, aunque varia y confusamente, ciertos pactos con el Demonio, significó que con ellos supo y entendió por allá haberse fraguado, en otra ocasión y por otros demonios diferentes, la misma tempestad sobredicha.^{#32}

16. Otras dicen que, cuando yo estaba en Santesteban, acordaron en su aquelarre tomar venganzas en mi persona y familia; y que viniendo para efectuarlo por el aire en tropa, legua y media, juntamente con el Demonio, a medio día entraron en la sala. Y que estuvieron en ella personalmente /4v/ cuando se hacía la audiencia. Y que entraron de esta suerte allí más de cuarenta brujos, hombres y mujeres,^{#33} y aunque en esto concordaron las personas que van apuntadas, todavía se confundieron con algunas réplicas—como siempre se confunde el mismo hecho de querer persuadir con toda eficacia tal mentira, habiéndonos hallado todos presentes en la sala, que era un aposento tan bajo, corto y estrecho que, con el altar para decir misa y la mesa del Tribunal, casi no quedaba en ella espacio desocupado donde cupiera nadie, cuanto más, tantas personas, si no es con el privilegio que presuponen de haber estado invisibles, con que tampoco podrían sentirse. Y otros refieren otra tal sentencia, que dieron de matarme la noche de Santiago, y que, en su cumplimiento, entraron en mi dormitorio, personalmente, diversas veces; y que, estando durmiendo, me echaron de sus polvos en la boca.^{#34} Y no

^{#31} La dicha Catalina de Aresu es la que refiere lo de las imágenes, la cual está en la E 461.

^{#32} También es la misma Catalina de Aresu, la que refiere lo contenido en este número, E 461, y Catalina de Busti, francesa que se despachó de levi, G 278.

^{#33} Lo cual dicen la dicha Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391; y Juanes de Perlichinecoa, de edad de trece años, E 177; Catalina de Bozate, de edad de diecinueve años, E 195; y Gracianato de Oyeretena, de catorce años, E 351, y María de Ordoqui, G 145, y en sus causas va apuntado lo que con ellas pasó sobre este artículo.

^{#34} Catalina de Bozate, moza de diecinueve años, de éste que me vio

*9 that I failed to feel anything since I apparently did not feel any ill effect from the other attempts, not even when, as I presided the hearing in the chamber, the Devil set fire to my person and to the chair on which I sat.^{#35}

On one occasion, many days later, when sailing from Rentería to San Sebastián, I disembarked half a league before San Sebastián at two o'clock in the morning. On this occasion, according to a female witness, another crowd of witches sallied out to meet me, flying through the air in a troop, whereupon it rained heavily. This woman claimed that they threatened to do me great harm in order to evade the punishment that I should mete out to them.^{#36}

Another three single witnesses said while they were making their confessions in the chamber, that the Devil came upon them there, and that, assisted by the mistress of each one, he choked them with invisible strength and violence so that they could not continue revealing the truth. But all three gave rise to suspicion since they came from the same village and it occurred to them all on the same day.^{#37}

17. Although no answer or confirmation has been found to any of the above-mentioned matters other than that noted down, yet a large number /5r/ of witnesses were available to verify the remarkable and auspicious miracles which, they claim, the Mother of God wrought with some witches, notably those under age, and with a woman of thirty years.^{#38} Our Lady appeared visible to everyone at the sabbat with Her precious Son in Her arms urging them to withstand the wiles and importunities of the Devil and his train. She taught them certain prayers and supplications to assist them in their troubles and returned everyone to their beds, where She left them blessed and undisturbed that night. Although they went back to the

powders on me, E 195; and María de Ordequi saw me being given this death sentence, G 145.

^{#35} The said Catalina de Sastrearena, and others mentioned in her case, together with those referred to in gloss 33, state this.

^{#36} Isabel de Castro, of twelve, who is in volume A, folio 67, says this about San Sebastián.

^{#37} That the Devil and their mistresses were choking them in the same chamber was declared by Gracianato de Oyeretena, E 351, Juanes de Perlichinecoa, E 177, and another who is also in volume E, folio 311.

^{#38} The following tell of the miracle of the appearance of Our Lady: A 371, A 378, A 380, A 382[r], A 382[v], B 172, B 239, B 251, C 45,

es mucho que dejase de sentir esto, pues, tampoco parece que sentí lo demás; ni en otra ocasión en que, haciendo audiencia en la dicha sala, teniéndome atado el Demonio y brujos por una parte, otros *9 me encendían fuego a la persona y silla donde estaba sentado.^{#35}

Y otra dice que, muchos días después, cuando entré en la villa de San Sebastián, dos horas de noche [*i.e.* a las dos de la noche], viniendo de la villa de Rentería, desembarcándome media legua antes, salieron a recibirme en tropa por el aire otra junta de brujos, con que me llovió mucho entonces, y me amenazaban de hacer grandes daños para escaparse del castigo que yo debiera darles.^{#36}

Y otras tres personas, de las que en esto van apuntadas, también dicen, cada una de por sí, que cuando estaban actualmente diciendo en la sala sus confesiones, les sobrevino allí el Demonio, el cual, ayudado de la maestra de cada uno, con fuerzas y con violencias, también invisibles, los estaban ahogando para que no procediesen a decir la verdad que iban declarando, más todos tres dieron mala sospecha en ser compañeros de un lugar y haberles sucedido esto en un mismo día.^{#37}

17. Y aunque de las cosas sobredichas no se han hallado más contestes, ni verificación de la que va apuntada todavía, con grande número /5r/ de testigos y probanza, se verificó el milagro tan insigne y favorable que dicen usó la Madre de Dios con algunos brujos, especialmente los de menor edad, y con una mujer de treinta años,^{#38} apareciéndoseles visiblemente a todos, estando en los aquelarres, con su precioso hijo en los brazos, animándoles a resistir los engaños y persecución del Demonio y de sus brujos secuaces, y enseñándoles ciertas devociones y oraciones de que se ayudar en tales aprietos, y volviéndoles a cada uno a su cama, donde los dejaba quietos y santiguados aquella noche. Y aunque, en las siguientes, volvían a los

echar polvos, E 195; y María de Ordoqui que me vio dar esta sentencia de mi muerte, G 145.

^{#35} La dicha Catalina de Sastrearena, y otros referidos en su causa, y los que van en la glosa 33, dicen eso.

^{#36} Isabel de Castro dice esto de San Sebastián, de edad de doce años, que está en la A 67.

^{#37} Que en la misma sala el Demonio y maestra las ahogaban: Gracianato de Oyeretena, E 351, Juanes de Perlichinecoa, [E] 177, y otro que también está en la E 311.

^{#38} De este milagro del aparecimiento de Nuestra Señora dicen B 239,

sabbat the following nights Our Lady appeared to them yet again and in the said manner without failing them on a single night. (This is confirmed by fifteen who were of an age to be able to take an oath, and a vast number of minors who did not swear.) One forbears to remark upon the difficulty of Our Lady visiting each of them simultaneously, and the attendant circumstances which makes the case hard to believe. If it really happened in this way it would be an action so exceedingly miraculous and extraordinary as to be quite outside the normal course of things.⁷⁷

18. During the visitation another girl, sixteen years old and of obvious sense,^{#39} declared while making her confessions that through a certain high window in the audience chamber, about the size of a folio, she saw suspended in mid-air seven persons from her own coven who were all present at the hearing, staring and gesticulating at her. One of the two witnesses brought there to substantiate this, being from the same coven, stated that she also saw the said persons, for the aforesaid *confitente* succeeded in warning her to confirm her statement telling her in Basque: “Say yes!”—When I wanted to bring in more, the two witnesses of this prodigy said that the witches had already disappeared so that nobody could see them.

19. Among the declarations made by people who were not witches, one man over forty, of sound disposition and common sense, said that coming back alone on a still, **/5v/** clear summer’s night some fourteen years ago, he had seen certain people dancing measures among themselves with great leaps and much mirth to the sound of a fiddle or whatever instrument it was they were playing. Although he clearly discerned the figures and the number of people there he could not recognize anyone not even the man with the fiddle, who

E 661, F 435,⁷⁸ G 11, G 71, G 87, G 153, and this last called María de Ormaechea is thirty years old.

^{#39} This girl is called María de Larralde, E 293, and everything else concerning this is related in her file. **/3v/**

⁷⁷ For the appearances of the Virgin Mary, see above, p. 52ff. We note that Salazar did not share the popular and semipagan concept of different “Virgins” acting from different localities.

⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier, the file of “F 435” has been kept (see above, p. 54 with n. 72). Further on in the confession of the 16-year-old Gracia, where she tells about Our Lady’s appearances at the sabbat, someone has noted in the margin: “Our Lady, attention! (*¡Nuestra Señora, Ojo!*), see *Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation Book*, 436r.

mismos aquellarres, se les aparecía también Nuestra Señora en la manera dicha, sin faltarles ninguna noche ni hacer intervalo, según lo dicen las dichas quince, que fueron de edad de poder hacer juramento, y sin jurar, otra gran copia de menores de mucho más número. Y se deja de reparar en la dificultad de acudir a un tiempo y con cada uno de los sobredichos Nuestra Señora, y lo demás que hace increíble el caso; pues, cuando haya pasado así, verdaderamente, lo vence y excede todo, que por ser operación tan milagrosa, sale del curso de las demás.⁷⁷

18. Y en la visita, estando haciendo sus confesiones en la sala de la Audiencia, dijo otra muchacha de dieciseis años y de buena habilidad,^{#39} que por cierta ventana alta del aposento y del tamaño de medio pliego de papel veía siete personas de su misma complicidad, que todas juntas le estaban haciendo gestos suspendidas en el aire, mirando y asistiendo al dicho acto; y habiendo traído allí para verificación de esto otros dos cómplices, dijo la una de su mismo aquellarre que veía las dichas personas—porque la confitente, en su vascuence, se anticipó a prevenirla que así lo dijese, diciéndola: “¡Dí que sí!”—Y queriendo proseguir a traer más, dijeron las dos contestes de éste prodigio que ya se habían desaparecido los cómplices, con que no podría verles nadie.

19. Y en las deposiciones de personas de fuera de la complicidad, uno—varón de más de cuarenta años, de buen natural y cordura—dijo que habría catorce años, que en una noche de verano sosegada /5v/ y clara, viniendo sólo, había visto danzas y bailes, que con grandes regocijos y saltos, traían ciertas personas entre sí, a son de un rabel o instrumento que les tañían, y con ver distintamente las personas y número de ellas, todavía no pudo conocer a ninguno, ni

B 172, F 435,⁷⁸ B 251, E 661, C 45, A 371, A 378, A 380, A 382[r], A 382[v], G 87, G 71, G 11, G 153, y esta última llamase María de Ormaechea y es de edad de 30 años.

^{#39} La cual muchacha se llama María de Larralde, que está en la E 293, y en su proceso todo lo demás que en esta razón se refiere. /3v/

was drawing near to him. As he approached they were hidden from him in a cloud. Astonished and dismayed by what he had seen, he crossed himself, and at the name of Jesus the dance, the people, and the cloud, all disappeared leaving no sign that there had ever been anything there at all.^{#40}

20. Another, a shepherd by occupation and of majority, said that one night six months ago he was in his hut in the fields asleep, when, without perceiving or remembering or knowing quite how, he was borne a bowshot thence to a field. Here he saw many lights and a number of people known to him—he was able to name up to fifteen persons without hesitation—frolicking in the bright light. Amazed at seeing so many people there at such an unlikely hour he began to cross himself and to call on the name of Jesus. Whereupon everything suddenly disappeared without a trace. Such a thing has never happened to him before or since.^{#41}

Neither of these two [witnesses] thought of declaring that it had been an assembly of witches.

21. Another elderly woman, resident of Ezcurra in the mountains of Navarra, claimed to have been carried off to a certain field near the village one summer evening. Here she was made to join a dance led by some neighbours of hers, who were making merry with certain indecent songs (which she repeated naming several people who were present there). As she danced with them the person at her side squeezed her hand in the swirl of the dance. Being thus in pain and astounded by what she was undergoing she crossed herself calling on Jesus, at which everything vanished in the twinkling of an eye including the woman who had taken her thence. She made her way home alone. As I write this the woman [who took her to the gathering] is denounced in the records suspected to be a witch.^{#42} /6r/

22. An elderly man, a witch, said that, as such, he had once violated the host, even though he hastened to add that he had done so by chance and without evil intentions.^{#43} Another old woman says

^{#40} This man is called Francisco Martínez de Aranoz, of forty-three years. His declaration is in volume A, folio 200.

^{#41} Juan de Garaicoechea, of twenty-eight, is the one who relates this. His declaration is in volume A, folio 367.

^{#42} Mariana de Jornarena, of sixty, volume A, folio 13. This woman is called “Ezcura”.

^{#43} Pierres de Argualde, a man of sixty, volume C, folio 381.

al del rabel, que se le acercó más. Y que llegándose a ellos se le escondían en una nube, hasta que admirado y acongojado de ello, santiguándose con decir el nombre de Jesús, se desapareció la danza, gente y nube, sin dejar más rastro que si jamás allí hubiera estado nada de ello.^{#40}

20. Y otro, de oficio pastor mayor, dijo que habría medio año que estando una noche durmiendo en su choza, en el campo—sin sentir ni recordar, ni saber como sería—fue llevado un tiro de ballesta de allí, a un campo donde vio muchas luces y estarse regocijando en aquella claridad muchas personas sus conocidos, de los cuales pudo nombrar hasta quince distintamente, y que en admiración de esto, siendo tan a deshora y de ver allí tanta gente, se comenzó a santiguar diciendo el nombre de Jesús, con que de súbito, se desapareció todo sin quedar nada, ni que antes, ni después de ello, le haya sucedido otra vez.^{#41} Y ninguno de los dos anteriores atinó a certificarse que hubiese sido junta de brujos.

21. Y otra mujer mayor y vieja, vecina de Ezcurra, en las montañas de Navarra, dijo haber sido llevada una tarde de verano—antes de anochecer—a cierto campo cerca del lugar, donde la entraron en una danza que traían otros vecinos suyos—regocijándose con ciertos cantares deshonestos, que refirió nombrando algunas personas que allí estaban—y que bailando con ellas en la bulla y danza, porque le apretó la mano la persona que cayó a su lado—por el dolor de esto y admiración del caso—se santiguó diciendo el nombre de Jesús, con que de súbito se desapareció todo y la mujer que allá le había llevado, y se volvió sola a su casa. Y esta mujer está notada de bruja en estos tiempos que se trata de ello.^{#42} /6r/

22. Y un varón mayor, brujo, dijo haber ultrajado, una vez, las especies del Santísimo Sacramento, siendo brujo, y aunque se redujo haberlo hecho casualmente, sin ánimo depravado.^{#43} Otra mujer vieja

^{#40} Este se llama Francisco Martínez de Aranz, de edad de cuarentaitres años, en la A 200.

^{#41} Juan de Garaicoechea, de edad de veintiocho años, es el que refiere esto y está en A 367.

^{#42} Mariana de Jorarena, de sesenta años, que está en la A 13. Se llama ésta “Ezcura”.

^{#43} Pierres de Argualde, hombre de sesenta años, que está en la C 381.

that on the Devil's orders she kept back the Consecrated Host after receiving Holy Communion. On two or three occasions she delivered it into the hands of the Devil during the *aquelarre*. On none of these occasions did she know what he afterwards did with the Holy Sacrament, nor for what purpose he had sought it.^{#44}

23. Many others of tender years say that when watching over the toads with the rods they on occasions stoned some of them to death for being restless.^{#45} However, this is quite incompatible with the deep rooted belief that the toads put into the keeping of the children were demons.

24. Also there are many of all ages who, on being asked about the meals or food which the witches eat at the *aquelarre*, say that when they reached out for the food it would vanish into the thin air just as the money which appeared there likewise dissolved away. Thus no food or money has ever been seen and nobody, apart from the witches, has yet come forward who has actually seen such food or money.⁺

Third article.

Of the *actos positivos* or external proofs which we have endeavoured to substantiate.

- *10 25. Only the most representative acts [of witchcraft] deducible from all the confessions have been selected for examination in this article, leaving the rest aside to be revealed on examination of the original records.

^{#44} Graciana de Azpilcueta, a woman of sixty, volume B, folio 403.

^{#45} Juanes, the blacksmith's son, ten years, volume H, folio 132, and Estevania de Zalderi, of ten, in H 133, stated this. Moreover, Martín de Sastrearena, of eighty, volume H, folio 134; his declaration is filed together with the children who stated they stoned the toads to death at the *aquelarre*.

⁺ María de Jaureguía, of seventy, B 499; Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391; María Serauren, G 41; María de Alsuetá, G 302; and María de Peña, F 77, say this about the food and money. It can also be gathered from those who were questioned about the sites [of the sabbats]: in Sumbilla, volume A, folio 463; in Donamaría, volume A, folio 465; and in Alzate, volume A, folio 466. As for the second and fourth witness in Sumbilla, see volume A, folio 464.

¹¹ *Marginal note*: This sign follows gloss 45.

dice que por mandado del Demonio, reservó, cuando comulgaba, la hostia consagrada, y que se la entregó en sus manos dos o tres veces al Demonio estando en los aquelarres, aunque en ninguna de ellas supo lo que después hizo del Santísimo Sacramento, ni para qué efecto se le había pedido.^{#44}

23. Y otros muchos de poca edad, dicen que cuando guardaron los sapos, con las varillas, solían matar con piedras algunos de los tales sapos que andaban inquietos,^{#45} cosa bien incompatible con la tradición de estas cosas, tan asentada de que fuesen demonios los que allí traen a cargo los muchachos.

24. Y también hay muchos de todas edades que, preguntados de las comidas y viandas que allá tenían los brujos, dicen que, cuando las iban a tomar, se les hacía aire, como también, el dinero que allí andaba se deshacía; sin haber jamás vianda, ni dinero que fuese perceptible,⁺ como tampoco se ha hallado persona de fuera de los dichos brujos que jamás haya topado ni visto tal vianda, ni dinero en ninguna parte.

Artículo tercero.

De los actos positivos y verificaciones exteriores de estas cosas que se han procurado comprobar.

- *10 25. De los cuales actos, solamente se han escogido los que más derechamente se han coligido de las confesiones de todos, reservando los demás para lo que manifestaren los mismos papeles.

^{#44} Graciana de Azpilcueta, mujer de sesenta, está en la B 403.

^{#45} Juanes, hijo del herrero, de edad de diez años, que está en la H 132, y Estevania de Zalderi, de diez años, en la H 133, y Martín de Sastrearena, de ochenta años, en la H 134, con los niños que dijeron haber muerto sapos a pedradas en el aquelarre.

⁺ María de Jaureguia, de setenta años, que está en la B 499, y Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391, y María Serauren, en la G 41, y María de Alsueta, G 302, y María de Peña, en la F 77, dicen esto de la comida y del dinero; y también se colige de otras que para los puestos fueron examinadas: en Sumbilla, A 463, en Donamaría, A 465, Alzate, A 466; a donde el 3° y 4° testigo en Sumbilla, [véase] A 464[r-v].

^P *Nota marginal*: Esta señal se sigue después del número 45.

*11 María de Echevarría, alias Zunda, resident of Oronoz and eighty years of age (referred to as number six [in the survey] of the relapsed), made full confession, showing by her heartfelt contrition /6v/ and unceasing tears her genuine desire to heal her soul, for which she turned to the Holy Office. She said that while asleep, not knowing how, and entirely against her consent, she was taken to the *aquelarre* every night, including the preceding one. She affirmed that she woke up on the way and returned awake, although nobody ever met her or saw her leaving or returning, not even an elderly daughter who slept in the same bed and was a witch belonging to the same coven. And basing ourselves on the interview and lengthy debate held with her by all the friars in the chamber and in my presence, we all concluded that what this good woman was confessing about her witchcraft was, without doubt, nothing but a dream; and consequently all what she now adds in the case of her relapse may be taken as such. Many others made the same phenomenon clear, namely that their witchcraft had taken place in their dreams, as will be seen from the tenor of their confessions.⊠¹²

26. As to the previously mentioned case of María Larralde of fifteen—the girl who saw various accomplices through the window of the audience chamber—except for her companion, all the other witches questioned replied, as has been said, that they saw no more than we who were present. There is only the ludicrous impossibility that all seven witches managed to be, as she assumed, suspended in mid-air in a space where there was scarcely room for the head of one person alone.^{#46}

27. The other three defendants who on a different occasion^{#47} said that the Devil and their mistress came upon them in the very audience chamber and threatened them with torments preventing them from speaking the truth, were likewise unable to give tangible proofs. Therefore their story appeared to everyone to be as illusory as the former.

⊠ This María de Echevarría of eighty is in E 9. Another four who were shown to have undergone these experiences in their dreams are: Catalina de Soraburu, G 166; Catalina de Pérez de Reina, G 256; María de Oteiza, G 336; Francisca González, G 370.

^{#46} All of which is recorded in the trial of María de Larralde, E 293.

^{#47} The said three persons are referred to above in gloss 37.

¹² *Marginal note:* This sign follows gloss 45.

*11 María de Echevarría, alias Zunda, vecina de Oronoz, de edad de ochenta años, referida en el número 6 de las relapsas, que hizo muy copiosamente sus confesiones y significó con gran dolor /6v/ de corazón y continuas lágrimas, entrañable deseo de remediar su alma como lo esperaba de mano del Santo Oficio; y dijo que en durmiendo sin saber cómo ni consentir en ello, sino antes contra toda su voluntad, era llevada al aquelarre continuamente todas las noches y también la próxima precedente, y que recordaba en el camino y volvía despierta, aunque nunca la topó ni vio jamás nadie a la salida ni vuelta, ni aún cierta hija suya mayor, bruja del mismo aquelarre, que dormía en su propia cama. Y tomando por comprobación de este acto la conferencia y larga disputa que, en mi presencia, tuvieron todos los religiosos en la Sala, tuvimos todos por cierto que notoriamente era sueño cuanto confesaba de su brujería esta buena mujer; y por consiguiente, también lo será lo que ahora añade en su relapsa. Y otras muchas manifestaron lo mismo, de haber sido ensueño su brujería, conforme al tenor de sus confesiones.⌘^q

26. Que lo referido de María de Larralde, de quince años, que en la Sala vio por la ventana algunos cómplices, siendo examinados otros brujos como se ha dicho, respondieron todos excepto su compañera, que no veían de ello más que los que estuvimos presentes, sino la imposibilidad o cosa de juego en poder estar, como ella presuponia, sostenidos en el aire todos siete brujos, en espacio donde escasamente cabía la cabeza de uno sólo.^{#46}

27. Y otras tres, en diferente ocasión,^{#47} que en la misma Sala dijeron haberles sobrevenido allí el Demonio y su maestra, y que amenazándoles con tormentos, no les dejaban decir la verdad, tampoco atinaron a dar prendas o señales con que dejase de parecer a todos esto tan ilusorio como lo precedente.

⌘ Esta María de Echevarría, de ochenta años, está en la E 9, y otras cuatro que mostraron haber pasado en sueño estos actos son Catalina de Soraburu, G 166, Catalina Pérez de Reina, G 256, María de Oteiza, G 336, Francisca González, G 370.

^{#46} Todo lo cual está en el proceso de María de Larralde, en la E 293.

^{#47} Las cuales tres personas están referidas supra en la glosa 37.

^q *Nota marginal*: Este señal se sigue después del número 45.

28. Also Martín de Errazuri, fourteen years old, said that while in Elizondo waiting to be reconciled, his accomplices took him away in the middle of the day to the sabbat, two leagues from there. His companions, however, on being examined as witnesses denied everything, declaring that they had not **/7r/** parted from nor lost sight of him for a single instant.^{#48}

29. Catalina de Sastrearena, a girl of eighteen years, stated likewise that she had been carried off while awaiting reconciliation, but again the witnesses declared that they had been talking all the time and even eating with her without detecting any difference at all in her person throughout the whole time she claimed to be absent.^{#49}

30. Because the same Catalina de Sastrearena also declared that when she came to be reconciled certain fellow witches, accompanied her through the air, one of her companions and accomplices, the only one who could have witnessed this, was examined. She answered that having thought it over it seemed nonsense to her as she did not see anybody.^{#50}

31. Catalina de Lizardi, a girl of seventeen from Vera, confessed to having had sexual intercourse with the Devil frequently. On one occasion he drew forth such a flow of blood that she saw it gush forth and spill on the ground. Next day out of curiosity she returned to see the spot where the blood had been spilt and found no stain nor any vestige to show that it had ever fallen there. However, a certain Juana de Miguelena together with two others were far more plausible in the matter of the bloodstains on their shifts after such intercourse with the Devil. They explained that before this took place their mistresses had clothed each one in a shift which was afterwards removed.^{#51}

^{#48} This Martín de Errazuri is in volume E, folio 361, and his three companions, all of his age, against whose evidence his alibi was tested, are C 205, E 185 and E 311. **/4r/**

^{#49} They are all recorded in the file of Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391.

^{#50} This woman is called María Gorriti and her declaration is recorded in the file of the said Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391.

^{#51} The case of the said Catalina de Lizardi is in volume D, folio 184; the record of Juana de Miguelena of nineteen, also referred to in this paragraph, is in volume B, folio 603.

28. Que también Martín de Errazuri, de catorce años, dijo que estando en Elizondo, esperando a ser reconciliado, le llevaron sus cómplices al aquelarre, a medio día, dos leguas de allí. Y examinados sus compañeros cómplices como contestes, lo negaron todo con certificación de que no se habían **/7r/** apartado de él un punto ni perdido de vista.^{#48}

29. Y a este modo, Catalina de Sastrearena, moza de dieciocho años, que también dijo haber sido llevada cuando esperaba su reconciliación, dijeron los contestes haber estado continuamente hablando y aun comiendo con ella todo el rato que suponía de ausencia, sin haberle conocido entonces diferencia ninguna en su persona.^{#49}

30. Y porque la misma sobredicha también declaró que, cuando venía a ser reconciliada, la seguían por el aire ciertos cómplices brujos; examinada una compañera cómplice, que sólo pudo ser conteste, dijo que habiendo mirado en ello, le pareció desatino, porque ella no vio a nadie.^{#50}

31. Catalina de Lizardi, moza de diecisiete años, natural de Vera, que confesó haber tenido muchas veces con el Demonio ayuntamiento carnal, y que habiéndole sacado una vez tanta copia de sangre que la vio caída y derramada en el suelo, por su curiosidad volvió otro día a mirar el puesto y parte donde había caído la dicha sangre, y que no halló rastro ni mancha que diese muestra de haber caído allí jamás; aunque otra, Juana de Miguelena, y otras dos sin ella, salieron mejor de esta mancha de sangre, que les cayó en las camisas del tal ayuntamiento con el Demonio, con decir que para tenerle, les habían vestido sus maestras, a cada una respectivamente, una camisa y que, en acabando, se la volvía a quitar.^{#51}

^{#48} El cual dicho Martín de Errazuri está en la E 361, y los tres compañeros con quien se probó la coartada, todos de su edad, están en la C 205, E 185, E 311. **/4r/**

^{#49} Están todos en el proceso de Catalina de Sastrearena, en la E 391.

^{#50} Esta se llama María Gorriti^r que está en el proceso de la dicha Catalina de Sastrearena, en la E 391.

^{#51} La causa de la dicha Catalina de Lizardi está en la D 184, y el proceso de Juana de Miguelena, de diecinueve años, que va también referida en esta glosa, está en la B 603.

^r Ms.: Guirriti.

32. The same Catalina de Lizardi claimed that after copulation she had remained a virgin,^{#52} and an old woman claimed the same of herself.^{#53} The fact of virginity was also confirmed for several girls who were inspected by matrons, although, for the sake of decency and because this was done without my authorisation, it was not written down nor was a judicial record made out of it. *17v*

33. In the aforesaid town of Santesteban a large number of boys and girls, all under age, said that on St. Johns's Eve they were present at a huge sabbat which was made all the more solemn by my presence there on the visitation. Since by chance the *licenciados* Luis de Huerta y Rojas and Francisco de Peralta—my two secretaries—happened to be at that time on the very same spot of the *aquelarre*, they could vouch that there was no such thing, not could it have been humanly possible for a single person to have concealed himself from them.^{#54}

*12 34. Catalina de Echevarría, an old woman who was reconciled at the Tribunal in Logroño, said in her confessions that when she became a witch the Devil removed three toes from her left foot. Yet witnesses and people from her house, on being examined, declared that she had lacked those toes since infancy. This she herself admitted afterwards on revoking her confessions, and went on to state that all had been invention and falsehood on her part.^{#55}

^{#52} In the said record D 184.

^{#53} This old woman of seventy is called Mari Martín de Illarra, D 440.

^{#54} Especially Ana de Olite whose declaration is in volume A, folio 84; Juana de Xubil and María de Arráyo, in the same folio; Magdalena de Oiz and Juanes de Santesteban, folio 85; Martín de Alcoz and Tomás de Jaunaraz, folio 86; Martín de Saldías, folio 87; Juanes de Baztán and Graciana de Zubieta, folio 88, Mari Sáenz, María Ancochela and Catalina de Valencia, folio 89—all in the said volume A. Many others who said the same are not referred to, as it does not seem necessary. The said testimony [of the secretaries] is in volume A, folio 297.

^{#55} The revocation of the said Catalina de Echevarría is in F 353,⁷⁹ and what is mentioned there has been related in full in the summary of her case along with the other revocantes [in the special report on this group, cf. above, n. °70].

⁷⁹ The revocation of Catalina de Echevarría (case no. 493) is found in *Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 353r–357v.

32. La misma Catalina de Lizardi dijo que, después de las dichas cópulas, había quedado doncella,^{#52} y lo mismo dijo de sí otra vieja, que también ella lo había quedado.^{#53} Y por experiencia e inspección de matronas, se verificó esto mismo de algunas muchachas, aunque por la decencia del caso y haberse hecho sin mi orden, se dejó de escribir ni hacer auto judicial de ello. /7v/

33. En la dicha villa de Santesteban, dijeron gran número de muchachos menores de edad, que se habían hallado la noche de San Juan en un copioso aquelarre de brujos, que hicieron entonces más solemne, estando yo allí en la visita, y porque casualmente, el licenciado Luis de Huerta y Rojas y Francisco de Peralta—los dos secretarios que asistían en ella—se hallaron entonces en el mismo puesto y parte del tal aquelarre, certificaron no haber habido cosa alguna que fuese o pareciese de este género, ni tampoco fuera posible humanamente esconderse allá una sólo persona.^{#54}

*12 34. Catalina de Echevarría, mujer vieja, que fue reconciliada en el Tribunal de Logroño, dijo en sus confesiones haberle quitado el Demonio tres dedos del pie izquierdo cuando comenzó a ser bruja, que fue en aquel tiempo; y examinados los contestes de ello y personas de su casa, declararon que toda su vida, desde su niñez, le faltaron aquellos dedos, como también ella misma, después, revocando sus confesiones, dijo que todo había sido embuste y falsedad suya.^{#55}

^{#52} Está en el dicho proceso D 184.

^{#53} Llámase esta vieja Mari Martín de Illara, mujer de setenta años, que está en la D 440.

^{#54} Especialmente Ana de Olite, que está en el volumen A, folio 84, Juana de Xubil y María de Arráyo, en el mismo folio; Magdalena de Oíz y Juanes de Santesteban, 85; Martín de Alcoz y Tomás de Jaunaraz, 86; Martín de Saldías, 87; Juanes de Bastán y Graciana de Zubieta, 88, Mari Sáenz, Mariana Ancochela y Catalina de Valencia, folio 89—todos en el dicho volumen A. Y no se refieren otros muchos que dijeron lo mismo, por no parecer necesario. Y el dicho testimonio [de los secretarios] está en la A, folio 297.

^{#55} La revocación de la dicha Catalina de Echevarría está en la F 353,^{s 79} y en la relación de su causa con los demás revocantes, se refiere por exstenson lo que aquí va apuntado [cf. arriba, nota °70].

^s Ms.: F 253, error por F 353.

- *13 35. María de Odia, an old woman of sixty, declared that—among the injuries she had inflicted as a witch—she had administered certain powders concocted by her evil arts to Juanes de Odia, a resident of Zugarramurdi, designed to kill him before he had time to declare to the Holy Office against her and all her accomplices. Yet from the papers of his trial it appears that he was imprisoned much after that event. After ten months in prison he sickened with an illness declared to be a fever and from this he died without any suspicion of foul play, as can be inferred from the declaration of the doctors who visited him at that time.^{#56}
- *14 36. María de Aranzate—who in the Holy Office confessed that she had been made a witch and that to fetch her away to the sabbats they took her from her bed after she had fallen asleep—declared that her mother with whom **/8r/** she shared the same bad, had felt her comings and goings. But her mother, called María de Echeverría, on being examined as a witness, said that in spite of her curiosity and vigilance she had never felt any such thing.*
- *13
- *15 37. María de Tanborín Jarra, a girl of sixteen reconciled during the visitation, said in a confession after her relapse, that she had been taken two or three times after being released by the Holy Office. She had been pulled out of the bed where she slept with her mother so that her mother could not but notice it. Examined as a witness, the mother said that she had heard her daughter remark that when her mistress brought her back from the sabbat she was wide awake. Eager to check this and to know how it came about, apart from the fact that they slept in the same bed, she tied herself to her daughter's body and kept her hand on the reliquary at her throat so as to notice when the transfer took place. Yet in spite of all this, she never saw or felt anything at all, even though the next morning the daughter on awakening related how she had been to the *aquejarre*.^{#57}

^{#56} This María de Odia has her file in volume C, folio 697. As for the trial of Juanes de Odia he appears to have been eleven months in the secret prison [of the Tribunal] and there is no evidence from his record that there were any signs of his death having been violent or unnatural.

* The testimony of this María de Echeverría is in volume A, folio 63.

^{#57} In the file of this María de Tanborín Jarra, C 365, are contained all the verifications and reports of this. **/4v/**

¹³ *Marginal note:* This star follows gloss 56.

- *13 35. María de Odia—mujer vieja de sesenta años—en los daños que declaró haber hecho como bruja, dijo también que dio a Juanes de Odia, vecino de Zugarramurdi, ciertos polvos de su brujería y maleficio con que matarle luego, antes que tuviera lugar de manifestar y declarar a la sobredicha, ni a otros cómplices sus conjuntos, en el Santo Oficio. Y parece, por los autos de su proceso, que todavía fue preso después, y que, habiendo estado diez meses en las cárceles, al cabo, le sobrevino una enfermedad declarada de calenturas, de que vino a morir sin otra sospecha de accidente, cual se colige del dicho de los médicos que entonces le visitaron.^{#56}
- *14 36. María de Aranzate—que en el Santo Oficio confesó haber sido embrujada, y que para llevarla a los aquelarres la sacaban de su cama después de acostada y dormida—significó que su madre, con quien **/8r/** dormía juntas en una cama, habría sentido sus salidas o vueltas, y examinada por conteste su madre, llamada María de Echevarría, dijo que habiendo puesto en ello toda curiosidad y cuidado, jamás sintió tal.*
- *15 37. María de Tanborin Jarra, moza de dieciseis años, reconciliada en la visita, confesando después cierta relapsía, dijo haber sido llevada desde que fue despachada, dos o tres veces, sacándola de la cama donde dormía en compañía de su madre, de suerte que la dicha su madre lo sintió notoriamente; y examinada [ésta] por conteste, dijo haberla oído decir que, cuando así volvía del aquelarre, la traía su maestra despierta. Y que deseando verificarlo y saber cómo esto pasaba, demás de tenerla en su cama junta consigo, se ataba también con ella al cuerpo, y la tenía hechada la mano a las reliquias de la garganta, para sentirla cuando el caso sucediese, y que con todo esto no vio jamás, ni sintió cosa alguna, sino que a la mañana, en recordando, la contaba cómo había ido y estado allá etc.^{#57}

^{#56} Esta María de Odia tiene su proceso en la C 697, y del proceso de Juanes de Odia, parece haber estado once meses en las cárceles secretas y que no consta en él haber habido en su muerte señales de haber sido violenta ni ayudada.

* La testificación de esta María de Echeverría está en la A 63.

^{#57} En el proceso de esta María de Tanborín Jarra, que está en la C 365, se contienen todas las verificaciones y relaciones de esta glosa. **/4v/**

^t *Nota marginal:* Esta estrella se sigue después del número 56.

*16 38. Prompted by a similar curiosity, Martín de Jalinena (from Vera and scarcely old enough to be reconciled) arranged with an uncle who shared the same bed with him, that at least he would let him know when he returned, for they used to bring him back awake. On being questioned, the uncle stated that, for all his foresight and despite the fact that they shared the same bed, he had never noticed anything. On the contrary, when on several occasions he saw the nephew asleep at his side he woke him up, whereupon the boy said he had just at that very moment returned awake from the sabbat. At other times the boy explained that as a precaution against proof, the Devil at the sabbat had maliciously ordered his master to return him to his bed asleep so that he should not fulfil the promise he had made to his uncle.^{#58}

39. Francisco de Echeverría, eleven years and also from Vera, stated that lying awake in his bed in the first watch of the night, he had been taken out and carried a great distance thence through the air, he knew not by whom. He cited as a witness a man who happened to be with him at **/8v/** the time. The man when questioned denied all this.^{#59}

40. The aforesaid Catalina de Lizardi from Vera (on certain questions being put to her, after she had been reconciled, in order to identify the sites and places where the *aquejarres* were held) added to her confession that one night several noises and disturbances had been heard in her street at an untimely hour. They thought these were connected with a sabbat of witches. Three witnesses all denied it when questioned. Incidentally, they told of another occasion where, in the first watch of the night, two tall and hideous figures had been seen in a field, filling with horror and alarm two people who at the same moment happened to be together nearby.^{#60}

*17 41. María de Ormaechea, over twenty-five, stated that, since she wanted to escape going to the *aquejarres*, certain accomplices strove to overcome her one night. They pulled her from her bed to bear her thence and her master heard them talking from an adjoining

^{#58} In the file of Martín de Jalinena, D 239, can be found also the examination of his uncle.

^{#59} The investigations carried out with this Francisco de Echeverría are in volume H, folio 248, together with all the verifications.

^{#60} This declaration of Catalina de Lizardi is in volume A, folio 473, and her co-witnesses further on in the same volume A, folio 475.

*16 38. Y con otra tal curiosidad, Martín de Jalinena—natural de Vera, que escasamente tuvo edad de poder ser reconciliado—concertó con un tío que le acostaba consigo en la cama, que por lo menos a la vuelta (que le traían despierto) le avisaría. Y examinado el dicho tío, dijo que, con toda esta prevención y habiéndole tenido en su cama, no le había sentido jamás, sino que así durmiendo a su lado, cuando algunas veces le recordaba, decía el dicho muchacho que entonces acababa de venir despierto del aquelarre, y el muchacho se excusó otras veces, diciendo que para cautelarlos sin que se pudiese verificar, había mandado después maliciosamente el Demonio en el aquelarre, a su maestro, que le volviese dormido para que no cumplierse la promesa que había hecho a su tío.^{#58}

39. Francisco de Echeverría, de once años, también natural de Vera, dijo que estando una noche recordando en su cama a prima noche, había sido sacado de ella por el aire y llevádole un gran trecho de allí, no sabía quien, de que dio por conteste a un hombre, que con él se halló **/8v/** entonces, el cual, siendo examinado, lo negó.^{#59}

40. La dicha Catalina de Lizardi, natural de Vera, en ciertas preguntas que después de reconciliada se le hicieron para verificación de los sitios y puestos de aquelarres, añadió a sus confesiones, que una noche habían sentido algunos ruidos y alborotos en su calle, a deshora, que creyeron fuesen de aquelarre o de brujería; y siendo examinados tres contestes de ello lo negaron todos. Y accesoriamente, dijeron de otra ocasión diferente, donde habían visto en el campo, a prima noche, dos figuras altas y disformes, que les causó horror y desmayo a dos personas que allí cerca se hallaron juntas entonces.^{#60}

*17 41. María de Ormaechea, de más de veinticinco años, dijo que deseando retirarse para no volver a los aquelarres, una noche, que desde su cama la conquistaban y sonsacaban ciertos cómplices para

^{#58} En el proceso de este Martín de Jalinena, que está en la D 239, también se contiene el examen y verificación de su tío.

^{#59} Los autos que se hicieron con este Francisco de Echeverría están en la H 248, y allí todas sus comprobaciones.

^{#60} La cual declaración de Catalina de Lizardi está en la A 473, y sus contestes adelante en la misma A 475.

room. However, on being questioned, the said master denied it absolutely, declaring that he had never noticed such an event nor any sign of it.^{#61}

*18 42. Catalina de Echetoa, a girl of fourteen from Zugarramurdi, declared on being tried for relapse, that after her reconciliation she had been taken various times to the *aquejarre* against her will and that only the night before she had been in the field of Berroscoberro^{*80} where she had seen a vast horde of witches taking part in endless dances and frolics near the cross which stands there. Her younger sister, María de Echeto, bore witness to exactly the same. For the verification of this, as I was in Zugarramurdi that day, I went to inspect the grass and conditions of the above-mentioned field with the cross. The secretaries, friars and everyone who accompanied me saw it to be fresh and untrampled without signs of anybody having been there. And one Juanes de Dolagaray, /9r/ an old man of sixty-five, in the confession he made for his reconciliation, referred to a similar sabbat at a different occasion in the village of Irurita.^{#62}

*19 43. Isabel de Castro, a girl of twelve from San Sebastián, stated that she was present in the storm stirred up by the witches upon my arrival and that all the witches thronged around me in the air. On being cross-examined as to the persons who happened to be with me at that time and other such details she failed even to name the mayors who were at my side, let alone anything else. Because this same girl had heard it said that at dawn people had noticed the noise of tumult in a certain street, she went on to claim that it

^{#61} The file of María de Ormaechea is in volume G, folio 153, and this also contains examination of the witness she named.

^{#62} Everything contained in this paragraph and the declarations of both sisters, Catalina and María de Echetoa, are in volume C, folio 643; Juanes de Dolagaray is in volume C, folio 457. Similar results were obtained from the substantiation of facts [in connection with the *aquejarres*] in other places where the statements of the witnesses were likewise disproved according to the examination of three witnesses in Iráizoz, A 457, and other witnesses in Donamaria, A 465. Thus in the *aquejarre* of Zubieta they did not observe the trees and the house which are there [at their meeting place] rather the mountains seemed to them level plains, A 460.

^{*80} There is actually no field of that name in Zugarramurdi (*Toponimia y cartografía de Navarra*, vol. 52,2, Pamplona 1998, "Urdax-Zugarramurdi"). *Berroscoberro* means 'The New Clearing', *i.e.* part of the mountain where the forest has been cleared for cultivating the land (courtesy of Don Jesús Goldaraz, collaborator of the cited work).

llevarla allá, la había oído esta plática su amo de otro aposento cercano; y siendo examinado el tal amo, lo negó de todo punto, diciendo no había sentido tal cosa ni rastro de ella.^{#61}

*18 42. Catalina de Echeto, moza de catorce años, natural de Zugarramurdi, después de ser reconciliada, declaró en su relapsía, haber sido llevada diversas veces al aquelarre contra su voluntad, y que había estado en el campo de Berroscoborro⁸⁰ la noche proxima anterior, donde había visto grande tumulto de brujos, asidos en copiosas danzas y juegos, cerca de la cruz que allí está puesta; y lo mismo dijo y contestó en todo María de Echeto, su hermana menor. Y por parte de verificación, hallándome aquel día en el lugar y mirando la hierba y estancia del campo referido donde está la dicha cruz, la ví yo (y los secretarios, religiosos y demás personas que allí concurrieron) muy entera y fresca, y sin olladura ninguna, sin rastro de que hubiese llegado allí persona. Y de otro tiempo y ocasión, en el lugar de Irurita refirió otro tanto Juanes de Dolagaray, /9r/ hombre viejo de sesentaicinco años, en las confesiones de su reconciliación.^{#62}

*19 43. Isabel de Castro, muchacha de doce años, natural de San Sebastián dijo que se halló en la entrada y tempestad que allí movieron los brujos cuando yo entré, y que todos los brujos en tropel venían por el aire cerca de mi; y siendo repreguntada de las personas que conmigo se hallaron entonces y de otras tales circunstancias, no atinó aún a nombrar los alcaldes que venían a mi lado, ni otra cosa alguna. Y porque la misma oyó decir que en una alboreada habían sentido gran tropel de ruido por cierta calle, dijo le

^{#61} El proceso de esta María de Ormaechea está en G 153, y en él, examinados, los contestes que dió.

^{#62} Todo lo contenido en esta glosa y la declaración de ambas hermanas, Catalina y María de Echeto, está en la C 643, y [la de] Juanes de Dolagaray, [en] C 457. Y en las comprobaciones de actos se verificó y fueron convencidas otras de lo mismo, en el lugar de Iráizoz, por tres testigos, A 457, y en él de Donamaria, con otras, A 465. Y en el aquelarre de Zubieta no veían los árboles y casa que allí hay, antes los montes se les hacían llanos, A 460.

had been made by her and other witches returning at that time with great merriment from an *aquejarre*. However, there were no witnesses, not even from the same coven, nor could anything positive be verified from nine witnesses who were questioned on this point.^{#63}

*20 44. Simona de Gaviria, an old woman from San Sebastián (whose testimony is related in the report of the [ordinary] cases of the visitation), said that being in bed one night, she had seen in her chamber a certain misshapen dog which seemed to her to be a form assumed by some witch, and she took it to be such. When she turned this dog out of the room a man who came in at that moment wounded it with a dart. Afterwards a woman in the neighbourhood, whom she named and who was held to be a witch, complained of a wound at that same time, and people suspected that it had been this woman in the shape of the dog. When witnesses were questioned to substantiate this, nothing certain could be found, neither the man who inflicted the wound, nor the woman they said had been wounded.^{#64}

45. A girl of fourteen said that she had seen a snake come down from the ceiling into a room where a certain /9v/ woman gave it milk (as is also noted among the general testimonies of the visitation). This appeared as an act of witchcraft. The said woman, when examined as a witness in default of others, denied it, and no further proof emerged from this investigation.^{#65}

46. The aforesaid Catalina de Sastrearena (in connection with her statement of having flown through the air to the *aquejarre*) asserted that a figure remained in her place during her absence in order to impersonate her. Her companion, called Mari Gorriti (an elderly woman who had been reconciled, a good *confitente* and of excellent understanding) on being examined as a witness, said that the way in which the said figure impersonated her was so subtle and confusing that although she and others would affirm this phenomenon nobody could vouch for the truth of it.^{#66}

^{#63} The declarations of this Isabel de Castro is in volume A, folio 67, and the witnesses who were examined about the noise in San Sebastián have been noted down in the margin of her confession.

^{#64} The declaration of this Simona de Gaviria is in volume A, folio 75.

^{#65} Lucia de Ciriano, of fourteen, deposed this, volume A, folio 185; the declaration of María de Abechuco who was testified against is in volume A, folio 291.

^{#66} The cross-examination of Mari Gorriti is filed with the case of Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391.

habían hecho ella y otras tales brujas que venían con grande alborozo del aquelarre entonces; de que no hubo contestes, ni aun de la misma complicidad, ni se pudo verificar cosa cierta con nueve testigos que fueron examinados para ello.^{#63}

*20 44. Simona de Gaviria, mujer mayor, vecina de San Sebastián (cuya testificación va referida en la relación de causas de visita), dijo haber visto en su aposento (estando acostada una noche), cierto perro disforme, que le pareció sería figura de alguna bruja y que la tuvo por tal, y que habiéndole así expedido del aposento, un hombre que intervino en ello entonces, hirió al perro con un dardo; y por sentirse también herida al mismo tiempo y ocasión una mujer que nombró de su vecindad, tenida por bruja, sospecharon que hubiese sido la misma en la dicha figura de perro—y procediendo a querer examinar los testigos para su comprobación, no se pudo hallar en ello cosa cierta, ni aun el hombre que hizo la herida, ni tampoco la mujer que decían había estado herida.^{#64}

45. Porque una muchacha de catorce años dijo haber visto bajar del techo una culebra a un aposento, donde le dio leche cierta /9v/ mujer—según va también puesto en las testificaciones generales de visita—cosa que pareció obra de brujería. Examinada como conteste la dicha mujer—por no haber otro—lo negó; sin haber resultado otra comprobación de esta diligencia.^{#65}

46. La dicha Catalina de Sastrearena (en el artículo referido de haber ido al aquelarre por el aire) dijo haber quedado en su lugar una figura que por ella asistiese entre tanto; y examinada por conteste una compañera suya, llamada Mari Gorriti (mujer mayor reconciliada, buena confitente y de muy buen entendimiento) dijo que el modo de quedarse así la dicha figura entre tanto, era tan sutil y confusamente que, aunque ella misma y otras lo afirmaban, ninguna podía certificarlo en toda verdad.^{#66}

^{#63} La declaración de esta Isabel de Castro está en la A 67, y en la margen de su confesión, apuntados los contestes que fueron examinados para el ruido de San Sebastián.

^{#64} Está la declaración de esta Simona de Gaviria en la A 75.

^{#65} Lucía de Ciriano, de catorce años, testificó esto, A 185; y María de Abechuco, que está testificada, está en la A 291.

^{#66} La cual Mari Gorriti fue examinada en la causa de Catalina de Sastrearena, en la E 391.

47. In the case of Mari Cruz de Murguía—who was accused of having entered a monastery cell one night in person to carry out the punishment and revenge which she later confessed to Doña Francisca de Alava, the nun who denounced her—I have not found satisfactory proof of this happening. On the contrary, my suspicions were aroused by the fact that Doña Francisca de Alava has already been recorded for having had other visions, while the said Mari Cruz is considered to be a person of sober habits and an upright life against whom no suspicion of this sort has ever been entertained before now.^{#67}

*21 48. With regard to the investigations carried out in the town of Leiza as a result of the deaths of two infants, the many signs and circumstances had caused a widespread suspicion that this had been brought about by evil arts. However, nothing further could be established other than that which is reported on the findings of the commissioner in the general testimonies [of the visitation].^{#68}

49. To substantiate the sites where the *aquejarres* and assemblies of the witches were normally held, thirty-six persons **/10r/** from nine *aquejarres* were examined (each one separately and in accordance with the instructions of Your Eminence). All failed, however, to give information that was even intelligible. Some of them, through ignorance or feigned simplicity, replied that they hardly knew anything about it. Others contradicting what they had stated in their [previous] confessions were unable to give a satisfactory explanation nor to answer the eight set questions concerning these matters. The result of the examinations of the nine covens is that many failed to agree as to the site [of the sabbat] or as to what went on there—except for the examinations carried out in the towns of Vera and Ciga, as may be seen in the records and investigations taken down summarily. (Although the records themselves are brief a survey of all these investigations has been set down in a separate report, so as not to cause further fatigue by introducing into these pages matters outside our immediate concern.)^{#69}

^{#67} The testimonies of Doña Francisca de Alava are in A 264, 267, 271, 274.

^{#68} The investigations about these children of Leiza are in volume A, folios 351, 355, 361.

^{#69} The files on all these investigations made to verify **/5r/** the sites of the *aquejarres* have all been put together in volume A, folio 453.

47. Y de Mari Cruz de Murguía—también testificada de haber entrado personalmente una noche en cierta celda y hecho los castigos y venganza que después confesó a doña Francisca de Alava, monja que la testificó—no se han topado comprobaciones de provecho, sino antes bien en lugar de ellas la sospecha que proceda de estar testificada de otras revelaciones la dicha doña Francisca de Alava, y de que la dicha Mari Cruz es tenida por persona de buena vida y cordura, de quien jamás se sospechó cosa alguna de este género antes de esta ocasión.^{#67}

*21 48. Y de la otra aclamación que hubo en la villa de Leiza, por las muertes de dos criaturas que allí sucedieron, con grandes muestras y común sospecha que hubiese sido por maleficios de brujas, tampoco se pudo aclarar más de lo que va referido por diligencia del comisario en las mismas testificaciones generales [de la visita].^{#68}

49. Y en cuanto a los puestos y sitios, donde comúnmente solían ser los aquelarres y juntas de dichos brujos, tampoco dieron noticia, ni aun claridad bastante, las treintaseis personas /10r/ de nueve aquelarres que para esta comprobación fueron examinadas distinta y separadamente conforme al mandato de Vuestra Alteza, pues algunos de ellos, con ignorancia o rusticidad fingida, respondieron que casi no sabían nada de ello. Y otros, contradiciéndose a lo que en sus confesiones habían dicho, tampoco atinaron a declararse ni responder a ocho artículos de preguntas que para esto iban apuntadas—de suerte que, en ninguno de todos los nueve aquelarres, vinieron a contestar en un mismo lugar, puesto y actos de él—excepto en las villas de Vera y Ciga, cual parece de los autos y diligencias que en ello se hicieron sumariamente, y con ser tan sumarios todavía van puestos en relación [aparte], solamente por no cansar más, dilatando este papel a lo que parece de otra especie.^{#69}

^{#67} Las testificaciones de doña Francisca de Alava están en la A 264, 267, 271, 274.

^{#68} Los autos de estas criaturas de Leiza están en la A 351, 355, 361.

^{#69} Los autos de todas estas diligencias hechas para comprobación de /5r/ los aquelarres se han puesto todos juntos en el volumen A 453.

50. Our investigation into the potions, powders and ointments of witchcraft, which many accomplices claim they have employed to inflict damages or to anoint themselves with before setting out to the sabbat, have up to now on the basis of their testimonies revealed nothing. Nor have we come across anything to convince us of the existence of these ointments, nor the remains of any such things, but rather the opposite. Every one of the twenty-two pots produced in the course of the visitation have been revealed as false, faked and fraudulent. They were only made by people who were forced to fabricate these things to avoid the troubles and vexations—(just as the *revocantes* fabricated their confessions about their being witches, subsequently shown to be false)—employing means so devious and ridiculous that they would seem to merit nothing more than mockery and laughter.

The opinion of the doctors and apothecaries, and the outcome of the experiments they have made in these matters, point to the same conclusion: for after feeding the potions to numerous animals they realized /10v/ they were quite ineffectual in this sense, as the health of not a single animal was threatened nor did any suffer harm through these experiment. This conclusion was reinforced by the result of a more daring experiment in which a woman generally reputed to be a witch, according to the information of the children, was made to eat the potions in public. She did this without feeling any ill-effect nor being endangered. All of this has been recorded clearly in special reports^{#70} and a survey has been set down in a separate paper similar to the report I mentioned in the previous paragraph. Therefore I will not enlarge on this matter.

51. To all these experiments might well be added the testimony I can make on the basis of my own experience and that of my family. We have, through God's Grace, emerged unscathed by all the threats and palpable harm that the witches claimed to have inflicted upon us. All turned out to be as unfounded as the illnesses thought to be caused by witchcraft which were suspected to have befallen a maid at my house in this city [of Logroño].^{°81}

^{#70} All the enquiries which were made for the verification of the pots as well as the proofs and experiments are gathered together in volume A, folio 410.

^{°81} Compare doc. 12.16 where Salazar with great sarcasm tells of other attempts launched by the witches against his person.

50. En los potajes e ungüentos y polvos de brujería—de que han dicho que usaban muchos cómplices para hacer daños, o para untarse cuando salían a los aquelarres—prosiguiendo otra tal diligencia, por el tenor de sus testificaciones no se halló, ni ha parecido hasta la hora presente, cosa cierta y verdadera de este caso, ni polvos, ungüentos o despojos de tal género por ninguna vía, sino antes bien, de veintidós ollas que en toda la visita se manifestaron, han salido al cabo todas ellas, y cada una de por sí inciertas, simuladas y fingidas, como en efecto hechas solamente para evadir las molestias y vejaciones con que les obligaban a fingir falsamente éstas, como las mismas confesiones en que se levantaron los revocantes haber sido brujos sin serlo, haciendo esta ficción por modos tan rateros y ridículos que parecen todos de sola irrisión y mofa del caso.

Y a lo mismo también ha salido lo que resultó del parecer de médicos y boticarios y examen y experiencia que en ello han hecho, y dando también a comer de ello a muchos animales, lo vinieron a conocer /10v/ por cosa vana cuanto al punto que se buscaba, sin haber peligrado, ni aun recibido perjuicio animal ninguno en estas experiencias, antes las esforzó todas otra mayor de una mujer (que [es] tenida y reputada públicamente por bruja con tradición y noticia de los muchachos), [la cual] lo comió públicamente sin haber peligrado ni recibido mal ninguno, como también se ha puesto todo distintamente en otros tales autos [separados] y otra tal relación distinta, como se dijo en el capítulo precedente, y así se dejaron de extender más en éste.^{#70}

51. Y bien se llega a todas estas experiencias, la que puedo certificar de mi persona y familia,^{#81} con haber salido, mediante Dios, tan libre de cuantas amenazas y daños palpables dijeron que me habían hecho, saliendo todas tan en vago como las enfermedades de brujería que parece se sospechaban de una criada de mi casa en esta ciudad.

^{#70} Todos los autos que se hicieron para verificación de las ollas y sus comprobaciones y experiencias están recojidos juntamente en el volumen A, foja 410.

I will forbear to mention today many other facts which I gathered by word of mouth during my investigations because I shall never succeed to express them in the way I perceived them there. I hope, however, that the same facts together with more important matters will be made clear by perusal of the original papers.

Fourth article.

Of the evidence which might result from the above
and serve to convict the guilty.

52. In this fourth and final article, concerning the proofs of guilt which emerge from all the testimony recorded against other accomplices during the visitation in accordance with the Edict of Grace, further consideration is unnecessary after what has been said already since all misgivings on this point have been allayed. For if we accept the truth of the semblances and metamorphosis which the witnesses claim /11r/ that the Devil has effected, the trustworthiness of the witnesses' statements has been vitiated in advance.

That is to say, first the Devil wants to mislead us into thinking that the body of the witch, who is apparently present before the witness, is a counterfeit of the real person who has gone in the meantime to attend the sabbat. Secondly, that witches can pass in front of and approach the witnesses, being invisible when they thus pass through the air before them. In both cases the witness is deprived of the ability to discern the truth, if he relies, as he ought, solely on what he can perceive by his senses.

These arguments of course become superfluous if one accepts the first explanation dealt with in article I [doc. 12.9] namely, that only the witch is lying, having been deluded by the Devil in the furthering of his sinister and evil purposes. For it is more logical to assume falsehood on the part of the witness than to assume the guilt of the witnessed against. Against the former we already have a confession to the effect that he or she deals with the Devil; against the latter there is only the testimony that the witch has come up with.

53. Consequently, it seems more reasonable for us, who are not personally involved, to think that all the witnesses deceive themselves when they say that they went to the sabbat and returned from it awake and in person. For we cannot accept the witnesses' claim that we were all deceived in assuming the person with whom we were

Hoy dejo de poner otras muchas acciones que colegí de palabra prosiguiendo estos negocios, porque no atinaré a significarlas como allá se percibían, y espero que se manifestarán las mismas y otras mayores viendo los papeles originales.

Artículo cuarto.

De las testificaciones o probanza que podría resultar de todo lo sobredicho para castigar a los culpados.

52. Y en este cuarto y final artículo de la culpa, que por la testificación puede resultar averiguada de todo lo que se ha procesado y escrito en esta visita contra otros cómplices en cumplimiento del Edicto de Gracia, aunque tras lo precedente no fueran menester más ponderaciones, habiendo satisfecho con ello cualquier especulación de este punto. Pues siendo ciertas las apariencias y metamorforsios [*sic*] que dicen ha introducido **/11r/** el Demonio con ellas, tácitamente nos excluye el crédito de el dicho de los testigos.

Pues de la persona individua del brujo, que evidentemente asiste y hace operaciones de tal en presencia del testigo, nos quiere nuevamente enseñar que aquella sea fingida en lugar de la verdadera y cierta, que fue entretanto a asistir en el aquelarre, y también, que puedan otros brujos pasar y estar personalmente en presencia de los testigos haciéndoseles todavía invisibles, incorpóreos, cuando así van y pasan ante ellos por el aire, privando con esto al testigo de que en ninguno de estos dos casos pueda atinar la verdad, si responde, como debe, solamente lo que percibió con sus sentidos;—si ya no se admite en lugar de esto—por lo dicho en el primer artículo [doc. 12.9]—que sólo el brujo miente, engañado del Demonio, para conseguir sus siniestros y depravados efectos. Y está más andado para presumir este engaño en el testigo que para admitir la culpa en el testificado, pues contra el testigo tenemos ya su confesión de que trata y se entiende con el Demonio, y contra el testificado no hay más de lo que el testigo comienza a decir.

53. Y por consiguiente de esto, también parece más corriente y tolerable pensar nosotros, desde acá a fuera, que se engaña cada uno de los testigos en decir que estaba y volvía despierto personalmente en los aquelarres, que no decir el testigo que nos engañamos todos nosotros en tener por verdadera la persona con quien hablamos

speaking to be the real one, because in the event the figure before us was only a sham placed there by the Devil. As for the proof of the latter there is only the witch to vouch for it—and even if there are many to affirm it, all of them bear witness as single individuals, whereas we are many together who simultaneously perceive the truth which puts their claim to shame.

It is of no help to maintain that the ingenuity /11v/ of the Devil could prevail against this manifest evidence, since in the case of the powders and ointments we would hardly imagine him to have been so careless as to allow twenty-two pots to fall into our hands, had they been of his making. Yet another woman, showing us hers, wanted to convince us that having left the three pots deposited in the middle of a fast-flowing stream she found them still in the same place after many days when she wanted to hand them over to the commissioner of the Holy Office. On revoking her confessions the same woman admitted this to be a fable as well.

54. Finally, if the witnesses have related these transparent tales with the deliberate intention of lying, they would be guilty of falsehood, and if they made the statements through ignorance, taking for true what was false, their depositions would be worthless from the very outset. If this is the case of what they declare about themselves, how much more must it be the case of what they declare about actions and guilt of third parties, which they claim to have seen and recognized [at the *aquelarre*].

55. Neither do their statements deserve more credit if we accept—leaving the truth aside for a moment—that they were awake when they went to the *aquelarre* and were thus fully aware of what they saw happening. This line of approach leads to even greater incongruities. For should this be the case, a large number of witches fully awake have so successfully concealed themselves that no outsider has ever seen or come across them, nor have the witches [ever] been able to fulfil their promises to reveal themselves, not even to those in their own house, who live with them.

56. Accordingly, it is not surprising that in our search for evidence from witnesses who are not themselves witches, we have not found a single one—from among the cases included in the [general testimonies of the] visitation—of sufficient weight to warrant an arrest, in spite of all our effort to use the evidence produced by the witches themselves to discover [material] proof. Moreover there is still a more incredible, indeed amazing, feature of the case. How is it that

y comunicamos, porque no quiere que lo sea sino supuesta y fingida por el Demonio, pues en la evidencia de este engaño <para su dicho>^u es sólo él y muchos separados o singulares, y para lo que nosotros vemos, somos muchos juntos que a un mismo tiempo percibimos esta verdad contra su dicho.

Y no valdrá replicar a esto que la industria /11v/ del Demonio pueda engañar esta evidencia manifiesta, pues para lo de los polvos y ungüentos [no] le imaginábamos tan necio que hubiera dejado venir a nuestras manos las dichas veintidós ollas si fueran de su cosecha. Y aún otra mujer, manifestando las suyas, nos quería persuadir que habiendo dejado tres ollas depositadas en medio de un río caudaloso, las halló en la misma parte al cabo de muchos días, queriéndolas entregar al comisario del Santo Oficio, hasta que con la revocación de sus confesiones también declaró este embeleco.

54. Y al fin, habiendo dicho el testigo cómplice la dicha nueva ficción, mintiendo maliciosamente, sería falso; y si la dijo con ignorancia, creyendo por cierto lo que no es verdad sino mentira, será él ignorante de la verdad, y por consiguiente, sin crédito su deposición aun en lo que de sí mismo depone, cuanto más en lo que quisiere decir del hecho y culpa de tercero, de haberle visto y conocido allá, etc.

55. Y no mejoran el crédito, aunque se admitiera sin perjuicio de la verdad, que estuvieron en la ida, estada y vuelta, despiertos y muy advertidos en cuanto vieron pasar, pues, con eso mismo, causa mayor disonancia de que siendo eso verdad y tantos los brujos despiertos, se hayan encubierto sin haberles visto ni topado jamás nadie de acá a fuera, ni ellos hayan podido cumplir con las promesas de manifestarse aun a los que tenían en su casa y compañía.

56. Y conforme a esto, no es mucho que buscando testificaciones hechas por testigos de fuera de la complicidad, en las causas que van referidas con las de la visita, no se haya cuajado ninguna bastante para llegar a captura, por más que se procuró esforzar la noticia que dieron los mismos de esta complicidad para buscarla. Mas es mucho y de increíble maravilla, siempre que se considera que en

^u *Añadido con mano de Salazar.*

in an affair which is so widespread /12r/ according to the witches themselves, and which under any circumstances would be impossible to conceal for one hour, it is nevertheless so difficult, or rather impossible as it would appear, to ascertain anything at all?

57. The witnesses in their declarations against third parties jump to the conclusion that these people are witches simply because they have seen them present at the assemblies, without referring to any other act of witchcraft as that of apostasy or denial of God or the recognition of the Devil as Lord. With such declarations, however, the witnesses do not provide conclusive evidence, since many of the accused could have been there without taking part [in the ceremonies]. Already with the first cases which came out at the auto de fe I began to suspect the possibility,^{#82} and now during the visitation so many of those discharged with abjuration *de levi* have confirmed this.^{#71} However, those quoted below in gloss 71 for merely being present at the sabbats are hardly to be commended since others went much further in boldly resisting the orders and pressure which, they said, the Devil and their mistresses had used in order to overcome them.^{#72}

58. The trustworthiness of witnesses is further weakened by the force, inducement and sinister methods used to extort their decla-

^{#71} Those who declare in particular that they were present at the gatherings and *aquelarres* of the witches without having recognized the Devil as Lord nor having denied God or having committed any *acto positivo* of witchcraft are filed in volume G, folio 11, 27, 41, 55, 63, 71, 79, 105, 137, 194, 336, 370, 382, 394. To the fourteen examples a very great number of children below the age to take the oath could have been added, if necessary, for they said exactly the same.

^{#72} Those who refused to make the denials and acts of apostasy in spite of being under compulsion and force at the sabbat are the following: María de Tanborín Jarra, C 365; Catalina and María de Echetoa, sisters, both in C 643—and this befell all three of them when they relapsed. Among those *de levi* who are in volume G, the following said the same: Miguel de Echachipia, folio 19; Sancho Aldaz, folio 27; María de Serauren, folio 41; Catalina de Aldátegi, folio 55; Catalina de Cortenjeneco, folio 63; María de Zarandía, folio 105; Juanesto de Bozate, folio 129; María de Perugurria, folio 202; Felipe de Agesta, folio 266; Ana de Xamateleo, folio 294. Although all stated this with determination the said María de Zarandía indicated that she had had a great triumph in this effort.

^{#82} Cf. WA chap. 8.7 “Salazar’s Vote”.

cosa tan extendida /12r/ entre los mismos brujos (como presuponemos está, con que parecía imposible ocultarse una hora) sea tan dificultoso o imposible, como parece, averiguarlo en nada.

57. Y concluyendo los testigos que en esto deponen sus dichos contra los terceros, en tenerlos por brujos solamente por haberlos visto concurrir en las juntas como tales, sin referir de ninguno otro acto positivo de apostasía, reniego de Dios, ni en admitir por señor al Demonio, no quedan harto concluyentes con tal deposición, pudiendo haber estado allí los testificados sin proceder a nada de ello, como se empezó a sospechar en las primeras causas que salieron al auto,⁸² y ahora, en la visita, lo han dicho tantos de los que fueron despachados con abjuración de levi.^{#71} Y no hicieron mucho en pasar así con sólo esto los que van apuntados cuando estuvieron en los aquelarres, pues otros hicieron mucho más diciendo haber resistido gallardamente a los preceptos y violencias que allí les hicieron el Demonio y sus maestras para rendirlos.^{#72}

58. Y no es menor la quiebra del crédito de los testigos por la fuerza, inducimientos y respetos siniestros con que han sido atraídos

^{#71} Y los que particularmente deponen haber estado en las juntas y aquelarres de brujos sin admitir al Demonio por señor, ni hacer reniego de Dios, ni cometer acto positivo de brujería, están en el volumen G a fojas 11, 27, 41, 55, 63, 71, 79, 105, 137, 194, 336, 394, 370, 382. Como estos catorce se pudieran haber apuntado otros muchos más, si fuera menester, como en efecto entre los niños menores que no tuvieron edad de jurar hay gran número de ellos que dijeron esto mismo.

^{#72} Los que resistieron a cometer los reniegos y actos de apostasía, siendo para ello compulsos y forzados en el aquelarre, son: María de Tanborín Jarra, C 365, y Catalina y María de Echeto, hermanas, ambas en la C 643, y a todas tres les aconteció esto en el acto de relapsía. Y entre los de levi, que están el volumen G, dijeron lo mismo: Miguel de Echachipia, a fojas 19, Sancho de Aldaz, 27, María de Sorauren, 41, Catalina de Aldátegi, 55, Catalina de Cortejeneo, 63, María de Zarandía, 105, Juanesto de Bozate, 129, María de Perugurría, 202, Felipe de Agesta, 266, Ana de Xamateleo, 294. Y aunque todos lo dicen con resolución, la dicha María de Zarandía significa haber tenido en ello grandes conquistas.

rations. For they were imprisoned, molested and violently threatened (as is referred in the separate report of the eighty-one *revocantes*).^{#83} Thus one woman stated that they burnt her with a live coal and while torturing her in this manner they kept telling her that at that very moment she was with the witches at their evil work. All this is enough to fill one with horror, making one realize how by these means the truth was inevitably distorted.^{#73}

Not only persons actually ill-treated perjured themselves, but also their neighbours who, on seeing such things, feared the same would happen to them and with reason, especially when they saw that in this affair the village magistrates joined forces with a father, a husband or a brother and at other times with the clergy. What is worse: often they even joined forces with the officials or commissioners of the Inquisition /12v/ who either connived tacitly in this coercion or carried it out by their own hand—making sure that everyone confessed to their guilt and that of their accomplices and neighbours. They made them confess everything relating to the ointments, powders and all the circumstances, until they had repeated—omitting nothing—all that the first child-witches or witch-discoverers had said at the outset.^{#74}

^{#73} About this kind of inducements the following make statements: Hipólita de Arbiza, F 83; Juana Fernández de Arbiza, F 99; Mariana de Apecechea, F 91; María de Yanci, of seventy years, F 229. The violent pressures and other ill-treatments dealt out by the magistrates and relatives are not mentioned because otherwise almost all the *revocantes* who are in volume F would be listed. Gracia- /5v/ na de Galarza, of eighty years, F 139, is the woman who states that she was burned with live coal.^{#84}

^{#74} That the commissioners and agents of the Inquisition used violence against the *confitentes* who presented themselves (thus abusing their office) is indicated by the following: Mari Martín de Legarra of thirty-three, F 107, declared against the commissioner of Lesaca.^{#85} Agueda de Muria of fourteen, F 327, and Ana García of ten, F 333, declared against the commissioner of Larrea and his colleague Fray Juan Ladrón.^{#86} Magdalena de

^{#83} The report of the eighty-one *revocantes* was one of the seven lost surveys with summaries of the cases in each group, cf. above, note 66.

^{#84} The recantation of Graciana de Galarza (case no. 461) is found in *Volume "F"* of *Salazar's Visitation Book*, 140r–141r.

^{#85} For María Martín de Legarra (case no. 457) and for the commissioner of Lesaca, see WA 132f.

^{#86} For Agueda de Murua and Ana García de Arriola (case nos. 489–490) and for the commissioner of Larrea, see WA 286f.

a sus deposiciones, siendo presos, molestados y amenazados tan violentamente—como se dice en la relación particular⁸³ de los ochenta y un revocantes—tanto que alguno dice que estándole quemando con un tizón, cuando así le atormantaban, le decían también, que al mismo tiempo y punto estaba con los brujos en sus maleficios; y así todo es de manera que pone horror imaginarlo y ver como les obligaron con eso a torcer la verdad,^{#73} no sólo el que actualmente fue maltratado, sino los vecinos que a su ejemplo temían justamente lo mismo cada uno por sí, especialmente viendo que la justicia del lugar se aunaba para esto con el padre, marido o hermano de cada uno, y otras veces los clérigos—y aún, lo que peor es, también muchas veces los ministros o comisarios de la Inquisición, /12v/ autorizándolo con su disimulación, o cometiéndolo ellos pos su mano—atraían a que todos testificasen sus culpas^v y las de sus vecinos cómplices, y los ungüentos, polvos y todas circunstancias—hasta llenar enteramente cuanto los primeros muchachos testigos, o descubridores, hubiesen comenzado a decir sin faltar nada;^{#74} con que

^{#73} De los cuales inducimientos deponen: Hipólita de Arbiza, F 83, Juana Fernández de Arbiza, F 99, Mariana de Apecechea, F 91, María de Yanci, de setenta años, F 229. Y no se refieren los violentados con presiones y otros malos tratamientos de la Justicia y parientes, porque son casi todos los revocantes que están en el volumen letra F. Y Gracia- /5v/ na de Galarza, de ochenta años, F 139, es la que dice lo referido estándola quemando con un tizón.⁸⁴

^{#74} Que los comisarios y ministros de la Inquisición violentasen a los confitentes que a ellos acudían, haciendo indebidamente su oficio, en cuanto a esto, lo significa contra el comisario de Lesaca,⁸⁵ Mari Martín de Legarra, de treintaitres años, F 107, y contra el comisario de Larrea y fray Juan Ladrón,⁸⁶ su compañero, Agueda de Muria, de catorce años, F 327, [y] Ana García, de diez años, F 333. Y contra el comisario de Maestu, Magdalena

^v Ms.: por culpas.

Thus it is indeed a marvel that anyone at all should have escaped this net without stain or stigma. Matters have come to such a pass that a commissioner, an ancient, upright and exemplary priest, was denounced. Just as this evil can be so clearly established from the statements of the *revocantes*, so it appears that the same can be confirmed from the confessions and statements of others. These turn out to be incoherent both in the form of presentation and in the answers to the cross-examinations which have been held frequently. Consequently, if these people (as we can gather) have lied so foolishly and without purpose by making themselves and others out to be witches, it would appear that they can only have perjured themselves because of the force and unlawful pressure exerted upon them (which can be assumed from what has just been said). Others have made the existence of force manifestly clear. They sought persistently

Elorza of fifty, F 321, declared against the commissioner of Maestu, and stated as well that all the clergy forced her in this way.⁸⁷ Also María de Ulibarri of thirty-six, E 671, declared [against the commissioner of Maestu] on account of her mother who committed suicide.⁸⁸ Don Diego de Basurto,⁸⁹ a cleric of ninety-five, F 377, Catalina Fernández of eighty, F 303, and Ana Sanz de Ilarduya of seventy, F 313, declared against the commissioner Eguino.⁹⁰ As for the commissioner of Vera, Catalina de Busti, G 278, says that he imprisoned her.⁹¹ To all this may be added what has been written about the vicar of Errazu in gloss 76, below. It can thus be assumed as certain that the clergy of that province have taken similar action in their villages. [Thus] against the priest of Zubieta [declared María de Mindegui,] F 486 [and Juana de Irurita], F 568¹⁴.⁹²

¹⁴ Interpolations based on the original trial records in *Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 486r and 568r.

⁸⁷ For Magdalena de Elorza (case no. 488) and for the commissioner of Maestu, see WA 287ff.

⁸⁸ Cf. below, paragraph 61 of the present document. The file of María de Ulibarri (case no. 354) has been kept, see *Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 41, 671r–683v. For the suicide of her mother, see WA chap. 11.C.4 "Mariquita from Atauri".

⁸⁹ For Diego de Basurto, see WA 269–270, 282–285.

⁹⁰ For Catalina Fernández de Lecea and Ana Sáenz de Ilarduya (case nos. 486–487), see WA 285–286, 289. The commissioner's name was Pedro Ruiz de Eguino and he is dealt with in detail in WA 269, 275–277, 284–287, 294.

⁹¹ The file of Catalina de Busti (case no. 550) has not been kept. For the commissioner of Vera, Lorenzo de Hualde, see above, pp. 42–46, 75f.

⁹² For María de Mindegui and Juana de Irurita (case nos. 508 and 515), see WA 298f. The rector of Zubieta was the *licenciado* Tomás de Irigoyen (*Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 453r; CADP vol. 4, p. 289, no. 1284).

parece maravilla que se haya escapado nadie de estar enredado en la nota de esta mácula, pues alguna vez llegaron a nombrar el mismo comisario, viejo, honrado y ejemplar sacerdote. Y como este daño se ha coligido tan claramente de los dichos revocantes, también parece que vienen a comprobar lo mismo las confesiones y dichos de otros, que muestran ser descaminadas en su modo de decirlas y satisfacer a las réplicas (de que hay mucho número). Pues habiendo mentido estos tales, como se colige (en hacerse brujos a sí y a los demás, tan sin fruto ni utilidad), parece que solamente podrían ser perjuros por la fuerza e inducimiento indebido que de lo dicho se

de Elorza, de cincuenta años, F 321, y también dice que todos los clérigos la indujeron a lo mismo.⁸⁷ Y María de Ulibarri, de treintaseis años, por su madre la desesperada, lo dice en la E 671.⁸⁸ Y contra el comisario Eguino, don Diego de Basurto,⁸⁹ clérigo de noventaicinco, F 377, Catalina Fernández, de ochenta años, F 303, Ana Sanz de Ilarduya, de sesenta años, F 313.⁹⁰ Y cuanto al comisario de Vera dice Catalina de Busti, G 278, que la había tenido presa.⁹¹ Y a todo esto se llega lo que va apuntado del vicario de Errazu en la glosa 76, con que se deja entender cuan verosíblemente harían otro tanto los clérigos de aquella provincia en sus lugares. Contra el rector de Zubieta, F 486 <María de Mendegui> [y] F 568 <Juana de Irurita>^w.⁹²

^w Interpolaciones basadas en los procesos originales en *Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 486r y 568r.

to be reconciled as witches and to benefit and Francisca González from the grace of the Edict, but when questioned as to their witchcraft activities, they were unable to state anything coherent which might lead to their conviction. Thus some were dismissed for this by word and others by a judicial act as recorded in their trials.^{#75}

*22 59. The degree of injustice is no less in the case of the *confitentes* who justifiably have been enraged at finding the Holy Sacrament withheld from them. For the Sacraments were denied to all those incriminated or denounced by the first witch-*confitentes*.^{#76} This was only remedied by the secret and brief discharge which each one of the *confitentes* received from the Holy Office. The chief concern of everyone discharged during the visitation was therefore to obtain the license or certificate by which they could be admitted to the Sacraments.^{°96}

^{#75} The said María [de Yanci], a woman of seventy, F 229, Mari Sáenz de Ormachea, sixty, A 389, Francisca González, forty-seven, F 370 [an error for G 370], and María Gómez, sixteen, [F] 277, are those who, during their trials showed earnest desire to be reconciled without being able to state any act of witchcraft to demonstrate their guilt.^{°93} The same can be seen in the cases of María de Iráizoz, ninety-four, B 625, and Catalina de Santesteban, eleven years, H 91.

^{#76} This denial of the Sacraments was carried out by Don Miguel de Aguirre of the village of Errazu in the mountains of Navarra who on his own authority gave and withheld the Sacraments from those singled out as witches. He seized, harassed and stigmatized them in order to induce them to confess as it appears from certain clauses in the accusation against him presented by the *fiscal eclesiástico* of Pamplona who was prosecuting this **/6r/** case (according to what the same vicar mentioned in the audience chamber¹⁵ writing out a copy of the clauses [in the accusation], and this is filed in the papers of the visitation).^{°94} Concerning this see further gloss 74, above, and María de Echevarría, E 9, in the relapse.^{°95}

¹⁵ *MS.* en la sala del Tribunal. *As I presume the hearing took place on the visitation and not in the Tribunal of Logroño I have suppressed the word "Tribunal"* (cf. below, paragraph 60).

^{°93} The files of María de Yanci and María Gómez (case nos. 475 and 482) are found in *Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 229r–235v, 277r–280r.

^{°94} The hearing of the prosecutor of the Bishop at Pamplona's ecclesiastical court was recorded in the lost part of Salazar's Visitation Book. However, we are lucky to have preserved the trial record of this parish priest, see below, doc. 15.11 with note °177.

^{°95} For María de Echevarría (case no. 291), see below, doc. 15.15, where Salazar returns to her case.

^{°96} Such a "witch's" certificate has actually been preserved, see WA 265 fig. 18.

*22 presupone; cual se manifiesta bien de otros que pidiendo con importunidad ser admitidos a reconciliación y gracia del edicto como brujos, preguntándoles actos de brujería, no atinaban a decir cosa concertada con qué poder ser despachados, y así fueron despedidos algunos por esto de palabra, o por auto judicial que consta de sus procesos.^{#75}

59. Y no es menor violencia que la sobredicha, la que por buenos respetos y justas consideraciones, tomaría cada confitente de verse privado de recibir los sacramentos, que se denegaban a todos los que andaban notados o testificados por voz común de los primeros confitentes.^{#76} Y que todo lo remediaban solamente con el despacho tan secreto y breve que les ha dado el Santo Oficio a cada uno de los confitentes, los cuales, por esto reducían su principal cuidado, cuando eran despachados en la visita en cobrar cédula o certificación con que ser admitidos a los sacramentos.⁹⁶

^{#75} La dicha María [de Yancí], mujer de setenta años, F 229, Mari Sáenz de Ormachea, de sesenta años, A 389, Francisca González, de cuarentaisiete años, F 370, María Gómez, de diesiseis, [F] 277, son las que muestran en sus procesos gran deseo de ser reconciliadas, sin haber atinado a decir los actos de brujería con que mostraron ser brujas,⁹³ y lo mismo se echó de ver en María de Iráizoz, de noventaicuatro años, B 625, y en Catalina de Santesteban, de once años, H 91.

^{#76} La cual prohibición de los sacramentos cumplía bien don Miguel de Aguirre del lugar de Errazu, en las montañas de Navarra, que por su autoridad daba y quitaba los sacramentos a los que así estaban notados de brujos, y les prendía, molestaba, y baldonaba, para efecto de atraerlos a ser confitentes, como parece de ciertos capítulos de querrela que contra él dio el fiscal eclesiástico de Pamplona, con quien fue siguiendo la /6r/ causa sobre esto (según refirió el mismo vicario en la sala del Tribunal,^x escribiendo la copia de los capítulos^y que está en los papeles de visita)⁹⁴ de que *vide supra*, glosa 74, y María de Echevarría, E 9, en la relapsía.⁹⁵

^x *Se comprende que es la sala del Tribunal actuando en visita, cf. parrafo 60, abajo.*

^y *Ms.:* de los dichos digo capítulos.

*23 60. With all this it is not surprising that the eighty-one revocantes, some on their death beds,^{#77} have now retracted their confessions. All display far more peace of mind and serenity in **/13r/** these revocations than the reconciled in their confessions.

Hence even the very small children brought thither by their parents and relatives for the visitation, when finding themselves separated from them in the Tribunal, have plucked up courage to say that they had been brought there although not witches. In consequence I dismissed many without anything being entered in the records although some entries were made.^{#78}

Considering all these circumstances we should not conclude that some have revoked following the example of others, just as it never crossed our minds that some had confessed in imitation of their neighbours. Moreover, during the visitation I took special pains to maintain all possible secrecy concerning revocations so that no one should know about the revocations of others. In view of the apprehensions aroused by the Edict of Visitation—which admonished to denunciate anyone who might have boasted of making the confessions, whether through fear or other reasons, in order to be reconciled—it seemed plain that when those who had been reconciled without condemnation, penitence or infamy, nor other outward signs that could alarm them; when these people still came forward to revoke their confessions, they can only have been moved to do so in order to relieve their consciences, there being no other conceivable gain.

Furthermore we realized that many more would have come forward, if they only had known that they would be allowed to do it without any punishment. That this would be so they may have had reasons to doubt after the first session in Santesteban where I rebuffed those who came forward there, without even receiving or hearing

^{#77} Pedro de Anserena, of Zubieta, an old man reconciled in Logroño, revoked at the hour of his death, F 363, and so did Graciana de Plaza, G 547, according to a letter from the abbot of Urdax.

^{#78} Catalina de Garaicochea, eleven years old, who is in H 94, Mari Chipi de Huarte, nine, H 182, Catalina de Iturralde, nine, H 185, María de Zamar Guillearena, ten, H 198, Juanes de Chirripa, eight, H 204, Juanes de Arreche, nine, H 212, Francisco de Echevarría, eight, H 526, and María de Zabala, eight years old, H 529, freely replied in the Tribunal that they were not witches.

*23 60. Y con lo dicho no es mucho haberse comenzado hoy a declarar los ochentaíun revocantes, y algunos en el artículo de su muerte,^{#77} y todos mostrando siempre mucha más quietud y seguridad de sus ánimas en **/13r/** estas revocaciones que los reconciliados en sus confesiones, de suerte, que aún los niños muy pequeños, traídos por sus padres y parientes a la visita, viéndose después sin ellos en la sala del Tribunal, se animaban muchas veces a decir que sin ser brujos los habían traído allí, con que, sin detenerse a escribirlo, eran despedidos muchos, aunque de otros se escribió y puso todo por auto.^{#78}

Y no es de sospechar que hayan revocado algunos a ejemplo e imitación de otros, pues tampoco por el contrario imaginábamos antes que hubiesen confesado otros por tal imitación de sus vecinos, con intervenir en ello todas las circunstancias dichas, y que en la revocación guardé y procuré en la visita todo el secreto posible para que nadie supiese las revocaciones de los otros. Y parecía claro, que quien fue reconciliado sin condenación, penitencia, ni publicidad, ni otra cosa exterior que le inquietase, viendo los miedos que se pone en el edicto de visita, preguntando de quién se jactare, [de] que por temor o por otros respetos, hizo las confesiones con que fue reconciliado, cuando con todo esto vino ahora a revocar, sólo habrá sido estimulado^z del remedio de la conciencia, pues no se le halla otro interés perceptible.

Y aun se ha coligido que vinieran muchos más, si supieran ser admitidos a ello sin pena ni castigo alguno, pues tuvieron razón de dudarle desde la primera sesión de Santesteban, donde repelí todos

^{#77} Pedro de Anserena, vecino de Zubieta, hombre viejo reconciliado en Logroño, revocó en el artículo de su muerte, F 363, y también Graciana de Plaza, G 547, según lo refirió en una carta el abad de Urdax.

^{#78} Catalina de Garaicochea, de once años, que está en la H 94; Mari Chipi de Huarte, de nueve años, H 182; Catalina de Iturralde, de nueve años, H 185; María de Zamar Guillearena, de diez años, H 198; Juanes de Chirripa, de ocho años, H 204; Juanes de Arreche, de nueve años, H 212; Francisco de Echevarría, de ocho años, H 526; y María de Zabala, de ocho años, H 529, respondieron en el Tribunal con mucho desenfado que no eran brujos.

^z Ms.: instimulado.

many of them (as I had orders from my colleagues to do so, and the new orders from Your Eminence had not yet reached me). Several revocantes afterwards complained to the commissioners about my rejection of their revocations.^{#79}

Some of the revocantes have begun their revocation by saying courageously that they must recant even if they are to be burned for it the following day. Even now people are unaware of my lenient approach, because there are none to encourage them to revoke; while there were no lack of people to induce them to confess by an infinity of means. Thus a number of those who were discharged gave rise to suspicion that they had made their confessions to the Holy Office more for the sake of revenge and wrongful motives against those whom they exposed than out of a desire to heal their souls. This can be surmised from the revocante who in her confession made before the commissioner on her village managed to reveal only six priests without naming any other person **/13v/** great or small from among the vast hordes which, according to the witnesses, are accustomed to frequent these *aquejarres*.^{#80}

61. This is also lamentably demonstrated in the tragic case of an old woman from the village of Corres, called Mariquita de Atauri, who in despair cast herself into a river a few days after she had been reconciled in Logroño. From the declaration of María de Ulibarri, her thirty-six-year old daughter, it appears that her mother had expressed deep repentance and anguish, after she returned from Logroño, her conscience being weighed down by those whom she had unjustly accused. The entreaties of her daughter prevailed upon her to declare the truth and on the advice of her confessor she later went to revoke or amend her statements before the commissioner of

^{#79} Juana de Echeto, a woman of fifty-six, F 347, and her sixteen-year-old daughter, Catalina de Echeto, F 339, mentioned that I was not willing to receive them when they came to revoke. And María Martín says the same; she is the eighty-first revocante.⁹⁷

^{#80} Magdalena de Elorza, of fifty, from the village of Atauri, is the one who named only the six priests. She is in volume F, folio 321. On revoking all this, as she later did, she confirmed our suspicions that she had been lying.

⁹⁷ The record of the 81st *revocante* has not been kept. Volume "F" of Salazar's *Visitation Book* ends with *revocante* no. 80 (case no. 520).

los que vinieron, sin darles a muchos de ellos acogida ni audiencia de palabra, por no me haber llegado entonces el nuevo orden de Vuestra Alteza, sino que le tenía en contrario de mis colegas, como lo dijeron después ante los comisarios algunos revocantes, lamentándose contra mí de esta repulsa en las revocaciones.^{#79}

Y así algunos las han comenzado con decir animosamente, que aunque les hayan de quemar otro día, no pueden dejar de revocar. Y en efecto aún hoy no tienen noticia de esta buena acogida, porque tampoco hay negociadores que los atraigan a revocar, como se ha dicho que los hubo por tantas vías para confesar. Y muchas personas de las que han sido despachadas, dieron sospecha que por venganzas y respetos indebidos contra los que habían de manifestar, más que por deseo de remediar sus almas, hicieron sus confesiones en el santo Oficio, cual se puede conjeturar de la revocante que, en sus confesiones hechas ante el comisario de su lugar, solamente manifestó seis sacerdotes sin atinar a nombrar con ellos otra persona ninguna, /13v/ grande ni pequeña, de tan copiosa turba como en tales aquellarres dicen que suele haber.^{#80}

61^{aa}. Y también lo muestra lamentablemente el triste suceso de una vieja de el lugar de Corres, llamada Mariquita de Atauri^{ab}, que se desesperó, ahogada en un río algunos días después de haber sido reconciliada en Logroño, de quien dijo María de Ulibarri, su hija, de edad de treintaseis años—viniendo después a ser reconciliada en la visita—que su madre significó gran dolor y tristeza desde que vino de Logroño, porque traía gravada su conciencia por los que injustamente había delatado; y que así, habiéndose confesado a instancia de esta su hija, fue después, por mandado del confesor, a revocar

^{#79} Juana de Echeto, mujer de cincuenta y seis, F 347, y Catalina de Echeto, F 339, su hija, de edad de dieciséis años, refieren que no les quise dar audiencia cuando fueron a revocar; y Mari Martín, de cuarenta años, vecina de Lecaroz, dice lo mismo, que está en el número 81 de los revocantes.⁹⁷

^{#80} Magdalena de Elorza, de edad de cincuenta años, vecina del lugar de Atauri^{ac}, es la que nombró los seis sacerdotes solamente, que está en la F 321, y con la revocación de todo (que después hizo) certificó bien la mala sospecha que se tenía de haber mentado.

^{aa} *Corregido de*: 58.

^{ab} *Ms.*: Mariquita de Jauri. *Corregido de acuerdo con el proceso original, véase WA 291f.*

^{ac} *Ms.*: Tauri.

Maéstu, the *licenciado* Felipe Días. The latter, however, not only refused to receive her confession but drove her away with harsh abuse and insults, threatening her that she would have to be burned at Logroño for having maliciously come forward to perjure herself and recant what she had already truthfully confessed. Not many days after she drowned herself.^{#81}

Warned by this example and in order to verify certain witch-pots which four neighbours of this hapless woman had produced when they were reconciled in Logroño—and also because I knew they were boasting abroad of how they had lied in what they had said there—I summoned them during the visitation to appear before me. All immediately revoked their confessions declaring them to be false.^{#82}

62. In order to remove similar impediments, or any inducement which could lead them astray from the truth, all those who came to be discharged during the visitation were admonished by the interpreters with words of Christian encouragement at the beginning of their confession. As much emphasis was placed on their obligation to tell the truth as upon the dangers and drawbacks of perjuring themselves. By these means—and by secrecy—I sought to relieve them of any fears which might have seized them for reasons not connected with the Holy Office, or through misgivings that they would be punished for speaking or for not speaking. Although they might have gathered from all the above that confessions made with a view to reconciliation by the Edict of Grace were better received than their revocations, at all times an equal neutrality has been displayed so that each one should follow the free dictates of his or her conscience.

Yet, in spite of all these precautions /14r/ there were many persons who boasted outside the court that, without being witches, they had confessed themselves as such to the commissioners. However, when summoned to the audience chamber they persisted in con-

^{#81} This María de Ulibarri is in volume E, folio 661 [*error for* 671].^{°98}

^{#82} María de Corres, F 383; Magdalena de Arza, F 387; Ana de Corres, [F] 373; Gracia González, F 391. These are the four *revocantes* who were summoned.

^{°98} For the original trial record of Maria de Ulibarri, see above, note °88.

sus confesiones o a enmendarlas ante el dicho comisario de Maeztu, llamado el licenciado Felipe Díaz, el cual no sólo dejó de admitírsela, sino que la repelió sacudidamente con injurias y valdones, amenazándola que la había de hacer quemar en Logroño, porque maliciosamente se venía a perjurar y desdecir de lo que con verdad había ya confesado, y que desde allí a muy pocos días se ahogó.^{#81}

Y por tal escarmiento, y para verificar ciertas ollas de brujas, que en Logroño habían manifestado cuatro vecinas de esta desesperada, cuando fueron reconciliadas, y porque también supe que se jactaban públicamente de que habían mentido en cuanto allá dijeron, las llamé en la visita, donde hicieron todas sus revocaciones declarando por falsas las dichas confesiones.^{#82}

62^{ad}. Y así las que vinieron a ser despachadas en la visita, por sanear los dichos tales inconvenientes o cualquier inducimiento que pudiera desviarles de la verdad, por medio de los intérpretes religiosos, fueron amonestados al principio de sus confesiones cristianamente, con toda igualdad, en la obligación que tenían de decir verdad, y los peligros e inconvenientes de perjurar, deseando con esto y con el secreto, sanearles cualquier temor que—por respetos de fuera del Tribunal, o por recelo de ser castigados si decían o dejaban de decir—hubiesen aprendido. Y aunque con todo esto pudieron coligir que eran mejor oídas sus confesiones para ser reconciliadas por el Edicto de Gracia, que no las revocaciones, se ha mostrado siempre neutralidad indiferente en dejar cada uno seguir el libre dictamen de su conciencia.

Y con todo este recato /14r/ hubo muchas personas que diciendo y jactándose extrajudicialmente, que sin ser brujas habían confesado serlo ante los comisarios, todavía puestas en la Sala, prosiguieron

^{#81} Esta María de Ulibarri está en la E 661 [*léase* 671].⁹⁸

^{#82} María de Corres, F 383, Magdalena de Arza, F 387, Ana de Corres, [F] 373, Gracia González, F 391, son las cuatro revocantes que fueron llamadas.

^{ad} *Corregido de*: 59.

fessing that they were witches. Four elderly women have been noted as an example of this.^{#83}

On account of the warning [against perjury and against withholding anything] others, convinced of their ignorance of the matters about which they were questioned, simply confessed that they had been prevailed upon, stating the methods used by their own relations to force them to confess again the things which they had neither done nor knew anything about. It was widely thought that nobody was safe unless he or she made use of the edict. This was generally believed everywhere by suspect and relation alike.^{#84}

63. In considering the reliability of the witnesses, with which we are concerned here, we must also take into account the evil instruction which the Devil had given to the witches, namely that they were on all occasions to conceal their accomplices and to incriminate innocent persons in their place so that these should be punished instead. (This is stated by the witnesses noted down in the gloss.)^{#85} This would seem a characteristic aim and instruction of the Devil and we could easily believe that his witches have complied, as we have shown a great alacrity to accept that the witches, in compliance with the Devil's injunction to secrecy, have managed to keep silent on so many occasions about this accursed scourge to which so many people of such diverse ages and conditions were privy, in particular children and women who are disposed by nature to broadcast what they are especially enjoined to keep quiet.

64. In like manner many have admitted (in particular those noted down)^{#86} the great doubts and confusion they felt about confirming whether those whom they denounced as their accomplices were the actual persons or merely their counterfeits. This circumstance alone should be sufficient to weaken the credibility of their declarations.

^{#83} Juana de Elizondo, B23, Catalina de Labayen, B 1, Juana de Garro, B 11, Juana de Arizcun, E 223—these are the four who boasted abroad before their reconciliation. **/6v/**

^{#84} As can be gathered from those quoted in gloss 73, above.

^{#85} Those who state this council from the Devil are the following: B 303, C 331, D 225, E 21, F 421.

^{#86} Several state quite clearly that they doubted as to whether those they saw at the *aquearre* were only forms: [for instance Maria de Mariarena] B371, in whose file the record of Maria de Larrazpe is also to be found; Juanes de Alberri, D 65; and Maria de Ulibarri, E 671. The rest who speak of this uncertainty are B 172, C 331, D 305, and D 600.

sus confesiones de ser tales brujas, de que por ejemplo van señaladas cuatro mayores de edad.^{#83}

Y por efecto de la misma amonestación dicha, otras personas, también convencidas de su ignorancia en lo que fueron preguntadas, claramente confesaron haber sido inducidas, declarando las negociaciones con que sus mismos parientes las obligaban a volver a confesar lo que no habían hecho ni sabían, pensando que nadie quedaba seguro sin gozar del dicho edicto general, como en todas partes comunmente lo han creído los que eran tenidos por culpados, o sus parientes.^{#84}

63. Y al mismo crédito que se va tratando de los testigos, sale también el consejo y mandato siniestro que les daba el Demonio en sus documentos, de que en todas ocasiones ocultasen los compañeros cómplices que con ellos concurrían, diciendo en lugar de ellos, cuando fuesen preguntados otros inocentes, para que por su dicho vinieran a ser castigados injustamente, como lo dicen las personas que van apuntadas.^{#85} Y parece propia enseñanza y efecto suyo. Y no será mucho creer que hayan cumplido esto sus brujos, quien hubiere creído que también, por su precepto de guardar secreto, hubiesen callado tantos tiempos esta desventurada plaga, sabida de tantas personas de tan diversas edades y condiciones, especialmente niños y mujeres naturalmente dispuestos a manifestar en público lo que más de veras les mandan callar en secreto.

64. Y así mismo han confesado muchos, especialmente los que van apuntados, la gran confusión y duda que han tenido en certificar si son las personas mismas de los cómplices, o solamente sus figuras, de los que han nombrado por tales^{#86}—cosa que sólo debía bastar a debilitar su crédito en las deposiciones.

^{#83} Juana de Elizondo, B 23, Catalina de Labayen, B 1, Juana de Garro, B 11, Juana de Arizcun, E 223, son las cuatro que se habían jactado antes de la reconciliación. /6v/

^{#84} Lo cual se colige bien de los que arriba van citados en la glosa 73.

^{#85} Los que dicen este consejo del Demonio están en la B 303 y en la D 225, C 331, E 21, F 421.

^{#86} Lo cual es de manera que algunos lo dijeron así claramente, que dudaban si eran figuras los que allí habían visto, [por ejemplo María de Mariarena] B 371, donde está el proceso de María de Larrazpe, y Juanes de Alberro en la D 65, María de Ulibarri, [en la] E 671, y los demás que dicen de la incertidumbre están en la C 331, B 172, D 305, D 600.

65. Considering the rivalries and clashes so rife in small villages one can observe how those testified against or denounced by the children have seen to it that they implicated all their remaining neighbours. Examples of this—other than those related by the *revocantes*—have been met with and recorded elsewhere. For instance a woman /14v/ by bribing a witness with a sum endeavoured to make her denounce other women. Another by similar inducements sought from the witness thus enticed, a solemn oath that she would name as witches the persons suggested to her.^{#87}

Not surprisingly, in the town of Vera some of the children proceeded to name two hundred accomplices a piece.^{#87bis} In Fuenterrabía another of twelve years—a hardened beggar called Juanico de Aguirre who did not even know his mother's name—managed to mention a further one hundred and forty-seven.^{#88} These denunciations all took place before the commissioners of the Inquisition in the respective villages. If these accepted the use of force in dealing with matters of witchcraft they were still more ready to welcome the subtle techniques suggested by the children.

To avoid these things and in the interest of brevity so strongly recommended by Your Eminence in the instructions, when dealing with children too young to swear an oath and to be reconciled, I only recorded the mistress of each one without noting down other people.

66. All the suspicions about the damage [caused by false denunciations] have been confirmed by those who revoked their confessions, and by others who, without revoking, asked to have removed from their confessions the names of several persons whom they had

^{#87} Juana de Argarate, sixty, B 458, was bribed with a sum. Graciana de Aguirre, D 468, is the second witness similarly induced, and there are many others like these.

^{#87bis} Those who named two hundred accomplices are Graciana de Permosa, nineteen, D 210, Graciana de Miranda, sixteen, D 225, and Pedro de Serasti, eleven, D 253.

^{#88} Juanico de Aguirre is in H 290. Another, Catalina de Mayora, of eleven, named eighty-three accomplices.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Juanico de Aguirre's file was found in the lost volume "H" of Salazar's Visitation Book containing the 1,384 child-witches (cf. WA 436f). Catalina de Mayora's record with her list of the 89 accomplices must also have been in that volume, since Salazar set her age at eleven.

65. Y viendo las emulaciones y encuentros que tanto suelen prevalecer en los lugares cortos, también se deja ver lo que habrán hecho los testificados o notados por los muchachos en provocar que también ensarten tras ellos a los vecinos que quedan, de que se han topado—sin los ejemplos referidos de los revocantes—otros que van apuntados de una mujer que procuró /14v/ (cohechando con unas mangas al testigo) obligarle a que nombrase otras mujeres, y de otra también, que en tal inducimiento pedía al testigo inducido juramento solemne de que nombraría por brujos a las personas que le encomendaba.^{#87}

Y con esto tal, no fue mucho que en la villa de Vera llegasen a nombrar algunos muchachos doscientos cómplices cada uno,^{#87bis} y que en Fuenterrabía, otro de doce años, llamado Juanico de Aguirre—mendigo y pordiosero que no supo decir el nombre de su madre—atinase a nombrar otros ciento cuarentaisiete,^{#88} y todos estos ante los comisarios de cada lugar, que no mostraban su deseo de extender estas cosas, menos con tales finezas que con la violencia referida.

Y por desviarme de lo mismo y cumplir mejor la brevedad que tanto Vuestra Alteza nos mandó por su carta, en los niños que no tuvieron edad para jurar y ser reconciliados, solamente escribí las maestras de cada uno, sin detenerme a escribir otras personas.

66. Y todas las conjeturas de este perjuicio, ha mostrado bien la resulta de los sobredichos revocantes de sus confesiones, y de otros,

^{#87} Juana de Argarate, de sesenta años, B 458, fue cohechada con unas mangas, y Graciana de Aguirre, D 468, es el segundo testigo inducido y como estos hay otros muchos.

^{#87bis} Los que manifestaron 200 cómplices son Graciana de Permosa, dediecinueve años, D 210, Graciana de Miranda, de dieciseis años, D 225, [y] Pedro de Serasti, de once años, D 253.

^{#88} Juanico de Aguirre, que está en H 290, y otra, Catalina de Mayora, de edad de once años, nombró 83 cómplices.⁹⁹

cited as accomplices. From both categories there are 1,672 individuals against whom they admit that they bore false witness declaring them to be witches when, in fact, they were not. Thus with 1,672 false statements from those who admitted to perjury one can hardly expect the truth from the remainder or give credence to their denunciations.

67. The truthworthiness of the witnesses is not enhanced by the widely believed rumours. The stories relating to witchcraft are not merely vague and nebulous, at times they actually name individuals. When, however, their origin and authors are duly investigated, these accounts turn out to be even more defective than the above mentioned evidence of the witnesses. The only basis for this rumour-mongering appears to be the punishment of witches at the auto de fe celebrated in Logroño, the Edict of Grace, and the fact that an inquisitor has set out to visit so many places. All of which apparently provides a reason for everything to be immediately thought of as witchcraft. This grows at every telling, and today in fact there is no fainting-fit, illness, death or accident that is not attributed to witches. And there is no lack of people who believe in it and exaggerate every detail. **/15r/**

This phenomenon is well illustrated by the case of a Dominican preacher Fray Domingo de Velasco, from the monastery of San Telmo in San Sebastián, who preached at the publication of the Edict of Visitation there. Later the same day at my lodgings he told me in the presence of many people that he could assure me that not one of the many hail or thunderstorms during the last few months had been of natural origin, but rather freaks brewed up by the witches. I succeeded in silencing him, although with difficulty, in order to pursue this matter in private.

On being formally examined in the audience chamber the following day he was at loss to give any details or circumstances which could form any ground whatever for the pursuit of further inquiries. On the contrary he was forced to admit that his claims were based on what he had heard in the streets and no more. He was left downcast and shamefaced at his inability to back up his bold pronouncements. Hence none of the common people can be blamed for following what they have heard from their godly and learned preacher.^{#89}

^{#89} The declaration of this same friar is in volume A, folio 46.

que sin revocarlas, sacaron de ellas algunos cómplices que habían ya nombrado, pues de ambas clases son mil seiscientos setenta y dos las personas a quien dicen que, contra la verdad, levantaron falso testimonio diciendo que fuesen brujos sin serlo, y así, hallando con esto otros mil seiscientos setenta y dos perjuros^{ac} en los que lo dijeron, mal se podrá tampoco esperar verdad de los que quedan, para darles crédito en tales nombramientos.

67. Y no se esforzara el crédito de los dichos testigos con la pública voz y fama, tan asentada y difusa, como corre de estas brujerías, no solamente suelta y confusa, sino algunas veces con especialidad de personas; pues mirándola como es razón al principio y autores de ella no tiene menos, sino más defectos que los testigos mismos sin fundamento, ni aún apariencia de haber tenido razón de comen-zarse, más de que, por lo del auto y castigo de Logroño, el Edicto de Gracia, salida de un inquisidor por tantas tierras, toman color de pensar vagamente que todo está inficionado, creciendo de una mano a otra de suerte que no hay desmayo, enfermedad, muerte o accidente que hoy no le llaman de brujas, y en que no hallen quien lo crea y quien lo añade en cada parte, **/15r/** como un fray Domingo de Velasco, de la orden de Santo Domingo (predicador del convento de San Telmo de San Sebastián), en el día que se publicó allí el edicto de visita, en que él predicó, y me dijo públicamente después en mi posada, ante muchas personas, que me certificaba que cuantas tempestadas de granizo, truenos o relámpagos había habido desde cuatro meses antes no eran naturales, sino violentas fraguadas por brujas.

Y reprimiéndole, aunque dificultosamente, para que lo prosiguiera conmigo a solas, siendo examinado otro día siguiente, por escrito en la Sala, no atinó a decir particularidad ni circunstancia de que tomar ni un mínimo principio para proseguir algunas diligencias, sino que reducido solamente a lo que oía por las calles, quedó corrido de la mala satisfacción de su osado arrojamiento; con lo cual no hacía mucho cualquiera del vulgo en seguir lo que hubiese oído a su predicador, religioso y docto.^{#89}

^{#89} Cuya declaración de este fraile está en la A 46.

^{ac} Ms.: perjuros.

Fishermen who had returned from Newfoundland and sailors from nearby ports contributed similar tales of what they claimed to have witnessed and experienced. All this was abetted by scoundrels and imposters of every sort, for instance people who under the name of *santiguadores* claimed to know all about witches and distributed *santiguos* [blessings] and charms (*nominas*) to counteract them.⁹⁰ This reached the point where even a priest had such a magical list openly fastened on his nag declaring that the witches were maltreating it.

With such mischievous rumours, whose origin have been described above, the Devil seems to have laid the foundations for the present misfortunes and miseries which will inevitably lead to the anguish of body and spirit alike. All of this, and more besides, will increase day by day, unless we provide swift remedy.

68. Nevertheless on evidence as flimsy, if not flimsier than the above, the mayors of San Sebastián had imprisoned seventeen old women denounced by the child-witches. They did this without bringing them to trial or writing a single line against them. Rather, they cherished the vain hope that finding them imprisoned the inquisitor would carry them off to the prisons of Logroño, as they earnestly begged me to arrange. So, if only to retrieve their blunder, I had to bring each prisoner individually into the audience chamber, whereupon I exhorted them scrupulously not to perjure themselves, and under the pretext of expounding the virtue and purpose of the edict I warned them against failure to take advantage of it. In this I was helped by my interpreters /15v/ who in truth put over the same to them. Only one of the accused called Bárbara de Iradi, of forty years, confessed to being a witch and was reconciled. Another, the oldest and most renowned of them, desired the same, but never managed to state anything incriminatory, although she did her best to appear as a witch (as will appear from her file).⁹⁰ With regard to the child-witches of whom there were many, I absolved all of them as Your Eminence will have been pleased to note [in the separate report on child-witches].⁹¹

⁹⁰ She is called Mari Sáenz de Ormaechea, a woman of sixty, in volume A, folio 389. For others noted down likewise, see gloss 75, above.

[At the end of the manuscript with the glosses a rubric of Salazar]

⁹⁰⁰ Both *santiguadores* (sb.) and *santiguos* (sb) are derivations from the verb “santiguar”, “to bless”. *Nominas*, literally “lists”, were charms or amulets with lists of saints.

⁹¹⁰¹ Salazar is again referring to the materials in one of the lost surveys with case summaries (cf. above, note 70).

Y de esto tal se pasan los marineros, pescadores de Terranova y navegantes de aquellos puertos, a decir otras tales novelas que vieron y les sucedieron, fomentándolo también unos burlados embusteros de todo género que, con nombre de santiguadores, decían que conocían de brujas y daban santiguos y nóminas para evitarlas,⁹⁰ hasta traerlas públicamente un clérigo de estos en su rocín, so color de que se le maltrataban brujas. Y así con tal origen y peor extensión de tan triste pública voz y fama, parece que tiene ya el Demonio hoy abierto zanja para las miserias y desventuras presentes de inquietud de cuerpo y alma, y otras mayores que habría cada día si con tiempo no se atajase.

68. Y aún con solo el dicho mal fundamento, o peor, tenían los alcaldes de San Sebastián presas diecisiete mujeres viejas, y solemnizadas por los muchachos confitentes en sus brujerías, sin haberles hecho proceso ni escrito renglón contra ninguna, más de esperar, con su vana esperanza, que hallándoselas así presas el inquisidor se las traería a las cárceles de Logroño, como lo pidieron con toda instancia, y solamente por alivio de su desatino, las hubo de traer a cada una de por sí a la Sala, donde fueron exhortadas, con la igualdad dicha, a lo que debían considerar so color de interpretarles la virtud y efecto del Edicto de Gracia y peligro de no se aprovechar de él, ayudándome de los dichos religiosos intérpretes que les predicaban /15v/ lo mismo muy de veras, de que solamente una, llamada Bárbara de Iradi, de cuarenta años, resultó confitente y fue reconciliada. Y otra y la más vieja y solemnizada, que pidió lo mismo, jamás atinó a decir cosas de bruja, aunque procuró parecerlo, como se contiene en su proceso.⁹⁰ Y así solamente absolvió los muchachos menores, que allí fueron muchos, como Vuestra Alteza se habrá servido de verlo [en el informe aparte sobre niños brujos].¹⁰¹

⁹⁰ La cual se llama Mari Sáenz de Ormaechea, mujer de sesenta años, en la A 389, y en esta conformidad están apuntadas otras, *supra*, glosa 75.
[Fin del papel de las glosas]^{af}

^{af} Aquí rúbrica de Salazar.

69. After having duly studied the above with all the Christian attention of which I am capable, and after having investigated all these matters both in the court room and outside, I have not found a single proof, not even the slightest indication, from which to infer that an act of witchcraft has actually taken place, whether it comes to sabbat journeys, participation in the *aquejarre*, damages or any other of the referred effects. Rather I have found what I had already begun to suspect in these cases before my experience during the visitation: that the testimony of accomplices alone—even if they had not been submitted to violence and compulsion—without further support from external facts substantiated by persons who are not witches, is insufficient to warrant even an arrest. For each and every one of these testimonies contain the two notable defects demonstrated by all the above: firstly, they contain the very confusion inherent in all matters of witchcraft.

70. And, secondly—in the light of the first point and particularly after what I have come to suspect about the persons discharged by the Edict of Grace—I am firmly convinced that at least three-quarters of them, if not more, have falsely accused themselves and their accomplices, contrary to the truth. They were impelled to do so by a mixture of good and bad motives, and by the use of the unlawful methods described above. Consequently on account of the harm they have caused to third parties their souls remain in grave danger of damnation until they make amends.

Under these circumstances, I also believe that the same *confitentes* would freely come forward to the Inquisition to remedy their condition by retracting their confessions, if they thought they would be received kindly and openly without any risk of condemnation. But I fear that all the pains I took over this point—within the limits allowed me by my office—have been insufficient and has failed to come to their notice.¹⁰² Furthermore, although I left instructions with the commissioners [to admit revocations], as Your Eminence ordered, I am afraid that in my absence they are not proceeding in this matter with fidelity and with the desired efficiency. I rather fear that, considering the eagerness to amass evidence, **/16r/** which we [*i.e.* the Tribunal] initially encouraged, the number of witches and *aquejarres* “uncovered” will mount hour by hour.

¹⁰² Cf. above, paragraph 60, where Salazar describes how before receipt of the new instructions he was obliged to turn away the people who came to recant their confessions.

69. Por manera que, regulado todo lo sobredicho con la atención cristiana que he podido alcanzar de cuanto he visto de estos negocios judicial- y extrajudicialmente, no he hallado certidumbre, ni aun indicios de que colegir algún acto de brujería que real y corporalmente haya pasado, en cuanto las idas de aquelarres, asistencia de ellos, daños, ni los demás efectos que refieren; sino sobre lo que yo solía antes sospechar de estas cosas—añadido en la visita nuevo desengaño—que las dichas testificaciones de cómplices sólo, aunque no se les hubieran apegado los otros defectos de violencia e inducimiento—sin ser coadyuvadas de otros actos exteriores, comprobados con personas de fuera de la complicidad, no llegan a ser bastantes ni para proceder por ellas a una sólo captura; pues, en efecto, todas juntas y cada una de por sí, traen consigo los dos eminentes defectos que muestra todo lo dicho: el uno de la perplejidad que trae consigo el mismo caso y negocio de brujería,

70. Y el otro—en que conforme a esto, y a lo que especialmente he podido sospechar de las dichas personas que fueron despachadas por el Edicto de Gracia—también tengo por cierto que las tres cuartas partes de ellas, y aún más, se han delatado a sí y a los cómplices contra toda verdad, solamente necesitadas por los malos y buenos respetos dichos, y por negociaciones indebidas que a ello les han atraído; y que por consiguiente han quedado sus conciencias en notorio peligro de condenación por el daño que han hecho a los terceros, hasta darles satisfacción.

Y como tal, también creo que vendrían liberalmente los mismos confitentes dichos a remediarse en la Inquisición por sus revocaciones, si pensaron ser admitidos blanda y liberalmente, sin riesgo ni condenación alguna. Porque toda la diligencia que yo he puesto—con los límites y decoro debido a mi obligación—temo que no ha bastado, ni llegado a su noticia.¹⁰² Y mucho más temo de que, en mi ausencia, los comisarios, a quien por el mandato de Vuestra Alteza lo dejé ordenado, no corren con la fidelidad y lisura debida en esta parte, sino que de la primera ansia que de nosotros mismos coligieron en dilatar /16r/ la dicha testificación, van añadiendo y descubriendo cada hora más brujos y aquelarres como los de antes.

71. I also feel certain that under the present circumstances new edicts [to the witches] or prolongation of those conceded will not be beneficial for the people. On the contrary, in the tense atmosphere surrounding this case it is harmful to air these matters in public as this could cause them greater and more widespread damage than that they have suffered already. I can illustrate the advantage of such silence and discretion from my own experience. I have observed that there were neither witches nor bewitched in a village until they were talked and written about. During the last few days I had particular occasion to notice this in the village of Olagüe, near Pamplona, where the confessing witches declared that these things began to emerge after Fray Domingo de Sardo had been there and preached to them.

Likewise when I went myself to discharge certain *confitentes* in the Valley of Erro near Roncesvalles. As I was on the point of returning the *alcaldes* came to ask me to go to the Valley of Aéscoa, two leagues thence. Not that any harm or anything had been discovered there, but rather because their valley was as worthy of a visit as the Valley of Erro. I only had to forward the Edict of Grace to this other valley and eight days later they notified me in San Sebastián¹⁰³ that they already had children confessing. Having seen the information of the commissioner whom I ordered to investigate the affair, I afterwards (having proceeded to Azpeitia) sent the prior of San Salvador de Urdax¹⁰⁴ and the secretary Peralta [to the valley of Aéscoa] with authority to absolve them [*i.e.* the child-witches]. This dispatch quieted them all down for the moment, but since I have arrived here in Logroño, people have come to the Tribunal from the said valley to tell of fresh outbreaks of witchcraft from which they are now suffering just as is everyone else. They ask us to provide a remedy for them. This train of events originated from the simple circumstances I have just described.

72. I strongly suspect that in France, where the villages near Fuenterrabía and San Sebastián suffered the same affliction, the

¹⁰³ Salazar seems to have visited the Valley of Erro in the first days of August 1611. The session at San Sebastián lasted from 12th September until 8th October. During the second half of October he appears to have put his headquarters in Azpeitia (WA 237f with map 4, 279).

¹⁰⁴ The parish priest and commissioner Lorenzo de Hualde seems to have had the first commission (cf. WA 293), the second to be commissioned was Fray José de Elizondo, the Prior of Urdax, who assisted on the visitation as Basque interpreter.

71. Y así también tengo por cierto, que en el estado presente, no solo no les conviene nuevos edictos y prorrogaciones de los concedidos, sino que qualquier modo de ventilar en público de estas cosas, con el estado achacoso que tienen, es nocivo y les podría ser de tanto y de mayor daño como el que ya padecen. El cual silencio y disimulación conveniente también saco de las experiencias que he visto, de que no hubo brujas ni embrujados en el lugar hasta que se comenzó a tratar y escribir de ellos. Y estos postreros días lo vi más particularmente en el lugar de Olagüe, cerca de Pamplona, donde los confitentes dicen que, desde que allí les predicó fray Domingo de Sardo estas cosas, comenzaron a ser llevados.

Y también, habiendo ido yo personalmente a sólo despachar ciertas confitentes, que había en Valderro cerca de Roncesvalles, cuando estaba para volverme salieron a pedir los alcaldes que pasase a otro valle de Aéscoa, a dos leguas de allí, aunque no había daño ni cosa descubierta de esto, sino que era tan honrado aquel valle para ser visitado como Valderro—con que solamente hube de enviar entonces el Edicto de Gracia y desde ocho días que se publicó me avisaron a San Sebastián¹⁰³ que tenían ya muchachos confitentes. Y vista la información de un comisario a quien lo cometí, envié después desde Azpeitia al prior de San Salvador de Urdax,¹⁰⁴ que les absolviese, y con él al secretario Peralta. Y habiendo quedado así todos quietos con este despacho, después que llegué aquí, han acudido a significar al Tribunal nuevos daños y brujerías que padecen como los demás, pidiendo el remedio de ello—y habiéndose comenzado todo esto del principio dicho.

72. Y hay gran sospecha que en Francia, donde padecían esta calamidad los lugares cercanos de Fuenterrabía y San Sebastián,

authorities are now exercising restraint. Some four years ago a commissioned secular judge condemned over eighty persons as witches there.¹⁰⁵ Subsequently one expected the matter to be pursued further since, as we informed Your Eminence, a councillor from Paris attended the auto de fe.¹⁰⁶ However, not only has a second judge failed to come down to investigate the matter further but also, from what one can see, silence has been imposed and nothing more written about this affair.

Even the Bishop of Bayonne—at the time most vigilant in this matter as becomes a good prelate—has not taken further action and now forbids anything to be written about it, according to what they assured me. Indeed, in the letter, enclosed herein, which he wrote to me, while I was on the visitation, to report on the [Crypto-]Jewish priests from Portugal whom he indicates are at present in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, he makes no mention at all of the matter, although he was aware of my preoccupation with this affair in the villages which are so close to his bishopric and even to Bayonne.¹⁰⁷ **/16v/**

73. I also notice in the registers of the Holy Office here, that in November 1602 a woman called Francisca Buytrón, twenty-five years old and a resident in the town of Alegría near Vitoria, confessed quite openly before the Inquisitor Doctor Juan Ramírez to certain acts of witchcraft very similar to those going on now. Without proceeding to verify what she had said or investigating the case further, the Tribunal dismissed it on the grounds that there was not a shred of evidence. Later the town magistrates submitted the record anew to the Tribunal, requesting the case to be re-opened. When this was

¹⁰⁵ For other much higher estimates of Pierre de Lancre's witch burnings, see WA 25.

¹⁰⁶ In the Tribunal's letter to the Inquisitor General, of 13th Nov. 1610, the French visitor is called monsieur [Marc-Antoine de] Gourges (*Mus. Gorgos*) and described as "a rich nobleman and councillor of the Parlement of Bordeaux, to whom the Queen has entrusted the persecution of Portuguese Jews and Moors in the Basses Pyrénées" (WA 194).

¹⁰⁷ During his visitation Salazar had received a letter, written in Latin, from the Bishop of Bayonne (dated 5th Nov. 1611) concerning two Portuguese priests who had been convicted of Mahometanism by the Portuguese Inquisition, but had escaped from prison and recently were seen in Saint-Jean-de-Luz (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 5). For Bishop Bertrand d'Echaud and de Lancre's witch persecution, see above, introduction to chapter 3.

pasan con la misma disimulación, pues tras la primera justicia de un juez seglar de comisión que condenó más de ochenta personas por brujos,¹⁰⁵ habrá cuatro años, en la prosecución que se esperaba después de esto y del auto de la fe—donde se halló un consejero de París, que a Vuestra Alteza escribimos,¹⁰⁶ no sólo ha dejado de venir el segundo juez para estas cosas, sino antes, a lo que se ve, puesto silencio sin escribir más de ellas.

Ni aún el obispo de Bayona,¹⁰⁷ que por celo de buen prelado andaba entonces en esto muy vigilante, tampoco trata ni deja escribir nada, según me certificaron; antes bien escribiéndome a la visita la carta que con esta remito, en razón de los clérigos portugueses judíos que significa están en San Juan de Luz—sabiendo mi ocupación y asistencia de estas cosas en lugares tan propinguos a su obispado, y aún a Bayona—tampoco hace mención de ello. /16v/

73. Como también veo en los registros de este Santo Oficio que una mujer, llamada Francisca Buytrón, de edad de veinticinco años, natural de la villa de Alegría, junto a Vitoria, por el mes de noviembre de 1602 declaró, con toda distinción, ante el señor doctor Juan Ramírez, otras tales brujerías parecidas a las presentes, y que sin proseguir a su verificación ni hacer otra diligencia en el caso, le dejó el Tribunal por cosa descaminada sin figura de verdad. Aunque la justicia de la villa volvió a remitir su proceso después al Tribunal, deseando que se detuviese su causa, y en defecto de no lo haber

not done they went ahead and had her scourged in Alegría as an imposter who unjustly had defamed her neighbours.¹⁰⁸

74. On my return from the visitation to this city I have endeavoured to extract all the testimony against third parties resulting from the recorded confessions in order to forward them with these papers, as Your Eminence has instructed on such occasions. But with all the above I find that there is such a vast quantity of material that I have not been, nor will be able to finish any list of suspects without much time and effort, as can be gathered from the fact that only from the testimony of the aforesaid *revocantes* there were 1,672 suspects [cf. paragraph 66]. I have also been restricted by the Edict [of Grace] during which time proceedings could not be taken against anyone.

In addition it will be annoying to have drawn up testimonies made by people who subsequently come forward to recant as they are in fact still doing. In fact it is likely that there will be many more *revocantes* in the future according to what the commissioners of Urdax and Santesteban have informed us. Thus after the file of the eighty-one *revocantes* had been closed,¹⁰⁹ further revocations arrived these last few days from two elderly women reconciled here in the Tribunal. One is from María de Echeverría Mateorena,¹¹⁰ resident of Zubieta, and the other is from María de Echegui [of Zugarramurdi (doc. 2.II.15)], a daughter of Juanes de Echegui, who was burned [doc. 2.II.20]. After the auto de fe she served her sentence in the “House of Penance” wearing the penitential habit.¹¹¹

75. I have not had the opportunity to bestow the absolution *ad cautelam* on those persons who confessed to relapsing after they had been reconciled (although Your Eminence was pleased to grant me permission to do this) because they did not come to see me again.

¹⁰⁸ I have not been able to find anything about this case, neither in the series of *relaciones de causas* nor in the registers of la Suprema. But it is notable that the inquisitor who had dismissed this case was now serving as prosecutor (*fiscal*) at the Inquisition Council.

¹⁰⁹ The “File of the eighty-one *revocantes*” is identical with the preserved *Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation Book* (Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.2).

¹¹⁰ María de Echevarría Mateorena, as she is called in other sources, was one of the four witches whom the secular authorities of Zubieta in February 1611 had brought down to Logroño in order to have them imprisoned (cf. above, p. 25). From the Tribunal’s *Food Accounts* (cf. WA 515 n. 111) it appears that she and her companions spent several months in the prison of the Inquisition.

¹¹¹ According to the *Food Accounts* María de Echegui spent in 448 days in the Tribunal’s prison. For her recantation, see WA 498–499 n. 66.

hecho, prosiguiendo adelante, la azotaron en Alegría con nombre de embustera, que injustamente infamaba a sus vecinos.^{°108}

74. Y con todo esto, habiendo procurado después que volví a esta ciudad, sacar las causas que resultan de esta brujería por testificaciones de cómplices, para enviarlas ahora con estos papeles—como en tales ocasiones nos lo tiene Vuestra Alteza mandado—es tan grande el número de ellas, que no he podido, ni podré, acabarlas sin mucho trabajo y espacio de tiempo; cual se colige de las mil seiscientas setentaidós^{ag} referidas, que solamente fueron de los revocantes. Y también me ha detenido el término que dura del Edicto de Gracia, en que no se puede proceder contra ninguno. Y demás de esto, será estorbo haber sacado las dichas testificaciones reguladas por las personas que después vienen a revocar; pues en efecto, lo van continuando todavía con muestras de que adelante serán muchos más revocantes, como lo avisan los comisarios de Urdax y Santesteban. Y así, cerrado el número de los ochentaíun revocantes,^{°109} han llegado estos días otras revocaciones de dos mujeres mayores, reconciliadas aquí en el Tribunal, una de María de Echeverría Matecorena,^{°110} vecina de Zubieta, y la otra de María de Echegui^{°111} que, desde el auto de fe, estuvo con hábito en la casa de la penitencia, hija de Juanes de Echegui, relajado en estatua.^{ah}

75. No he tenido ocasión de dar absolución *ad cautelam*, ni otro despacho a las personas que confesaron relapsía después de reconciliadas, aunque Vuestra Alteza fue servido de remitírmelo, así porque

^{ag} Cf. párrafo 66, arriba.

^{ah} Cf. doc. 2.II.20.

However, I hope that after all that has been said we shall be prepared to look into this as well and take into account the total despair they feel when their parish priests deny them the Sacrament yet again.

76. Although all the above has been copied down many days ago, I observe that my colleagues are now insinuating that I have amended and modified the papers in the “second courtroom” [of the Tribunal] disregarding the express order I had received from Your Eminence that I was to hand them all over immediately to the archives (*el Secreto*) on the first day **/17r/** of my arrival back from the visitation, as is the custom. They further claim that I have taken too long [in preparing my reports] since I have withdrawn [from normal duties at the Tribunal] for this purpose. But I can assure Your Eminence that this was only because the papers of this visitation had swelled to five thousand folios, and because I was taking care lest they should get muddled and lose the good order so essential if they are always to be readily accessible.

77. As for my colleagues pledging themselves to refute my opinion on this matter on a later occasion, I can warrant how cordially I besought them during these days to inspect the records of the visitation and to extract from them anything that might be of assistance—and this within a period within which I consider they could have done it.

I can also vouch for the fact that much as I esteem and am indebted to the Lord Bishop of Sigüenza, I did not have opportunity to see him more than once when in Pamplona,¹¹² on my way to the visitation. I gave him a general outline of the matters concerning witchcraft as my colleagues had expressly ordered. But after this I have not had further occasion to discuss anything with him either by word or letter.

May God preserve Your Eminence. The Inquisition of Logroño, 24th March 1612.

The *licenciado* Alonso de Salazar Frías¹⁶

¹⁶ Only the signature is in the hand of Salazar.

¹¹² In 1612 Antonio Venegas de Figueroa, formerly Bishop of Pamplona, had been translated to the wealthy and sought-after bishopric of Sigüenza in Castile. For Salazar's meeting with him in Pamplona on his way to the visitation, see above, pp. 28f, 87f.

no han vuelto después otra vez a mí, como por esperar que con todo lo sobredicho habrá buena disposición de mirar también por esto, y por el desconuelo que tienen de haberles denegado al presente otra vez los sacramentos sus curas.

76. Estando escrito y copiado, muchos días ha, todo lo sobredicho veo lo que ahora insinúan mis colegas de haber compuesto y acomodado en la segunda sala los papeles con expreso orden y mandato suyo que tuve para ello el primer día que, **/17r/** en llegando de la visita, los entregué todos como es costumbre, en el Secreto, y de que haya tardado tanto tiempo estando retirado para esto; en lo cual certifico que ha sido solamente por haber crecido en esta visita los papeles hasta <las dichas> cincomil hojas, que procuraba no se confundieran, ni trastocaran del buen orden que han menester para tenerlos siempre a mano.

77. Y en cuanto prometen, también mis colegas impugnar^{ai} tan seguramente mi parecer de este negocio; también puedo certificar cuán^{aj} afectuosamente les he pedido que estos días vieran y sacaran de los autos de la visita, cuanto pudiera ayudarles, y esto conforme al tiempo y espacio en que entiendo lo pudieran haber proseguido.

Y certificándose también que con cuanto yo debo y estimo al señor obispo de Sigüenza, no tuve lugar de verle más de una vez en Pamplona,⁹¹¹² pasando a la visita, porque expresamente me lo ordenaron y mandaron mis colegas hacer así, y que le significase algo por mayor de cosas de brujería, sin haber tenido después de esta, ocasión ninguna de tratárselo por escrito, ni de palabra.

Dios guarde a Vuestra Alteza. De la Inquisición de Logroño a 24 de marzo de 1612 años.

El licenciado Alonso de Salazar Frías^{ak}

^{ai} Ms.: y ynpugnar.

^{aj} Ms.: quan, forma corrompida del latin “quam”.

^{ak} Solamente la firma está por mano de Salazar.

2

por que las causas son de chafidad, que lo requieren asi en el y luego p[ro]sigue
 Las diligencias que hizieron los Jueces seglares, y satisfuccion de la mujer que
 ynfantes, serrión en este Consejo, y a pasado cosa rara, lo que hizieron los
 Alcaldes de Casado, y de Catorra, y otras cosas que son de estar mal edificado, y
 confuso como escribis, y por esto es tornar a dar a entender, muy afichosamente,
 que entendais ciertos negocios, con mucha mucha prudencia y discrecion, y a las perso-
 nas que se presentaren en recibidos ombros, y en sido ynfelizmente presos, no debis
 mandar despojar de sus bienes, ni mandar pagar los gastos, que con allago hizieron
 por la quiesca de Guaspada, o por los Alcaldes, que los hanan presos, sin embargo
 go que os sea presentado una p[re]sion, que para ello liberari d[ic]to Consejo, por
 que quando aquella se dio, no estabamos ynfornados tan puntualmente, de estos ne-
 gocios, ni de las cosas que agora por una carta nos escribis, presto mediante
 uno señor, se os ymbiara algunos, que os ayude a sufrir la carga del trabajo.

2933. En 27 de noviembre de 1532 dice el Consejo en otra carta asi. Quanto
 a lo que dades del sueno, que hacen las Armas, quando salen debis estar
 muy advertidos, de mirar mucho esto del sueno, por que no se tiene por cosa
 cierta, sino por muy enganosa, y no se hagan las diligencias en esto, con
 forma o de brevedad. Y aun podriades alzar con las personas principales, y
 mas entendidas, y declararlas que se p[re]senta, los penas, y otras cosas que bienen en
 lo instructo, las ymbia Dios por muchos pecados, o por la disposicion del tiempo,
 como acontesca en otras partes, que no se despacha de Bruselas, que se apedrean
 los viñas, y se velan y acorturan otras cosas semejantes, por donde se pierden los
 frutos. Y es grande yncóveniente, que tengan una p[re]sion, que estas cosas las
 hagan solamente las Armas, y esto advertido, de no por todo lo que dice Ma-
 luso Malafra, por que lo relato, como cosa que es de averiguar, y la mate-
 ria es de chafidad en que se pudo entender, como los otros. Y quanto a los homi-
 ños, ayde tambien muy cabalmente que se haga muy grande averiguacion por
 que tambien se pudo recibir alguna eneto como en la de mas.

2935. En la misiva de Bruselas de 1535. Y por que por el mes de 1535 yavete, que tambien se descubrio algo de la
 misma confidencia, ni se allan los presos, ni toda la claviada que quera manarse
 por no haber tiempo de aquellos años, quanto de las cartas, que el Tribunal
 escribia al Consejo. Y rodarse en carta de 12 de sept. de 1535. se ordena al
 Tribunal muy apremiamente que no mande prender a ninguna persona por esta
 carta de Bruselas sin que p[re]sente sobre su p[re]sion, o suya consultado particular-
 mente al Consejo. La qual va copiada a Salazar con los demas papales requiridos
 por contener otras cosas substanciales.

A. H. N.
 RECEPCION

leg. 1537
 n.º 2127

Fig. 25. Folio 2 recto of Salazar's Fourth Report in his own handwriting with a pointing hand in the margin. (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid)

CHAPTER SIX

FROM THE BATTLE OVER THE WITCHES

Introduction

Becerra and Valle were not to be budged from their convictions: “We are still completely convinced,” wrote the latter to one of their allies, Fernando de Acevedo, Archbishop of Burgos and former councillor in *la Suprema*, “that when the Council reads our report . . . it will be bound to realize as a clear and obvious fact supported by unassailable arguments that this sect is a reality. And this in spite of the delusions and deceits employed by the Devil, which all purport to show that the witches do not exist”.¹

They had persuaded *la Suprema* to postpone the reading of Salazar’s reports until they too had been given the opportunity to make their statements. But they kept the Council waiting for almost eighteen months. As late as July 1613, when the above was written, the colleagues had still not finished. At the beginning of August they at least got part of their official opinion sent off, after it had been read out in the Tribunal.

Salazar, who had now lost patience, tried to get *la Suprema* to deviate from normal procedure and come to a decision without the Tribunal. His letter to the Inquisitor General of 24th September has not been preserved, but the contents seem to have been identical to the memorandum that he read out in the Tribunal the same day (doc. 13).² Although Salazar did not succeed with his unorthodox proposal, it did cause his colleagues to make haste: nine days later the rest of their opinion arrived, dated 3rd October 1613 (cf. WA 333).

¹ From the draft of a letter that the inquisitors Valle and Becerra sent at some time in July 1613 to Fernando de Acevedo, Archbishop of Burgos and former councillor in *la Suprema* (WA 329f).

² For Salazar’s letter of 24th Sept. 1613 to the Inquisitor General and accompanying memorandum, see WA 332f, and for the dating of his “Third Report”, see WA 536 n. 98.

The opinion of his colleagues consisted of a number of voluminous collections of material. The first, which has been preserved and fills 120 manuscript pages, tries with hundreds of quotations to document the various activities of the witches. The colleagues had excerpted these quotations, partly from the 84 cases tried by the Tribunal in Logroño, partly from 179 cases selected from Salazar's journal of visitations.³ The other memoranda, only known at second hand, comprised (1) a presentation of all the facts the colleagues claimed they had succeeded in documenting from impartial witnesses; (2) a critical review of Salazar's second report, that is our Document 12; (3) a detailed report on the developments from the very first revelations in Zugarramurdi until the auto de fe; and finally (4) a critique of Salazar and his treatment of the case both in the Tribunal and on his visitation (WA 336).

The 3rd of October is also the date of Salazar's Fourth Report (doc. 14), which seems to have been in preparation for some time, for only in the last chapters does he reply directly. This report shows us Salazar as a strategist. For eighteen months he has waited for his colleagues to finish their task, so that he himself can have the last word. He begins by presenting all the documents that the Tribunal either did not know of or chose to disregard, when in July 1609, shortly after Salazar's arrival, it replied to *la Suprema's* inquiry about precedents in witchcraft cases. Then he speaks his mind freely and writes about all the criticizable features of this trial, even when they sometimes reflect on himself. Thereafter follows a discussion of his colleagues' presentation of the evidence, and a reply to their criticism of himself and the discharge of his office. Finally he sums up the views of the two parties, which could hardly conceivably be more opposed. The documentary material he encloses with the report includes a letter from the commissioner in Lesaca, which says that the children now sleep peacefully at night and are no longer taken to the witches' sabbat (doc. 14.25).

For the first time, Salazar now received a reply from *la Suprema*. On 23rd October they wrote to him that since his colleagues had not given him the opportunity to familiarize himself properly with

³ For the discovery of this manuscript in 1971, see WA 336f. It was published soon afterwards by Florencio Idoate, Director of the Archivo General de Navarra (1972). The *Pamplona Manuscript* appears to be a copy of "Memorial A" of Valle and Becerra's opinion, see WA chap. 12.5.

their official opinion, and it was understood that the draft was still in the possession of the Tribunal, they asked him to read through this carefully and submit whatever comments he had. A few days later Salazar presented his new contribution to the Tribunal, where he was alone with Valle. Becerra had been promoted and was now serving as *fiscal* on *la Suprema*. But the contribution was not sent off right away. Instead Salazar took it with him to Jaén when, a couple of weeks afterwards, he was granted leave so he could travel to Andalucía and attend to his canonry.

Salazar's Fifth Report to the Inquisitor General is dated Jaén, 7th January 1614. It begins with a new discussion of the evidentiary proceedings of his colleagues, but this time at a higher philosophical level, where he demonstrates the impossibility of an objective assessment of the truth of the witchcraft confessions. The report gives us interesting glimpses of the now lost part of Becerra's and Valle's opinion, where they write for example of Salazar, that, "blinded by the Devil", he defended his witches. Elsewhere they compared the witches who found their way to the sabbat without being able to explain how, to sailors on the open sea who, without compass and chart, still found their way to the West Indies.

Thus both parties had now submitted their opinions in the great witchcraft case. It was now up to *la Suprema* to make a decision. The only thing that now worried Salazar was that Becerra, given his new appointment, would be able to be present when the case went to the high council, while he himself could do no more than go back to Logroño and await the outcome. Was this perhaps the situation his colleagues had long since anticipated and waited for?

13. *Third Report of Salazar [Logroño, 24th September 1613]*¹

Title: That the Council without delay make haste to reach a decision.

By virtue of the arguments which I, the Inquisitor Alonso Salazar Frías, have presented to the Council, that under the present circumstances it should vote on a general solution for the cases of the witches' sect and that it should depart from the procedure customarily used on such occasions—namely that the Tribunal is to vote first and thereafter the Council—on the strength of this claim I beg Your Grace [*i.e.* Doctor Alonso de Becerra, senior inquisitor of the Tribunal] to recall the following points.

In the first place, I estimate that almost all the people suspected of witchcraft live in the mountains of Navarra within an area of no more than eight leagues at its widest. The largest village comprises 300 heads of family while most of the others have less than fifty, since as is well known the population of that area is sparse.

Secondly, I maintain that until now not only have we failed to draw up properly the cases made out against the accused in order to vote on them, as is the normal practice after visitation, but also we have not even established the exact number. We have only reached a rough estimate by calculating that if 1,672 persons have emerged as accused by the 81 *revocantes* then, it is probable that there would be at least five thousand incriminated by the remaining *witch-confitentes*.²

Thirdly, the Tribunal, or rather two of its inquisitors, have been so occupied with the loose papers¹¹³ and the replies to them for almost two years¹¹⁴ that they have failed in the normal dispatch of other *causas de fe*. They have also neglected the visitation of the district and the administration of this Tribunal. Therefore, it is not

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[g], 25r–26r. Undated, but apparently from 24th Sept. 1613 (see WA 332 with n. 98).

² “if 1,672 persons . . . 5,000 incriminated by the remaining *witch-confitentes*” *underlined in the Ms.*

¹¹³ Loose papers, must be referring to First and Second report of Salazar and the “separate surveys” with abstracts from the original records, see above, note 66.

¹¹⁴ Cf. WA chap. 12.3 “The Long Wait”.

13. *Tercer informe de Salazar [Logroño, 24 de septiembre 1613]^a*

Título: Para que el Consejo apresurase sin dilación alguna la resolución de este negocio.

En la pretensión que yo, el inquisidor licenciado Alonso de Salazar Frías, he significado al Consejo, de que en el estado y ocasión presente se hayan de votar las causas de la complicidad de brujas por mayor y sin la especialidad que suele usarse otras veces—de votar primero de por sí cada uno el Tribunal de Logroño y después el Consejo—suplico a Vuestra Merced [*i.e.* doctor Alonso de Becerra, primer inquisidor del Tribunal] traiga a la memoria lo siguiente:

Presuponiendo, lo primero, que casi toda la gente que ha resultado testificada por este delito es en las montañas de Navarra, de un espacio y contorno de ocho leguas cuando más, donde el mayor lugar es de trescientos vecinos y la mayor parte de los otros no llegan a cincuenta por ser corta la población y gente de aquella montaña, como es notorio.

Y lo segundo, presupongo que en este negocio no solo se han dejado de sacar y disponer en orden, hasta hoy, las causas que resultan testificadas para poderlas votar, como se hace de otras visitas, sino que aún tampoco se ha hecho avance del número cierto que serán todas, si no es conjeturando que si de ochentaíun revocantes salieron testificados mil seiscientos setentaídós personas, de todo el número restante de confitentes parece que habrá por lo menos cincamil.^b

Y lo tercero, que si en los papeles sueltos y respuestas de ellos que tienen más sucinta ocupación que la sobredicha,^{o113} se han embarazado el Tribunal, o los dos inquisidores de él, casi dos años,^{o114} faltando al corriente y común expedición de las demás causas de fe

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[g], 25r–26r. Sin fecha, pero parece ser de 24 de septiembre 1613 (véase WA 332 con n. 98).

^b “*que de si de ochentaíun revocantes . . . cinco mil*” subrayado.

hard to imagine that at least twice as long will be required to draw up and arrange the said testimonies, not to mention all the other problems involved. For this is a far less straightforward task than the aforesaid.

Fourthly, the Council has considered it necessary to postpone the examination of the papers, as it has done until now. In consequence we run the risk of wasting the work of so many days [of visitation] when we return to vote on these cases after so long.

Fifthly, we must take into consideration that the *confitentes* have been induced by such wicked and detestable violence to state what they have declared about themselves and others, therefore it seems probable that the majority, or many of them, would have revoked their confessions had they known the possibility of doing so, and had they been aware of the fact that these would be received. Consequently, the sum total of confessions should not be calculated until this element of doubt has been eliminated by recording the revocations and by removing the names of persons from whom the accusations have been withdrawn.

Sixth and lastly, I call attention to the concern privately expressed by the Council when it pointed out the slight credence which could be placed in the testimonies against the priest and the friar, who were the last to be dealt with at the time of the auto de fe. Each had against him more than double the number of witnesses necessary for conviction in any other crime of heresy or apostasy. Notwithstanding, the Council confined itself to ordering torture and in the event of refusal to confess, *abjuration de levi*.¹¹⁵ **/25v/** The constancy of these two under torture and that of those relaxed, who allowed themselves to be burned without confessing, perplexed the Council greatly. So did the signs of remorse in the *confitentes* who had been the first to disclose this crime—a fact which was reported by the friars who had gone to preach in that area.¹¹⁶ Therefore, the

¹¹⁵ For the Council's intervention in the sentences of Don Juan de la Borda de Arburu and Fray Pedro de Arburu, see above, p. 101 and WA 168–172, 194.

¹¹⁶ The *confitentes* who showed signs of remorse can be identified as María de Jureteguía (doc. 2.II.9) and her aunt María de Chipía (doc. 2.II.14), both of Zugarramurdi. The niece was released immediately after the auto de fe, while the aunt was in prison until November 1611 (WA 277f). A third person of those who revoked their confessions was María de Echegui. When released in the autumn of 1611 she went straight to the commissioner at Urdax and recanted all she had confessed in Logroño (WA 498f n. 66).

y de salir a la visita del distrito y de acudir al gobierno de aquella Inquisición, parece poco imaginar que ha de ser menester más que doblado tiempo para sacar y acomodar las dichas testificaciones con otros tales inconvenientes dichos.

Lo cuarto, porque habiendo tenido el Consejo por tan precisamente necesario, el cuidado que ha continuado hasta hoy en examinar los papeles de estos negocios, forzosamente aventura perder el trabajo de tantos días para cuando después de este largo intervalo vuelva a votar las causas presentes.

Lo quinto, es de mirar que con tan enormes y abominables violencias con que los confitentes han sido inducidos a manifestar lo que de sí y de los demás han declarado, parece verosímil, que la mayor parte de ellos o muchos procedieran a revocar las dichas confesiones, si tuvieran para ello la facultad y noticia de ser admitidos que les ha faltado, y que por consiguiente de ello no se deben regular ni poner en número tales confesiones para el dicho avance de las causas, hasta que, saneado el dicho inconveniente con escribir sus revocaciones y sacar las personas que efectivamente hayan revocado, se prosigue después el cómputo con los demás que quedaren.

Lo sexto y último, presupongo el dictamen e interior sentimiento con que el Consejo ha manifestado la flaqueza y poco crédito de estas mismas testificaciones, en que para las causas del clérigo y fraile, que fueron las postreras despachadas cuando el auto, con tener cada uno más de doblado número de testigos del que pudiera bastar para ser convencidos en otro crimen de herejía o apostasía, todavía pasó con mandarles dar tormento y después de vencido que abjurasen *de levi*¹¹⁵ /25v/ coligiendo de la perseverancia de estos dos en su negativa y la que tuvieron los relajados, dejándose quemar sin confesar nada, y de otros indicios del arrepentimiento que de los confitentes, primeros descubridores de este crimen, avisaron los religiosos que les fueron a predicar en aquella tierra,¹¹⁶ tanta perplejidad,

Council issued the strictest orders, in the instructions concerning the Edict of Grace, that names of accomplices were not to be recorded [doc. 10.4]. Thus all the names which we have collected, in the Tribunal as well as on the visitation, can now be considered superfluous to our inquiry.

On these grounds alone the Council came to question the testimonies of all the *confitentes* who had incriminated third parties. How much more reason will the Council have for its doubts when these are reinforced by the weight of the irrefutable arguments [against the same testimonies], not to speak of the contradictions in the course of these trials which have now come to light. To all this can be added the significant precedent of nine extensive witch cases during the last seventy years. For during this time the Council has refrained from sentencing or punishing anyone for belonging to the witch sect [see doc. 14.2–12].

Nor does anything implied by my colleagues about the scandal which they say has been stirred up throughout the area—and which they claim ought to compel the Council to end it by a show of punishing the guilty—forbid this conclusion when we consider the following points:

1. Firstly, the assumption of my colleagues is contrary to fact: apart from the 1,800 persons discharged, who silently desire a veil to be drawn over this affair, there still remain the 5,000 people incriminated by the *confitentes*. These people are not only aware of the fact that they have been denounced because the *confitentes* have told them so, they have also come to realize the weak foundation of the accusations, seeing how these are established by their own children and those of the neighbourhood who are in the habit of shouting them out loudly. What is therefore more likely in a small area with scanty population than the unceasing scandal which could be, and indeed *is* being, stirred up by these 7,000 people who have seen themselves and others, equally innocent, unjustly implicated?

All of them, together with their families and friends finding themselves deprived of their public reputation by children and faulty *confitentes* seek with unceasing outcry and clamour redress from God and from the Holy Office. On the visitation I saw this clearly with my own eyes at every turn. Some went so far as to state brazenly that those burned at Logroño had died as martyrs. This can for example be seen from the statement of Catalina de Echevarría, from

que obligó al Consejo a mandar expresamente en la instrucción del Edicto de Gracia, que no se escribiesen ni recibiesen cómplices [doc. 10.4], conque se pudieran hoy tener por excusados y supérfluos los que sin embargo de esto hemos recogido los inquisidores en el Tribunal y en la visita.

Y ahora, sobre todos los dichos presupuestos, se deja ver que si con ellos solamente llegó el Consejo a detraerles el crédito a todos los confitentes de estos negocios para los terceros que nombran, cuánto más ha de bastar acumulando con ello el desengaño de tan eminentes argumentos, contradicciones y experiencias como hoy se han añadido, que resultan de sus mismas causas y procesos juntos, tan bastantes para no ser creídos y más con el dechado tan ejemplar de las nueve complicidades del espacio de setenta años postreros, donde el Consejo pasó sin sentenciar ni castigar ninguno por esta complicidad de brujos [véase doc. 14.2-12]; a lo cual no estorba nada lo que contra ellos quieren significar del escándalo (que dicen hay) conmovido en aquella tierra y provincia, induciéndole a congruencia de aplacarle con alguna demostración de castigar los culpados, considerando los puntos siguientes:

1. Lo primero, que para esto han presupuesto el hecho contrario de lo que pasa, pues sin los mil ochocientos despachados que con silencio desearan la disimulación de estas cosas, siendo hoy cincamil los ofendidos de estos confitentes, que no solamente saben ya su ofensa de relación de ellos mismos, sino que también han venido a saber las imperfecciones de ello, verificadas por los muchachos de su casa y vecindades que suelen decirlo a gritos, es mucho más verosímil el escándalo contínuo que en tan corta tierra y gente podrán conmovier todas estas sietemil personas (como realmente pasa), de sólo verse injustamente encartados a sí mismos y otros tales inocentes, que todos juntos, con los parientes y alegados, con clamores y contínuos alaridos, piden a Dios y al Santo Oficio satisfacción de la honra que los muchachos e imperfectos confitentes les tienen quitada, como lo ví en aquella tierra palpablemente a mis ojos cada rato, de manera que llegaban a desvergonzarse algunos en decir que murieron mártires los quemados en Logroño, conforme a lo que de sí y de ellos declaró en la Inquisición una Catalina de Echeverría, vecina

Fuenterrabía, who declared this about herself and about others (recorded in her revocation and in other entries of her trial).¹¹⁷

2. Secondly, the *alcaldes* of the High Court [of Navarra] at Pamplona have proceeded, and are still proceeding at the moment, to punish the town-councillors and minor agents of justice for violence and coercion employed to extract confessions of witchcraft.¹¹⁸ Should the Holy Office now begin to punish those accused on the basis of these very confessions, the flaws and shortcomings of which have already been recognized in the open proceedings of the High Court, grave harm will be done to the reputation and integrity of the Inquisition.¹¹⁹

3. Thirdly, if the disability and failings exposed during the examination of a witness are held to be enough to impair his trustworthiness, even to the extent that he is not thereafter questioned³ on the matters about which he was asked to testify—how much more should it suffice in the present case, where together with the former circumstances, his disability, *nullo monstrante*,⁴ has been recognised by the High Court in its proceedings.

4. Fourthly, since, after the public punishment in Logroño, about 2,000 *confitentes* were discharged as a result of the Edict of Grace (all of whom without exception were left “remedied” and calmed) it is obvious that there would be no break with previous policy. Nor is it likely that there remain offenders who have failed to use the opportunity to confess **/26r/** freely. For on the one hand the example of those relaxed as *negativos* served as a deterrent against failing to make use of the [Edict of] Grace; and on the other hand the leniency with which the *confitentes* were dispatched—without any public scandal—acted as an inducement to confession.

5. Fifthly, the principle of justice enshrined in so many directives of law has always justly admitted and upheld the practice of pardoning the masses who have gone astray. Therefore, how much more

³ “*Even to the extent that he is not thereafter questionen*”, underlined in the Ms.

⁴ Latin: “*which prove nothing*”. Read: “*his disability to prove anything has been recognized . . .*”

¹¹⁷ The recantation of Catalina de Echevarría (case no 493) is found in *Volume “F” of Salazar’s Visitation*, 353r–357v. It is dated Fuenterrabía, 29th Aug. 1611.

¹¹⁸ For the High Court of Navarra’s cases for slander, violence and coercion in witch trials, see above, pp. 56, 70, and WA 119, 479 n. 46, 564–565.

¹¹⁹ Salazar is referring to the fact that the High Court of Navarra as a secular tribunal had open procedures, in contrast to the secret procedures of the Inquisition.

de Fuenterrabía, en su revocación y en otros apuntamientos que andan en su proceso.¹¹⁷

2. Lo segundo, porque procediendo los alcaldes de Corte (como hoy lo continúan) a castigar los jurados y ministros de Justicia inferiores por culpados en las violencias y sugeriones con que indujeron a los confitentes dichos,¹¹⁸ si al mismo tiempo y ocasión también procediese el Santo Oficio a castigar los culpados por estas tales confesiones, que por los procesos abiertos de la Corte,¹¹⁹ ya quedan así conocidos por tan defectuosos e imperfectas, sería en notorio menoscabo de la debida estimación y decoro del procedimineto de la Inquisición.

3. Lo tercero, porque si la culpa y defectos de cualquier testigo ofrecida *incontinenti*^c, cuando fuera examinado, debe ser admitida y tenida por bastante para detraerle todo su crédito, y aun para que no sea examinado^d en lo que le habían presentado, cuánto más debe bastar en el caso presente donde, juntamente con esto mismo, también consta (*nullo mostrante*) sus tachas por los mismos autos judiciales, causados en este caso.

4. Lo cuarto, porque si tras la pública demostración del castigo del auto de Logroño, se siguió en el Edicto de Gracia el despacho de casi dosmil confitentes, dejándolos a todos (sin faltar ninguno) remediados y quietos, entonces parece claro que tampoco habrá mudanza, ni quedado hoy ninguno culpado sin ma- /26r/ nifestar liberalmente cualquier rastro de escrúpulo, considerándose entre el temor de los relajados por negativos, de la una parte, y de la indulgencia con tan secreto despacho de los confitentes, de la otra.

5. Lo quinto, porque si la equidad escrita en tantas disposiciones de Derecho, justamente ha introducido y loado siempre el perdón de cualquiera muchedumbre que haya delinquido, cuán más justamente admitirá en ésta ocasión, que no sea inquietado por tan vagas

^c *Latin: "immediately after".*

^d "y aun para que no sea examinado" subrayado en el Ms.

justly should it not be admitted on this occasion when there is a great throng of innocent people who are victims of vague and flimsy testimonies, especially when we consider that the Inquisition (according to what can be seen from the papers in its own archives) holds them to be guiltless? Moreover, not only is each one aware of his own innocence but all his neighbours have also come to the same conclusion. Indeed the situation has reached a point where there is grave danger of a general scandal and of the Inquisition's reputation for upright procedures being seriously threatened.

6. Sixthly, whatever the decision taken by the Holy Office in this case any genuine *confitente* must always be given protection so that he can be "remedied" after having confessed his error. Moreover, if the Holy Office decides to drop the case against all the indicted on account of the weakness in the evidence of their guilt, it must always be with the proviso that the cases can be reopened should new evidence come to light or in the event that the Inquisition changing its opinion. For as the resolution of the case will be kept secret the Tribunal will always have a free hand. At a time, however, when such serious difficulties are present very grave dangers may result from initiating and carrying out punishment.

7. Seventhly, it cannot be maintained that in the final decision in the matter, when the measures proposed in the second argument [cf. above, p. 354] have been carried out and the cases have been drawn up, only very few will be proven guilty as a result of these inadequate testimonies, and that only those with the largest number of witnesses or circumstances against them will be tried and imprisoned. For although it is true that we can seize the indicted later, there is also another more decisive consideration: we can predict that finally our decision will have to conform with that given in the case of the nine outbreaks of witchcraft referred to above [p. 358], and even more with the discovery of errors in the present affair.

Finally, for the sake of those fourteen or twenty defendants who might emerge from the large group who are today accused in the Holy Office it appears inhumanly cruel to keep in suspense the 5,000 unjustly accused people who together with their families are hourly looking for redress and enlightenment from the Inquisition.

8. Eighth and lastly, in view of the above, it would not only be difficult and fruitless to draw up the cases concerning this sect, but it can already be predicted that conclusions of little value are likely

y flacas testificaciones, esta inmensa copia de inocentes que la Inquisición debe tener por inculpados, por lo que colige y tiene en los registros de sus mismos papeles—y porque demás de ser cada uno de ellos testigo de su interior inocencia, también lo son con esto todos sus vecinos, de las experiencias dichas que manifiestan estos desengaños, con tanto peligro del escándalo universal que vemos de ello y de andar aventurado el crédito del recto procedimiento de la Inquisición.

6. Lo sexto, porque si en cualquier resolución que de esto tome el Santo Oficio, siempre ha de quedar preservado cualquier legítimo confitente, para ser remediado en lo que contra sí dijere; como también, por el contrario, cuando alce la mano de todos y de cada uno de estos encartados, por ser flaca la testificación de su culpa siempre que volviere a gravarsele, o que la Inquisición mudare de este secreto acuerdo, podrá seguirlo más y apurarlo a su voluntad sin inconveniente ninguno, como por el contrario los hay gravísimos de acometer y dar principio a lo que resisten tan urgentes inconvenientes.

7. Lo séptimo, tampoco lo mitiga imaginar que en la final resolución, después de hecho el avance y diligencia en el segundo presupuesto [cf. arriba, p. 355], solamente serán procesados y presos los pocos que en estas defectuosas probanzas tengan más copia de testigos o de circunstancias contra sí. Porque además de que siempre les quedaba ya la reservación apuntada de poderles hechar mano después, todavía sobre el desengaño tan perentorio con que pronosticamos que, al cabo, su postrero despacho se ha de conformar con las nueve complicidades referidas del tiempo antiguo y más con los desengaños que ha habido en el presente, también parece entretanto, en este mismo pensamiento, crueldad inhumana por catorce o veinte reos que podrán salir de toda esta turba, detener enballestados cincomil inocentes testificados, o sus parientes o conjuntos, de los que están hoy notados en el Santo Oficio y pendientes de la satisfacción y desengaño que de él esperan cada hora.

8. Lo octavo y último, porque siendo conforme a lo dicho, no solo infructuoso el largo trabajo que costaría sacar las causas de esta complicidad—pues muestran desde ahora el remate inútil que han

to emerge. Scandals would also result from attempts to inflict punishment. Considering therefore, that the feelings and opinion reached by each one of us have already been expressed [in the memorials submitted to the Inquisitor General] the censure and resolution of the Council would indeed be very opportune. Although only *I* have written the present appeal, all three of us in our respective memorials have begged the Council to make haste. *Salvo tamen dignissima correctione*,⁵ etc.⁶

⁵ *Latin*: “*With reservations for any necessary correction*”.

⁶ Being a copy there is no signature.

de tener—sino también del escándalo e inconvenientes que tendrá el inculcarlo, pues ya está apuntado el sentimiento y parecer que cada una de las opiniones en esto alcanzamos, caerá muy propiamente desde luego la censura y resolución del Consejo que todos tres colegas, en conformidad por nuestros memoriales, igualmente suplicamos que se apresure, aunque va puesta al principio en mi nombre solamente esta pretensión—*Salvo tamen dignissima correctione*, etc.^c

^c *Por ser copia falta la firma.*

14. *Fourth Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General*
*(Logroño, 3rd October 1613)*¹

*2

†

*3

Most Excellent Sir:

1. In a letter of 24 March 1612 [doc. 12] I reported to Your Eminence the results of the Edict of Grace and gave my opinion on the affair of the witches' sect. At the close, I indicated that some particulars remained to be discussed. In order to avoid controversy with my colleagues and to keep within the bounds of humility I refrained from raising them. Now, however, I find myself vexed again by their continual secrecy which is as troubling as always. As for their opinion [on the witches' affair] they have managed to keep me completely ignorant of the contents of their papers until [today], when they have read them out to me just before sending them to the Council.

Therefore, I have decided to write this letter now without informing my colleagues. This I do both to conceal my distress and to hear what they say, only when I submit it for their perusal before it is remitted to the Council. On this occasion they will have both the time and opportunity to consider the contents. And I shall have the time to make additions to my present paper which unfortunately has to be written in great haste.

As I do not wish to repeat what I have said before, I will only mention the essential points, adhering to my resolution to set down nothing other than what I consider the undisputed truth. My points may be grouped under the following four headings:—First. Concerning the documentation in the archives of this Tribunal that has not been brought to the attention of the Council.—Secondly. Of the errors that have been incurred during the course of this affair—both inside and outside the Tribunal—with the harmful effects that have resulted.—

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[a], 1r–10r. Copy in Salazar's own hand writing.

² *In the upper left corner of the page a marginal note by Salazar:* Logroño, 3rd October 1613. I added these points to what I had stated in the report on my return from the visitation with the Edict of Grace.

³ *In the upper margin to the left added by Salazar:* Witches. Folio one.

14. *Cuarta relación de Salazar al Inquisidor General*
(Logroño, 3 de octubre 1613)^a

*b

†

*c

Muy Poderoso Señor,

1. Por carta de 24 de marzo del año pasado de 1612, hice relación a Vuestra Alteza de lo que resultaba del Edicto de Gracia, y yo sentía en la complicidad de la secta de brujos, significando al cabo, que faltaban de esto algunas cosas que, por evitar debates con los colegas y no salir de la modestia que guardo, las reservaba para esta ocasión—en que, con el mismo inconveniente, también me lo vuelve a estorbar su continuo recato en retirarse de que yo haya sabido, de palabra ni por escrito, nada de sus papeles, hasta que cerrando el pliego de ellos me los han leído.

Y así luego, al punto, también escribo ésta sin tener disposición de comunicársela, así por no les ver el sufrimiento que en mí hallan, [como] para oír cuánto me dicen cuando por remitirlo a la vista de ello, en que se les podrá dar la noticia y espacio que convenga, y yo le tendré para añadir lo que con harto dolor esta prisa me ha estorbado. Y sin repetir nada de lo dicho, sólo diré en el caso lo forzoso, con el presupuesto que guardo de no poner más de lo que tuviera por notoria verdad, reducido a cuatro puntos:—El primero. De lo que hay en los registros de este Santo Oficio que nunca se ha referido al Consejo.—El segundo. De lo que en el Tribunal y fuera de él, se ha faltado en el progreso de este negocio, con los inconvenientes

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[a], 1r-10r. Copia con mano de Salazar.

^b *En el margen superior a la izquierda una nota marginal de Salazar.* En Logroño, a 3 de octubre 1613. Añadí yo esto a lo que por primera relación había yo dicho llegando de la visita del Edicto de Gracia.

^c *En el margen superior añadido por Salazar.* Brujas. Folio primero.

Thirdly. Of the significance of the proofs which both parties have brought forward.—And Fourth and last. Of the objections raised against my person and against my handling of this affair.

First article.

Concerning the documentation in the archives of this Tribunal that has not been brought to the attention of the Council.

*⁴ 2. In a letter of 11th March 1609 the Council ordered that the report of an experiment written by the Inquisitor Abellaneda in 1526^{°120} should be carefully examined and scrutinized and then be forwarded to the Council along with all other material on witchcraft that might appear before or after, including consultations with the Council and its answers. Although the Tribunal replied to this on 9th July 1609,^{°121} it appears that only one part of the relevant documentation was remitted. As for the other part which also may be found lying in the same archives no mention was made of the following items contained therein. /**lv**/

1526 *⁵ 3. In a letter of 14th December 1526, the Lords of the Council of the General Inquisition enclosed instructions for dealing with the witches' sect, and they made the following points:

Nobody should be arrested or condemned solely on the claims and confessions of these witches. No action should be taken⁶ until the investigations and inquiries already prescribed by the Council of the Holy Inquisition have been completed and the new measures now ordered by the Council have been carried out.

⁴ *Marginal note by Salazar:* To this can be added the letter from the Inquisitor Ayala to the Constable [of Castile] which appeared subsequently. It can be found in the first part [of the volume], folio 27. Cf. above, p. 6 n. 8.

⁵ *Marginal note of Salazar:* In the *Instrucciones Viejas*, folio 93. *The present reference and those in the following notes refer to the Tribunal's archives which were destroyed in the early 19th century (cf. Henningsen 1986, p. 58).*

⁶ "Nobody should be arrested" underlined in the Ms. and in the margin was drawn a pointing hand.

^{°120} About this "Inquisitor Abellaneda" (or Avellaneda) has been written at some length by Lea, Caro Barjo and others. Recent research, however, has born out that there never existed an inquisitor of that name, see WA 464 n. 37; Henningsen 1992, 175; Monter 1990, 262.

^{°121} According to the register of *la Suprema*, the Tribunal's letter was dated 11th July 1609. I have, however, not been able to localize this document, only two letters from the Council to the Tribunal, dated 21st and 24th July, acknowledging the receipt (WA 465 n. 42).

que de ello resultan.—El tercero. De la significación de los actos positivos alegados por ambas partes.—Y el cuarto y último. Que de las objeciones, que en la persona y discurso del caso, me imputan.

Artículo primero.

De lo que hay en los registros de este Santo Oficio que nunca se ha referido al Consejo.

*^d 2. En carta de 11 de marzo de 1609 mandó el Consejo buscar, y que se reconociese en los registros, el auto de experiencia hecho por el inquisidor Abellaneda el año de 1526,^{o120} y que con ello se le remitiese cuanto pareciese, de antes o después de él, en cosas de brujería y por consultas hechas al Consejo o respuestas de ellas. Y aunque a 9 de julio del mismo año de 1609,^{o121} respondió el Tribunal a esto, parece que sólo fue esforzando la parte afirmativa de este negocio; pues por lo menos en la negativa dejó de decir lo siguiente, que también se halla en los mismos registros: **/1v/**

1526 *^c 3. A 14 de diciembre de 1526, por una carta de los señores del Consejo de la General Inquisición e instrucción que con ella remiten sobre este negocio de la secta de brujos dicen los capítulos siguientes:

Parece que por el dicho y confesión de algunas de estas personas, no se deben prender^f ni condenar otras personas, contra quien digan sus dichos, hasta que se hagan las diligencias y averiguaciones cerca de estos errores que se mandaron en el Consejo de la Santa Inquisición y las que ahora parece que se deben hacer.

^d *Nota marginal de Salazar*: A esto se llega la carta que después ha parecido del inquisidor Ayala para el Condestable, que está en la primera parte [del volumen], folio 27. Cf. *arriba*, p. 6 n. 8.

^c *Nota marginal de Salazar*: En las Instrucciones Viejas, fol. 93. Esta y las referencias de las notas siguientes son del archivo del Tribunal de Logroño, extinguido a principio del siglo XIX (cf. Henningsen 1986, 58).

^f “no se deben prender” subrayado en el Ms. y con una mano dibujado en el margen.

The inquisitors should take great care to make the necessary inquiries about the persons who have gone or still go to gather with others whom they name. They should ascertain whether in fact they went as they confess, or whether on the nights in which they claim to have gone and met with the he-goat [the Devil], they in fact remained in their houses without venturing outside. This information can be obtained from other residents of the house. These investigations, however, were not carried out, at least not on this point [participation in witches' sabbat] <even though they were carried out for the verification of other evils to which they confess>.⁷

- 1531 4. In the year 1531 a visitation was carried out in the valleys of
 *⁸ Isaba and Roncal, and in many localities of the mountains of Navarra, afflicted in recent years by the witches' sect. In the course of inquiry, experiments were carried out to verify the witches' declarations with external facts testified by people who did not belong to the sect. In spite of the brevity and perfunctory nature of the records of the time it is clear that slight credit was given to the witches' declarations about their witchcraft unless witnesses outside the sect presented similar evidence.

In the village of Isaba several witnesses stated that the parish priest, Don Martín el Rojo, had told them publicly from the pulpit not to believe in witches. He said, that they did not exist; it was the Devil who prompted some to declare that there were witches. But these people, he went on, did not know what they were talking about and should not be given credit. This priest, moreover, does not appear to have been punished nor to have been subject to any proceedings.

- 1531 5. On 17th February 1531, the Lords of the Council of the Inqui-
 *⁹ sition declared:

We have seen what you say about the manner in which they [the secular judges] have proceeded against those imprisoned for witchcraft. We note that you are not convinced by the case against several of the accused. You say that you propose to take the measures required by

⁷ *Interpolation from the copy in the Council's register, Lib. 319, 349r-v. Salazar's source being the Tribunal's copy had obviously an error, or was simply misread by him.*

⁸ *Marginal note of Salazar. In the volume of the visitation which was carried out. The testimony received on that occasion is to be found therein.*

⁹ *Marginal note of Salazar. In the first volume of letters from the Council.*

Que con todo cuidado, los inquisidores hagan las diligencias y averiguaciones que sean necesarias de estas personas que han ido o van a juntarse con las otras que ellas dicen: si van realmente como ellas lo confiesan, o si en aquellas mismas noches que confiesan que van a aquel lugar y están con el cabrón, se^g quedan en sus casas sin salir de ellas; lo cual se podrá saber de otras personas de las mismas casas—porque estas diligencias no se hicieron cuanto a este artículo, <aunque se hicieron algunas en los otros artículos que confiesan de otros males y daños>.^h

1531 4. En el año de 1531 de la visita que se iba haciendo en el Valle
*ⁱ de Isaba y en Val de Roncal, y en otros muchos de las mismas montañas de Navarra, que ahora, en estos años, han estado inficionados de la secta de brujos, se hacían, conforme a lo dicho, muchas comprobaciones para verificar con actos exteriores, por personas que no fueran de la tal complicidad, los mismos actos que ellos deponían, de tal suerte que—con toda la cortedad y mal estilo de los papeles de aquel tiempo—todavía muestran en este cuidado el poco crédito que daban a los testigos brujos en lo que de sus brujerías decían, si otros de fuera no deponían lo mismo.

Y en el dicho lugar de Isaba dijeron algunos testigos que don Martín el Rojo, su cura y abad, en los sermones públicamente de la iglesia, les decía que no creyesen que había brujas ni brujos, porque no los había, sino que el diablo les hacía decir a algunos que había brujos, y que no sabían lo que se decían, ni les debían dar crédito. Y todavía no parece que fuese castigado ni se le hiciese proceso sobre esto.

1531 5. A 17 de febrero del dicho año de 1531, en la misma con-
*^j formidad, dicen los señores del Consejo de la Inquisición así:

Vimos lo que decís en la manera que se ha tenido en proceder contra las presas por brujas, y que no estais satisfechos de los méritos que hay contra algunas de ellas, diciendo qué entendeis hacer con ellas—

^g Ms.: si se.

^h *Interpolación del registro de cartas del Consejo Lib. 319, 349r-v, ya que la copia en archivo del Tribunal, que es la que manejaba Salazar, parece haber estado corrompida, o lo copió mal: aunque se hicieron algunas de algunos de los otros lugares, etc.*

ⁱ *Nota marginal de Salazar:* En el libro de la visita que entonces se hacía donde hay las testificaciones que se recibían en ella.

^j *Nota marginal de Salazar:* En el volumen primero de cartas del Consejo, fol. 71.

law in these cases as well as in those of <the rest of the prisoners>,¹⁰ who have confessed, and that you will observe the instructions, letters and orders of this Council. We charge you, Sir, to do so with all diligence, care and zeal in order to learn the truth; and we expect this
 *11 of you /2r/ because these are cases which require special care.

The letter continues:

The proceedings of the secular judges and the woman's testimony which you sent us, have been examined by the Council. The action taken by the *alcaldes* of Zarauz and Cestona seems excessive and you have reasons to think it ill-founded and dubious, as you have observed. Therefore we ask you once again to inquire into these affairs with great circumspection, prudence and skill. As for the persons whom you consider to have been wronged, and to have been unjustly imprisoned, you are not to order the disposal of their goods nor order them to pay the costs incurred on their behalf by the province of Guipúzcoa or by the *alcaldes* who hold them prisoner. You might be presented with a writ for this purpose which they obtained from this Council. However, when it was issued we were not as well informed about this affair nor about the details which you describe in your letter. Soon, God willing, we shall send you a companion to help you sustain the heavy burden of your work.

1538 6. In another letter, of 27th November 1538, the Council stated:

*12 As for your account of the witches falling asleep when they set out, look into this matter very carefully. It is not certain that they act in this way and their claim that they do so may be deceptive. Therefore, you should continue to investigate this according to instructions. Further, you should talk to the leading and more enlightened residents, explaining that when the harvest fails or the crops are damaged, it may be that God permits it because of our sins, or it may be due simply to the weather. This sort of thing happens, after all, in areas where there is no suspicion of witchcraft, and yet the vines are damaged by hail and frost, and the harvests are spoiled in the same way. You must tell them that they should not imagine that only witches do these things.

And you should not believe everything in the *Malleus Maleficarum*.¹²²

¹⁰ Interpolation from the copy in the Council's register, Lib. 320, 382r. Salazar's source being the Tribunal's copy had obviously an error, or was simply misread by him.

¹¹ In the margin drawn a pointing hand.

¹² Marginal note of Salazar. First volume of letters from the Council, fol. 1.

¹²² Heinrich Kramer (Institoris), *Malleus maleficarum*, Speyer 1486. According to recent research this inquisitor was the only author, as it appears that his colleague Jacob Sprenger (until recently cited as co-author) did not contribute to the work, see Günter Jerouschek and Wolfgang Behringer in introduction to Kramer (Institoris) 2000, 25f, 31ff.

<y con las otras que están todas presas>,^k que son las confesadas— las diligencias que de derecho se requieren, guardando en todo las instrucciones, cartas y mandatos de este Consejo, etc. Y encargamos os, señor, que así lo hagais con toda diligencia, atención y celo de saber verdad, como de Vuestra persona se confía /2r/ porque las causas son de calidad que lo requieren así, etc.

Y luego prosigue:

Las diligencias que hicieron los jueces seculares y la testificación de la mujer que enviasteis se vieron en este Consejo, y ha parecido cosa recia lo que hicieron los alcaldes de Zarauz y Cestona, y teneis, señor, razón de estar mal edificado y confuso como escribís; y por esto os tornamos, señor, a encargar muy afectuosamente que entendais en estos negocios con mucho tiento, prudencia y destreza; y a las personas que os parecieren han recibido agravio y han sido injustamente presos no debeis mandar disponer de sus bienes, ni mandar pagar los gastos que con ellas se hicieron por la provincia de Guipúzcoa, o por los alcaldes que las tienen presas, sin embargo que os sea presentada una provisión que para ello llevaron de este Consejo, porque cuando aquella se dio no estábamos informados tan puntualmente^m de estos negocios, ni de las cosas que ahora, por Vuestra carta, nos escribís. Presto, mediante Nuestro Señor, se os enviará compañero que os ayude a sufrir la carga del trabajo, etc.

1538 6. En 27 de noviembre de 1538, dice el Consejo en otra carta así:

*ⁿ Cuanto a lo que decís del sueño que hechan las brujas cuando salen, debeis estar muy advertidos de mirar mucho esto del sueño, porque no se tiene por cosa cierta, sino por muy engañosa, y todavía se hagan las diligencias en esto conforme a la instrucción. Y aún podríais hablar con las personas principales y más entendidas, y declararles que el perderse los panes y otros daños que vienen en los frutos, los envía Dios por nuestros pecados, o por la disposición del tiempo; como acontece en estas partes, que no hay sospecha de brujos, que se apedrean las viñas y se hielan y acontecen otras cosas semejantes por donde se pierden los frutos; y es grande inconveniente que tengan imaginación que estas cosas las hagan solamente las brujas.

Y estad advertido de no creer todo lo que dice *Malleus Maleficarum*,^{o122}

^k *Interpolación del registro de cartas del Consejo*, Lib. 320, 382r, ya que el texto parece contener un error, Ms.: y con los testigos que están todos presos.

^l *En el margen dibujado una mano puntando.*

^m *Cf. Registro de cartas del Consejo*, Lib. 320, 382v: particularmente.

ⁿ *Nota marginal de Salazar*: Volumen primero de cartas del Consejo, fol. primero.

For the author claims to have witnessed and observed the truth of matters, which are of such a nature that he could have been deceived as easily as anyone else.

As for the reports of murders, be vigilant here too; see to it that a thorough investigation is carried out, for in this situation, as in others, there is always the danger of error.

1555 7. Although it appears that more witches were discovered in 1555, the records cannot be found, and nothing can be stated with clarity about this affair since no register of letters from the Tribunal to the Council is available.¹²³ In a letter from the Council of 12th *13 September, however, the Tribunal was clearly commanded not to order anyone to be seized as a witch, until it had first consulted the Council in detail about the question of arrest. Together with the other papers I forward a copy of this letter because of its great importance.¹²⁴ /2v/

1555 8. In a letter of 2nd October 1555 we find the following passage:

On these affairs you will comply, Sirs, with the procedures prescribed by the Council in our letter of the 12th of the last month. In this and similar cases you will proceed with great prudence and caution. From our experience in cases of this kind we have concluded that one ought not put very much confidence in the confessions of these persons. In such doubtful and unlikely matters one should see to it that there is undertaken from the beginning whatever investigations, questions, and crossexamination are necessary to discover the truth.¹²⁵

1576 9. In 1576 by a special commission and order of the Council the *14 Inquisitor Juan López de Sierra and later, on his promotion to the Inquisition at Seville, the Inquisitor Alonso Gaytán went to the moun-

¹³ *Marginal note of Salazar*: In the *Instrucciones Viejas*, fol. 101 and 102.

¹⁴ *Marginal note of Salazar*: In the volume of the visitation carried out at that time in the said region. The rest is found in the cases which were referred to the Council on that occasion. There exist furthermore files containing these proceedings and trials: *legajos* 15 and 16 of "Suspended cases".

¹²³ In *la Suprema's* register there is a letter from the Tribunal, dated 9th Oct. 1555, concerning some witches imprisoned by Don Felipe de Lezcano (*Lib.* 785, 497r-v).

¹²⁴ C/T 12.9.1555, Salazar's copy of this letter was appended to the report under the signature "BB" (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30). A draft for the same letter is found in the Council's register (*Lib.* 245, 221r).

¹²⁵ There is no copy of this letter in *la Suprema's* register.

porque lo relata como cosa que vió^o y averiguó, y la materia es de calidad en que él pudo engañarse como los otros.

Y cuanto a los homicidios, estad también muy sobre aviso que se haga muy grande averiguación, porque también se pudo recibir engaño en esto como en lo demás, etc.

1555 7. Aunque por el año de 1555 que también se descubrió algo de la misma complicidad, ni se hallan los procesos, ni toda la claridad que fuera menester, por no haber tampoco de aquellos años registro de las cartas que el Tribunal escribía al Consejo.^{o123} Y todavía en

*p carta de 12 de septiembre de 1555, se ordena al Tribunal, muy apretadamente, que no mande prender a ninguna persona por esta secta de brujas sin que primero, sobre su prisión, se haya consultado particularmente al Consejo. La cual [carta] va copiada a la letra con los demás papeles que remito, porque contiene otras cosas substanciales.^{o124} /2v/

1558 8. En carta de 2 de octubre del dicho año de 1555 hay este capítulo:

Y cerca de estos negocios cumplireis, señores, lo que por este Consejo se os hubo escrito a los 12 del pasado, porque así conviene, y procedereis en este negocio y en los semejantes con mucho tiento y cautela que de la experiencia que aquí se tiene de en lo que han parado otros negocios de la calidad de éste que tocan a brujas, se tiene entendido que no nos debemos fiar mucho en las confesiones de semejantes personas, sino como en negocios tan sospechosos e inverosímiles, saber desde el principio e inicio de que tuvieron muchas averiguaciones y las preguntas y repreguntas que convengan para alcanzar la verdad, etc.^{o125}

1576 9. En el año de 1576, por comisión y orden especial del Consejo,
*q fueron a perseguir en las montañas de Burgos a cierta complicidad de brujos que allí se había descubierto, el inquisidor Juan López de Sierra y luego, por su promoción a la Inquisición de Sevilla, el señor

^o Ms.: vidó.

^p *Nota marginal de Salazar*: En las Instrucciones Viejas, fol. 101 et 102.

^q *Nota marginal de Salazar*: En el libro de visita de este tiempo y tierra y lo demás y siguiente en las causas que en aquel tiempo escribía el Tribunal al Consejo, y también hay legajo de estas causas y procesos, número 15 y 16 de legajos de suspensos.

tains around Burgos to persecute a certain coven of witches discovered there. The inquisitors initiated proceedings in 48 cases of women denounced as witches, from the villages of Escalante, Castro de Urdiales, Guriezo, Puerto de Agüero and Puente de Agüero. All these women were tried by the Tribunal. Some of them died and others revoked their confessions. Others were submitted to torture. But after the Council had examined their files, it ordered the proceedings to be suspended in every case. Thus no sentence was carried out or, indeed, pronounced against any of the women whether alive or dead, not even against the *revocantes*.¹²⁶ The only outcome of this was that the following case was resolved in the same way.

- 1576 10. In the same year of 1576 the councillors of the High Court of Navarra took action against some witches from the villages of
 *15 Ciga, Burgui, and other areas of the Valley of Baztán and imprisoned the accused. After a dispute over rights of jurisdiction 34 persons were handed over to the Inquisition. The councillors, however, retained jurisdiction over the cases of 60 more persons whom they also were holding prisoner. The first 34 cases were tried by the Inquisition. The files together with the vote of the inquisitors were submitted to the Council for examination and in every case sentence was suspended and no further action proved necessary. The same appears to have been true of the remaining 60 cases which the councillors had preserved for decision.¹²⁷
- 1595 11. In a letter of 19th April 1595, the Council once more renewed
 *16 its directive that the Tribunal was never to make arrests for witchcraft until it had first consulted the Council.¹²⁸
- 1596 In 1596, the councillors of the High Court of Navarra **/3r/** sur-
 *17 rendered [to the Inquisition] fourteen more persons from the Valley

¹⁵ *Marginal note of Salazar*: [File no.] 15 and 16 of “Suspended cases” [in the Tribunal’s archives, cf. above, n. 5].

¹⁶ *Marginal note of Salazar*: There is a special file of those imprisoned on that occasion.

¹⁷ *Marginal note of Salazar*: This is to be found in the same file.

¹²⁶ Cf. C/T 12.1.1576 (*Lib.* 327, 1r); C/T 23.1.1576 (*ibid.*, 4v); C/T 13.4.1576 (*ibid.*, 20v). Salazar’s statement about the 48 witches from the province of Santander was slightly incorrect: one of them was actually sentenced on an auto de fe at Logroño, 3rd November 1577, where she abjured her witchcraft *de vehementi* and received a hundred lashes (*Lib.* 833, 245v–246r); another who was given the same sentence happened to die before the auto (*ibid.*, 257r–258r); the rest were absolved (*ibid.*, 206v–208v).

¹²⁷ Cf. Monter 1990, 268f; Henningsen 2005, entry on “The Basque Country”.

¹²⁸ The letter of 19th April 1595 is also found in the Council’s register (*Lib.* 329, 398v). The original records were returned to the Tribunal and filed in a special *legajo* (see footnote 16).

inquisidor Alonso Gaytán. Y de los lugares de Escalante, Castro de Urdiales, Guriezo, Puerto y Puente de Agüero, se hicieron cuarentaiocho causas contra las mujeres testificadas de brujas, las cuales se substanciaron todas después en el Tribunal, donde algunas de ellas murieron y otras revocaron sus confesiones, y otras fueron atormentadas. Y vistos los procesos de todos en el Consejo, se mandaron suspender sus causas sin haber ejecutado, ni aún pronunciado sentencia en ninguna de ellas, en vida ni en muerte, ni tampoco en las revocantes,¹²⁶ sin haber resultado ni tenido otro efecto esta complicidad más del siguiente.

- 1576 10. Que en el mismo año de 1576, los alcaldes de Corte del Reino
 *^r de Navarra procedieron también contra otras brujas de los lugares de Ciga, Burgui y otras comarcas del Valle de Baztán.° Y teniendo presas las culpadas, después de alguna competencia sobre el conocimiento de este negocio, remitieron treintaicuatro personas con sus procesos a la Inquisición, quedándose con otras sesenta causas, diferentes de estas; las cuales sesenta también tenían encarceladas en la Corte de Pamplona. Y habiéndose proseguido las dichas treintaicuatro causas de la Inquisición y vístose, al cabo, todas en el Consejo, con lo que del Tribunal se envió votado, también fueron suspensas todas, sin haber resultado otro suceso de ninguna de ellas, ni entendiéndose que tampoco le tuviesen las sesenta restantes que para sí habían reservado los alcaldes.¹²⁷
- 1595 11. En carta de 19 de abril de 1595, volvió el Consejo a renovar
 *^s el antiguo mandato, de que el Tribunal no hiciese jamás captura ninguna por esta complicidad de brujos, sin haber consultado sobre ello muy particularmente al Consejo.¹²⁸
- 1596 En el año de 1596 remitieron los mismos alcaldes de Corte de
 *^t Navarra /3r/ otras catorce personas, del Valle de Larraun, en aquellas

^r *Nota marginal de Salazar*: Legajo 15 y 16 de “suspensos”.

^s *Nota marginal de Salazar*: En un legajo particular que hay de éstas.

^t *Nota marginal de Salazar*: Esto anda en el dicho legajo de las precedentes.

of Larraun whom they held prisoner in Pamplona, all of whom had confessed to witchcraft. Of these all except one recanted in the Tribunal. After their files and the divided vote of the inquisitors had been examined by the Council, it ordered them all to be set free at once without restriction. No other action, remission, or sentence was carried out against any of them, not even against the *revocantes*.¹²⁹

12. All the preceding shows that throughout these years the Council never permitted severe punishments, either against the chief offenders, the *revocantes* or the rest of the accused. This was due to the Lords councillors, Prelates, and “Congregations” made up of leading figures, coming to the conclusion from their discussions that these affairs are very uncertain, and they reached this conclusion in spite of the votes from the Tribunal supporting the opposite view with strong arguments [in favour of severe punishment].

These are the points which the Council specifically asked and ordered us to ascertain in the letter of 11th March 1609. I forward them now of my own accord hoping to make good for what we all failed to do on that occasion.

Second article.

Of the errors incurred during the course of this affair,
both inside and outside the Tribunal, with the
harmful effects that have resulted.

13. I might excuse myself for my role in the inquiry as I had only just begun to work in this inquisition when the letter of 9th July 1609 was written to the Council.¹³⁰ However, I feel burdened by a greater responsibility. I am referring to the divided vote cast by the inquisitors and the *consultores* in the case of María de Arburu of Zugarramurdi and the other witches who appeared subsequently at

¹²⁹ The witches from the Valley of Larraun do not appear in *la Suprema*'s archives, in fact there is no mention of witches, neither in the correspondence nor in the Tribunal's series of *relaciones de causas* for this period (courtesy of Doña María Dolores Alonso, chief of the Inquisition Section of the AHN).

¹³⁰ Salazar had started to work in the Tribunal on 20th June 1609, so he had only been a fortnight in his new post as third inquisitor of Logroño when the Tribunal sent its answer to *la Suprema* (see above, p. 23).

montañas, que allá tenían presas y confitentes por este mismo delito de brujas, las cuales todas, excepto una de ellas, revocaron sus confesiones en el Tribunal, y vistas en el Consejo con lo que de acá iba votado en discordia, las mandó soltar luego libremente a todas para que hiciesen de sí lo que les pareciese, sin haber habido otra remisión, sentencia, ni suceso de ninguna de ellas, ni tampoco procedido contra ninguna de las revocantes en ésta ni en las demás ocasiones que van apuntadas.¹²⁹

12. De todo lo cual resulta, que en los principales delinquentes, en los revocantes de confesiones, ni en los demás testificados, nunca dejaron proceder en todo este tiempo a otra demostración los señores consejeros, prelados y juntas de grandes varones que lo trataban, por la perplejidad que sacaban de sus conferencias y de los votos encontrados que iban del Tribunal con grandes argumentos para ello.

Y siendo en estos mismos artículos, lo que tan precisamente pedía y nos mandó buscar el Consejo por la dicha carta de 11 de marzo de 1609, con enviar ahora todo esto, deseo también cumplir solo lo que faltábamos entonces todos juntos.

Artículo segundo.

De lo que en el Tribunal y fuera de él se ha faltado en el progreso de este negocio y de los inconvenientes que de ello han resultado.

13. Y cuando por ser recién llegado a esta Inquisición, a 9 de julio de 1609, que se escribió la carta sobredicha,¹³⁰ tenga yo alguna disculpa, me grava otra mayor de que en el mismo voto encontrado que dimos todos los colegas y consultores en la causa de María de Arburu, vecina de Zugarramurdi—<que con ésta remito>^u—para

^u *Añadido entre líneas por Salazar.*

the auto de fe. In my vote, enclosed herein,¹³¹ I failed to challenge the reasoning and replies of my colleagues although I knew them to be at variance with the facts as revealed in the documents of the case. However, I thought that once my vote was given I could not change it not even after having heard my colleagues', nor alter it because of anything they might have said. I still remained confident that this omission would be repaired by the Council upon examining the original records [where the discrepancy in the votes of the two colleagues would be clear]. Nevertheless, I now blame myself for having hesitated on that occasion.

14. As for the proceedings we failed to write down many important things concerning the defendants both within and outside the Tribunal. For we omitted to record the disputes and rejoinders [during the hearings], writing only the final resolution of each point. We thus suppressed the inconsistencies and irrelevancies which could have further weakened the defendants' creditworthiness. When for example, a certain Juan de Espinar¹³² from Santesteban de Lerín, stated that he had seen the three inquisitors at his gathering entwined with three women, this was abridged to [his having seen] the figures of some inquisitors, and nothing more.

Nor was mention made of the continued promises and guarantees /3v/ with which we assured each one of those who denied everything that if they confessed they would be set at liberty. Nor was mention made of the communications and confrontations among the prisoners permitted or arranged by the Tribunal in order to make people confess or supply certain missing information about their offences or accomplices.¹³³

On some occasions specific retractions made in the chamber of what had already been confessed, were omitted from the records in the hope that the renunciations would be withdrawn through the use of the aforesaid procedures, which were not mentioned either.

¹³¹ The copy of Salazar's Vote of 8th June 1610, in his own hand and marked "CC" is found in *Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30[c], 1r-v (cf. above, p. 25, and for a discussion in detail, WA chap. 8.7).

¹³² "Juan de Espinar" appears to be an error for Petri del Espinar (case no. 50). The 70-year-old man had made his confession in the Tribunal on 23rd April 1611 and was reconciled three weeks later on the 14th of May, just before Salazar set out on his journey of visitation.

¹³³ For these confrontations see above, p. 23. They were not mentioned in the records but the inquisitors had actually reported on them in their letters to the Council (cf. WA 62-65).

ella y los demás brujos que salieron al auto,¹³¹ dejé de satisfacer a lo que el discurso y respuesta de los colegas discrepaban del hecho y papeles en cosas muy substanciales, solamente por haberme rendido a pensar que estando cerrado mi voto antes de ver el suyo, no podía yo mudar ni alterar nada por lo que ellos añadiesen, fiado todavía que siempre supliría esto la verificación que hallaría a mano el Consejo en la vista de los mismos procesos, aunque en duda, me acuso ahora de ello.

14. En los cuales procesos, tampoco se escribían muchas cosas substanciales que—dentro y fuera del Tribunal—pasaron con lo reos de ellos, reduciéndolo a lo que de las altercaciones y réplicas quedaba por resolución final de cada punto; callando así otras contradicciones y desatinos que les pudieran detraer el poco crédito de lo demás. Conforme a un Juan de Espinar,¹³² de Santesteban de Lerín, que decía nos había visto a los tres inquisidores en su junta, envueltos con tres mujeres, y después se redujo a que solamente eran las figuras de inquisidores.

Ni tampoco se escribían las continuas y aseguradas promesas **/3v/** con que certificábamos a cada uno de los negativos que, en confesando, serían sueltos y libres; ni las comunicaciones y careaciones que tenían permitidas o disimuladas del Tribunal para venir a confesar o añadir lo que de su delito o cómplices nos faltaba de saber.¹³³

Y aun algunas veces también se omitían en la Sala expresas revocaciones de lo confesado, esperando la reducción del que las hacía, por los dichos medios que no escribíamos.

15. The situation reached the following extreme: Martín de Igoazabal, the warden of the *casa de penitencia*, reported that on a certain night he had kept watch secretly over two women in the prison who were later reconciled. The two were María de Jureteguía and María Chipía [Barrenechea] de Zalayeta. Both were amongst the prime movers of the disclosures at Zugarramurdi. The warden reported how he heard María Chipía say to the other that she could not confess to what we were asking in the Tribunal because she was not in fact a witch nor did she know that anyone else was, and that everything confessed was untrue. To this María de Jureteguía replied that she would never be able to leave prison until she had made a confession even if false, as she, María de Jureteguía, had already done.¹³⁴

On another occasion, on a certain feast day, Fray Sebastián de Arrizuñaga, a Basque friar of the Franciscan order told one of us [inquisitors] that a certain person who had been reconciled, was at the point of death in the *casa de penitencia*. She had sent him to secure his permission to retract her confession as false. The permission was not granted and the woman died, but no record was made of the incident.¹³⁵ It can be presumed from this example that similar cases may have occurred without coming to my notice.

Nor could I persuade my colleagues to take down another report made in the chamber on 9th June 1612 by a notary [of the Inquisition], Don Martín de Alcoz, priest of Iráizoz, dealing with the remorse suffered by the discharged *confitentes* in that locality and in Pamplona. These people frantically sought to undo the lies they had told about themselves and others. They consulted their confessors and other friars on a course of action but no one was able to guide them. Since my colleagues would not record this, I asked him to write it down and sign it, and afterwards it was read out in the chamber at my request. I now forward a copy.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ The nightly conversation must have taken place between September 1609, when María Chipía was imprisoned, and 13th February 1610, when she made her confession. It was not reported in the letters to the Council; we only know about it thanks to Salazar.

¹³⁵ The woman who died in prison was with all certainty María Presona (doc. 2.II.13) of Zugarramurdi (cf. WA 498 n. 66). For the two older inquisitors' resistance to accept recantations, see below, paragraph 16.

¹³⁶ In the rush Salazar apparently confused the person testified about with the witness, Don Juan de Olcoz (or Alcoz), as emerges from the appended document. The case was the following. A man who had made a witchcraft confession before the "*Señor Inquisidor*" [Salazar on the visitation, we may presume] came afterwards

15. Y lo sobredicho llegó a que, habiendo dado noticia Martín de Igoarzabal, alcaide de la Casa de la Penitencia, que en cierta asechanza oculta, que él había hecho una noche a dos mujeres, sus presas, que después fueron reconciliadas—llamadas María de Jureteguía^v y María Chipi [Barrenechea] de Zalayeta, su tía (que ambas eran casi el primer movil de este descubrimiento de Zugarramurdi)—decía la una a la otra que no podía confesar lo que le preguntábamos en el Tribunal, pues en efecto no era bruja, ni sabía que lo fuesen las demás, sino que todo era mentira; a qué la respondía Jureteguía que no podría salir jamás de la prisión, si no lo decía aunque fuese mintiendo, como ella lo había ya hecho—de que tampoco se escribió ni apuso nada en el Tribunal.¹³⁴

Ni de otra vez que un fray Sebastián de Arrizunaga, fraile vascongado de la Orden de San Francisco, dijo un día de fiesta a uno de nosotros que N. reconciliada en la Casa de Penitencia, que estaba en el artículo de su muerte, <le>^w enviaba a pedir licencia para revocar todas sus confesiones como falsas y mentirosas; y también se murió sin dársela ni escribir nada de este suceso;¹³⁵ cual es de presumir que habrán pasado otros tales sin llegar a mi noticia.

Pues tampoco pude acabar que se escribiese en la Sala otra relación que hizo en ella, a 9 de junio de 1612, un notario llamado don Martín de Alcoz, abad de Iraízoz, de las inquietudes que en aquella tierra y en Pamplona padecían los confitentes despachados, buscando muy descarriados el remedio de lo que de sí y de otros habían mentido, consultando sobre ello sus confesores y otros religiosos, que no atinaban a gobernarlos lo que en el caso debían hacer; y por no se haber escrito, hice que me lo diese de su letra y firma, cual se leyó después en el Tribunal a mi instancia y ahora envío aquí una copia de ello.¹³⁶

^v Ms.: Xuleteguia.

^w *Añadido sobre la línea por Salazar.*

to confess himself to his parish priest Martín de Alcoz”, *abad* of Iraízoz, a few miles north of Pamplona. During confession the man admitted that he had lied, because neither he nor the persons he had denounced to the Inquisition were witches. Don Martín consulted on the case with a colleague, Don Juan de Olcoz (the witness) who took him to a renown casuist in Pamplona, the Jesuit Father Gálvez. The learned “*teatino*” answered that the case was difficult, since the man could be burnt for recanting his confession. The only solution would be to recant what he had deposed against third parties but remain firm on what he had confessed about himself. Juan de Olcoz who was not satisfied with the answer objected that it was a

16. No less grave has been the failure to record and admit the revocations and renunciations as ordered by the Council in its letter of 28th June 1611. It commanded that they were to be admitted throughout the duration of the Edict and it ordered the Tribunal to instruct its commissioners to record and remit those made in each district.¹³⁷ This failure not only represents disobedience; it also has created serious difficulties and caused souls to be troubled, as the testimony of the notary illustrates.

In this manner my colleagues have confirmed their unceasing aversion to the idea that anyone involved in witchcraft should retract in any way. Their attitude is made clear in a letter of 6th June 1611 in which they reply to my request for permission to admit *4r/ revocantes* during the visitation. They declared:

It is a very grave matter when those who have been reconciled by the Holy Office seek to retract their confessions. It is therefore desirable to send those who attempt to do so as prisoners to this Holy Office. Here they will be heard according to law, but they will suffer the penalties for false revocations and for impenitence and relapse, unless their revocation is shown to be true; and if the latter is the case they will receive due chastisement for having deceived the Holy Office in a matter so serious as to involve reconciliation.¹³⁸

Together with what has been said above, this reply reveals the methods employed as my colleagues have sought to limit the possibility for admitting *revocantes*. Moreover, they have curtailed this faculty for

mortal sin to defame oneself and one's whole lineage. But the Teatin had answered: "Everyone is master of his own honour and therefore neither causes harm nor sin by such an act." Afterwards the witness on consulting Manuel Rodríguez and other manuals for confessors found out that he was right and agreed with Martín de Alcoz that they should travel together to Logroño and consult the Inquisition about what to do, but the good priest of Iráizoz did not show up, so the witness came alone (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30, copy in Salazar's hand and marked "DD"). Martín de Alcoz might be identical with a priest who Salazar on his visitation had appointed inquisitorial notary, however, the problem is that this priest is referred to as the "*abad de Beúnza*"—Beúnza situated a few miles from Iráizoz (*Lib.* 795, 361r, in the unpublished part of Salazar's First Report).

¹³⁷ The letter of 28th June 1611 allowing recantations is also found in the Council's register, cf. the quotation in WA 252.

¹³⁸ In cases of formal heresy the withdrawal (*revocación*) of a confession made to the Holy Office was punished with the stake. Witchcraft, however, was exempted from this rule (Lea 1906-7, vol. 2, 584; cf. San Vicente's manual, chap. 9, *apud* Amézaga 1968, 293f).

16. Y no ha sido menor la falta de escribir y admitir las declaraciones o revocaciones que, en carta de 28 de junio de 1611,⁹¹³⁷ mandó al Tribunal el Consejo, que en todo tiempo las admitiese, y ordenase a los comisarios que cada uno en su distrito las pudiese escribir para remitir al Tribunal, pues sin la inobediencia de esto resultan también los inconvenientes y confusión de las almas, significadas por el nuevo ejemplo precedente del abad de Alcoz.^x

Y también apoyan^y así mejor los colegas su continuo odio de que ningún en estado de esta brujería, por qualquier modo retroceda; cual muestra su carta de 6 de junio de 1611, donde me responden a la venia que les había pedido para admitir **/Ar/** yo en la visita revocantes, con las palabras siguientes:

En cuanto a pedir para revocar sus confesiones los que han sido reconciliados por el Santo Oficio es cosa gravísima, y que era necesario precisamente, a los que tal atrevimiento tuvieron, remitirlos presos a este Santo Oficio donde serán oídos conforme a derecho, para que tengan el castigo de las injustas revocaciones, si lo fueren, y de la impenitencia y relapsía, o el castigo que justamente merecieren por haber engañado al Santo Oficio en caso tan grave y en cosas en que interviene reconciliación, etc.⁹¹³⁸

Cosa que con lo demás dicho, también descubre los medios que, por todos trances, han puesto en divertir la facultad de admitir revocantes. Pues a [un] inquisidor que de su oficio y de comisión, la

^x *El el Ms. escrito:* Olcoz

^y *Ms.:* apoyar.

an inquisitor who is of equal standing in terms of both his office and commission. Further, they have acted as though they were issuing orders to one of their subordinates. And I obeyed them until we all received the order of 28th June [1611].

17. No one can infer that I have shown an excessive desire to admit *revocantes*, as I am now accused of by my colleagues. For I have collected together the largest number of *confitentes* ever seen; and in quest of a single one, that of the rector of Saldías, I journeyed many leagues. Although not obliged to do so I also obeyed the prohibition of my colleagues against *revocantes* until the new instructions of the Council reached us.

*18 Moreover, persons who outside claimed to have been accused unjustly, in the chamber admitted their guilt upon my exhortations.^A An extreme example is that of Mari Sáinz de Sardui, aged fifty years, a resident of Ajamil, held prisoner in the secret prison.¹³⁹ She confessed her witchcraft at great length and in great detail before me during the hearings, but before all three of us the following day she renounced everything, declaring that the fear inspired by my relentless exhortations forced her to confess contrary to the truth. This can be seen in her file which provide more than enough to refute the accusations my colleagues level against me. After all, although I had to conceal my inner feelings, I was always neutral, only disposed to admit people equally as *confitentes* or *revocantes* in accordance with the truth.

18. This sense of guilt has not lessened my initial regret that the Tribunal has not acted as it should, nor carried out the instructions of the Council to allow all the commissioners to record the declarations of the *revocantes* who resorted to them and to forward these declarations afterwards for the consideration of the Tribunal. However,

¹⁸ *Marginal note of Salazar*: A. In my report number 62, towards the end. *See doc. 12.62, with gloss 83.*

¹³⁹ Mari Sáinz de Sardui (or Zurdui) appears as no. 50 in the Tribunal's *Food Accounts*, where she is noted for 80 *reales*. In contrast to most of the other prisoners for witchcraft she was able to pay for her stay (being charged one real per day). The fact that she does not appear in any of the other lists indicates that she must have died in prison, where she appears to have spent 80 days.

tenía igual con ellos, se la restringen con el imperio que mandaran a sus subditos, y yo se lo obedecí como si lo fuera, hasta que a todos nos envió el Consejo la dicha segunda disposición de 28 de junio [1611].

17. Y no habrá podido colegir nadie, lo que ahora me notan del deseo desigual en admitir revocantes, habiendo recogido el mayor número de confitentes que jamás se vio juntos, y que para serlo un solo, [el] rector de Saldías, atravesé muchas leguas; y que también obedecí (sin deberlo hacer) la dicha prohibición de los colegas para no admitir revocantes, hasta que nos llegó la nueva disposición del Consejo sobre ello. Y las otras personas que acá fuera divulgaban
*z que injustamente eran notadas de brujas, con mi presencia y exhortaciones dijeron que lo eran.^A

Lo cual llegó a que una Mari Sáinz de Sardui,^{aa} de cincuenta años, vecina de Ajamil, presa en las Cárceles Secretas^{o139} que en las audiencias de la Sala, conmigo se alargó mucho a confesar sus brujerías por extenso; otro día, ante todos tres colegas, lo revocó, significando que el temor que cobró de mis apretadas persuasiones la hizo confesarlo todo contra verdad, como consta de su proceso, que son hartas prendas de asegurar lo que tanto me agravan. Y al cabo, aunque yo disimulase el ánimo y deseo interior fuí siempre—cual tengo dicho—indiferente, sólo dispuesto a admitir confitentes o revocantes con igualdad, los que de ellos apegaban más a la verdad que yo buscaba.

18. Y así no mitiga esta figura de culpa mi primer sentimiento de que el Tribunal no haya proveído ni ejecutado el dicho orden que tuvo del Consejo de permitir a todos los comisarios, que puedan escribir las declaraciones de revocantes que a ellos acudieren, sólo para remitirlas luego al Tribunal que haga justicia; sin que para ello

^z *Nota marginal de Salazar.* A. En mi carta de relación, número 62, *ad fin.* Véase doc. 12.62.

^{aa} Léase “Sardui” o “Zurdui”, *cf. fin del párrafo 22, abajo.*

I have not publicized such cases, although my colleagues accuse me of this in the proceedings of Catalina de Echevarría, a resident of Fuenterrabía. Even in her case I voted that she be sent forth with a grave warning not to make her discharge known to anyone.

In similar cases, I have been of the opinion that those before the Tribunal should receive the appropriate severity and curtness and that each person should learn /4v/ about his case only what was sufficient for the relief of his soul and for his subsequent absolution by his confessor. This in fact has not been done. Of the few *revocantes* who, according to the commissioners, have presented themselves in their vilages [and made revocations], at the time of this *¹⁹ writing several have not yet appeared before the Tribunal. The commissioners of Lesaca and Urdax^A have notified us about these individuals and apparently all are awaiting instructions.

19. I have already indicated that there is a strong suspicion that the accused have been subjected to violent and unlawful pressures by their own families and even by officers of justice, as well as by the commissioners of the Inquisition whose duty it is to prevent this. In addition we must also consider the fact that the inquisitors themselves endorsed these procedures not only through their failure to put a stop to such actions, but also through the use of secret measures designed to encourage these practices—a fact which has come to my notice from other sources. This is implied in the letter which we the inquisitors wrote to the Viceroy of Navarra on 17th May 1611, expressing our hearty approval and praise of these actions.¹⁴⁰

¹⁹ *Marginal note of Salazar*: A. The commissioner of Lesaca in a letter of 17th November 1612; the commissioner of Urdax in a letter of 28th July 1613. *These letters, however, have not been preserved.*

¹⁴⁰ The Tribunal's letter of 17th May 1611 to the Viceroy of Navarra, written only five days before Salazar's departure, is only known through Salazar's copy which accompanied his Fourth Report as appendix "EE" (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30). In their letter, signed by all three inquisitors, they complained that the High Court of Navarra had instituted proceedings against the local judges (*juces ordinarios*) of Santesteban and other villages for imprisonment and extortion of persons accused of being witches. The measures of the local authorities had been of great importance for the exposure of the diabolic sect, the letter continued, for seeing the punishment and pressure of the authorities many witches had come forward on their own and voluntarily made their confession to the agents of the Inquisition, and the witches whom the local authorities had sent to Logroño had all made plain confessions. However, now when the agents of the High Court had begun to imprison

desease yo la publicidad divulgada, de que me notaron en la causa de Catalina de Echevarría, vecina de Fuenterrabía, pues aun en ella misma voté que se le debería mandar con mayor apercibimiento y conminación que no manifestase a nadie su despacho, como de todos los semejantes también me ha parecido que hallen la severidad y conveniente sequedad, y que solamente sepa cada uno del Tribunal lo que /4v/ de su causa haya menester para desenlazar su alma y ser despachado después del confesor; que en efecto no se ha hecho, pues de las pocas revocantes, que nos han dado noticia que están declaradas en sus lugares, aún faltan de llegar al Tribunal—hoy—
 *ab algunas, de que los comisarios de Lesaca y de Urdax^A nos han avisado, esperando cada uno de ellos—al parecer—orden de lo que deban hacer.

19. Y sobre la sospecha tan notoria, que ya he significado, de padecer la gente notada tan violentas e indebidas vejaciones de los mismos parientes, y aun justicia, y de los comisarios de la Inquisición que las debieran evitar—cae ahora de nuevo la ratificación y aprobación con que también los inquisidores habremos concurrido en ello, y así en dejar de reprimirlo de nuestra parte como en hacer las diligencias secretas para alentar lo, que yo he sabido por diversas vías, y significan esta carta que escribimos al Virrey de Navarra, a 17 de mayo de 1611,¹⁴⁰ en grande aprobación y aplauso de ellas,

^{ab} *Nota marginal de Salazar*: A. El comisario de Lesaca, en carta de 17 de noviembre de 1612; y el de Urdax, a 28 de julio July 1613. *Estas cartas, sin embargo, no se han preservado.*

the local judges on the pretext of having exceeded their powers, the “deniers” had been encouraged and those who had confessed were recanting. Up to the present the inquisitors had counted on the High Court’s support in fighting down these damned people; on the contrary: “now,” the inquisitors continued, “we see that you proceed with severity against those who persecute the witches and help us”. The inquisitors ended by soliciting the Viceroy to look into the matter with Christian and pious zeal and order the High Court to cease procedures against the local judges. A month later Becerra and Valle complained to the Inquisitor General, but received strict orders not to interfere and let the High Court make its investigation in peace (WA 221–222).

It can also be verified from an original letter, enclosed herein, of 30th October 1611, which I received during the visitation, from Fray León de Aranibar, the abbot of Urdax—one of the most serious and trustworthy commissioners in the whole district. In the letter he writes that he had received an explicit order from one of us to arrange for the arrest which the *jurados* were making in those parts.¹⁴¹ As a result of this arrangement these persons were brought as prisoners by the *jurados* who had harassed and persecuted them. And we accepted them [as prisoners] notwithstanding my written and oral objections.¹⁴²

20. There has also been a very serious failure on our part to accord to the pleas of the defendants the same degree of legitimacy as given to the arguments of the prosecutor. Sometimes, we argued that enmity between the defendant and the witness, unless mortal, was not enough to invalidate the testimony of the latter. Sometimes, we declared that none of the witnesses the defendants might produce would be able to prove the popular belief, which the defendants claimed to be true, that the *confitentes* were incriminating people at random including those least likely to commit such crimes.

21. Finally, if the failure to record so many irregularities has acted as an obstruction, the bitterness created by my setting forth on the journey of visitation and publication of the Edict of Grace, a task which each of my colleagues would have liked for himself, has had even more undesirable consequences. Their envy led them to watch me closely, using unseemly and improper means. Thus, in order to further their own designs [as they were expressed] in that first vote, they have secretly written to the commissioner and agents in the

¹⁴¹ The letter was dated Elizondo, 30th Oct. 1611, and received by Salazar while on visitation in Azpeitia. He appended it to his report with the signature “FF” and a short annotation: “From Fray León de Aranibar, Abbot of Urdax, who admit to having ordered the molestations and arrests that the *jurados* made of the people who were denounced as witches, and explains for which reason [he gave the orders].” In this letter Fray León revealed that ultimately it was Becerra who gave the instructions: “Inquisitor Becerra said, it was good to imprison the mistresses who carried the children to the sabbat and of the others who were publicly denounced” (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30).

¹⁴² For the divided vote on the prisoners from Zubieta, dated 3rd March 1611, see above, p. 25.

y esta otra original que yo recibí en la visita, en 30 de octubre de 1611, de fray León de Aranibar, abad de Urdax (de los más graves y confidentes comisarios que hay en todo el distrito), que dice tuvo expreso orden de uno de nosotros para disponer las dichas prisiones que allá hacían los jurados.¹⁴¹ Y en esta conformidad, cuando estos tales jurados traían de hecho, por su autoridad presas al Tribunal las personas que allá habían vejado y molestado, las admitíamos sin embargo de las contradicciones de palabra y por escrito con que yo lo resistía.¹⁴²

20. Y también se ha faltado mucho en admitir con igual pureza los descargos de los reos como las diligencias del fiscal, unas veces so color de que no podrían relevarles enemistades con testigos que no fuesen capitales, y otras, por decir que no podría ninguno de los que hubiesen de presentar afirmar la común tradición que articulaban por cierta, de que por ilusiones y embelecós, encartaban aquellos días las personas confitentes, la gente más remota de tales crímenes contra toda razón.

21. Y entre la omisión de tantos detenimientos, sólo se aventajó el dolor de mi salida a la publicación del Edicto de Gracia, que cada uno quisiera para sí, sacando de ella la emulación que han traído en atalayarme por medios disonantes e indecentes, de instruir en secreto los comisarios o ministros de aquella tierra para cuánto les podía ayudar cada uno con sus designios del primer voto, y desviándolos de asistirme en la visita sino para conducirles nuevas,

area and sought to dissuade them from assisting me on the visitation, unless for the purpose of discovering what I was up to. So by their snares and designs they have set the agents against me, thus succeeding in hindering my activities by corrupting the loyalty and respect which these officials should have shown me. In the bargain the agents surpassed themselves by using excesses and coercions against the witches and by supressing *revocantes* on a scale never seen before. In all of this I suffered much embarrassment in my efforts to set things right and I have endured much because I had to dissemble in order that neither the commissioners nor anyone else should know the reasons for my proceeding in this way. I also wished to avoid a breach with my colleagues. /5r/

22. Some of the previously mentioned errors became obvious to us as the result of a slight improvement brought about during the last few months, especially when we began to take down word for word everything relating to the defendants. After writing out the confessions “with all the imperfections and confusion of the replies” as they say in the Tribunal, we were unable either to reconcile or to absolve anyone. For example, an old man called Martín de Alí, from the Valley of Araquil in the Mountains [of Navarra], who had come on his own accord to be reconciled, became confused by the questions we put to him to obtain a complete statement. In the midst of his account he broke off his confession and retracted everything declaring that what he had stated was false and fictitious. His family and friends, however, had made him come against his will to report all of this to the inquisitors so that he could vindicate his reputation.¹⁴³ This case, and that of the previously cited María Sáinz de Zurdui from Ajamil,¹⁴⁴ reveal how many more *revocantes* would come to the Tribunal if it was within as easy reach as the commissioners, and if they believed that they would be received favourably and their revocations accepted.^A

*20

²⁰ *Marginal note of Salazar*: A. That the commissioners do not admit them I mentioned in the said letter, no. 67. *An error for 70, see doc. 12.70.*

¹⁴³ Martín de Alí, does not appear in any of the Tribunal’s lists.

¹⁴⁴ For María Sáinz de Zurdui (or Sardui), see above paragraph 17 with note ^o139.

calumniando con su asechanza mis acciones o designios para sindicarlos como lo han hecho, depravando así la fidelidad y respetos con que estos ministros me debían acudir por sus oficios. Y después, en pago de ello, anteponiendo a todos los demás estos y cuantas endemias y violencias de brujería, y en reprimir revocantes, se hubiesen aventajado, con que padecí muchos aprietos para soldarlo y mucho mayores en disimular, sin que supiesen ellos ni nadie la causa [de] donde procedía, ni lo fuese de quiebra con los mismos colegas. /5r/

22. Y ha venido a declararse muy bien alguna parte de las quiebras sobredichas con una pequeña enmienda de ellas que comenzamos a tener desde los meses pasados, especialmente en escribir más a la letra lo que pasa con los reos; pues escrito así—como lo dicen en el Tribunal: “con la imperfección y perplejidad de sus respuestas”—no hallamos a quién poder reconciliar, ni aún absolver. Antes bien un Martín de Alí, hombre viejo, natural de Val de Araquil en aquella montaña, que espontaneamente había venido a ser reconciliado, confuso de las preguntas con que le pedíamos que se declarase, en medio de sus confesiones las revocó, diciendo que era falso y fingido cuanto había dicho, porque solamente le habían hecho venir contra su voluntad a decirlo en la Inquisición (so color de compurgar su nota) los parientes y amigos.¹⁴³ Cuyo ejemplo y el de la dicha María Sainz de Zurdui, de Ajamil,¹⁴⁴ dicen cuántos más revocantes vinieran al Tribunal si les cayera tan cerca como los comisarios y hallaran propicia acogida para ser admitidos.^A

*ac

^{ac} *Nota marginal de Salazar:* A. Que los comisarios no las admiten dije en la dicha carta, núm. 67. Num. 67 es un error por 70, véase doc. 12.70.

23. In a similar case, Isabel Folca, a prostitute, resident of Falset in Cataluña, was sent to the Tribunal as a result of the testimony of a boy reputed to be skilled at discovering witches. She stated that one night she had travelled two hundred leagues through the air to go to a witches' gathering. She further claimed she had left her house through a chink in the wall in the form of a cat and she made other foolish statements as well.¹⁴⁵

*21 Similar stupidities were expressed by a lad called Pedro de los Reyes^B also a reputed witch-finder, and by Juan de Goizueta, a witch discovered by the former. On the Council's order both were summoned before the Tribunal where they were soon exposed. The witch-finder admitted that he had lied, and Goizueta confessed that he was not a witch, but that he had been eager to appear as one in order to carry through the tale that he had begun. Since we had promised him a safe discharge this admission came freely.¹⁴⁶

Similarly another, Isabel de Orive, a twenty-seven year old woman from Bóveda, accused herself before the commissioner there and related how, during an attack of typhus, she had seen a gathering of witches in her bedchamber at which persons of all ages and conditions were present, and whom she proceeded to name.¹⁴⁷

To these examples could be added the seventeen cases from my visitation of people testified against by witnesses who were not themselves witches; however, none of the cases was strong enough to warrant an arrest, and—until the time of writing—this has also been true of the rest.¹⁴⁸

24. If these few examples of improved methods in the Tribunal have already given us a clear indication of the truth, it is not surprising that the friars, interpreters, and the rest of the permanent

²¹ *Marginal note of Salazar*: I spoke of such deceivers in [no.] 67. See towards end of doc. 12.67.

¹⁴⁵ Isabel Folca's case was one of the most recent witch trials of the Tribunal. According to the annual report (the so-called *relación de causas*) her case had been terminated after 20th July 1613 (WA 364). The report gives a detailed summary of her extravagant confessions (*Lib.* 835, 513v–514v).

¹⁴⁶ For the young witchfinder and *saludador* Pedro de los Reyes and his companion Juanes de Goizueta, see below, p. 455 n. 1 and WA 326f.

¹⁴⁷ Isabel de Orive does not appear in any of the lists of the Tribunal, so her case must have been dispatched by a district commissioner or simply dropped.

¹⁴⁸ Salazar is referring to the lost volume "A" of his Visitation Book, see my reconstruction in WA 409–411 (case nos. 150a–150gg).

23. Y otra, Isabel Folca—mujer bordionera,^{ad} natural de Falset, en Cataluña, remitida al Tribunal por un muchacho tenido por conoedor de brujas—vino a decir que una noche había andado por el aire para ir a su junta doscientas leguas y que salía por un resquicio hecha gato, con otros tales errores desatinados.^{o145}

*ac Y tales han salido los de otro muchacho, también conoedor, llamado Pedro de los Reyes,^B y de Juan de Goizueta, confitente por su conocimiento,^{o146} que el Consejo mandó llamar al Tribunal donde fácilmente ha sido convencido, y confesó el conoedor de ser embustero, y el brujo, de que no lo es, sino ganoso de parecerlo por llevar adelante lo que comenzó a decir, pues no le cuesta nada con la promesa que le hemos dado de su buen despacho.

Y otra, Isabel de Orive, mujer de veintisiete años, natural de Bóveda, se delató ante el comisario de allí, que en cierto accidente de un tabardillo había visto en su aposento una junta de brujos y en ella las personas de todos estados y edades, que iba nombrando.^{o147}

Y a todo esto, se llegan bien las otras diecisiete causas que de la dicha visita que yo hice, resultaron testificadas por testigos de fuera de estas complicidades, de que no hubo ninguna para llegar a captura, ni en todo este tiempo la hay.^{o148}

24. Y con la experiencia que estos pocos ejemplos de la enmienda del Tribunal nos dan tan gran argumento de la verdad, no fue mucho que también hallaran otros muy mayores con que desengañarse los religiosos, intérpretes y los demás asistentes continuos de

^{ad} Ms.: Burdionera. Derivación de “bordiona”, mujer que hace ganancia de su cuerpo.

^{ac} Nota marinal de Salazar: B. De tales embusteros dije en número 67. Véase doc. 12.67.

staff on the visitation discovered a much stronger argument which forced them to see the situation clearly and to reflect upon what was happening. They told me this and, indeed, the experience has enlightened them for a lifetime. /5v/

25. In addition to the experience within the Tribunal, at the same time we have had an even more significant one outside of it. I refer to the universal peace and quiet that now exists, just as I predicted *22 to the Council on the return from the visitation.^A The whole area is now calm and we have been given a lengthy respite from the affair. Thus in the town of Lesaca, one of the most afflicted places, the commissioner, a very old man, over eighty, sends the following *23 letter, which I enclose.^B He says that now people are sleeping peacefully and there is no news about comings and goings to the *aquelarres*.¹⁴⁹

The same can be observed in the very city of Logroño where the Council prevented us from proceeding with new arrests and cases which we initiated last year to uncover witches' sabbats in the square of St. Francis. Since then, none have taken place, nor has there been rumours about them.¹⁵⁰

26. The mischief caused by my colleagues in delaying their opinion in this matter for so long has not only prejudiced this particular affair but it has also prejudiced the dispatch of several serious cases, related to but overshadowed by it. These have been shelved in order not to call attention to the shortcomings of the principal affair. Thus in three cases we have not forwarded our divided vote to the Council: firstly, that of Catalina de Echevarría, resident of Fuenterrabia;¹⁵¹ secondly, that of Juan de Camino, a resident of

²² *Marginal note of Salazar*. A. This was stated in paragraphs 69, 70, 71. *An error for nos. 70, 71, 72 [of doc. 12]*.

²³ *Marginal note of Salazar*. B. It is dated, 2nd June 1613.

¹⁴⁹ The letter, dated Lesaca, 2nd June 1613, was appended in original to the report with the signature "GGG" and an endorsement by Salazar: "From the commissioner of Lesaca who says that there is tranquility and that people sleep" (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30, cf. WA 349 with n. 155).

¹⁵⁰ Salazar must be referring to Becerra and Valle's attempt during the summer of 1611 to discover witches' sabbats in Logroño, a project which was shot down by *la Suprema's* letter of 23rd July (see WA 264–266).

¹⁵¹ The case of Catalina de Echevarría was not concluded until September 1614. Her trial record had finally been sent to *la Suprema* who returned it with a letter, dated 1st Sept. 1614, ordering the Tribunal to suspend the case (*Lib.* 334, 253v).

la visita, para formar la admiración que significaban de estas cosas y de que le quedase a nadie tropiezo en que las poder volver a inculcar. /5v/

25. Y sin esta experiencia de dentro del Tribunal, la hemos tenido al mismo tiempo mayor de fuera de él, con el gran sosiego y quietud^{af} universal que yo pronostiqué al Consejo en volviendo de la visita.^A Y ha resultado en todo el distrito, dándonos larga tregua de esto. Y así el comisario de la villa de Lesaca, donde era el mayor daño—y es hombre muy anciano, de más de ochenta años—dice en esta carta original que remito,^B cómo la gente duerme y se deja de dar nuevas que va y viene a los aquellarres.¹⁴⁹

Y también lo vemos de esta misma ciudad de Logroño, donde—en habiéndonos prohibido el Consejo las nuevas prisiones y causas que comenzábamos el año pasado para descubrir unos aquellarres que se hacían en la Plaza de San Francisco—ni los ha habido allí más, ni nadie ha chistado con fundamento ni sin él después acá.¹⁵⁰

26. Y el perjuicio de haber detenido tanto los colegas su voto de este negocio, no solo ha sido nocivo para el mismo, sino también para otros artículos adherentes y muy graves de la materia que, a sombra del principal, se han represado en silencio, porque no despertaran unos la quiebra de los otros, como son:

Remitir lo que todos votamos en discordia sobre tres causas: una de Catalina de Echevarría, vecina de Fuenterrabía,¹⁵¹ y otra de Juan

^{af} *Corrigido de:* con la quietud.

^{ag} *Nota marginal de Salazar:* A. De la cual se dijo [en] número 69, 70 et 71. *Error por núms. 70, 71, 72 [del doc. 12].*

^{ah} *Nota marginal de Salazar:* B. Es de 2 de junio de 1613.

*24 Vera;¹⁵² and thirdly, our reply to the order from the Council to leave for the visitation of the district^C.¹⁵³

Furthermore, we have neglected to inform the Council of the report sent by the commissioner of Urdax about the refined cruelties which the High Court of Navarra has recently discovered to have been practised by certain *jurados* against people accused of witchcraft.¹⁵⁴ Nor have we voted on the information pertaining to the genealogies of Don Miguel de Arramendía and Don Martín de Lesaca delayed for this reason.¹⁵⁵

Furthermore, we have still not written the replies we promised to certain commissioners and other agents who consulted us about cases of this nature. Neither have we heeded news of troubles reported in the valleys of Roncal, Aéscoa, and Isaba, although they have sent urgent deputations to the Tribunal. As I indicated, these problems did not arise until after discussion of *aquejarres* had been introduced there. The town of San Sebastián and certain other places, however, do not fall into this category. For although they have complained of witches to the Tribunal by devious and roundabout means, their claims appear ill founded.¹⁵⁶

Finally, because of all the aforesaid the visitation of the district has been delayed for several years, the *causas de fe* and administration of the Tribunal have been neglected, and everything is delayed because of our preoccupation with witchcraft.

²⁴ *Marginal note of Salazar*: C. The copy of which is also included with these papers.

¹⁵² Juan de Camino of Vera does not appear in any of the Tribunal's lists.

¹⁵³ Only Salazar's verdict is preserved in a copy he appended to his report and marked with the signature "+++". It has no date, but must be from May 1613. Salazar voted in favour of going on visitation (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30). For the Tribunal's correspondence with *la Suprema* about going or not going on visitation that year, see WA 327–328.

¹⁵⁴ This important letter from Fray León de Aranibar, the Abbot of Urdax, has unfortunately not been kept.

¹⁵⁵ The term "Genealogies" refers to the documentary proof of "purity of blood" (*i.e.* having no heretics among one's ancestors) which applicants for posts in the Holy Office were obliged to provide. The applications of these two priests for becoming inquisitorial commissioners had been delayed, since both had been accused of being witches. They were to wait a year more for a decision. However, shortly after the new instructions for witchcraft cases the Tribunal was ordered to name them commissioners (*Lib.* 334, 253v, C/T 1.9.1614, cf. doc. 18.20 and WA 534 n. 85).

¹⁵⁶ Salazar is probably referring to his visitation to San Sebastián in September 1611, where he examined seventeen witches whom the authorities had imprisoned, see above, doc. 12.68.

de Camino, vecino de Vera,^{o152} y la tercera, sobre el mandato que nos vino del Consejo^{o153} para salir a la visita del distrito.^c

Y de dar cuenta de otros papeles venidos del comisario de Urdax sobre otras crueldades exquisitas, que de nuevo descubría la Corte de Navarra, que habían hecho unos jurados contra los notados de brujos.^{o154}

Y de votar los negocios expedientes de genealogías de don Miguel de Arramendía y de don Martín de Lesaca, retardados por esto.^{o155}

Y de las respuestas que tenemos ofrecidas a algunos comisarios y otros ministros, de los casos de este género, que nos la han pedido.

Y también de otras aficciones que han significado los valles de Roncal, Aéscoa e Isaba, de donde han venido muy apretadas embajadas al Tribunal, como lo que del lugar de Olagüe y de otros tales he significado, que se comenzó desde que se escribía y platicaba allí de esto de aquellarres, aunque los lugares de San Sebastián y otros tales que por rodeos con modos afectados, indebidamente han querido lamentarse en el Tribunal, aún no caen en el número de estos.^{o156}

Y por la misma tardanza falta de hacer algunos años la visita del distrito y de proseguir en las causas de fe y gobierno del Tribunal, que por la inquietud de esto anda retardado.

^{ai} *Nota marginal de Salazar:* C. Cuya copia va también ahora con estos papeles.

Third article.

Of the significance of the proofs which
both parties have brought forward.

27. Until it has been clearly and distinctly ascertained that certain events resulted from *maleficia* and came about by such means my colleagues cannot call them *actos positivos*. For the fact that people “saw her [*i.e.* the witch] pass by” here or there, or that someone was killed, /6r/ crippled or injured does not imply anything and no conclusion can be reached unless this is proved to be the work of witches through statements leaving no room for doubt, from people who are not [themselves witches].

We have no more grounds for believing the accomplices in this than for believing the other details about the gatherings, dances and *aquejarres* (where they pass beyond the limits of credulity) if these statements are not corroborated by outside witnesses or by circumstances and arguments which would back up the claims of the accomplices. However, up to the time of writing we have had no proof of this nature. All we have is a great deal from the former source, which remains unverified by outside witnesses. Moreover, this evidence can only be substantiated by the declarations of the witches who actually claim to have caused the damage.

For this reason it is pointless for my colleagues—unless their intent is simply to swell the volume of paper—to add material of [what they call] “definite proofs” which neither in form nor in terms of objective evidence resemble such a thing. For example, they cite the case of a certain Mari Martín from Iráizoz, imprisoned for witchcraft by the *alcaldes* of the village. The woman cut her throat in prison and the justices sought to attribute this to her witchcraft and *aquejarre*. However, it came to light that she had never confessed to being a witch and that at the point of death—for she survived a day after cutting her throat—she stated she had only despaired, abetted by the Devil, upon finding herself so unjustly harassed and coerced by those who wished her to confess to being what she was not.

Another example is furnished by the case of María de Garaicoa, a young girl from Oronoz, who stated that upon returning with some companions from the *aquejarre* a boy had inflicted a grievous wound on her forehead. Investigation proved her statement to be mendacious and fraudulent. In this connection the commissioner of Urdax wrote to the Tribunal and remarked that upon exhaustive inquiry

Artículo tercero.

De la significación de actos positivos
alegados por ambas partes.

27. No pueden llamar de estas cosas actos positivos sin estar averiguado clara y distintamente, que resultaron de obra maleficial o por medios y caminos de ella, pues sin eso no induce nada que la viesen pasar por allá o por acá, o que el otro fuese muerto, /6r/ tullido o lisiado, si no es sabiendo que lo fuese por brujas, diciéndolo personas que no lo sean, por modo que concluyan sus dichos.

Porque no hay más prenda de creer a las cómplices en esto que en todo lo demás de sus juntas, bailes o aquelarres, donde bate el punto de esta incredulidad, cuando no se coadyuva con testigos de fuera, circunstancias o argumentos tales, que suplan lo que a ellos les falta—de que no tenemos nada en este caso de tal género hasta hoy, sino mucho de lo demás por la otra vía, sin provecho en haber probado separadamente con unos las cosas del efecto o daño que las brujas han dicho; y solamente también con ellas mismas que dicen lo hicieron de su mano.

Y por esto es trabajo inútil el que ahora añaden estos papeles de los colegas, si no es para sólo volumen de dar nombre de actos positivos averiguados, los que en el hecho, ni en probanza, no tienen figura de serlo. Como decían de una Mari Martín, natural de Iráizoz, que—teniéndola presa los alcaldes de aquel lugar por estas cosas—se degolló por su mano en la cárcel, y queriéndolo atribuir a efectos de su brujería y aquelarre, ha parecido que jamás había confesado ser bruja y que en un día que vivió degollada—y en el artículo de su muerte—declaró que solamente se despechó estimulada del Demonio, viéndose injustamente molestada y afligida para hacerla confesar lo que no era.

Y de otra María de Garaycoa, moza soltera, natural de Oronoz, que viniendo con otras del aquelarre, decía que la había herido y descalabrado muy mal un mozo en la frente, y en su comprobación resulta ser mentira y embeleco.

Y el comisario de Urdax escribió con ello al Tribunal que todos

all the reports of external acts of witches which at first appear to be certain, later emerge as void and without substance.

It is of no value that some, even many, witnesses who are not witches claim that they have encountered witches on such and such a path; or that a certain witch took a long time to feel a prick (made in a spot where there was the trace of a healed wound);¹⁵⁷ or that the incidental injuries or symptoms observed in someone who had died a sudden, or suspiciously violent and unnatural death, seemed to have been the work of witches. For this kind of witnesses have no more ability to discern the truth than the doctors; and even the latter with all the skills they have at their disposal are frequently mistaken in seemingly straightforward and obvious cases which should admit an easy diagnosis. On the contrary, when a witness testifies to more than what he could have actually observed of the plain facts of the situation, and when he maintains as true what is nothing more than conjecture, it is a sign that he is lying, prompted by an urge to speak at length about witches. And this we have in fact seen them do.

28. On the occasion of forwarding the evidence it is more important to note all the proofs which upon investigation have turned out to be groundless, such as those of María de Garaicoa and María Martín, than to report to the Council the history of the witches' detection, accounts which are for sale at every street corner together with the reports of the *auto de fe*.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, we should bear in mind that if one is to rely merely on the defendants' confessions, as my colleagues do, */6v/* we only have to copy down all the apostasies, amplifications and embellishments of the pamphlets now on sale.

My colleagues are wasting their time in maintaining that the more theoretical and complex aspects of this can be properly understood only by the witches, since in the event witchcraft has to be dealt with by judges who are not members of the sect.

¹⁵⁷ A clear allusion to the pricking test. Witches were believed to have an insensible spot on their body, in the very place where the Devil had marked them. Salazar leaned towards a natural explanation; Valle, on the contrary, had convinced himself of the authenticity of the witch marks on his journey of visitation in 1609 (see WA 117).

¹⁵⁸ This is an interesting testimony to the popularity of the pamphlets with reports on "the witches' auto" (WA 181) of which we are acquainted with a Logroño- and a Burgos print (WA 195–197) as well as the broadside ballad, mentioned above, p. 4 n. 5 (cf. doc. 10.15).

los actos exteriores de brujería que dan primera muestra de ser algo, salen después en vacío sin tener existencia de tomo en apurándolos.

Y tampoco aprovecha que también digan algunos, o muchos testigos de fuera de la complicidad, que los toparon en tal camino; y que el otro tardaba de sentir la picadura donde estaba la señal de una herida curada;¹⁵⁷ y que las heridas accidentes o señales que vieron en el que murió súbito o en sospecha de muerte violenta ayudada, les parezcan haber sido de brujas, pues no tienen más facultad de saber ellos la verdad de esto que los médicos, que cada paso se engañan en los juicios manuales y claros que podían alcanzar con su arte. Antes bien, da rastro de mentir un testigo en deponer más de lo que pudo percibir del puro hecho y en tener por cierto, lo que solamente es su adivinanza, sacada de la gana de decirlo y de dilatar la plática de brujos, como vemos que lo hacen por tales vías.

28. Y con esta ocasión de enviar los actos, más importara decir de todos los que en sus diligencias les han salido en vano y contrarios—como los de María de Garaycoa y de María Martín—que repetir, con este nombre de actos, al Consejo la historia y descubrimiento que con las relaciones del auto¹⁵⁸ anda por las calles del mundo; y mirar que para haber de creerlo por solas estas confesiones de los reos, de donde /6v/ lo sacan, no costara más pasar también, de una vez, todas las apostasías y extensiones con las circunstancias que nos las venden—sin que valga responder a esto los colegas, que lo más especulativo y dificultoso de ello solamente lo alcanzan a saber los brujos, porque en efecto han de sentenciarlo acá jueces que no lo son.

I am even more at a loss to understand what they hope to achieve by incorporating several of my examples [of witches' activities] in their argument, and yet concealing the fact that I affirmed that my inquiries revealed that each one of them was invalid. Nor do I understand why they have remitted the papers of their researches to which they refer, without having allowed me to see and scrutinize them so that I could have added whatever comments I thought necessary. For apart from my signature I have never had anything to do with the papers which they wished to forward in the name of the three of us, when in fact only two drew them up.

29. It is not very helpful to keep asserting that the Devil is capable of doing this or that, simply repeating over and over again to little purpose the theory of his angelic nature. Nor is it useful to keep saying that the learned doctors [in Theology] state that the existence of witchcraft is certain. This is only a needless annoyance, since nobody doubts this. In view of the difficulties to which I have previously referred, the real question is: are we to believe that witchcraft occurred in a given situation simply because of what the witches claim?

It is clear that the witches are not to be believed and that judges should not pass sentence on anyone, unless the case can be proven by external and objective evidence sufficient to convince everyone who hears it. However, who can accept the following: that a person can frequently fly through the air and travel a hundred leagues in an hour; that a woman can get out through a space not big enough for a fly; that a person can make himself invisible; that he can be in a river or in the sea and not get wet, or that he can be in bed and at the sabbat at the same time; that images can struggle like living persons; that Our Lady makes continual appearances on earth [cf. doc. 12.17]; and that a witch can turn herself into any shape she fancies, be it housefly or raven? Indeed, these claims go beyond all human reason and many of them even pass the limits permitted the Devil.

Thus it is scarcely surprising that we cannot find the objective proofs we are looking for in these cases since such extreme contradictions need more than slight clues and unsound argument to be convincing. My colleagues are now at last coming around to the point where they will admit that much of this can only be the work of the Devil, who makes people believe what they assert to be true, although in fact nothing happened. How then, can they deny that

Y menos entiendo la significación de volver a poner en esta su lista algunos casos de la mía, callándoles el desengaño que yo dije de la averiguación de cada uno; y que hayan enviado los papeles de sus diligencias, que citan ahora, sin habérmelos dejado ver ni reconocer primero, para satisfacer lo que me conveniera, pues nunca he intervenido, ni tengo en ellos más de una simple firma de las comisiones que han querido enviar con nombre de todos tres, lo que han ordenado^{aj} solos los dos.

29. Y tampoco se mejora con averiguar que el Demonio pueda hacer esto y aquello repitiendo cada paso, sin provecho, la teórica de su naturaleza angélica, y que también digan los doctores por asentadas estas cosas—que sólo sirven ya de fastidio inútil, pues nadie las duda, sino en creer que en el caso individuo hayan pasado como los brujos las dicen de cada acto particular, por las dudas que dejo apuntadas, y porque ni ellos han de ser creídos, ni el juez dar sentencia sino en lo que exteriormente traiga verdad perceptible igual para cuantos la oyeren—pues no lo es para ninguno: Volar [a] cada paso una persona por el aire, andar cien leguas en una hora, salir una mujer por donde no cabe una mosca, hacerse invisible a los presentes, no se mojar en el río ni en el mar, estar a un tiempo en la cama y en el aquelarre, luchar las imágenes como personas sensibles, las apariciones continuas que han tenido de Nuestra Señora, y que cada bruja se vuelva en la figura que se le antoja, y alguna vez en cuervo o en mosca, con lo demás referido, superior de todo el natural discurso y aún mucho de ello, también de los límites permitidos al Demonio.

Y así no es mucho que dejemos de hallar la prenda exterior que buscamos, pues tan grandes repugnancias no se pueden persuadir con indicios y argumentos pequeños. Y si ya vienen a confesar ahora los colegas, que mucho de esto solamente habrá sido embelecocos del Demonio, haciéndolo creer a los que lo afirman por verdadero, sin que realmente tal haya pasado, ¿Por qué pueden negar el mismo

^{aj} *Corregido de:* querido.

the same illusion has occurred in the identification of those unhappy wretches the witches say they have seen at the *aquejarre*?

30. If solid proof is ever found through the use of correct and conclusive procedures, what a great discovery will have been made! So I earnestly hope that the Council will devote itself to a thorough perusal of the papers of my colleagues, as well as mine which until now have been indifferently received. Once more I humbly beg Your Excellence to pay them due attention. I hope we can proceed at last to settle what we are to accept in these matters without quarrelling with one another and without distorting reason in each of the articles under consideration. This, however, will be difficult to achieve, for I am of a certain disadvantage, namely that my colleagues have had *17r*/ my papers at their disposal for more than a year and a half, while they snatched theirs away from me and never let me see them.

In any case, the final value of a proven act of witchcraft applies only to the particular case in which it occurred. As for the rest, it is of no help to state as conjecture that what is true in one case may be true of another, for the argument thus advances illogically from the possibility to certainty in an event which has not yet taken place. Therefore I have never claimed that we should argue from all the evidence proven null and void anything more than its very slight value, and I urge that we should be cautious with the rest of the *actos positivos* which my colleagues are seeking to allege as certain. And thus my colleagues, except in a few cases where the evidence was so clear that they had to accept it, displayed an extraordinary timidity in dealing with the question of whether the delusions of the Devil, the inventions, and the lies of the accomplices were in fact widespread.

31. To conduct the inquiry with all fairness I took every possible care during the visitation and spared no effort. For example, in the case of a certain clergyman, the rector of Saldías, a cleric universally respected in that region, but who had been accused by a large group of children, I journeyed many leagues over the mountains to find and talk with him. I spoke to him alone and at leisure. Using the Edict of Grace I admonished him to tell the truth with exhortations so tender that they would have produced a confession far more effectively than subjection to severe torture. However, from the vigour of his replies and his unceasing lamentations I saw that his innocence was beyond doubt.

engaño en el nombramiento de los desventurados que dicen vieron en el aquelarre?

30. Y al cabo, cuando con todos buenos requisitos concluyentes hallasen los actos, será novedad de mucha estima, digna de que el Consejo la mire y ponga los ojos en los papeles de ella, como al tanto deseo; y vuelvo humildemente a suplicar a Vuestra Alteza lo mismo de los míos que admitieren con tibieza, porque de una vez, sin altercarnos cada uno de este crédito, pasemos por lo que debemos admitir sin torcer la inducción de su modo en el artículo que se ventila, aunque ya será con mucha desigualdad, habiendo tenido /7r/ acá los míos año y medio y desaparecídomelo los suyos sin habérmelos dejado ver jamás para esto.

Y todo este valor de tal acto perfecto, solamente aprovecha al caso singular en que sucedió, pues en lo demás tampoco se aventaja para declararlo su conjetura de que como fue en esto pudo ser en aquello, pasando sin provecho el argumento de la potencia al acto que aún no ha sido. Pues tampoco en contrario yo he pretendido, de todos los actos que han salido frustrados y en vacío, que se saque más de su poco crédito para ellos y para añadir cuidado en mirar por el de las probanzas de los demás que quieren introducir por ciertos. Como tampoco los colegas extienden las ilusiones del Demonio e invención y mentira de los dichos cómplices, fuera de los límites de los pocos ejemplos que no han podido negar que lo sea.

31. Y en ayudar con toda pureza estas comprobaciones puse en la visita la diligencia posible sin perdonar ningún trabajo conveniente, conforme al ejemplo de un clérigo, rector de Saldías, testificado de gran copia de muchachos y de muy válida fama en aquella montaña, donde le fui a buscar muchas leguas de ella para comunicarle, como le hablé a solas despacio, so color del Edicto de Gracia, con tan vivas exhortaciones de blandura y de apercibimientos para que declarase la verdad, que le pudo apretar más que un riguroso tormento para confesarla, si no fuera cierta la inocencia que de sus continuas lamentaciones y eficacia de responderme pude coligir.

My colleagues' most recent discovery, that the proofs amount to nothing, should serve to allay their suspicion that I failed in my duty. For I believe they will not derive further profit from the *actos positivos* which they are still accumulating, however much they feel encouraged to exaggerate their "wondrous importance".

32. For the same purpose, I examined all the available witnesses of each incident, except in certain cases where violence was inflicted upon revocantes and others. My colleagues now remark upon the absence of witnesses to the latter. However, it was a wellknown fact that coercion was applied generally and that the example of violence inflicted upon one individual served to terrorize the others. Moreover, since the revocations were based on fear, an inner feeling hidden in the heart of each of them, the declarations were sufficient to constitute legitimate evidence.

Furthermore, those whom I should have examined were not co-witnesses but the accomplices who should have been examined as defendants allegedly implicated in this offence. However, I am sure that every one of them given the opportunity would have denied involvement. This can be seen from what happened during the last few days to a misguided commissioner who was examining people in an inquiry into the genealogy of Don Martín de Lesaca, priest of Gaínza, when each witness was only concerned with saving himself.¹⁵⁹ Finally, it was also necessary to reduce the multitude of superfluous witnesses where there seemed to be too many, for example when five or six witnesses consecutively stated the same thing.

Fourth article.

Of the objections raised against my person and against my handling of this affair. /7v/

33. In my account of the outcome of my visitation in the cases of witchcraft I wrote the following in my first report to the Council:

If we allow that all the statements and confessions that have been recorded are in general of the same sort—and this we have concluded from many reports and papers—I shall, to avoid repetition, only make the points and reflections on them, which can best further the inquiry and the truth which we are seeking [doc. 12, introd.].

¹⁵⁹ It is the same Martín de Lesaca as commented upon in note ¹⁵⁵, above.

Y la experiencia que ahora tocan los colegas de los dichos actos que salen en vacío, también les podrá desengañar de que ni falté a lo que debía de mi parte en esto, ni de su mano sacarán mas fruto en los actos que recogen, con cuanto se animan a exajerarlos por de maravillosa probanza.

32. Al cual dicho fin, también examiné todos los contestes que resultaban de cada cosa, exepcto los que ahora echan [de] menos de algunas violencias que padecieron los revocantes y otros. Porque además de estar muy notorio en el Tribunal—y fuera de él—las que allí comunmente se hacían, y que las de un solo paciente atemorizaban a todos los demás, también siendo el temor donde fundaban la revocación, pasión interior oculta de el ánimo de cada uno, bastaba para esto su declaración por probanza legítima.

Y más siendo los que se habían de examinar no contestes sino cómplices, a quien no debiera yo preguntar sino como reos de este culpa, que cada uno deshiciera como propia. Cual sucedió estos días a un comisario descaminado que examinándolos así en una información de genealogía, de don Martín de Lesaca, abad de Gainza, solamente le respondía cada uno su disculpa.¹⁵⁹ Como también era obligación limitar la multitud de testigos supérfluos como lo parecieran estos, donde ya cinco o seis testigos hubiesen dicho una misma cosa.

Artículo cuarto.

De las objeciones que en la persona y discurso
del caso me imputan. /7v/

33. Para declaración de lo que resultaba en la visita de las causas de brujos, dije al Consejo lo siguiente en la primera relación:

Supuesto que todas las declaraciones y confesiones presentes, en lo general de ellas, son de la misma suerte y modo que por tantas relaciones y papeles se ha coligido, así excusando de repetir ahora lo mismo, diré solamente los puntos y consideraciones de ellos que más puedan ayudar al examen y resolución de la verdad que se busca. Etc. [doc. 12, introd.].

Accordingly, it should have been clearly understood once and for all that, as for apostasy, error and obstinacy each one of the cases contained sufficient evidence to have constituted the kind of offence which is common in cases of this nature. To spare the Council the annoyance of hearing again, what it already knows so well, I did not enlarge upon this topic. However, that I did not relate at due length everything of importance in each case is now pilloried by my colleagues as a great fault. Notwithstanding they should pardon me, because according to the clause quoted above their purpose was served just as well as if all this material had in fact been written down. For my part, I should be pleased not to have to dwell longer upon these items which they are still keeping secret as if there were not a third inquisitor.

34. My colleagues call some of the confessions I recorded perfunctory and feel I should have extended my examination of the older *confitentes*. They now insinuate this, forgetting the slight and even contradictory results that they obtained through their exhaustive examination of Martín de Alí, Isabel Folca and the rest of the previously cited *confitentes*. Notwithstanding it remains clear that the very same instructions of the Council forbade me to proceed in this way, as noted in the following paragraph:

Those who go to the villages are instructed to be brief in hearing the confessions. They should take down only what is of vital importance, such as the time and manner of departure [of an individual for the witches' sabbat], the form of devil worship, and the nature of apostasy. In their examinations they are not to inquire as to accomplices or to waste time in any other way, for this will only delay the search for the general remedy required by the affair [doc. 10.4].

Moreover, in addition to the ordinary set of questions, about the way the person went to the gathering and whether or not he anointed himself, I always asked the eight questions (a copy of which I enclose with these papers)¹⁶⁰ as I mentioned in my first report [doc. 12.4 et passim]. I set out from the Tribunal with these questions noted down and I never failed to ask them to anyone capable of reasoning, nor did I neglect to take down whatever replies were made together with a report of all that took place in the chamber. However, these questions are referred to under the collective term *actos positivos* [every

¹⁶⁰ For the eight questions, see above, note 69. Salazar's copy bears the signature "HH" and is preserved in *Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30[i], 1r (see above, p. 236, fig. 23).

Con lo cual se entiende bien claro de una vez, que de la apostasía, error de entendimiento y pertinacia, bastante para haber formado su delito, tenía cada una de estas causas respectivamente lo mismo que hay en las semejantes de su genero, aun que lo dejé de extender por sólo evitar el fastidio de volver a oír lo que tiene tan sabido el Consejo. Y así les valdrá a los colegas por esta vía para su intento, como si también se escribiera, y para que me disculpen la circunstancia que traen tan agravada de que no referí con la extensión debida lo que importaba a cada parte, pues de la mía llevaré con gusto que no hayan cometido en mí perjuicio mayor transgresión con sus papeles, que tratan tan retirados como si no hubiere tercero inquisidor para nada de esto.

34. Y aunque también llaman sucintas otras confesiones, donde quisieran que yo extendiera más las repreguntas a los confitentes de más edad, que ahora apuntan los colegas olvidados del poco fruto y aun contrario que en el mismo Tribunal han tenido de apurarlas con Martín de Alí, Isabel Folca y los demás sobredichos, todavía es llano que me lo prohibía la misma instrucción del Consejo en este capítulo:

Que ordenen a los que fueren por los lugares que sean muy breves en las confesiones, escribiendo solamente lo substancial de las culpas, cuanto a la ida y forma de ir, adoración del Demonio y apostasía, sin alargarse a cómplices ni a otra cosa, con que se gaste el tiempo y se deje de acudir a tan general remedio como el caso pide, etc. [doc. 10.4].

Y todavía a cada uno con el ordinario del modo de ir, o si se untaban o no, hice siempre otras ocho preguntas—que envió copiadas con estos papeles,¹⁶⁰ como también dí cuenta en la primera relación [vease doc. 12.49 *et passim*]¹⁶⁰—las cuales y sus réplicas llevé apuntadas desde el Tribunal, sin dejar de preguntarles después a ninguno que tuviera razonable discurso, ni menos de escribir cuanto respondía y todo cuanto con ellas pasaba en la Sala de la audiencia, y solamente las dichas preguntas y réplicas iban significadas por esta palabra colectiva de decir “Actos Positivos”, excusando así de repetirlas en

time they have been used] in order to prevent their repetition in the records and unnecessary writing of words used frequently.¹⁶¹ Even so, I was not able to fill less than five thousand folios.

I also recorded anointings if persons confessed to them; but as I proceeded to test their potions, powders, and ointments, all of which turned out to be fakes, I was not surprised to find that the anointings were not real either.¹⁶²

The previously cited provision alone, **/8r/** as well as other considerations which I have called to the attention of the Council, provide me with an excuse for not having recorded all of the accomplices named by the children and by other equally unreliable *confitentes*, and for not having drawn up lists of the incriminated. However, the resulting number of accusations is so great that several thousand people are involved, or better said, very few people are escaping. In Zubieta, for example, a village of fifty families, a hundred and three minors have been accused, and this number does not include those of age.¹⁶³

Similarly, in the valleys of Alsasua and Isaba the very commissioners, both venerable and exemplary priests, have been accused of witchcraft. The priest of Isaba on finding himself accused of being a witch died of shock.¹⁶⁴

35. On the basis of the above my colleagues proceed to make another and more serious criticism, claiming: [First, that] they cannot find all the cases that I cite in my paper. They claim, for example,

¹⁶¹ An example of this may be seen in WA 244 fig. 16, where a page of Salazar's visitation book is reproduced and the words "Actos positivos" appear as a marginal note.

¹⁶² Cf. WA chap. 11.C.6 "Aquelarres, Ointments, and Outside Witnesses".

¹⁶³ In the Tribunal's Statistics of 9th March 1611 the figures for Zubieta and the neighbouring village Ituren was 23 witchcraft confessions and 72 others under suspicion (see WA 213 table 6). In the *Tribunal's Statistics by 9th March 1611* the figures for Zubieta and the neighbouring village Ituren was 23 witchcraft confessions and 72 others under suspicion (WA 213 table 6). For Zubieta, see also above, p. 80 n. 122.

¹⁶⁴ The commissioner of the Burunda Valley, or "Valley of Alsasua" as Salazar calls it, was the 76-year-old Juan Martínez de Larraiza, priest (*abad*) at Bacaicoa (WA 294). The commissioner of the Roncal Valley, or "Valley of Isaba" as Salazar has it, was probably the *licenciado* Ezquer, priest (*abad*) of Isaba, who appears to have died in 1614, cf. CADP vol. 3, pp. 82 (no. 319), 410 (no. 1746); vol. 4, pp. 107 (no. 465), 263 (no. 1170).

las interrogaciones por evitar escritura inútil de palabras tan frecuentadas,¹⁶¹ pues sin eso llegué a las cincomil hojas, que no se pudo evitar.

Y así también escribiera yo las unciones si ellos las confesaran, como proseguí la verificación y potajes de ellas y de todos los polvos y ungüentos que todos salieron falsos, con que no era mucho que tampoco fueran las unciones verdaderas.¹⁶²

Y con la misma dicha clausura so—/8r/ la—sin las demás consideraciones que al Consejo he significado—tengo disculpa de no haber escrito cuantos cómplices me daban los muchachos y otros de semejante inconstancia, ni sacado las causas de los testificados—pues sin eso son tan largos los números de millares que resultan o, por mejor decir, pocos los que de ellos se escapan, conforme al lugar de Zubieta, que siendo de cincuenta vecinos, hubo sin los mayores testificados, ciento tres de los menores.¹⁶³

Y en los valles de Alsasua e Isaba, también lo han sido los mismos comisarios del Santo Oficio, muy viejos y ejemplares sacerdotes, y así el de Isaba se murió luego que se vio notado de ser brujo.¹⁶⁴

35. Y tras la dicha, procede la otra mayor censura: [primero] de que no hallan todas las alegaciones de mis papeles, y de que sean

that there are 35 and not 40 cases, as I state in a certain gloss.¹⁶⁵ [Secondly] that certain witnesses were fourteen and not twenty years of age. [Thirdly] that there were far more than a hundred reconciled of age.¹⁶⁶ [Fourthly] that I support my statements using the testimony of children instead of adults, and that I did not question the adults as much as the children.¹⁶⁷ [Fifthly] that at one point in my paper I state that a certain person went to the *aquelarre* asleep, and later on I declare he went awake—along with other comments like this.

I shall satisfy them on all these points, provided of course that they are willing to accept my explanations and to allow me to consult my papers in their presence. [As for their first point] it is hardly surprising to find that out of so many references made at the time, some of the page numbers have been copied incorrectly, however, these can be found in another folio. As for their comments on the hundred reconciled [point three], the remainder can be found under the category of *revocantes*, since at the time we counted them as reconciled and transferred them later [when they retracted their confessions] to the category of *revocantes*. As for [point four] the children, it was essential to give them an explanation of both the oath they would have to take and of the questions they would have to answer, which was unnecessary in the case of the adults. As for my statements on the testimony of the children, I can only say that every witness over fourteen was subject to the same regulations. Moreover, as for the defendants who obstinately denied everything, the Tribunal has formed the habit of accumulating the evidence of witnesses including those under ten, and in fact the commissioners who are dealing with this material have forwarded to us testimony of children under six.

It is noteworthy that now my colleagues do not believe the statements of these children, when they declare whether or not they became wet or woke up on the way to the *aquelarre*. Earlier, they

¹⁶⁵ There is no gloss with forty cases; the closest we come is gloss 17 of our doc. 12 with “over fifty”, according to Salazar, but as three numbers are repeated, there are actually only 48 cases (cf. above, note ¹⁶⁷).

¹⁶⁶ See the beginning of Salazar’s Second report (doc. 12 introd.).

¹⁶⁷ Apparently the colleagues were right in this claim, for the “children” were in majority even among those selected for closer interrogation (in accordance with la Suprema’s instructions, doc. 10.13). A comparison of doc. 12’s gloss 8 with my Witch List (WA 411–436) shows that in 35 of the 68 cases where the age is stated the person was under twenty (cf. our discussion of age groups, p. 59f n. 92, above).

trentaicinco y no cuarenta los que yo citaba para un artículo;¹⁶⁵ o [segundo] que estos fuesen de catorce o de veinte años de edad; y [tercero] de que no es entero el número de los cien reconciliados de mayor edad;¹⁶⁶ y [cuarto] que con los muchachos, y no con los mayores, pruebo los actos referidos, o que no preguntaba tanto a los mayores como a los pequeños;¹⁶⁷ y [quinto] que la misma persona que dije iba dormida parecía después en otra parte despierta.— Con las otras notas de este tamaño.

Les cumpliré en todas ellas la satisfacción ofrecida, siempre que la quieran admitir, dejándome reconocer mis papeles en su presencia. Y [primero] nunca será mucho, que de cuantos escribíamos entonces, salga trastocado algún número que facilmente hallaran ahora en otra hoja. Y [tercero] también en la clase de revocantes— donde íbamos pasando los que faltan de aquellos cien viejos que íbamos contando solamente por reconciliados entonces. Y [cuarto] a los pequeños era más forzoso declarar el juramento que hacían con las otras preguntas a que habían de responder, porque los mayores, sin nada de esto, lo tenían sabido; aunque los dichos de todos, en pasando de catorce años, para tales artículos accesorios de estas cosas se regulan igualmente, como en ellas mismas contra reos negativos pertinaces, solía acumular el Tribunal otros que no llegaban a diez años, porque aun de menos de seis, nos envían declaraciones los comisarios que afinan esta materia.

Y es mucho de notar que no crean ahora a estos pequeños si se mojaron o recordaron yendo a las juntas, habiendo creído a los mismos y a otros tales, con exajeracion, cuanto han dicho de ir volando,

were too ready to believe them and others who made statements about flying to the *aquelarre*, making themselves invisible, returning in the guise of animals, and so forth—when they needed this to complete one of their syllogisms.

36. The publicity over the case of Catalina de Echevarría, for which they censure me, contradicts their allegations of another one of my failings, namely that I should be blamed for issuing strict orders and reprimands for everyone to remain silent and not to wrangle about these matters publicly. Even if this was the case to some extent, the truth is that there was also an express command in the Council's instructions to this effect, directed both to the Tribunal and to the inquisitor **/8v/** who was to undertake the visitation.¹⁶⁸ Before I left this city we all agreed to and signed the same order; later, on my own, I employed it because it seemed useful and because the Tribunal had first expressed support of it. Furthermore, the Council had been consulted and had been asked to approve this order to guarantee the same circumspection and silence in cases involving witches as prevails in other matters dealt with by the Holy Office.

37.²⁵ In view of the problems created by the long delay, as explained in paragraph 26, with which my colleagues have opposed a general solution, it is possible that they will succeed in their purpose of obstructions by another tactic. I refer to the incomprehension shown by them towards my efforts to bring this matter to a general solution. However, by dispensing with the vote of the Tribunal they may finally overcome my unwillingness to take actions against anybody. They have also been forced to make haste not only because of their own often expressed desire to remedy what on their part they presupposed to be the case (whether or not this in fact was so) but also because of the continual clamour and complaint from people whose honour has been unjustly questioned and who endure all of this miraculously escaping the deaths and disasters which occurred earlier. However, even without considering this, the Council has promised

²⁵ Corrected from "41". In the manuscript this paragraph is to be found at folio 9r, after paragraph 40.

¹⁶⁸ For the imposition of silence, see above, doc. 10.9. Cf. below, in the final instructions of la Suprema, which order "an absolute silence is to be imposed" on the popular discussion of witchcraft (doc. 18.31). Eventually a printed edict, the so-called "Edict of Silence" was published to this effect (WA 377ff with fig. 21).

hacerse invisibles o que se vuelven en otras figuras de animales y lo semejante, cuando lo han habido menester para llenar con ello algún silogismo los colegas.

36. Y la publicidad dicha que me notaban en la causa de Catalina de Echeverría, se viene a encontrar con la otra culpa que me han argüido, de que yo mandé con rigurosos preceptos y censuras que todos callasen y nadie disputase manualmente de estas cosas. Y aunque esto fue con limitación la verdad es que también hubo expreso mandato del Consejo para ello, en la dicha instrucción, tanto para el Tribunal como para el inquisidor /8v/ que visitase.^{o168} Y así antes que yo saliese de esta ciudad, acordamos y firmamos todos juntos el mismo mandamiento que después proveía yo solo como cosa conveniente, y que por tal lo había deseado primero el Tribunal, consultando y suplicando al Consejo primero que lo tuviese por bien, para que en causas de brujas hubiese el mismo recato de silencio que en las demás que vienen al Santo Oficio.

37.^{ak} En la admiración que forman de procurar yo resolución de esto por mayor, consiguiendo con detenerla el fin de mi negativa de no proceder contra nadie, hallarán mejor salida que en su larga tardanza, con que lo han resistido viendo los inconvenientes de ella que descubren las consideraciones dichas especialmente en el número 26, y que también les obligaba a abreviar el impulso que muestran de remediar lo que presuponen de su parte si es cierto; o si no, de la contraria, los continuos alaridos y clamores de las honras injustamente encartadas, con tal dolor de los dueños, que milagrosamente se sufren sin proseguir las muertes y desastres comenzadas, pues aun sin esto, como en la captura de una sola persona, por la culpa de brujería, ha prometido el Consejo enviarnos especial resolución, donde

^{ak} *Corregido de:* 41. En el Ms. este párrafo se encuentra más adelante en el folio 9r, a continuación del párrafo 40.

^{al} El párrafo “En la admiración . . . con su detenimiento” viene repetido en el documento. Al margen del texto duplicado hay una nota marginal Salazar: Idem que el precedente.

to send special instructions before a single person is arrested for witchcraft. Therefore, since we now have so many cases pending at the same time, it is even more necessary to move quickly towards a permanent solution in order to expedite the cases and affairs delayed in the Tribunal.

38. To balance my colleagues' strong criticism of my having taken Don Miguel de Arramendia, priest of Alsasua, with me on the visitation—and I know him to be a priest of excellent qualities as I indicated to the Council—I can make a corresponding charge. Four months after his appointment, my colleagues accepted the doubtful testimony of Don Diego de Basurto as an excuse for delaying the official appointment of Miguel de Arramendia for two years, refusing to vote on his application and remit it to the Council as I had requested. Instead, they have retained these papers while they keep searching—as they are doing now—for further evidence to prove that he is a witch. To jeopardize the life and reputation of this long-suffering priest, and the honour of the inquisitor who chose him, runs counter to all claims of humanity and justice. As for Don Miguel his papers speak for themselves as to whether this charge has any substance. It appears, indeed, to have been manufactured—a circumstance which gives rise to suspicions about the validity of other self-contradictory charges which cannot be studied as closely as this one.¹⁶⁹

39. At the time Don Antonio Venegas was Bishop of Pamplona. With his experience in the Council and in matters relating to the Inquisition he was seeking, as befitted a zealous prelate, a prompt cure for the unrest of his flock. Therefore, it was my duty to consult with him when I passed through Pamplona on my visitation as my credentials issued by the Tribunal ordered (a copy of which I enclose);¹⁷⁰ and my colleagues could have reproached me for not doing this. However, this meeting led my colleagues to suspect a secret correspondence, something I have never even considered. Nor have they more right to say that I conferred secretly with and

¹⁶⁹ Miguel de Arramendia was priest of Alsasua. As an old friend of Salazar he had been appointed inquisitorial notary and served as such during the visitation (WA 294, 518 n. 138). For Arramendia's application for a post as inquisitorial commissioner, see above, note ¹⁵⁵.

¹⁷⁰ Salazar's credential letter is dated Logroño, 21th May 1611 (*Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 30). For details, see WA 508 n. 30.

va ahora el resto de todo el caso junto, es más debido acelerarla para que, acomodado con ella de una vez, también desembarace las personas y demás negocios del Tribunal, que suspende con su deteni-
miento.

38. Lo que tanto me agravan de haber traído conmigo en la visita a don Miguel de Arramendía, beneficiado de Alsasua, conociéndole yo por de las buenas partes que he significado al Consejo, se descontará mejor que la reconvención de ello de que siendo así y cosa mía, al cabo de cuatro meses de estar admitido tomasen la vaga testificación de don Diego Basurto, por color de detenerle dos años sin quererle votar sus papeles ni remitirlos como yo pedía, al Consejo, antes reservádoslos para buscar (como hoy procuran) que le sobrevenga otra nueva testificación de ser brujo—contra toda humanidad y justicia y con tanto riesgo de la vida y honra del sacerdote paciente y aun del inquisidor que le admitió, de que los mismos papeles dirán por todos, la verificación de este cargo que parece hecho a manos, y dará conjeturas de otros tales de contrario que no se puedan ver tan de cerca como éste.¹⁶⁹

39. Y siendo el señor don Antonio Venegas (entonces obispo de Pamplona) quien con su experiencia de cosas de Consejo y de la Inquisición, buscaba, como tan celoso prelado, de cerca el remedio de esta inquietud de sus ovejas, debiera yo allá consultarle, a lo menos cuando pasé a la visita, todo lo que por esta carta de creencia—que remito—me ordenaba el Tribunal,¹⁷⁰ y de no lo haber hecho así, culparme los colegas antes que fraguar las sospechas de correspondencia secreta que han insinuado sin haberlas [yo] jamás tenido en pensamiento. Ni tampoco la otra más debida, de decir

informed the Cardinal [Inquisitor General], my Lord,¹⁷¹ about the state of this controversy. These accusations reveal my unfortunate plight, for here they condemn what was praiseworthy in itself and it is furthermore an example of how my colleagues level against me every flimsy suspicion as if incontestably true.

40. While concentrating on my failures they have overlooked the fact that the Tribunal unanimously recommended to the Council that it was necessary, indeed essential, for two inquisitors to set out simultaneously to different **/9r/** districts in that area to publish the two Edicts, of Grace and Visitation, because it was not possible for one inquisitor to do this alone.¹⁷² However, now that the visitation has been completed—though it was prolonged for eight months when normally it should have lasted for four—and since the new inquisitor, alone and overworked, has covered a wider area and dealt with more cases than usual, he might have hoped for some appreciation of his achievements and for a better response.

41.²⁶ As for my correspondence with the Tribunal, I wrote more often and at greater length to my colleagues than they to me, as our letters, now collected together, make plain. Thus, while on my visitation, I never failed to consult them and to advise them of my plans and future sessions in so far as I could do this by letter, although occasionally I had to reserve some details for my letters to the Council. I was aggrieved by their failure to reply to many letters, especially those dealing with future sessions, for I used to consult them with the sole object of arranging these sessions with their consent.

42. Instead of citing me accurately they present whatever conclusion they reach on the basis of their usual perverted speculations over my papers, maintaining that they have read these things in my papers when in fact I never made such statements. For example, they blame me for giving the number of persons who went to the

²⁶ *The paragraph number 41, corrected from 37. In the Ms. this paragraph is found on folio 8v, following paragraph 36.*

¹⁷¹ “My Lord” is probably an allusion to Salazar’s close connection to the Inquisitor General, having served Don Bernardo when he was Bishop of Jaén and later as his private legal adviser when he became Archbishop of Toledo (see above, p. 22).

¹⁷² It should be remembered that the Council had turned the Tribunal’s proposal down (see the introduction to chapter 4, p. 237, above).

que yo consultase e informase de secreto al cardenal [el inquisidor general], mi señor,^{o171} el estado y fundamentos de esta controversia. Con que se descubre el aprieto de mi desgracia, en condenar lo que de suyo era tan loable, y que contra mí hiciesen, sabida verdad, cualquier flaca sospecha.

40. Y entre todas estas mis quiebras, han pasado fácilmente lo que todo el Tribunal consultó al Consejo por conveniente y forzoso, que salieran dos inquisidores a un tiempo por diferentes **/9r/** parajes de aquella tierra a esta publicación del edicto de gracia y de visita, porque no era posible darle cobro uno solo.^{o172} Y habiendo todavía acabándolo con durar ocho meses en la visita, que suele ser de cuatro, y por más tierras, negocios y efectos, sólo el inquisidor nuevo y trabajado, pudiere esperar algún agrado de lo hecho, con mejor correspondencia que muestran las obras y papeles de este negocio.

41.^{am} Y en la correspondencia del Tribunal escribía, en número y en cantidad, a los colegas muchas más cartas que me respondían, como hoy están juntas y patentes, sin dejar de consultarles jamás de los negocios y designios y futuras sesiones, cuanto se pudo decir en carta; o que no fuese reservado decirlo yo en la mía al Consejo; doliéndome de que me dejasen de responder a muchas particularidades de ello, especialmente en las futuras sesiones que les consultaba para fin de hacerlas todas con su beneplácito y no de otra manera.

42. Y de cuanto, especulando siniéstramente a su modo de mis papeles, arguyen y redoblan para sus ilusiones como si expresamente lo hubieran leído en ellas, lo llaman expresado. Y también me culpan

^{am} *Corregido de: 37. En el manuscrito este párrafo se encuentra en fol. 8v a continuación del párrafo 36.*

aquejarre asleep as 108,¹⁷³ because, according to their reasoning, they do not find more than 45. But here they slip up, for in the next line they state that all the rest from number 108 to number 1,802 said the opposite; the witnesses, however, never thought of saying such things, and my colleagues are not ignorant of this.

Similarly, through the records which they have seen in the Tribunal, they know that several people were *revocantes*. In spite of this, they waste a great deal of paper on the confessions of these people by overstating their importance to the Council to lend substance to their own exaggerations.

They also complain that I did not give three admonitions to every person reconciled or absolved during the visitation. Yet, on the basis of what all three of us established by consulting the archives of the *secreto* before I began to publish the present Edict, they know very well that never had more than one admonition been made in cases dealt with under an Edict of Grace.

I have only drawn attention to these few examples to demonstrate how my colleagues represent the case in a way which they themselves know to be at variance with the truth. /9v/

43. Through these accusations they are trying to demonstrate that they understand the case better than I, and they are convinced that the Council will realize the same upon reading their papers. But I know that their real concern is to provoke me into a fresh dispute by inducing me to write another lengthy refutation which would take as long to draw up as theirs, thus postponing the examination of the papers in the Council as they have succeeded until now by procrastination and their presentation of interminable papers. However, although I am resigned to their attempts to humiliate me personally, I am eager for the merits of the cases to speak for themselves. Meanwhile, I refuse to betray the truth by keeping silent where all the signs indicate that the most elementary principles of justice have been disregarded.

44. They disparage the reliability of my records [of the visitation] which I drew up with all due circumspection and with the assistance of a larger number of interpreters and secretaries than ever seen before. Yet, as for the additional material which they themselves introduce into their papers and which they allege to be well-known

¹⁷³ For the 108 witches who went to the sabbat asleep, see doc. 12, gloss 1, where the number is given as 102, and our discussion of this gloss, p. 59f, above.

de que llamé yo 108 personas, las que iban dormidas al aquelarre,^{o173} no hallando ellos por sus silogismos sino 45, resbalándose en esto con lo que luego dicen en el renglón siguiente, que todo el resto, desde 108 hasta las mil y ochocientas, digan lo contrario, sin haberles pasado tal por el pensamiento decirlo, ni aun a los colegas de ignorarlo (como también supieron que eran revocantes por autos que han visto de ello en el Tribunal algunas personas, de cuyas confesiones gastan mucho espacio y papel en ponderárselas al Consejo para sus exageraciones).

Querrellándose también de que yo no hiciese tres amonestaciones a cada reconciliada o absuelta en la visita, sabiendo que jamás se hizo más de una en los procesos despachados, como estos por Edicto de Gracia, según verificamos y asentamos por los registros del Secreto, todos tres colegas, antes de comenzar a publicar el presente.

Cosas que sólo pongo por muestra de otras infinitas que corren a este modo contra lo que saben de ellas mismas y pudieran declarar los colegas. /9v/

43. Y no puedo alcanzar de las notas con que me lastiman en las cosas, que saben mejor que yo el desengaño, y que le hallará el Consejo, en sirviéndose de verla por lo escrito: Que lleven más intento de incitarme a que con otra larga respuesta de ellas, dilatada en tiempo y escritura, como la suya, nos barajáramos ahora para divertir del todo la visita de ello, que han procurado por las dilaciones pasadas y largos papeles presentes. Mas vino tan rendido a lo que en mi persona quieran prostrarme, cuanto animado a que la misma verdad y méritos de lo procesado vuelvan mejor que yo por sí en todas partes, sin ofenderla entretanto este mi silencio donde los graves indicios de lo sobredicho dejan descubierto lo que cada uno traspasaría los límites de la igualdad y rectitud debida.

44. Y con detraer tanto el crédito de mis papeles, hechos con toda circunspección por mayor número de intérpretes y secretarios que nunca vieron, no se empachan de llamar infalible cuanto dicen

to the Tribunal, they do not scruple to claim infallibility. But as for the note of Don Miguel de Arramendía and other similar cases, the material which they claim as well-known has never been set down nor has it ever come to my attention.

This aspersion on my credit is like another of their exaggerations, namely that I did not leave them time to reply to my reports on the visitation, when in fact they had access to the papers for two months after their completion. (For their part they now consider it sufficient to read their papers to me just before sealing them.) Moreover, I am not in a position to defend my viewpoint, while Doctor Alonso Becerra as [newly appointed] *fiscal* [to the Council] enjoys the advantage of delivering their papers, thus personally bringing their position to the Council's attention.¹⁷⁴

45. In all of this we [inquisitors] look to the Council for guidance so that we might settle these disagreements, and we hope that the individual papers will receive the credit they deserve. And I ask You to bear in mind the moderation and patience which restrained me from reacting to the intense provocations with which my colleagues have tried to discredit and humiliate me. Meanwhile, we shall await the Council's instructions telling us how to remedy the shortcomings of this regrettable case and how to bring an end to the sufferings of the infested area since they are likely to cause greater disasters and offences to Our Lord—in Whose service and that of the Holy Office, I humbly seek to lay everything at the feet of Your Eminence. And with profound anguish I petition for a prompt solution in order to alleviate the plight of the afflicted who are appealing incessantly for help.

The epilogue for our controversy.

*27 Although this dispute scarcely leaves room for agreement, the principal points at issue are as follows.

1. They [maintain]: All the *confitentes* have personally seen and done as much as they respectively testify to about themselves and others.

²⁷ In the margin a pointing hand.

¹⁷⁴ In the middle of August 1613 Becerra was notified that he had been appointed fiscal to *la Suprema* (WA 331). However, he did not leave Logroño before the middle of October (WA 535 n. 94).

y extienden por los suyos con nombre de notorio al Tribunal, lo que así añaden en el voto de don Miguel de Arramendía, y lo semejante que nunca lo escribió nadie ni me dio noticia de ello.

Lo cual del crédito, parece a otra exageración de que no les dé yo espacio para responder a los papeles de mi visita en dos meses que la tuvieron aquí después de acabada; y ahora tienen por bastante leerme los que envían [ellos] cuando cierran su pliego. Y también que donde no podré decir yo mi razón al Consejo, con ellos la quiera anticipar desde que los entrega de su mano el señor fiscal, doctor Alonso Becerra, por ventaja de la introducción del negocio.¹⁷⁴

45. En todo lo cual y en el crédito que merezcan los papeles de cada uno y el descuento de lo que en mi templanza y sufrimiento dejaren sin respuesta a su vivas provocaciones, con que me ultrajan y mortifican y para ajustarnos en todas estas desigualdades. Esperamos del Consejo satisfacción bastante y orden con que disponer al Tribunal lo que falta de este lamentable caso, y de mitigar las turbaciones encendidas, dispuestas en aquella tierra a mayores desastres y ofensas de Nuestro Señor, en cuyo servicio y del que debo a este Santo Oficio, me esfuerzo a significarlo a los pies de Vuestra Alteza, suplicando humildemente, con entrañable dolor, por la brevedad de esta resolución, para alivio de los afligidos que la piden continuamente clamando.

Epílogo de toda esta controversia.

*^{an} Aunque escasamente deja punto de conformidad esta contienda, todavía se encuentran los más principales, diciendo cada uno de esta manera:

1. Ellos [mantienen]: Que todos los *confitentes* han visto o cometido real y corporalmente, cuanto de sí mismos y de los demás respectivamente testifican.

^{an} En el margen una mano apuntando.

—I [maintain]: Even though much of this may be possible, not one of the present papers is convincing in this respect.

2. They: The proofs of this are absolutely and unmistakably true.

—I: Even the strongest of them contains the element of uncertainty every age has found in cases of this nature.

3. They: We are dealing with a notorious and well-known sect which has always been severely punished ever since it was first discovered.

—I: In spite of this, the original severity [to which my colleagues allude] has gradually been mitigated by the Council as a result of periodic examination of the circumstances. Now, as a result of the most recent suspension the Holy Office is not allowed to punish or sentence nor to **/10r/** make an arrest without first consulting the Council.

4. They: Proceedings should be initiated to punish all those incriminated by testimony.

—I: It is not advisable to proceed against anyone unless the testimony is supported by other sources of evidence; nor should anyone be summoned simply because he was mentioned in the registers and, certainly not when the incriminated are of the purest lineage and belong to the nobility of that kingdom.

5. They: In view of the secret nature of witchcraft, less evidence should be required to indict the offenders.

—I: Even if the evidence presented were to be given the benefit of the doubt, it would still be suspect since the part claimed to be well known, is not in fact known to anyone, so far as I have been able to discover.

6. They: We must take the precaution against the danger of leaving unpunished one of the gravest apostasies that has ever offended the Christian religion.

—I: This point is not even worth considering as long as proof is lacking against those suspected and as long as there is no certainty that the offence has in fact been committed.

7. They: One should at least make reparations for the offence committed by these miserable wretches against God's honour.

—I: In the service and Honour of God we must make reparation for the fact that coercion and violence have been used to the detriment of many souls and reputations.

—Yo [mantengo]: Que aunque sea posible en mucha parte de ello, ninguna de todos los papeles presentes tal persuaden.

2. Ellos: Que las probanzas de esto son perfectas con evidente verdad.

—Yo: Que las mejores de ellas tienen la incertidumbre que todos tiempos y gentes les han hallado.

3. Ellos: Que como de secta conocida y declarada, se ha castigado con rigor este delito desde su primer descubrimiento.

—Yo: Que en esa misma derivación, afinadas todas circunstancias, han venido mitigando lo antiguo hasta la última suspensión referida de no castigar ni sentenciar el Santo Oficio a ninguno, ni dejádole /10r/ prender el Consejo sin consultárselo primero.°

4. Ellos: Que se puede hacer proceso para castigar cuantos encartan estas testificaciones.

—Yo: Que sin coadyuvarlas por otras vías, no conviene proceder contra ninguno, ni aun llamarle con solo esto notado en los registros, y particularmente cayendo en la gente de más pura limpieza y aun nobleza de aquel reino.

5. Ellos: Que por el privilegio de ser éste tan oculto delito, se debe expedir con menor probanza.

—Yo: Que aun así privilegiada, la que tienen no llega a ser mediana toda junta, pues de la parte de ella que insinúan notoria publicidad para todos, no hallamos ninguno que lo sepa.

6. Ellos: Que se asegure el riesgo de quedar sin castigo la más grave apostasía que ha ofendido la Religión Cristiana.

—Yo: Que faltando probanza contra el delincuente y aun averiguación de que sea cierto el mismo delito, no es esto considerable.

7. Ellos: Que a lo menos se restaure lo que contra la honra de Dios han cometido estos miserables.

—Yo: Que para el mismo servicio y honra Suya restituyan lo que con sugerencias y violencias indebidas se oscurece la verdad, con inquietud de las almas y honras de tantos.

8. They: All the accused should suffer the same punishment as other heretics, and the law of the Holy Office should not be moderated in cases of witchcraft by allowing witnesses to retract any statement or revoke their confessions.

—I: The law ought not to be applied to them with the same rigour as it is applied to other heretics.

9. They: In the record of the case we should only write down the final, well-reasoned confession that bears out what is already known about witchcraft.

—I: We write down the confessions in full with all their flaws and follies.

10. They: From the experience they gained by initiating proceedings against this sect and that acquired from the eighty-four cases dispatched in the Tribunal of Logroño, they have collected the evidence on which they now base their opinion.

—I: I too could produce some evidence from the 1,800 *confitentes* whom I dealt with single handed on my visitation, apart from the cited eighty-four whose cases I handled along with my colleagues.

11. They: Since they enjoy seniority of office and opened the case and since all the votes [of the *consultores* submitted at the *consulta de fe* on 8th June 1610] endorsed their judgement they should be given preference over me since I stood alone.

—I: This voting should be secondary to trying to discover the truth through discussion.

12. They [maintain]: All the records of my visitation are directed solely toward reinforcing my original and contrary opinion.

—I [maintain]: This does not correspond with the fact that they have found in my papers so many *actos positivos* to which they now refer to support their own opinion. Nor is it surprising that I came to this conclusion on the visitation, as I had already reached it in the Tribunal at the time we considered and voted on the case of María de Arburu which my colleagues presented—a point which I have not considered here.¹⁷⁵

May God preserve Your Eminence. Logroño, 3rd October 1613.²⁸

²⁸ For being a draft for personal use there is no signature.

¹⁷⁵ See above, paragraph 13, where the judgement of María de Arburu and accomplices is commented upon.

8. Ellos: Que pasen todos los testificados sin epiqueya por igual castigo como herejes sin permitir a los testigos descuento ni revocación de sus confesiones.

—Yo: Que no se les debe negar ésta con el límite que a los herejes.

9. Ellos: Que solamente escribamos en los méritos, la última resolución que deja cada uno bien razonada con la brujería que corre.

—Yo: Que escribamos sus confesiones, también con cuantas imperfecciones y desatinos las dijeren.

10. Ellos: Que con la experiencia que cobraron de dar principio a esta complicidad, continuándola en 84 causas que en el Tribunal se han despachado, sacaron la evidencia que aseguran y defienden.

—Yo: Que también pude alcanzar alguna con las 1800 confitentes que expedí en la visita solo, sin las dichas 84 en que asistí como todos.

11. Ellos: Que siendo en la antigüedad de esto y de sus personas, con el número de todos los demás votos tan superiores, se han de anteponer a mi, siendo solo.

—Yo: Que sin regular votos, sola debe andar en balanza la verdad que se ventila.

12. Ellos [mantienen]: Que todos los actos de mi visita salen dirigidos a esforzar mi primer dictamen de esta parte negativa.

—Yo [mantengo]: Que no se compadece esto con haber hallado en los mismos [papeles] tantos [actos] que ahora inducen ellos a la suya. Ni tampoco era mucho sacar lo mismo yo allá solo, que antes había de su mano en los primeros actos comunes del voto encontrado de María de Arburu, de que no he vuelto a repetir palabra ninguna en este papel.¹⁷⁵

Dios guarde a Vuestra Alteza, de Logroño y 3 de octubre de 1612.^{an}

^{an} *Por ser copia de uso personal falta la firma.*

15. *Fifth Report of Salazar*
*(Jaén, 7 January 1614)*¹

Jaén, 7th January 1614

†

Most Excellent Sir,

In accordance with the orders Your Eminence was pleased to give me in a letter of 25th October 1613 directing me to add to the papers in which my two colleagues and I have set out our respective opinions on the witch sect, I immediately informed during a session of the Tribunal the *licenciado* Juan de Valle Alvarado of the points which occurred to me. Since then I have delayed remitting an account of them to Your Eminence to allow my colleague more time to see whether he could find out anything which he might wish to add to his rejoinder. Yet, even then I suspected what I am now sure of, that nothing he or I might add can be of much importance compared to the grave harm any postponement of the final decision awaited by the people will bring to the principal and accessory cases. Finally, I have assembled in this report all the facts with which I furnished him since writing my letter of 3rd October. I am forwarding this from the city of Jaén where I now happen to be.

¹². Firstly, the fault they impute to me in their letter of 3rd October, namely that my arguments, frequently labelled by them as erroneous, are confused, obscure, and insubstantial, is not due to the weakness of the case but rather to my way of expressing it. Of course, I have not presented my views as well as they, but they might consider pardoning and passing over in silence my shortcomings, seeing that I have tried to do my best.

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[c], 11r–15r. Copy written in unknown hand. Of this Fifth Report of Salazar exists a preliminary version, dated Logroño, 13th November 1613 (*ibid.*, No. 4[o], 1r–4r, hereafter “Logroño Version”). It is a copy in the hand of the secretary Francisco Ladrón de Peralta and has eighteen paragraphs. In the margin the corresponding paragraph numbers of the second version are added in the hand of Salazar: [1 = 1, 2 = 2,] 3 = 5, 4 = 6, 5 = 8, 6 = 9, 7 = 10, 8 = 11, 9 = 12, 10 = 13, 11 = 14, 12 = 15, 13 = 16, 14 = 17, 15 = 18, 16 = 19, 17 = 20, 18 = 21.

² In the Ms. written “First” and the numeration continues with “2^o”, “3^o”, etc.

15. *Quinta relación de Salazar al Inquisidor General*
(Jaén, 7 de enero 1614)^a

En Jaén, 7 de enero, 1614

†

Muy Poderoso Señor,

Cumpliendo lo que por carta de 25 de octubre del año pasado, Vuesta Alteza fue servido de mandarme añadir a los papeles, que los dos colegas, con su parecer y yo con el mío, habíamos enviado cuanto a la secta de brujos, dí noticia luego en el Tribunal al licenciado Juan de Valle Alvarado, que en él asistía, de los apuntamientos que sobre ello me ocurrían, los cuales desde entonces he tardado de enviar a Vuestra Alteza solamente por dejarle más espacio de mirar si hallaba también algo que añadir a su respuesta; con sospechar yo lo mismo que ahora tengo por cierto, que ni su adición, ni aún la mía presente sobre lo remitido, importan tanto de aquí adelante como el perjuicio grande que reciben el caso principal y accesorios por cualquier intervalo de la resolución final que esperan. Y al cabo he recogido en este papel todo lo que así le dí noticia por adición del último de 3 de octubre y lo remito desde esta ciudad de Jaén donde hoy me hallo.

^{1b}. Lo primero, que siendo la nota que por el dicho papel de 3 de octubre, me imputan de confusión, oscuridad o poca substancia de mis argumentos, que tan continuamente llaman también errores, no por flaqueza del caso, sino mío en disponerlo tan bién como los dichos colegas el suyo, ya que puse todo esfuerzo en acertar, podía merecer perdón y que se me disimulara en silencio.

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679 Exp. 2.1 No. 29[c], 11r–15r. Copia con mano desconocido. De esta quinta relación de Salazar se conserve una primera versión con fecha de Logroño, 13 de noviembre de 1613, *ibid.*, No. 4[o], 1r–4r, en adelante “Versión de Logroño”. Es copia hecha por el secretario Francisco Ladrón de Peralta y tiene 18 párrafos; al margen con mano de Salazar van añadidos los números correspondientes de la segunda versión aquí reproducido ([1 = 1, 2 = 2,] 3 = 5, 4 = 6, 5 = 8, 6 = 9. 7 = 10, 8 = 11, 9 = 12, 10 = 13, 11 = 14, 12 = 15, 13 = 16, 14 = 17, 15 = 18, 16 = 19, 17 = 20, 18 = 21).

^b Escrito “Primero”, y sigue la numeración: “2º”, “3º”, etc.

2. In my first report [doc. 12] I endeavoured to furnish a full explanation of all the examples which I introduced into this discussion. These arguments, however, have been rejected constantly by my colleagues as being uncertain and contradictory in terms of what I claim for them. As before, I shall now faithfully proceed to draw my quotations for each item from the original records. However, I wish to call attention to the fact that my quotations [in the former letter] could have been supported by many other statements which I omitted for the sake of brevity in the confidence that my colleagues would come across them [upon reading the original records]. Likewise I am certain that if my arguments are not accepted, in spite of all this, we shall finally be enlightened by the Council which has at its disposal the papers to which I refer.

3. The principal motive and purpose of my colleagues' paper is to provide an adequate reply to mine. My arguments have obliged them to put forward several assumptions which they regard as important and well-founded and these are based on the following premise:

We marvel that he [Salazar] tries to insinuate that the majority **¶11v** of the witches' confessions and everything else that emerges from this visitation are dreams and fantasies; for it is clear that the tricks, intrigues, and contrivances of the Devil have been powerful and strong enough to blind the understanding of so many people. All of this, naturally, has allowed the Devil to better protect his witches.

Such harsh arguments of course have caused me anguish but I have confidence in the Council, where these submissions will be scrutinized, and I hope that they will be telling against those who imply that "blinded by the Devil I defend my witches". My colleagues stated this forgetting what they themselves had said previously at the end of [their commentary to my second letter (doc. 12)] paragraph 67, where they dwelt at great length on methods of curing the bewitched and of healing injuries inflicted by the witches and recommended the use of medicines which the Devil has taught people to use. Moreover, my colleagues stated that such methods provided the most certain and acceptable remedy, when by every law such practices are condemned by those who loathe these people and their abominations.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Salazar is referring to the cunning men and "white witches" and their counter magic against the "evil witches". The condemnation alluded to is the *Motu proprio* of Sixtus V, commented upon above, note 65.

2. De todas las alegaciones que en esta controversia me ayudaba en mi primer papel (y que siempre son tan impugnadas por inciertas o contrarias de lo que por ellas pretendo, como quieren decir), he procurado dar la satisfacción entera que ahora prosigo también en éste, sacada puntualmente de los méritos originales de cada cosa, y así añadido que a lo mismo ayudan otras muchas deposiciones que contestan en todo y las dejé de apuntar sólo por brevedad, fiado que las habían de topar a mano los dichos colegas, y en lo que con todo esto no fuere admitida pasaremos al cabo todos con el último desengaño que saliere del Consejo en la vista palpable de ellos, a que desde luego me remito.

3. Siendo el motivo y principal intento de cuanto juntan en este papel, dar con satisfacción la respuesta de argumentos que el mío les obliga, disponen por muy substanciales para ello algunos artículos que traen muy fundados después de su primera divisa y exordio que asientan por esta cláusula:

Y porque en todo pretende dar a entender que la mayor parte **¶¶¶** de confesiones de brujos, y todo lo que en ellas y en su visita se contiene, son sueños y fantasías, [estamos] admirados manifestamente que los emblecos del Demonio y sus marañas e invenciones hayan sido tan fuertes y poderosos para cegar los ojos del entendimiento con muchas personas, por mejor defender sus brujos, etc.^c

Y por el debido sentimiento que me obligaban a hacer tan ásperas razones, confío del gran lugar donde se han de afinar, que también éstas se vuelvan contra quien significa por ellas, que ciego del Demonio defienda yo mis brujos, sin acordarse los mismos colegas cuando lo dicen—como al fin del número 67 [en su comentario a mi segunda relación (doc. 12)]—alargándose a recomendar el modo de curar los embrujados y daños recibidos de los brujos con los medicamentos que el Demonio les ha enseñado, la llaman segura y más tolerable cura de cuantas pueden aplicarse, con ser por todas leyes reprobado de los que aborrecen esta gente y sus abominaciones.¹⁷⁶

^c “Y porque en todo . . . por mejor defender sus brujos, etc.” subrayado en el Ms.

If my colleagues can accept this incongruity, it is no wonder that they also consider their opinion [that the witches' sect exists] as both an evident, obvious and—what is more amazing—an infallible truth as well. This, they argue, has been regarded as settled by the Inquisition for more than 114 years, conveniently forgetting the last 80 years which I mentioned in the first article of my paper of 3rd October [doc. 14.2–12].

4. They say that some of the details I quoted from the witches' confessions are childish and ridiculous (a fact which none of us dispute). Consequently, they cannot then proceed to develop arguments from these same examples, which I relied upon to weaken the case, to attain their own ends and to make evident and acceptable what they wish to establish for their own purpose.

5. Although [in the beginning] they promise to answer my arguments satisfactorily, they have ignored them every time and have not replied to any of them. Instead, they emphasize only what they find to support the following assumptions. Firstly, they accept at face value the rules observed by the Devil and his witches: that some things are known <only>³ to the elders and most entrusted witches while other things are known to the children and neophytes who have still not forsworn their Christian Faith; that in order to go to the meetings, to be anointed, or to hold a toad, people sometimes must give their consent, while at other times these things happen without their permission; that some witches have permission to do what is forbidden to other witches; that sometimes the person seen at the *aquejarre* is only a counterfeit form of the real person and at other times it is in fact the person himself.

All of this they reduce to accepted conclusions, as if the doctors and authorities who claim this had enjoyed revelations or had succeeded in limiting the Devil to a uniform pattern of activity without variation in time, place or occasion, with the result that **/12r/** a gathering of witches in Zugarramurdi should be exactly the same as one in Fuenterrabía or in France. Yet apart from the fact that the witnesses contradict one another and the improbability of their agreeing (except by lying) this assumption is incompatible with the extensive powers attributed by my colleagues to the Devil to do whatever he fancies.

³ *Interpolation from the Logroño Version, paragraph 3.*

Y así sobre esta su disonancia, tampoco es maravilla que llamen también los colegas su opinión verdad notoria, evidente, y aun lo que más asombra, también infalible, persuadiendo que la haya asentado por tal la Inquisición en ciento y catorce años continuos, sin descontar de ellos los ochenta postreros del intervalo que yó referí en el artículo primero del dicho papel de 3 de octubre [doc. 14.2–12].

4. Y aunque juntamente llaman niñerías o cosas ridículas, algunas que refiero de los confitentes—como en efecto todos las tenemos e yo los alego por tales—es incompatible que tras ello, conociéndolas así todos nosotros por desatinadas, todavía de estas mismas brujerías—con que por mayor voy debilitando el caso—quieran sacar argumentos de fomentarle y llevar adelante el suyo y de hacer notorio y asentado lo que desean introducir para su intento.

5. Y en lugar de cumplir la satisfacción que prometen de mis argumentos, los pasan de claro cada rato, sin responder a ninguno con sólo hacer trance en ellos por cualquier de estos presupuestos siguientes: El primero de traer arancel de lo que el Demonio y brujos guardan en esta secta, en que sepan esto <solamente>^d los mayores y más privados, y aquello, los muchachos y novicios que no han renegado. Y que unas veces hayan de dar consentimiento para ir a las juntas, untarse o llevar sapo y otras sin ello. Y que a unos se les permita hacer lo que es prohibido a otros. Y que en unas personas de los aquelarres sean solamente figuras simuladas sus apariciones y en otras, [el] original verdadero, reduciéndolo a tan sabida resolución, como si los doctores o personas que suelen decirlo tuvieran revelación de ello, o tan coartado al Demonio a que siempre hiciera lo mismo, y a que sin mudanza de tiempos, lugares, ni ocasiones, fuera en todo conforme **/12r/** la junta de brujos de Zugarramurdi, a la de Fuenterrabía o Francia, pues demás de que no lo dicen así las testificaciones que hay tan encontradas, ni era verosímil que con verdad lo dijieran, tampoco se compadeciera con las facultades tan dilatadas que refieren del Demonio en variar o hacer lo que se le antojare en estas cosas.

^d *Interpolación de la Versión de Logroño.*

6. Their second assumption has the same objective. In order to resolve the contradictions which emerge from the confessions, my colleagues divide the defendants into three categories: good, bad, and indifferent *confitentes*.⁴ However, we have no method or rule which allows us to evaluate each confession other than the arbitrary one that they have used and refer to in the same paper. Thus the name of bad *confitente* is given to someone whom another [judge] might call good, and viceversa. Unless we were all to agree in the first place to call one good and another bad, the following is the inevitable result: whereas before we were arguing over one point alone [namely the statements of the witches], we now fall to discussing another point introduced by my colleagues [namely, who are good and who are bad informants]. Hence once more, they fall back from the doubtful to the completely uncertain by arrogating to themselves the capacity to distinguish between good and bad *confitentes*.

7. Thirdly, they assume that the Devil exercises great astuteness and constant vigilance to conceal his sect and to avoid the danger that he fears will result if it should become known, lest his detestable designs for corrupting the Christian religion will fail. All this flies in the face of the copious testimony of the 2,000 persons which led to the detection of the sect. Similarly, it does not seem that the Devil's machinations, the product of angelic sagacity and a nature far superior to the human, could be exposed so easily by children of such tender years—eight and under. More than 1,500 of the witnesses have not reached twelve!

These general assumptions put forward by my colleagues are irrecconcilable from the very beginning and consequently they cannot be used to support their contentions, since every conclusion derived from these three assumptions rests on a weak foundation. In this reply I have dealt with their general assumptions once and for all and I shall not return to them later, when I refer to my colleagues' detailed arguments.

8. My colleagues have relied very heavily on the confessions of Sabadina de Aguirre, aged seventy (D 164) and her niece María Martín de Aguirre, aged twenty-two (D 152) both reconciled at Vera.

⁴ *Logroño Version, paragraph 4*: into two categories: one of good *confitentes* and another of bad *confitentes*. We note that Salazar here in the first version of his paper operates with two and not three categories of defendants.

6. El segundo presupuesto es de que para esto mismo, y para conformar las dichas disonancias que resultan de unas confesiones con las otras, dividan en tres clases: de buenos y diminutos y malos confitentes.^e Porque no teniendo nosotros método ni regla con que medir a cada uno, sino otro tal arbitrio como han usado y repetido en el dicho papel de dar nombre de malos confitentes a los que cualquiera llamara buenos y al contrario; si primero no acordamos todos en que por conformidad de pareceres llamemos a uno bueno y a otro malo,^f resultará entretanto forzosamente de este su fundamento que, como altercábamos en un punto sólo principal que se ventilaba antes por esta vía, cayamos en dos con el que nuevamente ponen por medio de declararnos lo dudoso por lo más incierto, y de hacerse jueces de conocer ellos mismos sólo esta diferencia que nos quieren enseñar, de confitentes buenos y malos.

7. El tercero es, presuponiendo en la grande sagacidad del Demonio, la continua vigilancia con que va ocultando esta secta para evitar el peligro que teme, de que en siendo sabida le atajen sus abominables diseños de estragar con ella la religión cristiana, etc. Lo cual sale muy contrario a tan copiosas testificaciones de los dosmil confitentes con que hoy se ha descubierto, ni tampoco que su trama de la sagacidad y naturaleza angélica, tan superior de la humana se descubriera por tan tiernas criaturas de ocho años y menos—siendo más de mil quinientas de ellas que no llegan a doce años—y así no podrán los colegas salir con lo que pretenden de ayudarse para un mismo intento de ambas implicaciones tan contrarias, antes bien será tan debilitado cuanto estibare o hayan pasado de claro con ello, como en los dos fundamentos precedentes, que con sola esta general respuesta se haya disuelto, sin ser menester volverlo a repetir después en cada una de sus advertencias.

8. En cuanto a Sabadina de Aguirre, de 70 años, D 164, [y] María Martín de Aguirre, su sobrina, de edad de 22 años, D 152, ambas reconciliadas en Vera, de cuyas confesiones se ayudan con

^e *Versión de Logroño, párrafo 5*: dividan [en] dos clases: una de buenos confitentes y otra de malos confitentes. *Notemos que Salazar en la primera versión habla de dos y no tres categorías.*

^f *Ms. y Versión de Logroño*: también malo.

They later charge me with having exaggerated in paragraph 60 [of doc. 12] the revocation made by someone from Zubieta on his death-bed, and they further claim that I make no mention of /12v/ the reconciliation which Sabadina de Aguirre sought when she was at the point of death. Yet, the pure and simple truth is that she and her niece are still alive today and never were on the verge of death. Moreover, when the paper of 3rd October [by Becerra and Valle] was written, my colleagues could have mentioned that the revocation of her confessions had already been deposited in the archives. Thus, everything they argue on the basis of her trustworthiness ceases to be valid, except for the statement of María Martín: that although she and her aunt slept in the same room they did not see one another going to or returning from the *aquelarre*.

9. As for my colleagues saying that they do not know of any more cases of persons who were victimised and compelled to confess than the fifteen who stated this in their revocations, they could have included those persons who did not come to our notice because no proceedings have been recorded, and others who have not come forward to revoke their statements or recount their misfortunes because they do not know where to go or to whom they may direct themselves. There are also many individuals who, after confessing, have remained unreconciled because they did not present themselves for reconciliation—or to revoke their confessions. Other cases have recently come to light through inquiries by the High Court of Navarra into certain extreme cases of cruelty, and these cases are known to the Tribunal from reports sent by the commissioner of Urdax.

10. When my colleagues say they cannot find the source of my statement that the vicar of Pamplona imprisoned and punished Don Miguel de Aguirre, the curate of Errazu, for having used violence against several women to make them confess, I should like to point out that the very same papers cited by me—and my colleagues have had them at their disposal—furnish the very source, especially in question 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8 of the interrogation [of witnesses].¹⁷⁷

11. I am censured for having said in paragraph 71 [of doc. 12] that because of the tense atmosphere surrounding this case and those

¹⁷⁷ The questions in the interrogation of witnesses in the trial of Miguel de Aguirre (ADP proceso 242-2) address his witch persecution and withholding the Sacraments from the accused people, cf. above, pp. 73f, 76-79.

tanto esfuerzo, gravándome después en el número 60 [del doc. 12] de que exajerase la revocación hecha en el artículo de la muerte por uno de Zubieta, pues pasó yo en silencio /12v/ la reconciliación que la dicha Sabadina pidió también en el artículo de la muerte, la pura verdad cierta es que aún hoy es viva ella y su sobrina, sin haber llegado jamás a peligro de muerte; y que también pudieran decir, que cuando se escribió el papel de 3 de octubre, había en los registros revocación de sus confesiones con que cesaba cuanto argüían para ayudarse de su crédito, si no es que solamente le dure en lo que dijo la dicha Mari Martín, que saliendo a los aquelarres del aposento y cama de su tía, jamás se vieron a la ida ni a la vuelta ninguna.

9. Para lo que dicen, que no han sabido más que de las quince personas violentadas e inducidas a confesar brujería, que lo declaran en sus revocaciones, falta de añadir a ellas las que habrán dejado de llegar a nuestra noticia por no se les haber escrito proceso, y otras por no saber dónde ni a quién dejan hoy de revocar y contar sus lástimas, y muchas que después de confesar se quedaron sin ser reconciliadas ni revocar, como se dice adelante, y otras que nuevamente han salido a luz de las averiguaciones de los alcaldes de Navarra con ciertas crueldades exquisitas que están en los registros por remisión del comisario de Urdax.

10. Y cuanto a decir que no hallan la noticia que yo aseguraba de que a don Miguel de Aguirre, vicario de Errazu, le hubiese tenido preso y castigado el vicario de Pamplona, por haber cometido algunas violencias de las precedentes para hacer confesar a algunas mujeres, satisfacen los mismos papeles—por mí alegados—que han tenido en su poder los dichos colegas y, especialmente, las preguntas 2, 3, 6 y 8 del interrogatorio que allí hay.¹⁷⁷

11. Para ratificar lo mismo de que soy reprehendido de haber dicho en el número 71 [del doc. 12], que en el estado achacoso de

involved any further publicity given to this matter will be harmful, as the experience of the village of Olagüe and others has shown. I shall add what Miguel de Ustárroz aged seventy (B 281), a resident of Ituren and a man of excellent reasoning, said. He asserted that since the visitation of the inquisitor Juan de Valle Alvarado, and the inquiry into the *aquejarres* these have become more frequent and are now held every night.

I could instance a considerable number of cases attesting to this obvious truth but I will only refer to the examples of Graciana Lucea and her two companions from the Roncal Valley, who have recently been discharged by the Tribunal, <and the case of Juanes de Labaqui, sixteen years old (D 359)>.⁵

12. As for their criticism that my report does not specifically discuss, as it should, apostasy and the way in which the witches have committed this offence, I reply that they must be satisfied with the reasons which I gave in my letter **/13r/** in the following clause before the first article:

If we allow that all the statements and confessions that have been recorded are in general of the same sort—and this we have concluded from many reports and papers—I shall, to avoid repetition, only make the points and reflections on them which can best further the inquiry and the truth which we are seeking [doc. 12, end of introd.].

Since my colleagues cited this clause for other purpose at the beginning of their letter, it seems that they have forgotten it, otherwise they would have discounted this charge, considering that it was dealt with once and for all.

13. They say that I have no reason to affirm that the *confitentes* were afraid to revoke their confessions because, so they claim, I did not read out—and people did not hear—the Edict of Visitation which deals with this question, but only published the Edict of Grace. However, my colleagues should have noted the clause in my first letter dealing with the visitation. In considering the areas and villages where I stopped to hold sessions I said:

I stayed a number of days in each of the above mentioned places and published the Edict of Grace granted to the witches, and, where I

⁵ *Added with Salazar's hand.*

este negocio y gentes que por él padecen, será nociva cualquier publicidad ventilada que hoy se hiciese de estas cosas por las experiencias que dije del lugar de Olagüe y otras partes, etc.—Añado lo que dijo Miguel de Ustároz, B 281, vecino de Ituren, de setenta años y de muy buena razón, que desde que allá se hizo la visita del inquisidor Juan de Valle Alvarado son más frecuentes los aquelarres, haciéndolos todas las noches, moviendo pesquisa de ello.^g

Y por no acumular para esta notoriedad sabida otros números, solamente cito a Graciana Lucea y otras dos compañeras de Val de Roncal, que ahora han sido despachadas en el Tribunal. <Juanes de Labaqui, de dieciseis años, D 359.>^h

12. A la culpa de que no traté en mis relaciones como debiera y, más principalmente, de la apostasía y modo de haberla cometido los brujos, respondo que están satisfechos con la causa que tuve para ello, referida en mi carta **/13r/** antes de entrar en el primero artículo con esta cláusula:

Y supuesto que todas las declaraciones y confesiones presentes, en lo general de ellas son de la misma suerte y modo que por tantas relaciones y papeles se ha coligido, excusando de repetir ahora lo mismo, diré solamente los puntos y consideraciones de ello que más pueda ayudar al examen y resolución de la verdad que se busca, etc. [doc. 12, fin de introd.].

Y con haberla referido ellos mismos, también para otros designios, al principio de su carta, parece que no se acordaron de ella para excusar este cargo y saber lo que desde entonces quedó dicho para siempre.

13. Y en que no pude saber el temor que certifico de las confitentes que revocan sus confesiones, pues ni yo leía, ni ellos oyeron el edicto de la visita donde se trata de esto sino sólo el Edicto de Gracia de brujos, también pudieron ver otra tal cláusula de la primera carta de cosas de visita donde refiriendo las partes y lugares donde tuve sesión, dije así:

Que lo cumplí haciendo sesión y detenimiento en cada uno de los dichos lugares para la publicación del Edicto de Gracia concedido a

^g El final de la frase parece estar corrompido, cf. la Versión de Logroño, párrafo 8: haciéndolas todas las noches según quieren también significar otros muchos cada paso de que los aquelarres de tercera noche se reducen y continúan todas las noches en moviendo pesquisa de ello.

^h Añadido con letra de Salazar.

thought necessary, I also published the Edict of Visitation with the Anathema. The latter, however, only occurred in the towns of Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Azpeitia and the city of Vitoria [doc. 11, introd.].

Moreover, the Edict of Visitation and the Anathema had been read out during the preceding visitation two years earlier.¹⁷⁸

14. Although my colleagues remark upon the absence of the three admonitions and other judicial acts which are customarily applied to defendants before the Tribunal so that they can add to their confessions, I cannot be blamed for this fault. In fact, I observed the proper mode of procedure (drawn up by all three of us colleagues from precedents in the registers) with regard to the Edict of Grace. Yet, in the circumstances, they could not expect further results to emerge from such proceedings; rather the reverse, as the case of those currently under examination for witchcraft before the Tribunal shows. Bewildered by our questioning they leave us in turn even more perplexed about their reliability, as has happened in the cases of Gracia Luxea and her two companions from Roncal.¹⁷⁹

15. As for the reproof directed against me for saying in article III, paragraph 25 [of doc. 12], that what happened to María de Echevarría, resident of Oronoz (E 9), took place in her dreams, I stand by that statement. I am confident that the truth of what I said will emerge clearly from the study of her confessions, especially when all the information on her latest relapse is added. /13v/ The relapse, which my colleagues failed to mention in their paper, occurred several months after my visitation. A report of it has been filed with the other entries of her trial. It puts an end to the exaggerated claim they have been making, namely that she had been absent from the *aquelarres* for more than six months. For according to her latest confession she kept on going to the gatherings for months afterwards, although still not knowing how to explain the manner and form in which this happened.

16. As for their affirmation that when I set forth on the visitation I brought with me the records of 400 confessions which had been collected by the Tribunal from the entire district, let it be known

¹⁷⁸ Salazar is referring to the journey of visitation carried out by Inquisitor Valle in 1609 (WA chap. 7).

¹⁷⁹ Gracia Luxea of 16 and her two companions of 11 and 7 (case nos. 97–99) had made their confessions in Logroño in the first week of November 1613, the two youngest were absolved *ad cautelam* on 9th November, but Gracia's trial lingered on until 3rd December (cf. WA 537 n. 537).

los brujos; y en las partes que pareció conveniente, también juntamente el de la visita y anatema, como fue en Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Azpeitia y Vitoria [cf. doc. 11, introd.].

Además, dos años antes, en la visita precedente de las mismas montañas, se había leído este edicto de la visita y anatema.¹⁷⁸

14. Y aunque han hechado [de] menos las tres amonestaciones y otros autos que se hacen con los demás reos en el Tribunal, para que en ellos añadieran lo que les faltó de sus confesiones, no fue esta culpa mía, pues guardé, en efecto, el estilo de procesar con Edicto de Gracia que sacamos todos tres colegas de los ejemplares que hubo en el Secreto; aunque tampoco podían esperar que resultaran de estas diligencias tales efectos, sino antes bien, contrarios como de los que hoy son examinados en la sala del Tribunal sobre esta brujería; que, apurados con preguntas, nos dejan más confusión de su crédito, como lo vimos de la dicha Gracia Lucía y sus dos compañeras de Roncal.¹⁷⁹

15. En lo que soy reprehendido por haber significado en el artículo III, número 25 [del doc. 12], <que>ⁱ pasaría en sueños lo que dije de María de Echeverría, vecina de Oronoz, E 9, me vuelvo a ratificar, confiado en lo que saldrá más claro de la misma vista de sus confesiones, con añadirles lo que en el dicho papel dejaron **/13v/** de referir de ellas en cuanto a la última relapsía, hecha después de mi visita, [hacē] algunos meses, que anda acumulada en su proceso, con lo cual también cesa la ponderación que esforzaban de que por más de seis meses estaba retirada de los aquelarres; pues, conforme a esto, en muchos, después y aun siempre, prosigue por aquel modo de confesarlo sin saber declarar por qué vía ni modo le suceda.

16. Y en haber afirmado que cuando yo salí a la visita, llevé cuatrocientas confesiones que de todo el distrito se habían recogido en el Tribunal, es de advertir que solamente eran 338 todas y que de

ⁱ *Añadido con letra de Salazar. Versión de Logroño: que.*

that there were only 338. 117 of these were made by people of sufficient age for reconciliation [males over 14 and females over 12], although in fact there were not this many, for half of them failed to appear during the visitation to be reconciled and many of the remainder only came to revoke. The remaining confessions were returned to the Tribunal where they can be found today with the rest.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that the pens of my colleagues slipped, because after telling me that they had not found the 110 persons quoted [for going to *aquejarre* asleep (cf. doc. 14.42)]. They ended by stating that all the others who totalled 1,800 [went awake, and thus] confirmed their argument, a sinister statement as my colleagues well know.

Similarly, in paragraph 17 [of doc. 12] my colleagues try to excuse the folly of the *confitentes* by declaring that what the latter stated was that the image [of the Virgin Mary] had been present and helped them. In fact none of the witnesses ever made any mention of an image in their declarations, but spoke of a living, real and authentic person.

17. As for their assertion that they have not found a witness to testify that the witches set fire to me while I sat in the chair of the Tribunal [cf. above, p. 288], although they have confirmed other details closely related to this, I reply by citing the same Catalina de Sastrearena (E 391) whom they themselves quote [in another context]:¹⁸⁰

In order to take revenge on the Señor Inquisitor, the priest of Arizcun and on the said preacher [Fray Domingo de Sardo], the witches customarily demonstrate at the *aquejarres* how they set fire to them; and sometimes they even set fire to the same persons in the chamber of the very Tribunal. At first she stated that in her belief what the witches saw at the sabbats were real people; however, under cross-examination she replied that what they saw were only forms and figures. Yet she insisted that although they were figures and statues at the sabbat, the entrance of the witches into the attic room and the attic room itself above the audience chamber of the Tribunal were real and authentic, and the same was true of the people she claimed to have seen on that occasion, etc.

¹⁸⁰ For Catalina de Sastrearena (case no. 335) see the section on "The Witches' Lies" (WA chap. 11.A.5). In the preserved part of the colleagues' vote, the so-called *Pamplona Manuscript*, she has no. 89 in the list of cases from Salazar's Visitation. However, Becerra and Valle only refer thrice to her trial record (Idoate 1972, 57, 64, 67).

ellas, las 117 tenían edad de poder ser reconciliadas [varones de más de 14 y hembras de más de 12]; aunque en efecto no lo fueron, porque la mitad de ellas dejaron de acudir a mí a pedirlo en la visita, y muchas fueron solamente para revocar, y así de éstas que quedaron volvi a entregar sus confesiones en el Tribunal, donde están con lo demás de este género.

Y no es mucho haber[les] resbalado la pluma en este número, pues para decirme que no hallaban las 110 personas que yo citaba [por ir al aquelarre durmiendo (doc. 14.42)], también acabaron diciendo que todas las restantes, sin ellas hasta cumplimiento de 1800, decían en su favor, siendo tan siniestro como saben los mismos colegas.

Y también en el número 17 [del doc. 12], por descaminar el otro desatino de los confitentes que dijeron les había acudido y asistido personalmente imagen suya [*i.e.* del la Virgen], sin que ninguno haya mentado tal palabra de imagen en todas sus deposiciones, sino de persona viva, real y verdaderamente.

17. Y en lo que significan que no han hayado testigo ninguno de que me pusiesen fuego, estando yo en la silla del Tribunal [cf. arriba, p. 289]—aunque han verificado otras cosas bien adherentes a ello—satisface a esta objeción lo que dice la misma Catalina de Sastrearena, que [en otro contexto] citan, E 391, por estas palabras:¹⁸⁰

Y que así mismo, en venganza del señor inquisidor, del rector de Arizcún y del dicho padre predicador [fray Domingo de Sardo], suelen mostrar que les ponen fuego estando en los aquelarres, y que también vienen a ponerle en el mismo Tribunal; y aunque dijo y respondió al principio que le parecían las mismas personas que habían visto, con las réplicas y argumentos, respondió y dijo que eran estatuas y figuras, solamente perseverando todavía, que aunque en el aquelarre eran figuras y estatuas, la entrada y estancia del tejado y sala del Tribunal era actual y verdaderamente el mismo, y también individualmente las personas que ha referido allí, etc.

This is quoted literally from her record.⁶ /14r/

18. As for [their criticism of] my grave mishandling of Hipólita de Arbiza, fifteen years old and from Yanci (F 83), whom I sent to the parish priest [of Yanci, Martín de Irisarri] on the occasion of her latest revocation, my action is explicable in terms of the particular circumstances. All of this my colleagues could have realized by examining her file where it can be seen that after her original confession, she twice revoked it on different days and occasions during the visitation. When she made a fresh confession of witchcraft on the same day that she made her most recent revocation I was told by herself and another witness, her companion Mariana de Apecechea, that her sudden alterations and inconsistencies were due to her stepmother who outside the chamber⁷ was compelling her to confess, so that she might come back with the absolution and blessing which the rest received. Since Hipólita was not responsible for this inconsistency, as she made clear in the chamber (and this was also confirmed by her stepmother when I called her in and gave her a warning). So I sent Hipólita to settle her conscience with her confessor—my normal procedure on such occasions.¹⁸¹

Her parish priest was the rector of Yanci. There was no other clergyman, friar, or confessor in the village and the friars whom I had with me on the visitation had all taken part in the actual examination. Therefore, it was necessary to send her to this priest, who is regarded in the region as a very learned and exemplary cleric. My colleagues reproach me for having done this on the grounds that the Tribunal was going to punish this priest for various excesses imputed to him in this affair [of the witches]. However, only my colleagues had voted for trying the priest in question, and in view of our disagreement our votes had been remitted to the Council.

⁶ *"In order to take revenge . . . literally from her record"* underlined in the Ms.

⁷ Ms.: *en mi casa*, the literal translation would be "in my house".

¹⁸¹ Apparently the colleagues were criticising Salazar for not accepting Hipólita de Arbiza's recantation of her revocation on 16th March 1611. However the same day, during the hearing of her companion María it was revealed that Hipólita's stepmother, María López de Indaburu, was applying pressure on both girls to make them confess to being witches. Afterwards the stepmother was called in separately and warned from trying to influence the two girls (*Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 96r), cf. above, p. 62f.

Que son palabras formales de su proceso.^j /14r/

18. Y en la culpa también criminal de Hipólita de Arbiza, natural del lugar de Yanci, de edad de quince años, F 83, que al tiempo de su postrera revocación,^{o181} la remití a su cura y rector [el licenciado Martín de Irisarri] para que <se>^k confesase, también satisface lo demás que con esto verían en sus papeles, donde consta que después de la primera confesión hizo, en diferentes días y ocasiones, dos veces revocación de ella en la visita, y que volviendo a retroceder el mismo día que había hecho la postrera—por ser informado de ella misma y de otra, Mariana de Apezechea,^l su compañera, que procedía esta súbita mudanza e inconstancia, de una madrastra suya que a ello la estuvo induciendo en mi casa por volverla con la absolución y bendiciones que recibían las demás; y no porque fuese deliberación de la misma Hipólita, según lo declaró en la sala, y su madrastra también, siendo advertido de ello—hube de remitirla a que compusiese su conciencia con el confesor, como lo usé en otras ocasiones.

Y así, siendo el rector de Yanci, que refieren, su cura de almas, y en lugar donde no había otro confesor clérigo ni fraile, ya que con los frailes que yo llevaba conmigo en la visita habían pasádose los autos sobredichos, fue forzoso remitírsele al rector, especialmente siendo, como es allá, tenido por muy docto y ejemplar clérigo; y que lo referido de haberle querido castigar el Tribunal por algunas demasías que se le imputaban de estas cosas, solamente fue voto de los colegas, que remitido por discordia al Consejo, se retuvo allá como saben, sin habernos permitido que con él se hiciese demostración ninguna sino, antes bien después de ello, mandándonos el Consejo

^j “Y que así mismo . . . palabras formales de su proceso”, subrayado en el Ms.

^k Interpolación de la Versión de Logroño.

^l Ms.: Azpetechea. Versión de Logroño: Apezechea. Cf. WA case no. 455.

The Council, as is well-known, has not allowed us to initiate any proceedings against this priest. On the contrary, in a letter of 28 June 1611 the Council ordered us, both within and outside the Tribunal, to receive sympathetically and with every sign of open-mindedness all those who might oppose and argue with us about the affair of the witches. And this was all that the said rector had done.¹⁸²

19. As for my statement that several persons made themselves invisible and went to the assemblies without being noticed by anybody, my colleagues find that this is not proven by the evidence. However, apart from María Datuebera (G 121) this is also related by the following persons who refer to various instances: María de Echeverría (C 45), Pedro de Estebecorena (C 87), María de Iriarte (C 173), Juanes de Sastrearena (C 255) and Catalina de Sastrearena (E 391) [cf. doc. 12.7].

20. As to what I said in paragraph 65 [doc. 12]—that the *confitentes* either through compulsion or ill-will had also named those who were not guilty of witchcraft and that there was much of this in the testimony—apart from the two individuals I named, Juana de Argarate (B 458) and Graciana de Aguirre (B 468), my colleagues could also have seen much of the same in the records of the following: Graciana de Garaicochea (E 144), Mari Juan de Pijarena (B 509), Marichipi de Charranena (C 147), María de Aytajarena (C 657), Petri Gurría (G 202), Graciana de Mascucio (F 435),¹⁸³ and Miguel de Ustárroz (B 281). Each admits that he or she named some persons as witches simply because of personal enmity or similar motives.

21. Because of what I have implied in paragraph 66 [doc. 12] to the Council, I did not send a calculation of the number of persons of all kinds and conditions who had been denounced by the witches *confitentes*. In spite of the objection of my colleagues in their paper

¹⁸² See the quotation from the Council's letter of 28th June 1611, at the end of the introduction to chap. 2 (cf. WA 225). In *Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book* (f. 96r) there is a marginal note of Becerra on Martín de Irisarri: "He is the one who persuades them to recant and not to confess that they are witches, and for this he is noted and there is sufficient evidence against him (*es él que las persuade a revocar y que no confiesen que son brujas, y está notado y aún bastantemente indiciado de esto*)".

¹⁸³ The trial record of 16-year-old Graciana de Mascucio (or Macuso) of Zubieta has been kept (case no. 505). She had been imprisoned by the local authorities who tied her hands behind her back, and later when she wanted to recant her parish priest, rector Tomás Irigoyen had admonished her very strongly to persevere in her first confession (*Volume "F" of Salazar's Visitation Book*, 453r).

a todos, por carta de 28 de junio de 1611, que en el Tribunal y fuera de él admitiésemos con suavidad y con muestra de desear saber la verdad a cuantos la viniesen a impugnar y argüirnos sobre estas cosas—en qué había consistido toda la culpa del dicho rector.^{o182}

19. Y en cuanto a no hallar comprobado por las testificaciones de los méritos, que se hiciesen algunas personas invisibles, de suerte que sin ser sentidos de los presentes, fuesen a sus juntas, demás de María Atuberea, G 121, lo dicen también por diferentes modos y sucesos: María de Echeverría, C 45, Pedro de Estebecorena, C 87, María de Iriarte, C 173, Juanes de Sastrearena, C 255 y Catalina de Sastrearena, E 391.

20. Y en lo que decía en el número 65 [doc. 12], que por inducimientos y respetos indebidos, también nombrasen los confitentes a los que no eran culpados de esta brujería, y que de ello había mucho en las testificaciones, sin las dos que nombraba [yo] de Juana de Argarate, B 458, [y] Graciana de Aguirre, B 468, /14v/ lo habrán podido ver también de la misma suerte en los procesos de: Graciana de Garaycochea, E 114, Mari Juan de Pijarena, B 509, Marichipi de Charrarena, C 147, María de Aytajarena, C 657, [María de] Petrigurria,^m G 202, Graciana de Mascucio, F 435,^{o183} Miguel de Ustárroz (B 281). [de los cuales cada uno] dice que nombró algunos brujos, solamente por enemiga que les tenía y por otros malos respetos e intentos.

21. Aunque no envié numerada la cantidad de personas de todo género y estados, que en esta secta salieron testificadas, por lo que signifique en el número 66 [doc. 12] al Consejo, también es muy notorio, conforme a ello y a los escolios que dejó sacados el doctor

^m *Ms. y Versión de Logroño*: Petri Gurría, corrompido de “Petrigurria”, véase bajo C 657 en mi reconstrucción del Libro de Visita (case no. 543).

of 3rd October the number of incriminated had increased from three to four thousand,⁸ according to my statements and the list drawn up by the former *fiscal*, Doctor San Vicente.

22. Since my first paper I have constantly called in question the value of the denunciations made by the *confitentes*, a fact which my colleagues have sought to obscure. Therefore, it is noteworthy that they should now come to say that the witches *confitentes* may be deluded in many details, circumstances and occasions although they will not admit to me that these *confitentes* may also be mistaken with regard to their so-called accomplices.

This self-contradiction in the argument of my colleagues is even more apparent when we consider that they are oblivious to the article in paragraph 60 [doc. 12] in which they try to exempt the commissioners from the ill-treatment and unseemly scandals for which the latter are held responsible. For here my colleagues argue that one should not believe those who make declarations because they are apostates and obstinate witches. However, the guilt imputed to the commissioners by these witches is more likely than the unseen and imagined guilt directed against innocent people accused of being witches.

23. In replying to the *confitentes* who could not explain how they were borne to the witches' gatherings [doc. 12.8] my colleagues make a forced comparison with seafarers who, without knowing how to use the compass or pilot chart nevertheless find their way to the Indies or to the ports they are seeking. I see no basis for a comparison here since these two cases are completely unrelated to one another. In the former case, the seafarers whilst on the high seas are prepared for any eventuality by day or by night; but in the latter case, when the witches are travelling to the *aquelarre*, it is only the witch, or at the most the novice and her mistress, who see the way. Furthermore, no one can be found to confirm this, nor can anyone outside the sect relate anything about it.

24. In addition to the misfortune so unmistakably revealed in this affair—and I have pointed out the urgent need /15r/ with which all the circumstances of this case demand the general decision which we await from the Council—I also refer to the fact that the long suspension of action against witches [cf. doc. 14.3–12] could not pre-

⁸ “*the number . . . four thousand*”, underlined in the Ms.

San Vicente siendo fiscal, que pasaron de tres a cuatromil personas todas las testificadasⁿ sin embargo de la respuesta que sobre esto apuntan en el dicho papel de 3 de octubre.

22. Y en cuando han querido deslumbrar los colegas lo que desde el primer papel mío voy rebatiendo del crédito de estos confitentes para los cómplices que han encartado, es de mucha estima lo que vinieron a decir ahora, de que en muchas cosas, circunstancias y casos estarán ilusos los que las dicen, sin confesarme tras esto, que también lo estarán en los cómplices que nombran; y de mucha mayor es que, olvidándose de este artículo, en el número 60 [doc. 12], que deseaban librar los comisarios de las vejaciones y escándalos indebidos, [de] que fueron testificados, dicen los mismos colegas que no se les debe creer a los que lo dicen, por ser apóstatas y obstinados brujos, con ser lo que allí dicen contra los comisarios, más perceptible y probable culpa que la oculta y especulada de esta secta contra los inocentes testificados.

23. Y para responder a los confitentes que no supieron decir por qué vía ni modo eran llevados a las juntas de brujos [doc. 12.8], exajeran los colegas su comparación de los navegantes que, sin saber la aguja ni carta de marear, se hallan en las Indias o puerto que buscan, en que no hallo circunstancia de semejanza que a estos se apegue; pues a lo menos, en lo que más fuera menester, son tan remotos ambos casos de estar mirando a todas horas del día y de la noche, cuanto allí pasa los demás navegantes y bajeles que navegan; y acá, yendo al aquellarre, solamente lo ven el mismo brujo y quien le lleva, cuando mucho, sin contestar en el modo, ni haberse hallado otro de fuera de la complicidad que dice nada de ello.

24. Y sobre los aprietos tan evidentes que se muestran, y yo he apuntado, de la necesidad **/15r/** urgente con que todas las circunstancias de este caso claman por la resolución universal que esperan del Consejo, también les ayuda el largo intervalo referido de la antigua suspensión de los negocios de brujos [cf. doc. 14.3–12] para

ⁿ “que pasaron . . . las testificadas”, subrayado en el Ms.

vent the public punishment carried out in the auto de fe of 1610. This provides a reason for fearing that any reserve or silence will not be able to prevent a repetition now or in the future unless the order from the Council is accompanied by some rigorous instructions which would make known once and for all that everything the Council should order is to be carried out to the letter.

Finally, in such a matter as important as the administration of justice, so-called points of honour or reasons of state should have no place. Neither should punishment imposed at the auto de fe be regarded as contradictory to lenient policy, since the order which comes from the Council will remain confined to us within the strict limits of the secrecy of the Inquisition. Fears of scandal should also be allayed in view of the outcome which everyone saw after the auto de fe, when 1,800 persons were discharged by me following my publication of the Edict of Grace. For the same reason my colleagues ought to give up their distorted view fed by their ill-based suspicion against me.

In view of all this and notwithstanding all the opposing arguments in our controversy, my colleagues and I are in agreement on one point, namely that it is absolutely necessary to come to a decision. Therefore, I humbly entreat Your Eminence anew, and ask action to be taken with all possible haste. May God Preserve Your Eminence. Jaén, 7th January 1614.⁹

⁹ *Being a copy there is no signature.*

tener ahora que como no pudo aquella detener el público castigo que salió en el auto de 1610, mucho menos, podrá en lo presente y futuro ninguna disimulación de silencio, si no viene también con ella alguna orden^o con mayor rigor y con que en todos tiempos esté manifiesto cómo se haya de ejecutar puntualmente lo que el Consejo fuere servido de disponer, sin oír en tan grave causa de administración de justicia el que llaman pundonor, ni razón de estado de tener por contradicción de esto el dicho castigo del auto, pues sobre haber de quedar la orden que nos viniere, solamente reclusa^p entre nosotros en los puros límites del secreto de Inquisición, sin eso también por el copioso fruto que, después del auto, todos vinieron del Edicto de Gracia que yo publiqué con las mil ochocientas personas despachadas de mi mano, sanean por entero el dicho recelo, como debiera también divertir mejor a los colegas cuanto recambian de estas cosas contra mí de sospechas mal fundadas.

Por la cual y porque con todas altercaciones, tan opuestas, de esta controversia todavía convenimos igualmente los colegas y yo, en que sea precisamente necesario tomar resolución en este caso, lo vuelvo a suplicar humildemente a Vuestra Alteza, y que sea con toda la brevedad posible. Dios guarde Vuestra Alteza. De Jaén, 7 de enero, 1614.^q

^o Ms.: algun orden. *Pare evitar confusión he puesto la forma actual en femenino.*

^p Ms.: el orden que nos viniere solamente recluso. *He puesto la forma actual en femenino.*

^q *Por ser una copia está sin firma.*

29

La Resolución que el Con^o del Rey general Inq^{on} fue servida de tomar en el Rey d^o de la compliçidad de Secta de Brujos y de la Inq^{on} de los rones comercia^{les}.

Lo que despues aia a resultado de los apuntamientos y advertencias que sobrello hicistes con v^{os} parece en esta Inq^{on} de los rones en discordia con la atencion y cuidado que regirare negocio tan grave y de referenda habiendo cognoscido quanto nos ymporitar para las causas despachadas que en el d^o de 4 de Julio de este año pasado de 1610. habiendo sabido antes y visto enteramente las Ordenes Reales e Instruçiones antiguas y modernas que para semejantes causas habia en los Registros de esta Inq^{on} y tambien las Visitaciones y Violencias que con algunos delos d^{os} no todos desta secta an urado los d^{os} Justicias y otras personas en diversos lugares. Sin otros defectos que se an notado en los procesos. Se a entendido bien el grave perjuicio de haberse obrado en mas la verdad que busca çamos, en materia tan Ardua y de difeçil probança como siempre a aydo esta para cuya verificacion en lo futuro y Passado en lo pasado y presente Consultado con el Ill^{mo} Sr. Card^o Inq^{on} general Se or^o y tambien los Arçie^{os} los y capitulos de las d^{as} para los casos que de aqui adelante se ofrescieren en que se hubiere de proceder en esta materia.

1
que los Inq^{os} en las causas que de aqui adelante se ofrescieren desta materia que se ynformen de las muertes de criaturas y personas que los Brujos confiesan haber muerto sucediendon en aquellos dias o noches que el los dicen o estaban enfermas antes o si hubo algun accidente o causa para que muriesen natural o violentamente a declaracion de personas perçitas en el d^o de juicio res habidas sabiendo de que o si les hallaron algunas señales en los cuerpos o otras circunstancias para saber de que murieron.

2
Item que se ynformen por donde entran y salen en las casas y quien les abre las puertas y ventanas que dicen o si los d^{os} de ellas las d^{as} son abiertas o cerradas.

3
Item que se ynformen si estas son realmente a sus pueros y juntas y a ha çer los daños que ellas dicen y quien las llama y si algunos que no sea dellas las viere danchar o de dia en ves juntas o haciendo algun malificio.

Fig. 26. Salazar's own copy of the new instructions for witchcraft cases. (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid)

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FINAL RESOLUTION

Introduction

As mentioned earlier, the Council of the Spanish Inquisition had its seat in the Royal castle of Madrid along with the other government bodies. On 7th March Juan Zapata Osorio, one of the eight inquisitorial councillors, wrote to Salazar in Jaén assuring him that all the members of the Council would welcome his presence during the examination of the papers. “Their Lordships,” the letter continued, “are all anxious to hear your opinion on these matters—and I not the least . . . For my opinion . . . coincides with yours, and I feel that it is necessary to proceed with great caution, in the way that our predecessors have always done.” A few days later one of *la Suprema’s* secretaries wrote again to Salazar requesting his presence in Madrid on Monday, 7th April, as the examination of the papers relating to the witch affair was to be undertaken during that week (WA 358f).

On 15th March the Council wrote to the Tribunal at Logroño asking that the visitation books of both Valle and Salazar be sent immediately along with the records of the 84 trials that had been concluded by the Tribunal. In addition the Council asked that two witches be sent down in the greatest secrecy.¹ On the same day a letter was dispatched to the Inquisitor General, who had gone to Toledo: “As His Eminence ordered before His departure, we have now begun to examine the witch question in the afternoons,” the Council reported and went on to give an account of the original records that had been requested from Logroño “in order to facilitate

¹ One was the Zugarramurdi witch Juanes de Iribarren (Doc. 2.II.18), the other was Juanes de Goizueta, the witch discovered by the witchfinder Pedro de los Reyes (Doc. 14.23). A month later, on 15th April 1614, Goizueta arrived in Madrid together with all the papers the Council had asked for. The Tribunal had not been able to get hold of the other witch, as he was no longer in Zugarramurdi. After being released by the Inquisition he had turned highwayman and had now been sentenced by the High Court of Navarra to ten years in the galleys (WA 362–363).

the resolution of the problems presented by the case” and of the two witches who were to appear in Madrid “so that here in the presence of Your Eminence and the Council we may attempt to determine the truth and really get to the bottom of the matter” (WA 358f).

The closer we get to the centre of power, the more meagre are our sources. But as early as the beginning of March the Council had thus begun preliminary deliberations on the case at afternoon meetings which did not require the presence of the Inquisitor General (WA 360). At these meetings, Becerra, as *la Suprema*’s new *fiscal*, could argue “God’s case” against the “party of the witches”. No minutes of the Council meetings have been preserved, so we cannot know who was on one side and who was on the other. Perhaps Becerra had a sympathetic hearing from some of the councillors and the critical party therefore wanted to safeguard itself by insisting on the presence of Salazar before they went to work on the review of the case and the questioning of the two witches they had asked to be sent to Madrid.

The first task Salazar was given when he arrived was to write a summary of his opinion (doc. 16). Salazar’s summary, which repeats the epilogue to the Fourth Report in unabridged form, was copied almost verbatim into a letter that the Inquisitor General intended to send for comments to a number of bishops who were former members of *la Suprema*. While it is true that the plan was abandoned, it does tell us something about where the Inquisitor General’s sympathies lay in this case (WA 365).

Salazar’s next task was to draw up a proposal for the new instructions for witchcraft cases, to be adopted by *la Suprema* (doc. 17).² Like the previous letter, this is undated, but the proposal must have been available before 11th August 1614, when a letter was dispatched to the Tribunal informing it that Salazar had finished his term of service at the Council and was now returning to his post at Logroño (WA 366).

The Council now embarked on the final discussion of the witch case. Only the Inquisitor General and the four senior councillors—Pedro de Tapia (also a member of the Council of Castile), Juan de Llano y Valdés, Juan Zapata Osorio and Rodrigo de Castro y

² For a paraphrase of Salazar’s draft for the new instructions, see WA 366–369.

Bobadilla—had been involved from the start. The others had come in along the way: Gabriel de Trejo Paniagua (also a member of the Council of Castile) in 1610, while three others had only been there since 1613. These were Enrique Pimentel (a former member of the Council of Orders), Francisco de Mendoza (a former inquisitor of Toledo). As for the third councillor, the former Logroño inquisitor Juan Ramírez, he had actually been present from the beginning, but only in his capacity as *fiscal* of *la Suprema*.³ Another participant in the proceedings was Fray Francisco de Sosa, who had followed the case since his appointment as a councillor in March 1609 until September 1613, when he had been consecrated Bishop of Osma in northwestern Spain (WA 377).

On 29th August 1614 *la Suprema* was finally able to adopt the new regulations for witchcraft cases (doc. 18). Of its 32 clauses sixteen are taken from Salazar's draft.⁴ The rest are repetitions of former instructions, ranging from the witchcraft regulations of 14th Dec. 1526 (cf. doc. 14.3) to the instructions of 26th March 1611 (doc. 10).⁵ The new regulations begin with a severe reprimand to the Tribunal, which is reproached for withholding information about earlier ordinances and not informing *la Suprema* of the violence, abuse and other irregularities in this trial; in short, all that Salazar had taken up in his Fourth Report (doc. 14).

Ironically enough, Salazar and the new inquisitor, Antonio de Aranda y Alarcón, were alone in receiving this reprimand,⁶ for when *la Suprema's* letter arrived, Valle was convalescing at a health spa in the south of France,⁷ while Becerra sat on the Inquisition Council and played it safe.

³ Cf. WA 359: Table 13. Members of the Council of Inquisition, 1614. For Juan Ramírez, see above, p. 14 and doc. 12.73.

⁴ If we compare with Salazar's draft we see that the Council adopted almost all his suggestions. They omitted only four clauses: doc. 17, nos. 2, 16, 18, and 20.

⁵ For details see the paraphrase in Table 14. "The Instructions of the Council, 29th August 1614, Compared with Salazar's Draft and Other Prototypes" with indications of occurrences in earlier texts (WA 371–376).

⁶ The Council's letter did not reach Logroño before 18th Sept. 1614. On 20th September Salazar and the new inquisitor, Antonio de Aranda y Alarcón, acknowledged its receipt (WA 377).

⁷ On 2nd Sept. 1614 Valle had applied for twenty days' leave. Instead of the twenty days he was granted two months' leave and it would seem that he managed to get away from his old opponent quite soon, for as early as 15th Sept. his signature is missing from the Tribunal's correspondence (WA 366).

16. *Sixth Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General*
*(Madrid, Spring 1614)*¹

*² *Title:* Epilogue and summary of the findings of the visitation carried out by the Holy Office in the mountains of the Kingdom of Navarra and other areas, and of the outcome of the Edict of Grace granted to the witches' sect, according to the reports and papers remitted to the Council.

1. 290 persons of all ages were reconciled (males over 14, females over 12), some of them being very old (from 70 to 80 years) and some in their dotage.

2. There were also 41 more persons who, although of an age judged capable of malice, were absolved *ad cautelam* with abjuration *de levi*, for they had not been entirely persistent in their apostasy and therefore seemed less guilty.

3. As for the children under age (boys from 5 years to 13 and girls to 11) they were absolved *ad cautelam* without abjuration for having committed a less grave offence than the others and also for not being of sufficient age to be judged capable of malice. The total came to 1,384. On account of the defects and flaws of their statements the children have not been quoted in the reports except for some trifling detail which only they knew about.

4. Six of those absolved *ad cautelam* returned to confess a relapse stating that after their discharge they had gone back to the witches' gatherings.

5. During the visitation there were also 81 persons who revoked their confessions. 52 of these had been made before commissioners of the district, 9 in the Tribunal at Logroño, and 20 during the visitation. Those who had confessed during the visitation had also been reconciled in the course of the same.

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[e], 17r–20v. Another copy is found in the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), MS 2031, 129r–132v. The two copies are identical except for the last section which is missing in the Biblioteca Nacional manuscript, which was published by Julio Caro Baroja (1933, 115–130). I have added a numbering of the paragraphs.

² *In the upper left corner of the page a marginal note by Salazar: Epilogue. A summary of all the findings.*

16. *Sexta relación de Salazar al Inquisitor General*
 (Madrid, primavera de 1614)^a

^b*Título:* Relación y epílogo de lo que ha resultado de la visita que hizo el Santo Oficio en las montañas del reino de Navarra y otras partes, con el Edicto de Gracia concedido a los que hubiesen incurrido en la secta de brujos, conforme a las relaciones y papeles que de todo ello se han remitido al Consejo.

1. De personas varones de catorce años arriba, y hembras de doce, fueron reconciliadas 290 en todas edades, algunos de ellos viejos y aun decrepitos que pasaban de setenta y ochenta años.

2. Y así mismo hubo otras 41 personas que, con tener edad de ser dolicapaces, todavía por no haber tenido entera pertinacia de su apostasía sino, al parecer, más leve culpa, fueron absueltos *ad cautelam* con abjuración *de levi*.

3. Y de otras criaturas menores de las precedentes, de cinco años arriba, los varones de menos de catorce años y las hembras menos de doce, que por no haber cometido tanta culpa como las sobredichas, ni tampoco ser dolicapaces, fueron solamente absueltas *ad cautelam* sin abjuración, de los cuales hubo número de 1384, de cuyas declaraciones, por los defectos e imperfección dichos no se hace mención en todas las relaciones, si no es para alguna pequeña niñería que solamente debían saber ellos.

4. De absueltos *ad cautelam*, que después de su despacho volvieron a confesar relapsía de haber acudido a la junta de las brujas, hubo seis.

5. Hubo también en la dicha visita 81 personas revocantes de sus confesiones, las 52 de ellas hechas ante comisarios del distrito, y las 9 en el Tribunal de Logroño, y las 20 de confitentes en la visita que también habían sido reconciliados en ella.

^a AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[e], 17r–20v. Otra copia se encuentra en la Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), Ms. 2031, 129r–132v. Los dos manuscritos son idénticos, con la excepción de la sección final que falta en el manuscrito de la Biblioteca Nacional, que fue publicado por Julio Caro Baroja (1933, 115–130). He añadido una numeración de los párrafos.

^b *En el margen superior a la izquierda una nota con letra de Salazar:* Epílogo de todo lo que resulta de los papeles.

6. 36 persons in the villages of Santesteban, Iráizoz, Zubieta, Sumbilla, Donamaría, Arráyo, Ciga, Vera and Alzate were cross-examined for the verification of the sites of the *aque-larres* which the Council ordered to be identified. Yet with the exception of two villages [Vera and Ciga, cf. doc. 12.49] none of the witnesses from the nine *aque-larres* agreed with one-another in their replies to the eight questions which were put to them.

7. During the hearings [on the visitation] 22 pitchers were discovered as well as a magic list. These pots contained the potions, ointments and powders used in the evil arts of witchcraft. However, it was proved by the statements of the very witnesses, along with separate tests, that every one of these products were false and fraudulent and had been made by ludicrous methods. Moreover, this was confirmed by doctors who examined some of the pitchers and also by practical experiments.

8. As the Council had ordered, these and all the other tests should be carried out only with the more rational and intelligent persons, these were limited to the 420 most rational and intelligent, taken from the 1,802 with the exclusion of minors. Nonetheless, even among these 420 persons, many were not questioned because they did not meet the conditions required by the Council. So, if with all this it appears to my colleagues that the investigations should have been extended to more people and that more questions should have been asked, they have had more than a year and a half to supplement the inquiry by sending people from the Tribunal to conduct further examinations. Thus the substance of the argument contained in the memorials from both parties for the verification of these cases **/17v/** is based on, and must be understood as referring to, these 420 persons only, and not the 1,384 children who are not considered in this account.

9. The notes contained in the memorials and letters which I, the Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías, have submitted to the Council upon the affair of the witches are the following: . . .

Here follows a summary of Salazar's second, fourth and fifth report to the Inquisitor General.

6. En la comprobación de los puestos y aquelarres, que mandó verificar el Consejo, fueron examinados 36 testigos para los lugares de Santesteban, Iráizoz, Zubieta, Sumbilla, Donamaría, Arráyo, Ciga, Vera [y] Alzate, sin que todos [los] nueve aquelarres contesasen ni conformasen los testigos en cosa cierta ni concluyente de las ocho preguntas, que para ello se les hacía, si no es en dos lugares [Vera and Ciga, cf. doc. 12.49].

7. Y porque en los dichos procesos y causas fueron descubiertas veintidos ollas y una nómina de los potajes, ungüentos o polvos de los maleficios de su brujería, se verifico por sus mismas declaraciones, o por otras comprobaciones—y algunas también por declaraciones de médicos y experiencias palpables—haber sido todas y cada una de ellas hechas con embuste y ficción por medios y modos irrisorios.

8. Y como el Consejo mandó que solamente se hiciesen las dichas y todas las demás comprobaciones con los confitentes más cuerdos y entendidos, solamente se hubo de reducir toda esta comprobación a las 420 personas confitentes, más cuerdas y entendidas, de las dichas 1.802 de las que no fueron dolicapaces, sino, que aun de estas mismas 420 personas mayores, también se dejó de preguntar a muchas de ellas, por faltarles la circunstancia de cordura que el Consejo deseaba. Y cuando todo esto haya parecido a los colegas que se pudiera haber dilatado más esta diligencia en más personas o en más preguntas, han tenido espacio de más de año y medio en que lo poder suplir con enviarles a examinar desde el Tribunal, y así, en efecto, todo el juego que va razonado en los memoriales de ambas partes, para las comprobaciones de estos casos **/fol 17v/** corre, y se debe entender, solamente entre los dichas 420 personas mayores, sin los dichos 1.384 que quedan fuera de toda esta cuenta.

9. Los apuntamientos contenidos en los memoriales y cartas que sobre el presente negocio y complicidad de brujas, que yo, el inquisidor Alonso de Salazar Frías, he remitido al Consejo, contienen lo siguiente:

Sigue un resumen hecho por Salazar de su segunda, cuarta y quinta relación al Inquisidor General.

17. *Seventh Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General*
*(Madrid, Spring 1614)*¹

Title: Measures suitable for the resolution of the affair of the witches.²

This matter uncovered by the Inquisition at Logroño has now reached a point where it demands an immediate solution. To meet the urgent need, to safeguard the future, and also to remedy the past abuses, I the Inquisitor, *licenciado* Alonso de Salazar Frías recommend the following paragraphs.

1. By means of the commissioners it shall be made known everywhere that the Holy Office expresses grief and regret at the grievous violence employed by the minor secular justices and the relatives of the accused to compel the defendants to confession.

It shall be made clear that the Inquisition has refrained from action in this only because the High Court of Navarra has already begun to impose punishment to prevent a recurrence. The Inquisition will in fact leave this Court free to complete the task of punishing the guilty and will not resort to any form of judicial obstruction or interfere in any way extrajudicially. However, notice will be given, that henceforth the Inquisition shall without fail take the severest action against anyone who should lapse.

2. The commissioners and agents of the Inquisition who, it seems, are responsible for the said intimidations and use of force will be punished as a warning. They shall be summoned to the Tribunal and prosecuted there. I instance in particular the case of the *licenciado* Lorenzo de Hualde, commissioner of Vera, and also the commissioners of the towns of Echevarría¹⁸⁴ and of Maestu in the province of Alava. These shall be dealt with in such a way that apart from being punished special care is to be taken so that they are never again to be entrusted with matters of this nature.

3. Since the dispensation [granted by the Council] to admit *revo-cantes* has been restricted and kept secret it appears that many *confitentes*

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 12.1, No. 29[g], 27r–28v. Another copy is found, *ibid.*, No. 24[a], 1r–2v.

² *The title is added as a marginal note in the hand of Salazar. On the dorso a jotting, also in the hand of Salazar: Witches 1614. This was the last paper we gave to the Council.*

¹⁸⁴ “Echevarría” appears to be an error for Larrea, cf. doc. 12 gloss 74.

17. *Séptima relación de Salazar al Inquisidor General*
(Madrid, primavera de 1614)^a

Título: Lo que convenía proveer en el remedio de este negocio de la secta de brujas.^b

Para la necesidad tan urgente con que pide remedio la complicidad de secta de brujos, descubierta en la Inquisición de Logroño, en el estado que hoy tiene y de suerte que aproveche a lo porvenir, con algún alivio también de lo pasado, yo el inquisidor, licenciado Alondo de Salazar Frías, tenía por convenientes los artículos y capítulos que se siguen.

1. Que por medio de los comisarios se manifieste en todas partes el justo dolor y sentimiento que ha tenido el Santo Oficio de las graves violencias con que las justicias seculares inferiores y los parientes de los notados han inducido a los reos a estos descubrimientos, significándoles que solamente por haberlo comenzado a castigar y prevenido la Corte de Navarra, se alza la mano de ello, como en efecto se les dejará libremente acabar de castigar los culpados en este artículo, sin impedírseles jamás por ninguna vía judicial ni otra intercesión extrajudicial, y apercibiendo que en lo adelante se hará por la Inquisición, rigurosa demostración irremisiblemente contra los que en esto incurrieren.

2. Con los comisarios y ministros de la Inquisición, que también parece han incurrido en los dichos terrores y violencias, se hará el castigo conveniente para su escarmiento, llamándoles al Tribunal y haciendo con ellos sus causas, y especialmente con el licenciado don Lorenzo de Hualde,^c comisario de Vera, y el de la villa de Echevarría¹⁸⁴ en Alava, y el de Maestu, de suerte que, juntamente con su escarmiento, también quede notado que en ningún tiempo se les ha de cometer a ninguno de ellos negocio de este género.

3. Por haber sido restringida y oculta la facultad [concedida por el Consejo] de admitir revocantes, parece que han dejado de acudir

^a *AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, Núm. 29[g], 27r-28v. Otra copia se encuentra en el mismo legajo, Núm. 24[a], 1r-2v.*

^b *El título está añadido como nota marginal y con letra de Salazar. En el dorso hay un apunte, también con letra de Salazar: Brujas 1614. Del último papel que dimos al Consejo.*

^c *Ms.: Hualde.*

have failed to come forward although deeply concerned by what they have stated falsely against themselves and against others. In order to remedy this the dispensation granted for revocations will be more clearly expressed and orders will be given [to the commissioners] that they are to ensure with due circumspection that the interested parties are informed so as to remove any fears which might have inhibited them from coming forward earlier.

4. Through the same commissioners the priests and rectors will be warned that they are not to deny the Sacraments to parishioners who have been accused of this crime extra-judicially, be they *confitentes* or *negativos*, until the guilt of each has been determined by the Holy Office. For one thing, such a procedure is more in accord with the law; moreover, it is clear that the priests have acted too hastily in this matter because of the extra-judicial inquiries and flimsy confessions, thus creating the unfortunate consequences which this provision seeks to eliminate.

5. All the testimonies and cases resulting from the present affair shall be suspended forthwith, *novatione cessante*.³ It will thus be impossible to proceed against anyone, nor will involvement in the present affair debar any claimant or member of his family from an honourable charge.

6. The sambenitos of the persons **/27r/** relaxed or reconciled in the general auto de fe 1610 are not to be hung in their parish churches nor anywhere else. This practice has been omitted previously after similar incidents involving witchcraft; furthermore the legal flaws discovered in the proceedings of the trials make it obligatory to take this measure and ensure greater legal safeguards in future.

7. For the same reason the amount, whether in *maravedis* or goods, awarded to the Inquisition from the sale of property shall not be paid although it is entered so in their sentences.

8 As for those who died in the prisons of the Inquisition before their cases were decided or completed, the *fiscal* will not continue the prosecution. And even if these individuals have persisted in their refusal to confess, it will be declared that their trial and imprisonment will not bar their descendants from any honourable post they might claim. This decision is to be entered into their files and the children and other interested parties will be so informed.

³ *Latin: 'there being no reopening of the case'.*

muchos confitentes gravados de lo que en estas cosas dijeron falsamente contra sí y contra otros, y para remediarlo se conceda con más especialidad licencia de esto y orden de dar alguna noticia de ello, con el recato y advertencias que baste para divertirles el temor que les puede haber detenido de hacerlo antes.

4. Por la misma vía se envíe a advertir a los curas y rectores que no prohiban a sus parroquianos, que estuvieren notados extrajudicialmente de este crimen, la comunión de los sacramentos, quiera [que] sean personas negativas o confitentes, hasta que por el Santo Oficio se haya declarado la culpa de cada uno; pues, sobre ser así más conforme a derecho, también, de haberse regido los curas atropelladamente por las diligencias y flacas confesiones extrajudiciales, han caído en los graves inconvenientes que con esta prevención se han de sanear.

5. Todas las testificaciones y causas que de ellas habrán resultado hoy en los papeles presentes se suspendan para que en ninguna de ellas, *novatione cessante*, se pueda proceder contra ninguno, ni tenerle por tal notado, en cualquier pretensión de oficio honroso que el o sus parientes tuvieren.

6. De las personas que en el auto de fe general, del año pasado de 1610, fueron /27v/ relajadas o reconciliadas, no se pongan jamás sus sambenitos en las parroquias ni en otra parte ninguna, tanto por la tradición de haberse también omitido de poner otras veces en tales ocasiones de brujería, cuanto por los nuevos motivos que de la imperfección de sus procesos han obligado a declararlo y añadir con este nuevo recato en lo porvenir.

7. Por la misma razón dicha en el capítulo precedente, tampoco se cobrarán las partidas de maravedís o hacienda adjudicada al fisco de la confiscación o condenación que tuvieron los tales relajados o condenados en sus sentencias.

8. Cuanto a las personas que murieron en las cárceles de la Inquisición sin ser determinadas ni conclusas sus causas, no las proseguirá jamás el fiscal; y aunque muriesen permaneciendo en su negativa, se declare que no les obste su proceso y prisión en los oficios de honra que pretendieren sus descendientes, y que así se note en el proceso de cada uno y se de noticia a los hijos o personas interesadas que hubiere.

9. In the cases of Fray Pedro de Arburu, of the Premonstratensian order, and of his cousin Juan de Borda, the priest, any part of their sentence of imprisonment, exile or detention still to be served, shall be quashed. Furthermore, it is to be recorded in their files that the past sentence will not bar them from any honourable office, and they are to be informed of this.

10. The open discussion of these matters and the subsequent scuffles have caused much trouble and unseemly conduct. Private persons have taken it upon themselves to make inquiries, tests and other certain experiments which they devised. As a result of which some have even come to question the existence of witchcraft and to doubt whether those burned at the auto de fe in Logroño were punished justly. The Tribunal will issue an edict imposing silence in this matter, and the edict will make it clear that, when people are troubled by their conscience, they are to consult only the commissioners or agents of the Inquisition, or, if these are not available, their own confessor, rector or priest. In this way the case will come to the notice of the Holy Office directly without being publicised. This should also be observed by the accusers and other parties involved in witchcraft cases so that there may be the same caution in this crime as is observed in all other matters which fall within the province of the Holy Office.

11. When, at any time certain persons come forward of their own accord to reveal to the Tribunal what they know about themselves or others in this matter they are to be admitted. Whatever they say should be written down, as set out in the [General] Instructions,¹⁸⁵ together with all shortcomings and contradictions. The offence of the accomplices shall be made plain so that it may be seen whether they are guilty or not. **/28r/**

12. No commissioner shall accept information about these things or record testimonies against anybody without first informing the Tribunal of the case with all attendant circumstances as the General Instructions direct him to do.

¹⁸⁵ On 28th April 1607 *la Suprema* issued a circular letter (*carta acordada*) to all tribunals ordering them to distribute a printed copy of instructions to commissioners and notaries of the Holy Office (*Lib.* 497, 276r–v). Both Salazar and the Council are referring to such a print with “General Instructions [to commissioners and notaries of the Holy Office]” (cf. the following clause, and below, doc. 18.10 and 13), but apparently no copy has survived.

9. En las causas de fray Pedro de Arburo, de la orden premostratense, y de don Juan de Borda, presbítero, su primo, se les alce cualquier parte de reclusión, suspensión o destierro que les falte de cumplir de sus condenaciones, y se note en sus procesos que no les obste la condenación pasada para cosas de honra, y que de ello se les de noticia a ambos.

10. Por los inconvenientes e indecencia que han resultado por la frecuente y manual conferencia de estas cosas, descendiendo cada persona particular a hacer las experiencias, comprobaciones y otras particulares diligencias que les han parecido, hasta pasarse también después de ello a dudar la verdad de los sucesos de este crimen y de la justificación de los castigados por el auto de Logroño, con edicto público del Tribunal se imponga silencio en ello y orden de que solamente en la necesidad que les ocurriere de estas cosas para remedio de sus conciencias en esta parte lo trate cada uno con los comisarios o ministros de la Inquisición, y en su falta con su confesor, rector o cura propio, dirigiéndolo por esta vía a que sin rodeo ni esparcer el caso, venga a noticia del Santo Oficio, guardando en este crimen de brujería, los denunciadores o interesados, otro tal recato como se guarda en todos los demás que son del conocimiento y punición del Santo Oficio.

11. Siempre y en qualquier tiempo que viniere espontaneamente alguna persona a manifestar en el Tribunal, desío de otros, lo que supieren de este género, sea admitido escribiendo literal y puntualmente lo que dijeren, con todas sus imperfecciones y contradicciones, conforme a lo proveído por las Instrucciones [generales],²¹⁸⁵ poniendo la culpa de los cómplices en tal claridad que se deje percibir si la cometieron o no. /28r/

12. Ningún comisario reciba información ni testificación de estas cosas contra nadie, sino, conforme sus instrucciones generales, cada uno primero dé noticias al Tribunal de la que él hubiere tenido con las dichas circunstancias.

13. The commissioners shall also be charged with the permission and instructions to admit the confessions in the previously indicated manner. Furthermore, they shall be advised that if in the confessions they discover something about the condition or personal shortcomings of the individual who confess to witchcraft they should notify the Tribunal of these as well as any other observation which may help to determine the way in which the case is to be handled. The inquisitors shall exercise great caution and shall all agree on the selection of the commissioner to whom the matter is to be entrusted.

14. If, observing the aforesaid circumspection and the new instructions, further testimonies should be brought against any of those previously testified against, thus causing their case to be continued, the new evidence is to be written down and incorporated with the former so that the guilt of the accused can be determined from both sets of evidence. The vote can take place whenever the three inquisitors are present. All the entries relating to the case together with the votes and [a copy of] the present instructions shall be remitted to the Council before any action is taken.

15. All voluntary *confitentes* who resort to the Tribunal are to be dealt with mercifully without delay, without imprisonment, and without confiscation of goods or any condemnation whatsoever. As for those who voluntarily confess to the commissioners, the Tribunal shall discharge them entrusting their reconciliation or absolution to an appropriate commissioner, once their confessions have been examined in the Tribunal and all the circumstances made plain. For unless special circumstances call for it the Tribunal will not have to consult the Council over this sort of dismissal.

16. In view of the many examples of excesses committed by the commissioners acting with partiality and injustice in these matters, such cases will in the future be committed to the commissioner of a different archdeaconate so that no [commissioner] from the archdeaconate of the defendant nor relations [of the agent of the area] take part in the proceedings.

17. A similar procedure shall be observed with those who confess before the Tribunal or the commissioners to relapsing. The Tribunal shall agree to absolve them, if this is found to be expedient, or to discharge them in a similar way without awaiting further advice from the Council and without ever detaining them.

13. Los comisarios tendrán facultad y orden de admitir también ellos las confesiones de la forma dicha, advirtiéndoles que con ellas se informen de la condición o imperfecciones personales del tal confitente para que avisándolo con cualquiera otra advertencia al Tribunal, ayude a gobernar lo que en la causa se hubiere de proseguir, y también escogerán con mucho tiento y conformidad de todos los inquisidores el comisario a quien se haya de cometer.

14. Si, guardando el recato y nuevas advertencias presentes, sobreviniere cualquiera otra testificación contra alguno de los dichos que hoy son testificados, para haberla de proseguir se saque y acumule todo con la presente, para que así, con ambas juntas, se vea y vote su culpa en el Tribunal cuando parezca más conveniente, estando juntos todos tres inquisidores, y que toda la tal causa, así junta con lo votado, y también con las advertencias y capítulos presentes, antes de ejecutar nada, se remita al Consejo.

15. Todos los confitentes espontaneos que así hubieren acudido al Tribunal sean despachados benignamente sin dilación, carcerería, confiscación, ni condenación alguna de bienes y que para los semejantes que ante los comisarios hayan confesado, después de vistas sus confesiones y saneadas todas circunstancias en el Tribunal, les envíen despacho de reconciliación o absolución remitida al comisario que pareciere, sin esperar a consultar al Consejo en este modo de despacho, cuando no haya otra circunstancia extraordinaria que a ello obligue.

16. Por la experiencia que se ha tocado de los excesos sobredichos de los comisarios y en proceder con parcialidad y desigualdad en estas cosas, siempre que ocurriere el caso de haber de proseguir en la manera dicha, se remita al comisario de otro arciprestazgo, de tal suerte que ninguno del suyo, ni entre sus parientes, haga autos de estas cosas.

17. De los que en el Tribunal, o ante comisarios, confesaren relapsía se guarde respectivamente otra tal expedición cual acordare el Tribunal de absolverlos si conviniere, o tomar otro semejante expediente en su despacho, sin esperar tampoco sobre ello nueva consulta del Consejo ni dilatarlo jamás.

18. It has been ascertained that the clause dealing with male and female witches of both sexes does not form part of the Edicts of Visitation published by other /18v/ inquisitions. Thus, in the Inquisition of Logroño this clause shall be eliminated to conform to the practice of the other inquisitions on this point.¹⁸⁶

19. All the letters, instructions, consultations, provisions from the Council, and agreements on these matters which have accumulated to date shall be entered in chronological order into a volume. Thus, all this material bound together and preceded by a copy of the new instructions shall always be at hand for cases which might arise or whenever the Council should ask for it.

20. This new order shall be made known among all the persons of the *secreto*. An original copy should be placed with the *Cartas Acordadas* in such a way that whenever cases of this nature arise it will be immediately at hand to serve as a code of procedure. And every year when the *relacion de causas* [yearly report on completed cases] is remitted in order to obtain the *ayuda de costa* [the annual bonus] an account of this affair shall also be forwarded to the Council. Particular reference should be made to the following points: how the affair has been directed and administered, what has been the result of the witchcraft cases, and what means have been employed to achieve these results.

¹⁸⁶ It is difficult to ascertain whether Salazar was right in his assertion that the clause about witches was not found in the Edict of Faith of other inquisitions. For almost all preserved copies are posterior to 1614, when he made his statement (cf. WA 473f n. 6). However, the Council did not follow Salazar's proposal on this point; the Edict of Faith of Logroño (and other tribunals) continued to urge people to denounce it, if they had heard of any who were "warlocks or witches (*brujos o brujas*)" or who had made a pact with the Devil (WA 98).

18. Que siendo verificado que en los edictos de visita que publican las demás /28v/ inquisiciones, no se contiene la interrogación y cláusula que trata de brujos y brujas, también se tilde y borre el de la Inquisición de Logroño, ajustándose en esto con las demás.^{o186}

19. Que de todas las cartas, instrucciones, consultas, provisiones del Consejo y acuerdos de estas cosas que al presente se han traído acumuladas con estos papeles, se saque una copia y cuaderno continuado por los tiempos y negocios que se causaron, para que así junto, poniendo con ello por cabeza, copia de esta instrucción, se halle siempre a mano los casos que se ofrecieren, o que el Consejo lo pidiere.

20. Que este nuevo orden se haga manifiesto entre todas las personas del Secreto poniendo el original con las Cartas Acordadas, de tal manera que en ningún tiempo ni ocasión que ocurriere de este género deje de estar patente, para ponerle por principio de lo que se hiciere. Y que todos los años con las relaciones de causas que vinieren al Consejo para Ayuda de Costa se envíe también razón de todo esto refiriendo en particular cómo se haya regido y ejecutado y los efectos que en las causas de esta secta hayan resultado, y con qué diligencia se han conseguido.

18. *The Instructions Issued by the Council
for Dealing with Witchcraft Cases
(Madrid, 29th August 1614)*¹

*2 The papers concerning witchcraft sent in by your Tribunal with the differing observations and comments made in your submissions have been studied in the Council with all the care and attention which such a serious matter requires. As for the cases dealt with, especially those of the auto de fe held in 1610, we now realize how essential it would have been for us if we had been able to examine with due care all the old and new orders, directives, and instructions relating to similar cases which reposed in the archives of your Tribunal. We should also have been informed of the intimidations and physical violence which relatives, justices and other persons have employed in various places against a number of the defendants accused of belonging to this sect, not to mention the other defects which have come to light in the trials. Therefore, we fully recognize the serious obstacles to establishing the truth in a matter which has always been so complex and difficult to prove. /245r/

To avoid a similar confusion in the future, and to remedy past and present mistakes, we have conferred with the Inquisitor General,

¹ AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 334, 244v–253r, in Council's register of letters to the inquisitions of Aragón and Navarra, hereafter manuscript "A". A second copy, "B", *ibid.*, 331r–335r; a third, "C", in Salazar's hand is found in Leg. 1679, Exp. 2.1, No. 29[g], 29r–32r; a fourth copy, "D", is found *ibid.*, No. 24[b], 1r–4v; a fifth, "E", in Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 18.714⁴⁶ (olim. I 20), 248r–251r; and a sixth, "F", in Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Inquisición, Leg. 336, 172r–177v. For other copies, see Henningsen 1969, 103, n. 10. According to a note in copy "E" the original of this letter was kept in the Tribunal's archives at Logroño, in volume 16 of "Special Letter from the Council" at folio 117"; however, as these archives were lost, we do not dispose of the original text. The present edition reproduce the copy in the Council's letter book, "A", with some adjustments based on the two copies ("C" and "D") originating from the Logroño Tribunal, and a copy which some time later was sent to the Inquisition of Cuenca.

² *Marginal note by the Council*: These are the instructions to deal with witchcraft. They were issued in accordance with the decisions taken on 1 September 1614, # (*e-note on date*) after the papers which resulted from the visitation made by the *licenciado* Salazar Frias had been considered. As for the date "1st Sept.", all other copies have the 29th of August, except for one cited by Henry Charles Lea with the date 31st Aug. 1614 (see Henningsen 1969, 103 n. 10; Lea 1906–7, vol. 4, p. 235).

18. *Las instrucciones dadas por el Consejo
para proceder en casos de brujería
(Madrid, 29 de agosto 1614)*^a

^bEn el Consejo se han visto los papeles de la complicidad de brujos de esa inquisición y los apuntamientos y advertencias que sobre ello hicisteis con vuestros pareceres en discordia, con la atención y cuidado que requiere negocio tan grave. Y habiendo conocido cuanto nos importara para las causas despachadas, especialmente las del auto que se celebró el año pasado de 1610, haber sabido antes y visto enteramente las órdenes, acuerdos e instrucciones antiguos y modernas que para semejantes casos había en los registros de esa inquisición, y también las vejaciones y violencias que con algunos de los reos notados de esta secta han usado los deudos, justicias y otras personas en diversos lugares, con otros defectos que se han notado en los procesos, se ha entendido bien el grave perjuicio de haberse oscurecido más la verdad que buscábamos en materia tan ardua y de difícil probanza, como /245r/ siempre ha sido esta.

Para cuya prevención en lo futuro y reparo en lo pasado y presente, consultado con el Ilustrísimo Cardenal Inquisidor General, se

^a AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 334, 244v–253r, que es el registro de cartas del Consejo para las inquisiciones de Aragón y Navarra, en adelante manuscrito “A”. Otra copia, “B”, *ibid.*, 331r–335r; otra, “C”, con escritura de Salazar se encuentra en el *Leg.* 1679, Exp. 2.1, Núm. 29[g], 29r–32r; una cuarta copia, “D”, se encuentra *ibid.*, Núm. 24[b], 1r–4v; una quinta, “E”, en BNM, Ms. 18.714⁴⁶ (olim. I 20), 248r–251r; y una sexta, “F”, en Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Inquisición, *Leg.* 336, 172r–177v. Para otras copias véase Henningsen 1969, 103, n. 10. Según nota en la copia E, estaba “el original en el volumen 16 de cartas particulares del Consejo a fojas 117”, en el archivo del Tribunal de Logroño, se entiende; pero como este archivo se perdió, no disponemos del texto original. La edición presente reproduce la copia del registro del Consejo (A), con algunos ajustes basados en las dos copias C y D oriundos del Tribunal de Logroño, la C por mano de Salazar, mas la copia F que más tarde fue enviado a la Inquisición de Cuenca.

^b *Nota marginal*: Instrucción en la materia de brujos, sobre la resolución que se tomó a primero de septiembre de 1614 en vista de los papeles que de la visita que hizo el licenciado Salazar Frías resultaron. La fecha 1 de septiembre solo aparece en la fuente presente, todas demás copias tienen la fecha 29 de agosto 1614, con la excepción de una citada por Henry Charles Lea con fecha de 31 de agosto 1614 (1906–7, IV, 235; cf. Henningsen 1969, 103, n. 10).

the Illustrious Lord Cardinal, and we are sending you the following articles and paragraphs. In future cases of this kind you are to proceed as follows:¹⁸⁷

1. Henceforth, when cases concerning this question arise, the inquisitors shall make inquiries and find out whether the deaths of children and persons whom the witches confess to have killed, really took place on the days or nights they indicate; whether the persons in question were already sick or had suffered an accident, or whether there was some other reason for death to have come about through natural or violent causes; and all this should be ascertained from persons professionally qualified. In order to determine how the victims died it should also be ascertained whether any signs were found on the bodies and whether there were any other circumstances worthy of note.

2. *Item*, the inquisitors are to find out where the witches entered into the houses [of their victims] and where they came out [afterwards], who opened the doors or windows for them, and whether the owners had left them open or closed. /245v/

3. *Item*, the inquisitors shall endeavour to learn whether these women really go to the meadows and gatherings³ to cause the crimes to which they later confess; who summons them; and if anyone who is not one of their number has seen them during the day or night at their gatherings or engaged in any evil art.

4. *Item*, as for the cattle the witches confess to having killed, the inquisitors shall find out from the owners if the animals have in fact died, how they died, and what signs were found on them.

5. *Item*, the inquisitors shall find out about the devastations and damage the witches confess to have caused to harvests, crops and fields, if these were seen or found indeed to be harmed, and if the countryside had suffered at that time hail, fog, or any harmful wind or frost which might have caused the loss of the crops.

6. *Item*, concerning the hailstorms and tempests which the suspects confess to have conjured up, the inquisitors shall inquire at what time of the year these occurred, whether in summer, in winter, or during the seasons in which they naturally occur.

³ “*Meadows and gatherings*” (prados y juntas) is clearly an attempt to translate the Basque term *aquejarre*, which according to the inquisitor’s etymology meant “meadow of the he-goat” (cf. doc. 2.3).

¹⁸⁷ For a paraphrased version of la Suprema’s 32 instructions with indications of occurrences in earlier texts, see WA 371–376 table 14.

os envían los artículos y capítulos siguientes para los casos que de aquí adelante se ofrecieren en que se hubiere de proceder en esta materia:

1. Que los inquisidores en las causas que de aquí adelante se ofrecieren de esta materia^c inquieran y se informen si las muertes de criaturas y personas que las brujas confiesan haber muerto sucedieron en aquellos días o noches que ellas dicen, o si estaban enfermas antes, o si hubo algún accidente o causa para que muriesen natural o violentamente,^d a declaración de personas peritas en el arte, pudiendo ser habidas, sabiendo de qué, o si les hallaron algunas señales en los cuerpos u otras circunstancias para saber de qué murieron.^{e187}

2. *Item*, que se informen por dónde entran y salen en las casas y quién les abre las puertas y ventanas que dicen, o si los dueños de ellas las dejaron abiertas o cerradas. /245v/

3. *Item*, que procuren saber si estas van realmente a sus prados y juntas a hacer los daños que dicen ellas, y quién las llama, y si alguno que no sea de ellas, las viese de noche o de día en sus juntas o haciendo algún maleficio.

4. *Item*, que se informen de los dueños de los ganados que ellas confiesan haber muerto, si fue así verdad, y cómo murieron y qué señales les hallaron.

5. *Item*, que se informen de las devastaciones y daños que confiesan haber hecho en los panes, frutos y campos, si los vieron o hallaron dañados o si en aquellos tiempos vino piedra, niebla o algún mal aire o hielo que fuese causa de la pérdida de los dichos campos.^e

6. *Item*, que se informen si las dichas piedras y^f tempestades que ellas confiesan que juntan, en qué tiempo venían; si era en verano o en invierno o en tiempos que naturalmente suelen venir.

^c *F*: materia de brujos.

^d *Ms. AF*: violenta; *CD*: Violentamente.

^e *CD*: panes y campos.

^f *A*: o; *BCDF*: y.

7. *Item*, the inquisitors themselves or through the commissioners, shall advise preachers to make **/246r/** it plain that the loss of harvests and other misfortunes which befall crops are sent by God on account of our sins or occur because of the weather, as happens in many other districts where there is no suspicion of witchcraft, and that it is most undesirable for people to imagine that these phenomena, together with other disasters and mishaps which commonly occur in these regions, are caused only by witches.

8. *Item*, in the cases which arise, the inquisitors shall make the necessary investigations and inquiries with great care in order to verify that the persons who confess they have gone or go to assemble with others really go, or whether on the nights during which, according to their statements, they go to the *aquejarre* and are with the Devil, they in fact remain in their houses without setting foot outside. This can be determined from persons living in the same houses and from others who would be most likely to know.

The witches are to be questioned closely as to why they anoint themselves, whether it is to go bodily to the *aquejarre* or to fall asleep and subsequently to be fetched away by **/246v/** their mistresses or the Devil; furthermore, they should be questioned about the motives for anointing themselves. They are also to be asked whether there is any difference between the ointment for going to the *aquejarre* and the ointment and powders they concoct for their misdeeds.

9. *Item*, whenever anybody comes forward of his own accord to make a statement about himself or others, everything he states is to be written down exactly to include the style and words he uses together with any contradictions as prescribed by the [General] Instructions. Moreover he is to be asked what has prompted him to make the present declaration and whether he has been persuaded, intimidated or coerced to do so. If he declares against another, attempts shall be made to find out if there is any substance in what he says and if there is any enmity between the two parties.

10. *Item*, no commissioner is to make an inquiry into these matters whether *ex officio* [*i.e.* on his own account] or as a result of a denunciation. In accordance with the General Instructions and practice of the tribunals of the Inquisition **/247r/** the commissioner is to do no more than receive the statements, information or evidence offered, in the presence of a notary, and remit these to the Tribunal

7. *Item*, que los inquisidores adviertan a los predicadores por sí o por medio de los comisarios que den /246r/ a entender que el perderse los panes y otros daños que vienen en los frutos, envía Dios^g por nuestros pecados, o por la disposición del tiempo, como acontece en otras muchas partes que no hay sospecha de brujas, y es grande inconveniente que tengan imaginación que estas cosas y otras enfermedades y sucesos que comúnmente suceden en aquella tierra los hagan solamente los brujos.

8. *Item*, que en los casos que sobrevinieren, los inquisidores con todo cuidado hagan las diligencias y averiguaciones que sean necesarias para verificar, si estas personas que confiesan que han ido o van a juntarse con las otras que ellas dicen, van realmente, o si en aquellas mismas noches que confiesan que van a los aquelarres^h y están con el Demonio, se quedan en sus casas sin salir de ellas; lo cual se podrá saber de otras personas de las mismas casas y de las que más pareciere. Y se les repregunte [a los brujos] con qué ánimo se untan, si es para ir corporalmente o para dormirse y que después las lleven /246v/ sus maestras o el Demonio al aquelarre,ⁱ y qué es el intento con que se untan, y si hay diferencia entre el unto para ir y el unto y polvos que hacen para maleficios.

9. *Item*, <que siempre que alguno>^j viniere espontaneamente a hacer cualquier^k declaración de sí o de otros se escriba muy puntualmente lo que dijeren con el estilo, lenguaje y contradicciones que lo dijeren, conforme a lo proveido por las Instrucciones, y les pregunten qué causa les ha movido a hacer la tal declaración: si han sido persuadidos, atemorizados o forzados, y cuando dijeren contra alguna persona se procure averiguar si hay algo de lo que dijeren o si han tenido alguna enemistad con la tal persona.

10. *Item*, que ningún comisario haga información de estas cosas de oficio ni por <delación>^l de otro, sino, conforme a las Instrucciones Generales y estilo más observado en las Inquisiciones, /247r/ reciba tan solamente las declaraciones,^m avisos o testificaciones que se ofrecieren ante el notario y la remita al Tribunal sin examinar

^g *ABF*: envía Dios; *CD*: son enviados.

^h *En A corregido de*: alquellarres. *BCD*: aquellarres, *F*: alquellarres.

ⁱ *Corregido de*: alquellarre; *F*: alquellarre y nota marginal: Prado de cabrones.

^j *Interpolación de CD*; *AF* tiene: que alguno siempre que.

^k *AF*: cualquiera; *CD*: cualquier.

^l *Interpolación de CD*; *AF* tienen: declaración,

^m *F*: delaciones.

without examining other witnesses nor conducting any further investigations until he receives his orders from the Tribunal.

11. *Item*, the inquisitors are to observe in particular whether any detail can be proved through the testimony of other persons who are not themselves witches, or if it can be proven that the witches have done, said, or endeavoured to do these things at a time and place which differs from that on which they asserted they had gone to and been present at their gatherings and *aquejarres*.

12. *Item*, whenever defendants or witnesses come forward to make revocations, whether before or after reconciliation or sentencing, the revocations are to be recorded in the individual files as accurately as possible. Furthermore, the *revocantes* are to be received compassionately so that they will feel free to unburden their conscience without the fear, so widely held, that they will be punished [*i.e.* burned!] for such revocations. This same **/fol 247v/** order is to be given to the commissioners and they are to obey it, remitting the revocations they may receive to the Tribunal in their original form.

13. *Item*, in the directives issued by the Tribunal for the verification of these and other facts (and for the examination of witnesses as well as for other types of inquiry) the commissioners are to observe the practice and instructions of the Holy Office, especially those issued to the commissioners in the year 1607. By issuing the directives in these matters as they have been issued up to now [the Tribunal erred], and by reading them out to the witnesses, thus familiarizing the witness with the complete text of the directive without prefacing it with the usual questions of the Holy Office, as prescribed in the [General] Instructions, the commissioners in their turn committed a mistake. The result has been that witnesses were prompted and given the opportunity to state what they did not know, thereby bringing into doubt the value of the declarations. In the same directives the commissioners shall be told what they are to do, adhering to the present instructions as far as possible.

14. *Item*, if any person **/248r/**, man or woman legally of age (which according to law includes males from 14 upwards and females from the age of 12) appears before the inquisitors of his own accord without having been previously subjected to physical violence, coercion or any other threat, he is to be received and admonished with words of loving kindness. These same persons, upon showing signs of grief and remorse and on confessing their errors—that they participated in the *aquejarres* alone or with other persons and bowed to the Devil

contestes ni hacer otra diligencia alguna, hasta que se les ordene por el dicho Tribunal lo que han de hacer.

11. *Item*, que estén advertidos si algunas de las cosas que confesaren o testificaren de esta secta, se pueden comprobar con otras personas fuera de los cómplices, o que las hayan hecho, dicho o tratado de hacerlas o haberlas hecho en diferente tiempo y lugar, del que dicen haber ido y estado en sus juntas y alquellarres.

12. *Item*, estén advertidos que en cualquierⁿ tiempo que los reos y testigos vinieren a hacer revocaciones,^o antes o después de ser reconciliados o sentenciados, se recivan con mucha puntualidad y pongan por escrito en sus procesos, recibíéndoles con toda blandura para que con más libertad puedan descargar sus conciencias sin que se lo estorbe el miedo que comunmente se tiene de ser castigados por semejantes revocaciones. Y que este mismo /247v/ orden se les dé a los comisarios para que lo cumplan así y remitan las revocaciones que así recibieren originales al Tribunal.

13. *Item*, que [en] las comisiones que se dieren por el Tribunal para la verificación de estos y otros actos y examen de testigos y otras diligencias, se guardara el estilo e instrucciones del Santo Oficio, especialmente las que se dieron para los comisarios el año de 1607, porque de haberse dado las dichas comisiones en la forma que hasta aquí se han dado en estos negocios y no haberse guardado las dichas instrucciones, ha resultado haberse hecho a los testigos muchas sugerencias, leyéndoles enteramente la narrativa de las comisiones sin haber precedido las demás preguntas ordinarias del Santo Oficio, dándoles en esto ocasión que digan lo que no saben con que se disminuye el crédito de las tales deposiciones. Y que en las dichas comisiones se les diga lo que han de hacer, ajustándose cuanto fuese posible a esta instrucción.

14. *Item*, que en viniendo o pareciendo ante ellos /248r/ cualquiera persona (que sea hombre o mujer de edad legítima, que se entiende según derecho, en los hombres de catorce arriba y de las mujeres de doce) de su propia y espontanea voluntad, sin haber precedido violencia, fuerza ni temor ninguno, sea acogida y amonestada con palabras de amor y caridad; y mostrando la tal persona señales de dolor y arrepentimiento, confesando sus errores de haber ido a las juntas y alquellarres^p sola o con otras personas y haber hecho reverencia

ⁿ *AF*: cualquiera; *C*: cualquier.

^o *AF*: hacer las revocaciones; *CD*: hacer revocaciones.

^p *En el Ms. corregido de*: alquellarre; *F*: alquellarres; *CD*: aquellarres.

who appears there in sundry forms, acknowledging him as lord and renouncing God, their baptismal vows and other Christian symbols—these same persons are to be questioned as to how many years they have persisted in their apostasy from the Faith. Furthermore, they shall be asked whether, apart from the nights at the *aquelarres*, they have persisted by day in knowingly and wittingly worshipping the Devil and abandoning the Catholic Faith which they received in baptism; whether they have anointed themselves with the intention of worshipping /248v/ the Devil and persevering in their apostasy.

Those who make spontaneous confessions and who—on being cross-examined in the aforesaid manner—admit to these acts of apostasy while awake, are to be reconciled. The reconciliations are to be made without confiscation of goods, because of the difficulty inherent in these matters and because of the possibility of deception. However, reconciliation does not exempt them from the penalties for relapse, which they might subsequently incur. The imposition of this penalty is to be left over to the discretion of the inquisitors, as provided by law, after they have considered the two sets of evidence and have consulted the Council.

As for those who confess merely to going to the *aquelarres*—that is those who do not persist in apostasy when awake—their souls are to be healed by absolving them *ad cautelam*.

The reconciliation and the absolution *ad cautelam* is to be entrusted to a commissioner using the same form as employed in the cases of Dutchmen, Scotsmen /249r/ and Englishmen who arrive in our ports, or are held in prison.

The same absolution *ad cautelam* is to be given generally to girls under 12 and boys under 14.

15. *Item*, it is our opinion that we ought not, on the strength of the statement or confession of any of these persons alone, to seize or condemn others whom they denounce before the inquiries and investigations ordered in the present instructions have been carried out.

16. *Item*, if the secular or ecclesiastical authorities should remit cases involving witchcraft to the Holy Office after having commenced or begun to undertake legal proceedings, the inquisitors are to find

y acatamiento al Demonio que allí aparece en figuras diferentes, tomándole por señor, renegando de Dios y del bautismo y de otras cosas de cristiano—a estas tales personas les sea preguntado que cuantos años ha que están en esta creencia y apostasía, y si fuera de las noches que van, han perseverado de día despiertos con conocida deliberación en adorar al Demonio y apartarse de la fe católica que recibieron en el bautismo; y si para ir a las juntas se han untado o hecho algunos actos, estando despiertos, encaminados a ir a la adoración /248v/ del Demonio y a durar y perseverar en su apostasía de la fe.

A los que hicieren las espontáneas confesiones, y repreguntados como aquí se dice, si confesaren^q estos actos de apostasía despiertos se les reconcilie; pero, por la dificultad que tiene esta materia y los engaños que padece, se haga esta reconciliación sin confiscación de bienes y sin que les obste para la pena de relapsía en que pueden incurrir, dejando al arbitrio de los jueces, consideradas las confesiones primeras y en lo que después incurrieren, el ponerles las penas arbitrarias conforme a derecho, precediendo el dar cuenta al Consejo.

En los que en las repreguntas no confesaren más de el haber ido sin perseverar después de despiertos en la apostasía, se les medicine las almas con absolverlos *ad cautelam*, cometiendo la absolución de la reconciliación y absolución *ad cautelam* a los comisarios en la forma que se les comete la de los holandeses y escoceses /249r/ y ingleses que vienen a los puertos o están en algunos presidios o en otras partes detenidos o impedidos.

Y la misma absolución *ad cautelam*, generalmente se dé a los menores de doce y de catorce^r años.

15. *Item*, parece que por el dicho o confesión de alguna de estas personas no se deben prender^s ni condenar otras personas contra quien digan sus dichos hasta que se hagan las diligencias y averiguaciones que se mandan hacer en esta instrucción.

16. *Item*, que si las^t justicias seculares o eclesiásticas después de haber conocido o comenzado a conocer y a proceder^u jurídicamente en estas causas, las^v remitieren al Santo Oficio, estén muy advertidos

^q *AF*: confesaren *CD*: si confesaren.

^r *AF*: y catorce; *CD*: y de catorce.

^s *AF*: de prender; *CD*: prender.

^t *AF*: que si las; *CD*: que las.

^u *AF*: conocido o comenzado a conocer y a proceder *CD*: conocido o comenzado a proceder.

^v *AF*: las *CD*: si las.

out for certain whether the said defendants or witnesses were first put to torture by the said authorities and if so, what form of torture was applied. They should also inquire into the evidence which led to the opening of the case and consider everything relating to the question as well as the circumstances and nature of the confessions. For if the evidence should prove insufficient, on legal grounds, it can soon be realized how much faith should be put in the confessions.

17. *Item*, those hitherto reconciled who might confess to a relapse or to other kinds of witchcraft [for which they were not reconciled] are to be absolved *ad cautelam*. /249v/ For this purpose a writ is to be sent to the commissioners. However, as for those who from now on confess a relapse or are found guilty, the inquisitors are to consult the Council before proceeding against them or deciding anything and they are to remit their vote with the individual file and at the same time draw our attention to the present instructions.⁴

18. *Item*, because witchcraft is a difficult matter and can lead to confusion, it is necessary that in questions of this nature all the inquisitors decide the sort of investigations which are to be carried out, and, all together, submit their votes when the case has to be sent on to the Council.

*5 19. *Item*, all the testimonies and proofs resulting from these cases shall be suspended forthwith so that, in the absence of new evidence, no proceedings can be brought against anybody on the strength of the original testimonies, nor will involvement in the present affair debar any claimant from a post in the Holy Office.

20. *Item*, should futher testimony be brought against any of those previously witnessed against, thus causing the case to be continued, the new evidence shall be incorporated with the former so that the Tribunal can vote on the basis of the two sets of evidence. Before any action is taken, however, the entire case with the vote of the inquisitors and the present instructions shall be remitted to the Council, except for the occasions when the inquisitors see fit to suspend the case. Meanwhile, the accused shall not be debarred [from honorable offices] either by the new testimony or the old.

⁴ *Ms. AF*: instructions; *CD*: instruction, so that they can be ordered [by the Council] what they are to do.

⁵ *Marginal note of the Council*: Attention!

los inquisidores si los tales reos o testigos fueron primeramente atormentados por las dichas justicias y la manera de los tormentos y los indicios que precedieron y lo que más convenga considerar acerca de este artículo y las circunstancias y calidades de las confesiones, porque si los indicios no fueren bastantes como de derecho se requiere se vea cuanta fe se debe dar a las tales confesiones.

17. *Item*, que las personas reconciliadas hasta aquí, que hubieren confesado relapsía o incidido en los mismos errores, u otras de esta secta, sean absueltas *ad cautelam* /249v/ enviando comisión para ello a los comisarios; y los que de aquí adelante confesaren relapsía o se les probare, los inquisidores, antes de proceder contra ellos ni determinar cosa alguna, lo consulten al Consejo con el proceso y su parecer y advertencias de estas ordenanzas.^w

18. *Item*, porque esta causa de brujería tiene dificultad y pueden ocurrir algunas dudas, es necesario que las cosas de esta calidad, los inquisidores todos juntos, ordenen las diligencias que se hubieren de hacer y den sus pareceres cuando las hayan de remitir al Consejo como está dicho.

*x 19. *Item*, que todas las testificaciones y probanzas, que de estas causas hubieren resultado, se suspendan para que, no habiendo novedad, no se pueda proceder contra ninguno por las testificaciones, ni se tenga por notado para que le impida <cualquier oficio honroso del Santo Oficio>.^y

20. *Item*, que si sobreviniere otra testificación contra los que están testificados o alguno de ellos, se acumule con la presente para haberlas de proseguir, para que juntas se voten en el Tribunal y que toda la tal causa, con lo votado y las advertencias y capítulos^z presentes, antes de ejecutar nada, se remita^{aa} al Consejo, excepto cuando les pareciere se suspenda la causa, y entre tanto que no se hubiere determinado sobre la acumulación, no le^{ab} obste la dicha nueva testificación, como no le^{ac} obstaba la primera.^{ad}

^w *AF*: ordenanzas; *CD*: ordenanzas para que se les ordene lo que deban hacer.

^x *Nota marginal del Consejo*: ¡Ojo!

^y *Interpolación de C y D*; *AF*: qualquiera de oficio del Santo Oficio.

^z *C y D*: capitulaciones.

^{aa} *AF*: remitan; *CD*: remita.

^{ab} *AF*: les; *CD*: le.

^{ac} *AF*: les; *CD*: le.

^{ad} *Texto subrayado en Ms.*: “y entre tanto . . . obstaba la primera.”

21. And in order to make clear for all future occasions the degree of confidence which can be placed in the testimonies **/250r/** and confessions hitherto received, the following precaution is to be taken. Every notice of violence, intimidation or other circumstances which could diminish the trustworthiness of the evidence shall be expressly entered into the records so that if examined subsequently again together with the fresh evidence it can be seen how much credit should be given to it.

22. *Item*, regarding the persons of this sect who died in prison or outside while awaiting the outcome of their cases, whether *negativos* or *confitentes*, their cases will remain in the state they were at the time of death; and the *fiscal* will not continue proceedings. This decision is to be written down in each of their files, and it shall also be entered that the case is never to bar their descendants from holding honourable positions.

23. *Item*, the nature of cases involving witchcraft and in particular the circumstances in which these trials have taken place oblige us to make the following provisions. The *sambenitos* of the persons relaxed in the auto de fe of 1610 and of the rest who were reconciled, on this occasion or afterwards, are never to be hung on display, nor are their goods to be confiscated. This shall be noted in their files in order to avoid prejudice in the case of a relapse. **/250v/** Furthermore their children and descendants are not to be barred from any post of honour or from the Holy Office.

24. *Item*, for the same reason those who were penanced with any sort of absolution, or without it, shall not be barred from holding posts of honour of the Holy Office, and this is to be entered in their files.

25. *Item*, as for the goods sequestered or confiscated from the accused, a detailed memorandum shall be drawn up to record the costs incurred by the Tribunal in investigating, uncovering and examining the present affair. It shall be clearly stated therein what the confiscated and sequestered goods are and to whom they belong, so that the Council may decide and arrange what should be done with them. The same procedure is to be followed with regard to the fines and penalties imposed on those penanced with abjuration or without it.

26. *Item*, the inquisitors are to publish [an edict to the effect] that nobody, **/251r/** not even parents or kinsfolk, is to induce or threaten anyone in order to extract a confession or to punish another for a

21. Y para que conste mejor en cualquier tiempo la fe y crédito que se puede dar a las testificaciones /250r/ y confesiones hasta ahora recibidas, se les adicione y note las cosas que han resultado o resultaren de violencias, extorsiones o defectos que por cualquiera vía disminuyan el crédito de la tal testificación, para que cuando se vuelva a ver con lo que sobreviniere se vea el crédito que se ha de dar.

22. *Item*, que en cuanto a las personas de esta complicidad, que murieron en las cárceles o fuera de ellas estando pendientes sus causas, así negativos como confitentes, se quedarán todavía sus causas en el estado que quedaron al tiempo de su muerte, sin que jamás la prosiga el fiscal. Y se note este acuerdo en cada proceso y que no les obste a sus descendientes para cosas y oficios honrosos.

23. *Item*, que de las personas que en el auto de 1610 fueron relajadas y los demás que así en el auto, como después, hubieren sido reconciliadas, no se pongan sambenitos en ningún tiempo, ni se les confisquen los bienes y se adicione en sus procesos para que no les obste para la relapsía, /250v/ ni a los hijos y descendientes de los unos y de los otros para cualesquiera oficios de honra y del Santo Oficio, por las razones que de la calidad de la materia de brujería y de los procesos en particular han obligado a declararlo así.

24. *Item*, que por la misma causa a los que hubieren sido penitenciados, con cualquiera absolución^{ac} o sin ella, no les obste para los dichos oficios de honor y del Santo Oficio, y se adicione en sus procesos.

25. *Item*, de los bienes, que por esta complicidad de brujos están secrestados o confiscados, se haga una memoria pormenor y juntamente las costas que el Tribunal ha hecho en averiguar y descubrir e indagar estos delitos, y distintamente se declare qué bienes y cuyos son los confiscados o secrestados, para que el Consejo determine y ordene lo que conviene se haga de ellos, y lo mismo se haga de las penas y condenaciones que se les han puesto a los que hubieren sido penitenciados con cualquiera abjuración o sin ella.

26. *Item*, hagan publicar que ninguna /251r/ persona, aunque sean padres ni parientes, se entremetan a inducir, amenazar ni castigar a otro sobre confesión que se haya de hacer o se haya hecho en el

^{ac} CD: abjuración.

confession already made to the Holy Office concerning these matters. The commissioners are to be summoned at different times to avoid scandal or notice. Through them the Tribunal shall make clear the deep regret felt by the Holy Office, and in particular by the Council, for the vexations and violence which the *alcaldes* of the villages, without judicial authority and acting on their own accord in company with many others, have inflicted on those accused, thereby intimidating and forcing them to confess to being witches and to incriminate others.

However, since the High Court of Navarra has begun to recognise and punish these instances of intimidation, no action is being taken on the part of the Holy Office for the moment. Nevertheless, the commissioners are to be warned so that they clearly understand **/251v/** that in future any who offend in this way will be severely punished by the Inquisition; and this shall be made plain to all.

27. *Item*, the inquisitors are to leave the said Court or any other justices free to prosecute and punish these offences without impeding them judicially or extra-judicially, or by other obstructions or by personal intercession.

28. *Item*, confessors and priests shall be given orders through the commissioners—even if the orders have to be given in writing—to the following effect: if they learn, either through confessions or by other means, that certain persons have employed similar methods of persuasion and intimidation, they shall warn these persons that in all conscience they are under obligation to declare this to the Holy Office or to the **/252r/** commissioners, and that they are under the same obligation if they know of others who have offended in this way. The priests should assure them, however, that they will not be punished or troubled in any way for whatever excesses they may have committed in this matter up to the present time, since we assume that they acted through Christian zeal and without realizing that they were in error. The priests should furthermore admonish these persons that they are bound to make their declarations [to the Holy Office] for the discharge of their consciences and for the restoration of the honour of those thus accused and incriminated. Moreover, these persons are to be warned, that, if they offend again in this matter, proceedings shall be taken against them for obstructing the due process of the Holy Office.

29. When the Tribunal at Logroño delivers these orders to the commissioners, the latter shall be notified verbally of the moderation

Santo Oficio en^{af} esta materia; y que por medio de los comisarios, llamándoles al Tribunal sin escándalo ni nota, en diferentes tiempos, se declare el justo dolor y sentimiento que ha tenido el Santo Oficio, y en particular el Consejo, de las violencias y vejaciones con que los alcaldes de los lugares, sin tener jurisdicción, ni en forma de jueces, sino como particulares, y otras muchas personas han hecho con los notados de esta secta, induciéndolos y forzándolos a que confiesen que son brujos y testifiquen de otros.

Y les declaren que al Santo Oficio tocaba el castigo de esto, aunque por haber comenzado a conocer de ello y castigádolo la Corte de Navarra, no se hace por ahora la demostración que pudiera, advertiéndoles que en lo de adelante se hará por la Inquisición riguroso castigo contra los que en esto incurrieren, para que los dichos comisarios lo entiendan así y lo manifiesten y sea notorio a todos.

27. *Item*, que los inquisidores dejen libremente a la dicha Corte y cualesquiera otras justicias proceder y castigar en estos agravios sin impedírsele por ninguna vía judicial ni extrajudicialmente, ni con otras intercesiones ni medios particulares.

28. *Item*, que a los confesores y curas se les dé orden por medio de los dichos comisarios, aunque sea ordenándosele por escrito, que si entendieren así por las confesiones, como por otras vías públicas o secretas, que algunas personas hayan hecho semejantes persuasiones, inducimientos o violencias, les aconsejen y adviertan que, en conciencia, tienen obligación a declararlo así en el Santo Oficio o ante alguno de los /252r/ comisarios—o si supieren de otros que lo hayan hecho—asegurándoles que por lo que en esto hubieren excedido hasta ahora no se les ha de dar pena ni molestia alguna, porque se presume lo harían con celo de servicio de Dios y sin entender que erraban en ello; y que importa lo declaren así para descargo de sus conciencias y alguna restauración y satisfacción de la honra de los que así estuvieren notados y testificados; pero que si adelante lo hicieren, se procederá contra ellos como perturbadores e impedidores del recto y libre ejercicio del Santo Oficio.

29. Que cuando el Tribunal de Logroño diere estas instrucciones a los comisarios, se les advierta de palabra la moderación y templanza

^{af} AF: de; CD: en.

and mildness with which they must proceed without exceeding the present instructions and they shall be ordered to observe them to the last detail. **/252v/**

30. *Item*, the priests and rectors are to be informed by the commissioners that, as far as concerns the Holy Office, they are not to withhold the administration of the Sacraments to any person suspected of witchcraft unless they receive orders to the contrary from the Holy Office.

31. *Item*, an absolute silence is to be imposed in view of the undesirable consequences of the public discussion of these matters which have divided people into factions and led to each man carrying out private investigations to confirm his own opinion. Let this be made very clear to the commissioners and confessors. It is furthermore to be announced that the matter can only be raised when someone has to make a confession. However, both before and after making his statement the person in question is under the same obligation to preserve secrecy as in other cases dealt with by the Holy Office. **/253r/**

32. *Item*, all the letters and instructions of the Holy Office, together with the consultations and provisions of the Council and the agreements on these matters which have accumulated to date shall be entered in chronological order into a volume. Thus all this material, bound together and preceded by this letter of instruction shall always be at hand to guide the inquisitors in future cases.

With this we return all the papers concerning the affair which you remitted to the Council. May God preserve you.⁶ Madrid, 29 August 1614. The Lords Tapia, Valdés, Zapata, Trejo, Pimentel, Ramírez, Mendoza.⁷

By order of the Council,
Miguel García de Molina [secretary to the Council]

⁶ The passage "May God preserve you" is not found in the Ms. (which is the letter book of the Council), but it appears in a series of copies: e.g. Mss. B and C.

⁷ *Manuscript C, 126v*: Tapia, Llano y Valdés, Zapata Osorio, Trejo Paniagua, Pimentel, Ramírez, Mendoza, Castro. For the Inquisition at Logroño. The original is in volume 16 of the letters from the Council [in the Tribunal's archives].

con que han de proceder, sin exceder ninguna cosa más de lo que va puesto en estas instrucciones, ordenándoles lo guarden con toda puntualidad. /252v/

30. *Item*, que por medio de los dichos comisarios se advierta a los curas y rectores que, por lo que toca al Santo Oficio, no prohiban la comunicación^{ag} de los sacramentos a los que estuvieren notados de esta secta, hasta que por el Santo Oficio se mande otra cosa.

31. *Item*, <por los inconvenientes que se han visto de las comunicaciones> y conferencias,^{ah} dividiéndose en parcialidad de opiniones y haciendo diligencias particulares para verificar lo que cada uno sentía, se ponga silencio en estas conferencias, mandándolo así a los dichos comisarios y confesores, para que lo vengán a entender todos con orden, que solamente en la necesidad que tuvieren de tratar de estas cosas para el descargo de sus conciencias, lo puedan hacer, y guarden en este crimen el mismo recato y secreto que en lo demás que toca al Santo Oficio, antes y después de haber hecho sus declaraciones. /253r/

32. *Item*, que todas las cartas e instrucciones del Santo Oficio, consultas y provisiones del Consejo y acuerdos de estas cosas que al presente se han acumulado con estos papeles, se saque una copia y cuaderno continuado por los tiempos y negocios que se causaron, para que así junto, poniendo esta instrucción y carta por cabeza, se halle^{ai} a mano y estén advertidos para los casos que se ofrecieren.

Y con ésta, se os vuelven todos los papeles de esta complicidad que remitisteis al Consejo. En Madrid,^{aj} 29 de agosto 1614. Señores Tapia, Valdés, Zapata, Trejo, Pimentel, Ramírez, Mendoza.^{ak}

Por mandado del Consejo,
Miguel García de Molina.

^{ag} *CD*: comunión.

^{ah} *Interpolación de los mss. C y D; A y F tienen*: que por las comunicaciones de que han resultado los inconvenientes que se han visto y conferencias.

^{ai} *A*: haya; *CDF*: haye.

^{aj} *CD*: al Consejo. Dios os guarde. En Madrid. *F*: para los casos que se ofrecieron. En Madrid.

^{ak} *Ms. E*: Tapia, Llano y Valdés, Zapata Osorio, Trejo Paniagua, Pimentel, Ramírez, Mendoza, Castro. Para la Inquisición de Logroño. Está el original en el volumen 16 de cartas particulares del Consejo a fojas 117 [en el archivo del Tribunal de Logroño].# *F*: Señores: Tapia, Valdés, Zapata, Trejo, Pimentel, Ramírez, Mendoza, Castro, Obispo de Osma.

P.S.: The Lord Doctor Rodrigo de Castro y Bovadilla was also a judge of this affair, but as he did not attend the Council on the day this was signed, his signature is absent and the same applies to señor Fray Francisco de Sosa, Bishop of Osma.

P.S.: También fue juez de este negocio el señor doctor don Rodrigo de Castro y Bobadilla, y por no haber venido al Consejo el día que se ha firmado no va con su firma; y lo mismo el señor don fray Francisco de Sosa, obispo de Osma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca

Inquisición de Cuenca: Legajo 336.

Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona (ADP)

Procesos 191–22, 242–2, 425–1, 445–4.

Archivo General de Navarra, Pamplona (AGN)

Sección de Comptos, Valoraciones: legajos 5, 26.

Sección de Procesos: procesos 506, 5257, 14408, 14631, 29603.

Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Guadalajara

Protocolo 2017.

Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid (AHPM)

Protocolos 4499, 6610.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (AHN)

Sección de Inquisición: libros 245, 319, 320, 329, 333, 334, 497, 785, 794, 795, 822, 832, 833, 835; legajos 1679, 1683, 2220.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (ARSI)

Castel Hist., vol. 2.

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (BNM)

Manuscritos 883, 2031, 18714.

Royal Library of Copenhagen

Department of Manuscripts: Ny kgl. Samling, ms. 128^o.

Department of Foreign Literature: Collectio libellorum ad historiam Inquisitionis Hispanicae (Kat. 4–252–2).

Literature before 1800

Arles y Andosilla, Martín de, *Tractatus de superstitionibus, contra malefica seu sortilegia quae hodie vigent in orbe terrarum* (c. 1580), Lyons 1510; Spanish transl. by José Goñi Gaztambide in: *Cuadernos de etnología y etnografía Navarra* 3 (1971) 249–322.

Binsfeld, Peter, *Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum*, Treves 1589; German edition, *Traktat von Bekantnuss der Zauberer und Hexen*, München 1591.

Bodin, Jean, *De la démonomanie des sorciers*, Paris 1580; English transl. by Jonathan Pearl and Randy Scott, Toronto 1995.

Boguet, Henri, *Discours des sociers*, Lyons 1602; transl. by E. Allan Ashwin and ed. by Montague Summers, London 1929.

Castañega, Martín de, *Tratado muy sutil y bien fundado de las supersticiones y hechicerias y vanos conjuros y abusiones; y otras cosas al caso tocantes, y de la posibilidad y remedio de ellas*, Logroño 1529; ed. by Juan Robert Muro Abad, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1994; transl. by D. H. Darst, “Witchcraft in Spain: The Testimony of Martín de Castañega’s Treatise on Superstition and Witchcraft (1529),” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123 (1979) 298–322.

- Castro, Alonso de, *De sortilegiis et maleficiis et eorumque punitione*, Lyons 1558.
- Ciruelo, Pedro, *Opus de magica superstitione*, Alcalá 1521; transl. by Pedro Antonio Jofrey, *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechicerías*, Salamanca 1538; English transl. by Eugene A. Mayo and D'Orsay W. Pearson, Rutherford, N.J. 1977.
- Del Río, Martín, *Disquisitionum magicarum*, Louvain 1599; English translation by P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, Manchester University Press 2000.
- , *La magia demoníaca (libro II de las Disquisiciones Mágicas)*, transl. and annotated by Jesús Moya, Madrid 1991.
- Godelmann, Johan Georg, *Disputatio de magis*, Frankfurt 1584.
- Grosius, Henning, *Magica, seu mirabilia historiarum de spectris et apparitionibus spiritum*, Eisleben 1597.
- Guazzo, Francesco Maria, *Compendium maleficarum*, Milan 1608; English transl. by E. Allan Ashwin, ed. by Montague Summers, London 1929.
- Kramer, Heinrich (Institoris), *Malleus maleficarum*, Speyer 1486; transl. and ed. by Wolfgang Behringer and Günter Jerouschek, München 2000.
- Lancre, Pierre de, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons, où il est amplement traité des sorciers et de la sorcellerie* (1612), 2nd ed., Paris 1613; abbreviated modernized edition by Nicole Jacques-Chaquin, Paris 1982.
- , *L'incrédulité et mescreance du sortilege, plainly convaincu*, Paris 1622.
- Laurens, André du, *De mirabili strumas sanandi vi solis Galliae Regibus*, Paris 1609.
- Luzuriaga, Juan, *Paraisiño Celeste. Historia de la mystica Zarza, Milagrosa imagen, y prodigioso santuario de Aránzazu*, San Sebastián 1690.
- Mongastón, Juan de, *Relación de las personas que salieron al Auto de la Fe que los señores Doctor Alonso de Becerra y Holguín, del hábito de Alcántara, Licenciado Juan de Valle Alvarado, Licenciado Alonso de Salazar Frías, inquisidores apostólicos del Reino de Navarra y su distrito, celebraron en la ciudad de Logroño en siete y en ocho días del mes de Noviembre de 1610 años. Y de las cosas y delitos por qué fueron castigados*, Logroño 1611; reprinted in: Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, vol. 7, León 1997, pp. 157–181.
- Moura, Manuel do Vale de, *De encantationibus seu ensalmis*, Évora 1620.
- Remy, Nicolas, *Demonolatreiae*, Lyons 1595; English transl. by E. A. Ashwin, ed. by Montague Summers, London 1930.
- Rodríguez Lucitano, Manuel, *Summa de casos de consciencia, con advertencias muy provechosas para Confessores*, 3 vols., Salamanca 1598.
- Soto, Domingo de, *De Justitia et Jure* (1556), bilingual edition by Venancio Diego Carro and Marcelino González Ordóñez, 4 vols., Madrid 1968.
- Spee, Friedrich von, *Cautio criminalis*, Rinteln 1631; German translation by Joachim-Friedrich Ritter, Weimar 1939.
- Torreblanca, Francisco de, *Daemonologia sive de magia naturalis*, Seville 1618, Lyons 1678.
- Valencia, Pedro de, “Discurso acerca de los cuentos de las brujas” (20.4.1611), in: *Obras Completas*, vol. 7, edited by Manuel Antonio Marcos Casquero and Hipólito B. Riesco Álvarez, León 1997, pp. 255–308.
- Valles, Francisco de, *Controversiarum medicarum et philosophicarum*, Alcalá 1556; 2nd ed. 1563.
- Vitoria, Francisco de, “De magia,” in: *Relecciones Teológicas* (1540), bilingual ed. by Luis G. Alonso Getino, Madrid 1935, vol. 3, pp. 276–310.
- Weyer, Johannes, *De praestigis daemonum*, Basel 1563; English transl. by George Mora, Binghamton 1991; another edition by Benjamil G. Kohl and H.C. Erik Midelfort, transl. by John Shea, Asheville 1998.

Literature after 1800

- Amézaga, Elías, *Guía del perfecto inquisidor*, Bilbao 1968.
- Ankarloo, Bengt, "Sweden: The Mass Burnings (1668–1676)," in: Ankarloo and Henningsen 1990, 285–317.
- Ankarloo, Bengt and Henningsen, Gustav (dirs.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centres and Peripheries*, Oxford 1990.
- Arizcún Zela, Alejandro, *Economía y sociedad en un valle pirenaico del antiguo régimen: Baztán 1600–1841*, Pamplona 1988.
- Azurmendi, Mikel, *Nombrar, embrijar (Para una historia del sometimiento de la cultura oral en el País Vasco). Ensayo*, Irún 1993.
- Bario Moya, José Luis, "El inquisidor Alonso de Salazar Frías: El inventario de sus bienes," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 184 (1987) 139–172.
- Behringer, Wolfgang, "Kinderhexenprozesse: Zur Rolle von Kindern in der Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 16 (1989) 31–47.
- Bloch, Marc, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et Angleterre*, Paris 1961; English trans. by J. E. Anderson, London 1973.
- Caro Baroja, Julio, "Cuatro relaciones sobre la hechicería vasca," *Anuario de Eusko-Folklore* 13 (1933) 85–145.
- , *Las brujas y su mundo*, Madrid 1961; English transl. by O. N. V. Glendinning, London 1964.
- , "De nuevo sobre la historia de la brujería (1609–1619)," *Príncipe de Viana* 30 (1969) 265–328.
- , *Estudios Vascos V. Brujería Vasca*, San Sebastián 1975.
- Christian Jr., William A., *Visionaries. The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ*, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1996.
- Clark, Stuart, *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford 1997.
- Contreras, Jaime and Dedieu, Jean-Pierre, "Geografía de la Inquisición española: La formación de los distritos (1470–1820)," *Hispania* 40 (1980) 37–90.
- Coronas Tejada, Luis, *Unos años en la vida y reflejos de la personalidad del 'Inquisidor de las Brujas'*, Jaén, Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1981, with prologue of Gustav Henningsen.
- Gil del Río, A., *La brujería en el banquillo*, Madrid 1986; also as *Inquisición y Brujería*, Madrid, Colección Enigmas, 1992.
- Gómez Canseco, Luis, *El humanismo después de 1600: Pedro de Valencia*, Seville 1993.
- González de Amezua y Mayo, Agustín, 'El casamiento engañoso' y 'El coloquio de los perros': *Novelas ejemplares de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Edición crítica con introducción y notas*. Madrid 1912.
- Goode, Erich and Ben-Yehuda, Nachman, *Moral panics: The social construction of deviance*, London 1994.
- Goñi Gaztambide, José, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, vol. 4, *Siglo XVI*, Pamplona 1985; vol. 5, *Siglo XVII*, Pamplona 1987.
- Henningsen, Gustav, "The Papers of Alonso de Salazar Frías. A Spanish Witchcraft Polemic 1610–14," *Temenos* 5 (1969) 85–106; reprint in: Brian P. Lewack (ed.), *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*, New York 1992, vol 5.
- , "La colección de Moldenhawer en Copenhague. Una aportación a la archivología de la Inquisición española," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 80 (1977) 209–270.
- , "Las víctimas de Zugarramurdi: El origen de un gran proceso de brujería," *Saioak. Revista de Estudios Vascos* 2 (1979) 182–195.
- , *The Witches' Advocate. Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609–1614)*, Reno, Basque Series Studies, 1980; Spanish transl. by Marisa Rey-Henningsen, Madrid 1983.

- , “Alonso de Salazar Frías, ese famoso inquisidor desconocido,” in: *Homenaje a Julio Caro Baroja*, Madrid 1978, pp. 581–586.
- , “The greatest Witch-Trial of All: Navarra, 1609–14,” *History Today* 30 (Nov. 1980) 36–39.
- , “The Eloquence of Figures: Statistics of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions and Prospects for Social History,” in: Angel Alcalá (dir.), *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind*, Highland Lakes, New Jersey, Columbia Univ. Press, 1987, 217–235; Spanish version, Barcelona 1984, pp. 207–225.
- , “The White Sabbath and Other Archaic Patterns of Witchcraft,” *Acta Ethnographica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1991/92) 293–304.
- , “The Diffusion of Magic in Colonial America,” in: *Clashes of Cultures: Essays in Honour of Niels Steensgaard*, ed. by Jens Chr. V. Johansen et al., Odense 1992, pp. 160–178; Spanish version: “La evangelización negra: Difusión de la magia europea por la América colonial,” *Revista de la Inquisición* 3 (1994) 11–29.
- , “The Database of the Spanish Inquisition. The ‘relaciones de causas-project’ revisited,” in: Heinz Mohnhaupt and Dieter Simon (dirs.). *Vorträge zur Justizforschung. Geschichte und Theorie*, Frankfurt am Main: Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte, 1993, pp. 43–85.
- , “The child witch syndrome: Satanic child abuse of today and child witch trials of yesterday,” *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry* 7 (1996) 581–593.
- , “El invento de la palabra aquelarre,” in: *Historia y Humanismo: Estudios en honor del profesor Dr. D. Valentín Vázquez de Prada*, edited by Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa, Pamplona 2000, vol. 1, pp. 351–359.
- , “La Inquisición y las brujas,” in: *L’Inquisizione: Atti del Simposio Internazionale nel Vaticano 1998*, ed. by Agostino Borromeo, Vatican City 2003, pp. 567–605.
- , entries on “The Basque Country,” “Caro Baroja, Julio,” “Valencia, Pedro de,” “Witch Craze,” and “Zugarramurdi, Witches of” in: Richard Golden (dir.), *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 4 vols., Santa Barbara 2005.
- Henningsen, Gustav and Tedeschi, John (dirs.), *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*. Dekalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1986.
- Idoate, Florencio, *Un documento de la Inquisición sobre brujería en Navarra*, Pamplona 1972.
- , *La brujería en Navarra y sus documentos*, Pamplona 1978.
- Imízcoz Beunza, José María, “Système et acteurs au Baztán. La mémoire d’une communauté immémoriale,” doctoral thesis, 2 vols., University Paris-Sorbonne, 1987.
- Imízcoz Beunza, José María and Floristán, Alfredo, “La comunidad vasco-navarra (s. XV–XIX),” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 29 (1993) 193–215.
- Jacques-Chaquin, Nicole and Preaud, Maxime (dirs.), *Le sabbat des sorciers en Europe (XV^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, Grenoble 1993.
- Knutsen, Gunnar W., *Servants of Satan and Masters of Demons*, Series of dissertations submitted to the Faculty of Arts, Univ. of Oslo, no. 189, Oslo 2004.
- La Fontaine, Jean S., *Speak of the devil. Tales of satanic abuse in contemporary England*, Cambridge 1997.
- Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*. 4 vols., New York 1906–07; repr. New York 1966; Spanish transl. by Angel Alcalá and Jesús Tobio, 3 vols., Madrid 1983 (with updated source references).
- Levack, Brian P., *The Witch-hunt in Early Modern Europe*, Harlow 1987.
- , *The Witchcraft Sourcebook, New York and London 2004*.
- Lisón Tolosana, Carmelo, *Las brujas en la historia de España*, Madrid, Temas de Hoy, 1992.
- Maravall, José Antonio, *Antiguos y modernos. La idea de progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad*, Madrid, Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1966.

- Mikelena Peña, Fernando, "Demografía y Economía de las Cinco Villas de la montaña navarra en el siglo XVII. El sentido de la crisis," *Príncipe de Viana* 49 (1988) 127–153.
- Monter, William, *Frontiers of Heresy. The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*, Cambridge 1990; Spanish transl. by Felipe Alcántara, Barcelona 1992.
- , "Les enfants au sabbat: bilan provisoire," in Nicole Jacques-Chaquin and Maxime Preaud 1993, pp. 383–388.
- Öhrström, Lilian, *Sex, lögn och terapi. Verkligheten bakom vår tids häxprocesser*, Stockholm 1996.
- O'Neill, Charles E. and Domínguez, Joaquín María (dirs.), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, 4 vols, Madrid, 2001.
- Otazú, Alfonso, "Brujería y régimen señorial en la Montaña atlántica de Navarra (1600–1620)," in: *Homenaje a Julio Caro Baroja*, Madrid 1978, pp. 827–842.
- Paiva, José Pedro, *Bruxaria e superstição num país sem "caça às bruxas" 1600–1774*, Lisboa 1997; English translation in preparation.
- Paradinas Fuentes, Jesús, "Estudio introductorio" en: Pedro de Valencia, *Obras completas*, vol. IV.1, León 1994.
- Parrinder, Geoffrey, *Witchcraft. A critical study of the belief in witchcraft from the records of witch-hunting in Europe yesterday and Africa today*, Harmondsworth 1958, Spanish transl., Buenos Aires 1958.
- Paúl Arzak, Juan Ignacio, "Brujería, frontera y poder," *Bilduma* 13 (1999) 161–192.
- Reguera, Iñaki, *La Inquisición española en el País Vasco (El tribunal de Calahorra, 1513–1570)*, San Sebastián 1984.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, London 1959; Spanish translation, Madrid 1988.
- Sales Tirapu, José Luis and Ursua Irigoyen, Isidoro, *Catálogo del Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona: Sección de Procesos*, 18 vols., Pamplona 1988–1999.
- Sánchez Rivilla, Teresa, *El Consejo de Inquisición (1483–1700): Introducción al estudio social de sus Miembros*, Madrid 1995 (microfiche publication).
- Summers, Montague, *The Geography of Witchcraft*, London 1927.
- Tausiet Carlés, María, "La imagen del sabbat en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII a través de los tratados sobre brujería y superstición," *Historia Social* 17 (1993) 3–20.
- , *Ponzoña en los ojos. Brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI*, Zaragoza 2000.
- Tedeschi, John, *The Prosecution of Heresy. Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Europe*, Binghampton 1991.
- Tellechea Idígoras, Juan Ignacio, *Una historia turbulenta: la fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en San Sebastián (1619–1627)*, San Sebastián 1997.
- Tobar Arbulu, José Felix, "Los demonios vascos son de carne y hueso," *Cuadernos de Etnología y Etnografía de Navarra* 18 (1986) 306–307.
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh, "The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in: *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*, London 1967.
- Walinski-Kiehl, Robert S., "The devil's children: child witch-trials in early modern Germany," *Continuity and Change* 11 (1996) 171–189.
- Zudaire Huarte, Eulogio, "Monasterio premostratense de Urdax," part I, *Analecta Premonstratense* 48 (1972) 308–326; part II, *ibid.* 49 (1973) 5–40.

INDEX*

- Abechuco, María de (A 291) 308
 Abellaneda, inquisitor 368
actos positivos (external evidence) 60,
 90, 92, 268–69, 275, 294, 319, 369,
 400–401, 406, 408, 410–12, 428;
 definition of 89
 Acevedo, Fernando de, archbishop of
 Burgos 84, 351
 Acevedo, Juan Bautista de, inquisitor
 general 17–18
 Aéscoa Valley *Na* 23n, 61, 342,
 398
 Agesta, Felipe de (G 266) 318
 Agüero, Puente de (Santander) 376
 Agüero, Puerto de (Santander) 376
 Aguirre, Graciana de (D 468) 334,
 448
 Aguirre, Juanico de (H 290) 334,
 cf. 80
 Aguirre, Martín de (D 164) 436
 Aguirre, Miguel de, curate of Errazou
 74, 76–78, 322, 324, 438
 Aguirre, Sabadina de (D 164) 436,
 438
 Ajamil (Logroño) 386, 392
 Alava 252, 254, 256, 462
 Alava, Francisca de (A 264ff) 310
 Alberri, Juanes de (D 65) 332
 Alcalá *see under* universities
 Alcántara 17
 Aldaz, Sancho de (G 27) 318
 Alcoz, Martín de (A 86) 300
 Alcoz, Martín de, priest of Iráizoz
 382, 383n, 384n
 Aldátegi, Catalina de (G 55) 318
 Alegría *Al* 344
 Ali, Martín de, witch from Araquil
 Valley 392, 410
 Almazán, Nicolás de, Jesuit 55
 Alsasua *Na* 250 map, 412, 418
 Alsasua Valley *see* Burunda Valley
 Alzate (section of Vera *Na*) 42
 Alzate, Lord of *see* Gamboa d'Alsatte,
 Tristan de
 Alzueta, María de (G 302) 294
 Amézaga, Elias 384
 amnesty for witches *see* Edict of Grace
 Amou (France) 136
 Ancelo, demonologist 9
 Ancochela, María de (A 89) 300
 Andersen, Stig xii
 Andrade, Pedro de, cowherd (witch of
 Aranaz) 50, 216, 218
 Andüeza *Na* 16
 Andüeza, Lord of 16
 Ankarloo, Bengt 49
 Anserena (Arrosarena), Pedro de
 (F 363) 326, cf. 438
 anti-witchcraft 260–62, 338;
 protection, Holy objects as 75,
 86, 110, 150; reading the Gospel
 over bewitched people 154;
 saying grace when eating 118;
see also cunning folk, witch-finders
 Aoiz *Na* 218
 Apecechea, Mariana de (F 91) 320,
 446
 “*aquejarre*”: not known in Basque 106,
 190; invention of the word
 106–107; *see also* covens, sabbat
 Aquinas, Thomas, theologian 12–13,
 81
 Aramburu, Juan de, healer 262
 Aranaz *Na* 40, 41n, 42, 50, 58n, 71,
 143, 148, 156, 216, 218, 232
 Aranda y Alarcón, Antonio de,
 inquisitor 457
 Aranibar, León de, abbot of Urdax
 18, 54, 57, 60, 64, 79, 346, 356,
 388, 390, 398, 400

* The index comprehends only the English text. After place names the following abbreviations are used: *Al* Alava, *Gui* Guipúzcoa, *La País* de Labourd, *Na* Navarra, *Viz* Vizcaya. After names of historical persons their profession has been added and for witches reference to the auto de fe account (doc. 2), to Salazar's Visitation Book or to their case no. in WA.

- biography of 18n
 denouncer of Zugarramurdi witches 18
 preaching campaign 57
 spy of Philip II, former 18n
 witch-hunter 57
 witchcraft confessions, collected most 57n
 Aranjuez 28
 Aranzate, María de (*apud* María de Echeverría, A 63) 302
 Aránzazu *Gui* 51, 54
 Araquil Valley *Na* 52, 254, 392
 Arberoue, Saint Martin d' (France) 38
 Arbiza, Hipólita de (F 83) 62–63, 162, 320, 446
 Arburu, María de, miller widow (doc. 2.II.24) 138, 378, 428
 Arburu, Pedro de, premonstratensian monk (doc. 2.II.30) 24, 37, 39, 138, 356, 466
 Archivo de Simancas ix
 Archivo Histórico Nacional ix, xv, 5
 Aresu, Catalina de (E 416) 274, 286,
 Argarate, Juana de (B 458) 334, 448,
 cf. 218
 Arguialde, Pierres de (C 381) 292
 Arias Tenprado, Pablo, judge 9
 Arizcun *Na* 52, 254
 Arizcun, priest of 444
 Arizcun, Juana de (E 223) 332
 Arlanzón (Palencia) 21
 Arráyoz *Na* 39 fig., 58n, 63, 64 fig.,
 65n, 178, 208, 218, 460
 Arles y Andosilla, Martín de,
 demonologist 8
 Arramendía, Miguel de, priest 398,
 418, 424
 Arrayoz, María de (A 84) 300
 Arreche, Juanes de (H 212) 326
 Arrizyñaga, Sebastián de, Franciscan
 monk 382
 Arroqui, Juanes de (F 395) 234
 Arteaga *Viz* 57
 Arza, Magdalena de (F 387) 330
 Asteasu *Gui* 176
 Atauri *Al* 328n
 Atauri, Mariquita de (*apud* María de
 Ulibarri, E 671) 328
 Atuberea, María, *see* Datuebera,
 María de
 Augustin, Saint, theologian 81
 Aurtiz (section of Ituren *Na*) 222
 auto de fe (Logroño 1610) 3, 6, 9,
 24, 49, 55, 83, 86, 88, 99–101,
 102, 104, 132–40, 143–44, 162,
 166n, 184–85, 204, 318, 336, 344,
 356, 358, 360, 402n, 452, 466,
 472; *see also* Salazar>verdicts of,
sambenitos
 30.000 spectators 49, 101
 broadside ballads about 4, 248
 pamphlets of 3–4, 104n, 162, 402
 public opinion, in 358, 466
 autos de fe, other: 1535 Zaragoza
 10; 1549 Barcelona 10; 1577
 Logroño 10, 376
 Ayala, *licenciado*, inquisitor 6, 368
 Aytajarena, María de (C 657) 448
 Azcoitia *Gui* 55, 57
 Azpeitia *Gui* 254, 256, 260, 262, 342
 Azpilcueta *Na* 218
 Azpilcueta, Graciana de (B 403) 294
 Azurmendi, Mikel 106n
 Balanza, *licenciado*, high court-judge
 16n
 Barrenechea, Graciana de, shepherd's
 wife (doc. 2.II.1) 63, 132, 138
 Barrenechea, Graciana de (witch of
 Arráyoz) 63, 65n, cf. 218
 Barrenechea, María Chipiá de,
 carpenter's wife (doc. 2.II.14) 24,
 110, 134, 356n, 382
 Barrenechea, María Pérez de
 (doc. 2.II.6) 132
 Barrio Moya, José Luis 9
 Bartox, Martín, ex-Trinitarian monk
 18n
 Basque texts 54, 122, 208
 Basurto, Diego de, priest (F 377) 322,
 418
 Bayonne *La* 34, 49, 108, 344
 Bayonne, bishop of 34, 37; *see also*
 Echaud, Bertram d'
 Baztán, Juanes de (A 88) 300
 Baztán de Borda, María de, peasant's
 widow (doc. 2.II.25) 138
 Baztán Valley *Na* 16, 25, 31, 33–34,
 39–40, 52, 57, 63, 104, 376
 Becerra, Alonso de, inquisitor 17–20,
 101–102, 143, 145–176, 354, 424,
 448, 456–57; biography of 17;
 promoted to fiscal of *la Suprema* 353
 Becerra and Valle (Salazar's colleagues)
 23–25, 59, 237, 351–52, 366, 384,
 389, 396, 404, 412, 414, 432, 438

- epistemology of 83–85, 93–94, 351, 402, 424–28, 432, 450
- initiators of Zugarramurdi trial 18–20
- papers (opinion) of 351–52, 432
- Philip III, and 83, 99, 101–102
- revocations, on 384
- Salazar as “blinded by the Devil”, on 432
- Salazar’s papers, on 412–14, 420–22, 430, 432–34, 438–50 *passim*
- Salazar’s visitation, and 237–38, 390–92
- belladonna 130
- Berriatúa *Viz* 254
- Beúnza *Na* 384
- Bible 85n, 154, 198n
- Bidasoa Valley *Na* 31, 40, 143
- Bilbao *Viz* 54, 57, 144, 170, 178–80, 228
- Binsfeld, Peter, demonologist 8, 9
- black market economy 41
- Bodin, Jean, demonologist 8
- body snatching *see* sabbat > cannibalism
- Boguet, Henri, demonologist 8
- Borda y Arburu, Juan de la, priest (doc. 2.II.31) 138, 356, 466; Aranibar, and 37–38; arrest of 24, 39; biography of 37–39
- Bordeaux (“Paris”) 190
- Borja Medina y Rojas S.J., Francisco de 55
- Bóveda (Asturias) 394
- Bozate, Catalina de (E 195) 286
- Bozate, Juanesto de (G 129) 318
- Burunda Valley *Na* 52, 252, 254–57, 412
- Burunda Valley, commissioner of *see* Martínez de Larraiza, Juan
- Burgos 4, 21
- Burgos, archbishop of *see* Acevedo, Fernando de
- Burgos, mountains of 376
- Burgui *Na* 376
- Burlada *Na* 30
- Busti, Catalina de (G 278) 286, 322
- Buytrón, Francisca de (witch of Alegría 1602) 344
- Calahorra, bishop of 254; *see also* Castillo, Pedro de
- Callahan, William xi
- Camino (Camio), Juan de, *vecino* of Vera 396, 398
- Cangas 15
- cannibalism *see under* sabbat
- Cardona, Juan de, viceroy 56, 389n
- Caro Baroja, Julio ix, 6, 368, 458
- Castañega, Martín de, demonologist 8
- Castillo, Pedro de, bishop 22
- Castro, Alonso de, demonologist 8
- Castro, Isabel de (A 67) 288, 306, 308
- Castro Urdiales (Santander) 376
- Castro y Bobadilla, Rodrigo de, councillor of *la Suprema* 248, 456, 488, 490
- Caupenne d’Amou, Jean, Lord of Saint Pée 202n
- Cestona *Gui* 372
- chapels on sabbat-sites 239, 244, 258
- charivari 67–83
- Charranena, Marichipi de (C 147) 448
- child-witches 9, 25, 48, 75–80, 176, 206–208, 338, 342
- Europe and Spain, in 59
- initiators and witnesses, role as 49–50, 59, 63–64, 75–76, 80, 156, 180, 210–12, 216–18
- modern and historical xi, 78–79
- Our Lady/Virgin of Aránzazu, and 54
- reading the Gospel over 154
- toads at the sabbat, tend herd of 54, 79, 124, 152, 206, 208, 210, 294
- vigils over 148
- Chipirena, Juanes de, peasant 74
- Chirripa, Juanes de (H 201) 326
- Christiansen, Palle Ove xii
- Ciboure *La* 106
- Ciga *Na* 310, 376, 460
- Cinco Villas, Las *Na* 25, 40, 42, 45–46, 48, 52, 54, 57–58, 63, 67, 73, 77n, 86, 143–44, 146n, 162, 166, 184, 204, 206n, 212, 216, 218, 220, 230; *see also* Lesaca, Vera, Echalar, Yanci, Aranaz
- Ciriano, Lucia (A 185) 308
- Ciruelo, Pedro, theologian 8–9
- Ciudad Rodrigo 16
- Clark, Stuart xii, 82, 84–85, 93
- Clement III, pope 23

- clergy
 inquisitorial commissioners 75–75,
 164, 192, 196–98, 320–22, 462,
 466, 476
 priests as witch-hunters 74, 76–79,
 322, 438
 priests denounced as witches 322,
 328, 386, 406, 412, 418; *see also*
 Arburu, Basurto, Borda
 Sacramental Confession, exclusion of
 witches from 73–74, 220–22,
 244, 324, 464, 488
 sceptic priests 114, 168, 370
 co-witnesses (*testigos contestes*) 90, 276,
 284, 288, 290, 298, 300, 302, 304,
 306, 308, 409, 478
 Cohen, Ester xiii
 communication theory 49, 86, 88,
 336
 confessions
 accomplices not to be recorded
 242, 410
 coercion and inducements
 (extra-judicial) 52, 62–63, 76,
 150–52, 160, 162, 178, 210–12,
 244, 234, 320–22, 438, 462, 486
 false 24–25, 55–56, 152, 164
 interrogation methods 75, 77–78,
 80, 156
 persuasion and promises 28, 77–78,
 87, 154, 162, 178, 192, 214, 216,
 230, 234, 380
 recorded without modifications 392,
 466, 476
 statistics of 25, 237
 unsuccessful attempts at making
 220, 234, 320, 338
 Contreras, Jaime xii
 Coronas Tejada, Luis 22–23
 Corpiño (Galicia) 36 fig.
 Corres *Al* 328
 Corres, Ana de (F 373) 330
 Corres, María de (F 383) 330
 Cortenjeneco, Catalina de (G 63) 318
 counterfeit (doubles) 93, 308, 310,
 314–16, 332
 covens (*aquelarres*) 27 map, 99, 190,
 246, 276, 284, 290, 296, 308, 310,
 376; statistics of 25, 26 fig., 28,
 110
 cross-examination 88, 91, 220, 290,
 306, 308, 322, 444, 460, 480
 cunning folk (*santiguadores, ensalmadores*)
 260–62
 Dal, Erik xi
 Datueberea (Daterebera, Atuberea),
 María de (G 121) 278, 448
 Dávalos Zambrana, Gil, stipendiary
 21
 Dedieu, Jean-Pierre xii
 demonology 8–9, 13, 46, 82–86,
 93–94, 239
 denunciations
 average per confession 80
 confessions with over hundred 80,
 334
 evidence for, discussion of 318
 false 62, 152–54, 232, 234
 retracted from confessions 79,
 334–36, 383n
 total of 79–80, 354, 358
 Deva *Gui* 254
 Devil, the 108
 blessing of 114, 126, 128
 copulation with 6, 71, 91, 124,
 232, 284, 298
 delusions of 280
 depictions of 114, 152
 different shapes of 4n, 208
 Father of Lies 85, 164
 injunction to incriminate innocent
 people 332
 illusions of 7
 invasion of Navarra, his 102
 pact with 8, 47, 286; *see also*
 sabbat>renunciation
 principles and boundaries of 83–84,
 404
 presence in court room 91, 288,
 296,
 strategies of 48, 84–85, 351, 432
 Thomist doctrine and 12
 Devil's mark 47, 116, 212, 232;
 pricking for 52, 402
 Díaz, Felipe, commissioner of Maestu
 322, 330, 462
 divination *see* cunning folk
 Dolagaray, Juanes de (C 457) 306
 Donamaria *Na* 218, 294, 306, 460
 Douglass, William xi
 dream epidemic *see under* witch-craze
 “dressed toads” 52, 116–18, 120, 126,
 130, 152, 434
 Echalar *Na* 40, 41 fig., 42, 55, 75,
 136, 143, 148, 152, 154n, 156n,
 166, 206, 230, 232
 Echachipia, Miguel de (G 19) 318

- Echachute, María de (doc. 2.II.26) 138
- Echalar, 13-year-old shepherd boy of 230, cf. 156
- Echalar, 16-year-old shepherd boy of 152, 154, 156, 230
- Echalecu, María de, carpenter's widow (doc. 2.II.21) 136,
- Echaud, Bertram d', bishop of Bayonne 108, 185, 190n, 344
- Echegaray, Pedro de, peasant 77
- Echegui, Juana de (C 687) 272
- Echegui, Juanes de, peasant (doc. 2.II.20) 136, 346
- Echegui, María de, peasant's wife (doc. 2.II.15) 134, 346, 356
- Echeto (Echetoa), Juana de (F 347) 328
- Echeto (Echetoa), Catalina de (F 339) 328
- Echetoa, Catalina de (C 643) 280, 306, 318, cf. 91
- Echetoa, María de (*apud* Catalina de Echetoa, C 643) 280, 306, 318
- Echetoa, Sabadina de (C 709) 284
- Echevarría, Catalina de (F 353) 58, 59, 300, 358, 360, 388, 396, 416
- Echevarría *Viz*, commissioner of *see* López de Lazárraga, Martín
- Echevarría, Juanes de (H 526) 326
- Echevarría, Martín de, priest 38
- Echeverría, Francisco de (H 248) 304
- Echeverría (de Niale), Juana, peasant's wife (witch of Elgorriaga) 69, 71, 73
- Echevarría, María de (E 9) 276, 296, 324, 442
- Echeverría, María de, *moradora* (witch of Elgorriaga) 69, 71
- Echeverría, María de, mother of Maria de Aranzate (A 63) 302
- Echeverría, María de (C 45) 448
- Echeverría Mateorena, María de, witch of Zubieta 346
- Edict of Faith 73n, 136, 206n, 254n, 326, 336, 420, 440, 442, 470
- Edict of Grace 28, 50, 52, 61, 79, 88, 214n, 238, 240–48, 251–54, 256, 266, 276, 278, 314, 324, 330, 332, 336, 338, 340, 342, 346, 358, 360, 366, 384, 390, 406, 420, 422, 440, 442, 452, 458
- Edict of Silence 416n, 466, 484
- Eguino, commissioner of *see* Ruiz de Eguino, Pedro
- Elgorriaga *Na* 57n, 60, 61n, 67, 71, 72 fig., 73, 76, 218
- Elizondo *Na* 39, 65, 218, 250 map, 254, 258, 278, 298, 390
- Elizondo, José de, prior of Urdax 57–58, 251, 254, 342
- Elizondo, Juana de (B 23) 332
- Elorza, Magdalena de (F 321) 320, 322, 328
- embrijado/poseido* 34n
- empiricism 81, 85–95
- Errazu *Na* 73–74, 76, 77n, 78 fig., 80, 258, 259n, 324, 438
- Errazu, curate of *see* Aguirre, Miguel de
- Errazuri, Martín de (E 361) 298
- Erro, Valley of *see* Valderro
- Escalante (Santander) 376
- Escoberrera, Estevanía de (E 190) 284
- Escorial, El 46
- Espelette *La* 138
- Espinar, Petri (Juan) de, witch of Santesteban (case no. 50) 380
- Estevecorena, Juanes de *see* Saldías, Juan de
- Estevecorena, Pedro de (C 87) 448
- evidence, discussion of 314–340 *passim*, 400–408 *passim*, 426–428; *see also* *actos positivos*, Salazar> value-nihilism of
- evidence from non-witches (“outside-witnesses”) 11, 61, 276, 290–92, 296, 300–306, 316, 394, 400; *see also* *actos positivos*, expert-evidence
- expert-evidence 302, 312, 460
- Ezcurra *Na* 250 map, 254, 292
- Ezquer, *licenciado*, commissioner of Roncal (Isaba) Valley 412
- Falset (Tarragona) 394
- Farga, Beltrana de la, beggar (doc. 2.II.16) 136, 206n
- Ferdinand and Isabella, sovereigns 104
- Fernández de Arbiza, Juana (F 91) 62–63, 162, 320
- Fernández de Lecea, Catalina (F 303) 322
- fictive/real *see* Salazar>dichotomies of
- Folca, Isabel (case no. 136) 394, 410

- From, Franz x
 France (meaning Pays de Labourd)
 342, 434
 Franciscans 52–54; *see also*
 Arrizyañaga, Ladrón, Ocariz, Sardo,
 Sigaroa
 Fuenterrabía *Gui* 24, 39, 58, 61, 75,
 80, 250 map, 252, 254, 256, 258,
 266, 334, 342, 360, 388, 396, 434,
 442
 Gáinza *Gui* 408
 Galarza, Graciana de (F 139) 320
 Galvez, Jesuit (“teatino”) 383n
 Gamboa d’Alsatte, Tristan de, Lord of
 Urtubie 42, 45, 46, 202, 204
 Garaicoa, María de, young girl of
 Oronoz (witness) 400, 402
 Garaicochea, Catalina de (H 94) 326
 Garaicochea, Graciana de (E 144)
 448
 Garaicochea, Juan de (A 367) 292,
 García de Arriola, Ana (F 333) 320
 García de Molina, Miguel, secretary of
la Suprema 488
 Garzain *Na* 40, 218
 Gaviria, Simona de (A 75) 308
 Gaytán, Alonso, inquisitor 374
 God 11, 84, 102, 116, 174, 176, 200,
 220, 312, 372, 476; glory of 174,
 228; honour of 426; offence against
 260; redress from 358
 Godelmann, Johan Georg,
 demonologist 8
 Goiburu, Juanes de, shepherd
 (doc. 2.II.11) 23, 118, 132, 134
 Goiburu, Miguel de, shepherd
 (doc. 2.II.2) 23, 126, 132
 Goizueta, Juan (Juanes) de (case no.
 102) 394, 455
 Goldáraz, Jesús 258n, 306n
 Gómez, María (F 277) 324
 Góngora y Argote, Luis de, poet 30
 González, Francisca (G 370) 296, 324
 González, Gracia (F 391) 330
 Goñi Gaztambide, José 16n
 Gorriti, María (*apud* Catalina de
 Sastrearena, E 391) 298, 308
 Gourgues, Marc-Antoine de, judge 344
 Granada 22
 Grosius, Henning, demonologist 8
 guardian angel, witches’ *see* “dressed
 toads”
 Guazzo, Francesco Maria,
 demonologist 8
 Guetaria *Gui* 254
 Guipúzcoa 252, 372
 Guriezo (Santander) 376
 Gurría, Petri (G 202) 448
 hallucinogens *see* ointment for flying,
 “dressed toads”
 Haro (Logroño) 5n
 Henningsen, Gustav ix–xi, 6
 Hendaye *La* 108
 heresy cases 24, 101
 high courts
 Canary Islands 15
 Navarra 16, 33, 45, 61, 63, 69,
 360, 376, 388–89, 398, 438, 455,
 462, 486; witch trials of 10, 16,
 376, 378; *see also* inverted
 witch-trials
 Seville 15
 Valladolid, Chancellery of 9, 21
 Hualde, Lorenzo de, priest 42,
 45–46, 76, 150, 152n, 196–98, 204,
 206, 252, 322, 342n, 462;
 appointment as commissioner 75n,
 206; biography of 45; French
 witch-trials, assistant at 87, 184,
 204; child-witches, and 75, 214–16
 Hualde’s 16-year-old nephew 150
 Huarte, Mari Chipi de (H 182) 326
 Huerta y Rojas, Luis de, inquisitorial
 secretary 300
 Humanism in Spain 81–82
 Ibarгойen *Na* 218
 Ibos (France) 38
 Idoate, Florencio 352
 indoctrination *see under* witchcraft
 Igunen, Martín de (B 651) 282
 Imízcos Beunza, José María xii, 40
 Inquisition, Spanish: secrecy of 3–4;
 witch burnings of 9–10, 136–38
 Inquisition Council (*la Suprema*)
 against witch-burnings 10
 archives of 5, 346n, 368n, 370n,
 372n, 374n, 376n, 384n, 472,
 correspondence on Logroño-trial
 4–6, 15–16, 19–20, 28, 237–39,
 248n, 455–56, 472, 488; *see also*
 witchcraft ordinances
 councillors 13, 15, 248, 455–57,
 488–90

- name of 3
 reporter of 13, 15, 186n, 196n,
 202n, 204n, 206n, 210n, 212n,
 214n, 216n, 218n, 220n, 222n,
 226n, 266n
 organisation 13–14
 Salazar, and 351–52, 455–57
 scepticism of 9–12, 356, 370–76
 volte-face of 239
 witches summoned for examination
 in 456
 inside/outside *see* Salazar>dichotomies
 of
 Institoris, Heinrich *see* Kramer
 (Institoris), Heinrich
Instrucciones generales [to commissioners
 of the Holy Office] 466, 476, 478
 inverted witch-trials 56, 63, 69, 360,
 398
 invisible/visible *see* Salazar>dichotomies
 of
 Iraízoz *Na* 254, 274, 306, 382, 383n,
 384n, 400, 460
 Iraizoz, María de (B 625) 282, 324
 Irezetea, Miguel de, peasant and
 member of Elgorriaga's village
 council 60
 Iriarte, Estevanía de, shepherd's wife
 (doc. 2.II.3) 132
 Iriarte, María de (C 178) 448
 Iriarte, María de, shepherd's daughter
 (doc. 2.II.4) 132
 Iribarren, Juanes de, black-smith
 (doc. 2.II.18) 136, 455
 Iricia, cowherd, *see* Andrade, Pedro de
 Irigoyen, Tomás de, rector of Zubieta
 322
 Irisarri, Miguel de, commissioner of
 Santesteban 67; Solarte, and 226,
 cf. 168
 Irisarri, Martín de, rector of Yanci
 143–45, 158–62, 172–80, 184, 224n,
 252, 346, 444, 446, 448; Solarte,
 and 158, 162, 174–80; Venegas,
 and 178, 184
 Irurita *Na* 61, 306
 Irurita, Juana de (F 568) 322
 Isaba *Na* 370, 398, 412
 Isaba Valley, commissioner of *see*
 Ezquer, *licenciado*
 Ituren *Na* 65n, 71, 73, 218, 234, 282,
 412n, 440
 Iturbide, Catalina de, noble lady at
 Arráyoz 63
 Iturralde, Catalina de (H 185) 326
 Ixurrena, Martín de, *jurado* of
 Elgorriaga 69, 73
 Jaén 21–22, 353, 420n, 430, 452,
 455
 Jalinena, Martín de (D 239) 91, 304
 Jaunaraz, Tomás de (A 86) 300
 Jesuits 54–56; *see also* Medrano,
 Solarte, López
 Jimeno, Roldán xii, 209n
 Jofrey, Pedro Antonio, judge 9
 Jornarena, Mariana de (A 13) 292
 Juan d'Albret and Catalina, sovereigns
 104
 Juanes 10-year-old son of a blacksmith
 (H 132) 294
 Juangorena, Petri de, peasant
 (doc. 2.II.28) 138
 Juanto, María, labourer's wife
 (doc. 2.II.7) 134
 Jureteguía, María de, peasant's wife
 (doc. 2.II.9) 19, 24, 48, 100,
 108–10, 356n, 382
 Koudal, Jens Henrik xii
 Kramer (Institoris), Heinrich, inquisitor
 372
 La Fontaine, Jean xi–xii
 La Rochelle (France) 18n
 Labastide (France) 136
 Labayen, Catalina de (B1) 332
 Labourd, Pays de (France) 18, 42, 49,
 51, 87n, 106, 202, 204
 Ladrón, Juan (Pedro), Franciscan monk
 320
 Ladrón de Peralta, Francisco,
 inquisitorial secretary 274, 300,
 342, 430n
 Laguna, María de (witch of Haro
 1624) 5n
 Lambert, Juanes de, black-smith
 (doc. 2.II.17) 136
 Lancre, Pierre de, judge 49, 190,
 202–204, 344
 Larralde, María de (E 293) 290, 296
 Larraun Valley *Na* 16, 378
 Larrazpe, María de (*apud* María de
 Mariarena, B 371) 332
 Larrea *Al* 250 map, 320
 Larrea, commissioner of *see* López de
 Lazárraga, Martín

- Lea, Henry Charles ix, 368, 472
 Legasa *Na* 174, 178, 218, 224
 Legasa, Juanes de, *jurado* of Elgorriaga 67, 69, 71, 73
 Legarrea, Graciano de (H 470) 282
 Leiza *Na* 310
 Lerma (Burgos) 99, 143
 Lerma, duke of *see* Sandoval y Rojas, Francisco
 Lesaca *Na* 40–42, 46, 48, 62, 65, 76, 143, 146, 148, 158, 160, 162n, 174, 176, 183–84, 190, 196, 206, 210, 212, 214, 216, 226, 234, 250 map, 254, 352, 388, 396
 Lesaca, 19-year-old María of (witch) 158–60, 234
 Lesaca, commissioner of *see* San Paul, Domingo de
 Lesaca, Martín de, priest 398, 408
 Lisón Tolosana, Carmelo x, 90n, 95
 Lizaso *Na* 254
 Lizardi, Catalina de (D 184, A 473) 90, 298, 304
 Logroño 5, 19, 28, 31, 49, 51, 55, 99, 144n, 145, 162, 240, 250 map, 266, 300, 348, 384n, 396
 Logroño tribunal (Navarra, Calahorra) 3–5, 8–9, 15–18, 20–21, 23, 25, 28, 49, 50–52, 58–59, 83, 99, 102, 104, 144–45, 152, 174, 178, 183, 188, 216, 218, 220, 237–39, 242, 250 map, 264, 266, 300, 326n, 328, 330, 338, 342, 346n, 348, 355–56, 366n, 388n, 418n, 428, 442, 456–57; *see also* auto de fe, Becerra and Valle, Logroño
 84 cases tried by 352, 428
 archives of 4–5, 344, 368n, 370n, 372n, 374, 376n, 442
 destruction of its archives 4–5, 368
 district of 3
 procedure in witch-trials 380–398, 390, 392–394
 punishment of the “guilty” 340, 346, 362, 364, 426
 report on precedents (11th July 1609) 23, 368
 viceroy of Navarra, and 388
 witchcraft correspondence with *la Suprema* 18–20
 López, Juan, Jesuit 158–160
 López de Aula, Mari (E 52) 284
 López de Indaburu, María, peasant’s wife 63, 446
 López de la Sierra, Juan, inquisitor 374
 López de Lazárraga, Martín, commissioner of Larrea (“Echevarría”) 320, 462
 Lovett, Albert xi
 Lucea (Luxea), Gracia (case no. 97) 440
 Llano y Valdés, Juan de, councillor of *la Suprema* 15, 248, 456, 488
 MacDonald, Julia x
 MacKeith, James xi
 Macuso y Marquezarena, Gracia (F 435) 54, 290
 Madrid ix–x, xii, 3–5, 13, 17n, 21n, 22, 29, 56, 101, 248, 455–56, 488
 Maestu *Al* 322, 330, 462
 Maestro, commissioner of *see* Diaz, Felipe
maleficia (evil arts) 47, 302, 310, 320, 400
Malleus maleficarum 9, 12, 372
 Mamoris, Petrus, demonologist 9
 Manley, James xii
 Manrique, Alfonso, inquisitor general 82
 Maravall, Antonio 81
 Marcos Casquero, M. A. 4
 Margotti, Lanfranco, cardinal 23
 Mariarena, María de (B 371) 284, 332
 Márquez de Prado, Alonso, councillor of *la Suprema* 249
 Marquina *Viz* 254
 Marticorena, Diego de, childwitch of Echalar (case nos. 70 and 108) 206
 Martín, María (Volume F, case no. 520) 328, 400, 402, 438
 Martín de Legarra, María (F 107) 320
 Martínez de Aranoz, Francisco (A 200) 292
 Martínez de Larraiza, Juan, commissioner of the Burunda (“Alsasua”) Valley 412
 Martínez de San Paul, Juan, inquisitorial notary at Lesaca 196–98, 206, 210, 226
 Mascuso, Graciana de, *see* Macuso y Marquezarena, Gracia
 mass hysteria *see* witch-craze
 Maya *Na* 254

- Mayora, Catalina de (in volume H) 334
- Max, Frédéric 28
- Medrano, Diego de, Jesuit 54–56, 143, 232
- Mendoza, Francisco de, councillor of *la Suprema* 457, 488
- metamorphosis 93, 118, 272, 314
- Miguelena, Juana de (B 603) 298
- Mikelarena Peña, Fernando xii, 41
- Mindegui, María de (F 486) 322
- Miranda, Graciana de (D 225) 334
- Monein (France) 38
- Mongastón, Juan de, printer 3–4
- moral panic *see* witch-craze
- Motrico *Gui* 254
- Moura, Manuel do Vale de, demonologist 9
- Murguía, Mari Cruz de (*apud* Francisca de Alava, A 264) 310
- Muria (Murua), Agueda de (F 327) 320
- Muru (Logroño) 176n
- Muru, Pedro de, Jesuit 176
- Navarcorena, Estevanía de, peasant's widow (doc. 2.II.5) 132
- Navarcorena, Esteve de, peasant 108
- Navarra, kingdom of 104, 254
- Navarra, mountains of 50, 80, 258; characterization of the people 198, 260; population 80, 354; poverty of the area 260
- Navarra, viceroy of *see* Cardona, Juan de
- Navarre, French 18
- Navarte *Na* 218
- Narvarte, Miguel de, royal notary and *familiar* of the Inquisition at Arráyoz 37, 64
- Newfoundland (Terranova) 338
- nota eclesiástica* 162
- Ocariz, Martín de, Franciscan monk 52
- Odia y Berechea, Juanes de, carcoal burner (doc. 2.II.22) 136, 302
- Odia, María de (C 697) 302
- Öhrström, Lilian xi
- ointment for flying 7, 52, 89, 116, 252, 268n, 312, 316, 320, 460, 476
- Oiz, Magdalena de (A 85) 300
- Olague *Na* 254, 274, 342, 440
- Olcoz, Juan de (*abad de Beunza*) 382n
- Olite, Ana de (A 84) 300
- Oñate *Gui* 254
- Ordoqui, María de (G 145) 286, 288
- Orive, Isabel de, witch of Bóveda 394
- Ormaechea, María de (G 153) 290, 306
- Ormáiztegui *Gui* 23n
- Oronoz *Na* 65, 178, 218, 296, 400, 442
- outside-witnesses *see* evidence from non-witches
- Oteiza, María de (G 356) 284, 296
- Oteiza, Miguel de (C 425) 90, 282
- Otsondo Pass *Na* 31
- Oyarzun *Gui* 228
- Oyeregui *Na* 136, 178, 218
- Oyeretena, Gracianato de (E 351) 286, 288
- Paiva, José Pedro 12–13
- Palenzuela (Palencia) 21
- Pamplona *Na* 11, 16, 23n, 29–30, 34, 37, 39, 45, 56, 88, 144, 146, 184, 186n, 194, 200, 237–38, 240, 250
- map, 251, 260, 348, 378, 382, 383n, 418
- Pamplona, bishop of *see* Venegas de Figueroa, Antonio
- Pamplona, vicar general (*fiscal eclesiástico*) of 324, 438
- paradigm, Salazar's 90
- Parlement of Bordeaux 49, 190, 202, 344
- Parrinder, Geoffrey ix
- Pasajes, Los *Gui* 254
- Paul V, pope 23
- Paúl Arzak, Juan Ignacio xii
- Peña, María de (F 77) 152, 294
- Pereiro, physician 81
- Pérez de Reina, Catalina (G 256) 296
- Perlichinecoa, Juanes de (E 177) 286, 288
- Permosa, Graciana de (D 210) 334
- Permosa, María de (G 238) 284
- Perugurría, María de (G 202) 318
- Petrisancena, Estevanía de, peasant's wife (doc. 2.II.23) 136
- Philip II, king 18n
- Philip III, king 28, 83–84, 97, 101–102, 143
- Pijarena, Mari Juan de (B 509) 448
- Pimentel, Enrique, councillor of *la Suprema* 457, 488

- Plaza, Gracia de (G 547) 326
 Portugal, witch persecution in 12
 powders and poisons 89, 91, 118,
 124–28; *see also* “yellow liquid”
 preaching campaign 49, 51; *see also*
under clergy, Franciscans, Jesuits,
 Premostratencians, witch-craze
 Premostratensians 57–58; *see also*
 Aranibar, León de; Elizondo,
 José de
 Presona, María, spinster (doc. 2.II.13)
 134, 382
 prisoners
 confrontation of 23, 380
 deaths in Tribunal’s prisons 100,
 132–34, 136–38, 464
 House of Penance, in 346
 local authorities, arrests by 63,
 218n, 390
 private custody of 63, 64 fig.
 secular courts, arrests by 338
 Tribunal’s arrests 1609/1610: first
 four (Jan.) 18, 110n; next six
 (Febr.) 19; next seventeen
 (Autumn 1609) 24; last sixteen
 (early 1610) 24
 spying on 24, 382
 suicide 400
 propaganda *see* preaching campaign,
 witch-craze
- Ramírez, Juan, fiscal of *la Suprema*,
 former inquisitor of Logroño 15,
 344, 457, 488
 rape (of “witches”) 71
 rationalism, Spanish *see* empiricism
 religions, history of *see* Valencia,
 Pedro de
 Rémy, Jean, demonologist 8
 Rentería *Gui* 100, 136, 234, 252,
 254, 288
 Rey-Henningsen, Marisa x, xii
 Reyes, Pedro de los, witch-finder 394,
 455
 revocations
 deathbed, on the 326, 382
 dispensation for, *la Suprema*’s 384,
 484
 death penalty for 326, 384
 extra-judicial 330
 inquisitorial commissioners, to 176,
 226, 330, 346, 356n, 386, 388,
 458
 Logroño tribunal, in 23–24, 388,
 392, 458
 preachers, to 164–66, 190, 220,
 226, 230–34, 356
 priests, to 176, 382–383n
 prison, secretly in 24, 380–382
 prohibited in beginning of Salazar’s
 visitation 328–30
 visitation, during Salazar’s 62, 458
 Riesco Álvarez, Hipólito 4
 Rio, Martín del, demonologist 8–9,
 82–83
 Rojo, Martín el, priest 370
 Rome 23, 38, 55, 144n, 178n
 Roncal *Na* 370, 398, 412n, 440, 442
 Roncesvalles *Na* 23
 Ruiz de Eguino, Pedro, commissioner
 of Eguino 322
 rumours 58–59, 166–168
- Saa, Guiomar de, bishop Venegas’ heir
 29n
 sabbat (*aqueelarre*)
 admission and degrees 112–14,
 124, 208
 Black Mass at 84, 120–22
 churchbells sound of, and 284
 cannibalism 130–32
 dance 118, 400
 days of 116
 dream or reality 7, 19, 25, 48
 duration of 120
 fire of Hell at 118, 208–10
 food at 84, 208, 294
 hierarchy and duties 124, 210
 held in the middle of the sea 284
 Jesus not to be mentioned 83, 118,
 cf. 292
 King and Queen of the 132, 138
 man disguised as the Devil 6
 Midsummer Eve, on 92, 120, 124,
 300
 money at 84, 116, 208, 294
 Our Lady, apparition of 288–90
 participating body and soul 7
 present without participating 318
 previous consent necessary/
 unnecessary 86, 112, 162
 renunciation 106, 112, 114, 118,
 212, 318
 sex at 124, 208
 transvection of children and
 adolescents 25, 48, 50, 59, 67,
 75–76
see also child-witches>toads, covens,
 Salazar>dichotomies of, Virgin of
 Aránzazu

- Sáenz, Mari (A 89) 300
- Sáenz de Ormaechea, Mari (A 389) 324, 338
- Saint Michael 258
- Saint-Jean-de-Luz *La* 34, 344
- Sáinz de Sardui (Zurdui), Mari, witch of Ajamil 386, 392
- Salamanca *see under* universities
- Salamanca school 82
- Salazar Frías, Alonso de, inquisitor 73, 82, 237, 239, 351–53, 402, 470, 472
- Account of all the bishops in Jaén* 21–22
- actuation in Logroño 20, 23–25, 101–102, 145, 382, 455–57
- anthropological method of 95
- Becerra and Valle's papers, on 424–28, 432–52 *passim*
- biography of 21–23
- canon at Jaén 21
- dichotomies of: fictive/real 91–92, 272–78, 280, 286, 294–314 *passim*; inside/outside 90–91, 282–84; invisible/visible 91, 288, 290, 314–16; sleeping/awake 92, 270–72, 278, 284, 296
- ecclesiastical lawyer in Madrid 22
- epistemology of 25, 90–95, 400–408 *passim*, 424–28
- interrogation methods of 386, 406
- Fuenterrabía, report from 252, 258
- Hualde, and 252
- Irisarri, and 252
- library of 5, 9
- literary style of xiv, 87
- Margotti, cardinal, and 23
- relación de visita* 256
- reports (papers) ix–x, 3, 5–6, 252–53, 352–54, 366, 406, 430n, 456–57
- Sandoval, Bernardo de, and 22, 252, 418–20
- social network of 22
- Valencia's *discurso*, and 6, 93
- value-nihilism of 94
- Vatican connections 23
- Venegas, and 28–29, 30, 87–88, 251, 418
- verdicts on: auto de fe, whether to execute “deniers” at 25, 101, 318, 378–80, 428; Zubieta, whether to receive prisoners from 25, 390; auto de fe-report to the King, whether to send 101; arrest Martín de Irisarri, whether to 145, 446–48
- vicar general at Jaén 21
- visitation of 50, 59–61, 75, 79–80, 88–89, 234, 240, 250 map, 251–52, 254–56, 444
- witches' attempts on 286–88, 310, 312, 444
- working capacity of 22–23
- Salazar's Visitation Book* 5, 60, 75, 80, 242, 253, 270, 272–346 *passim* in the glosses, 348, 436–448 *passim*
- Saldías *Na*, rector of 386, 406
- Saldías, Juan de, alias Juanes de Estevecorena (C 1) 276
- Saldías, Martín de (A 87) 300
- saludadores* 158, 394
- Salvatierra *Al* 250 map, 254
- sambenitos* 100, 134–35, 216, 264, 346, 464, 484
- San Paul, Domingo de, commissioner of Lesaca 76, 196–98, 206, 212–14, 352, 388, 396
- San Sebastián *Gui* 25, 57, 61, 176, 250 map, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 262, 288, 306, 308, 336, 338, 342, 398, 442
- San Vicente, Isidoro de, former inquisitor of Logroño 8–9, 450; library of 9; manual of 8, 9n, 384
- Sánchez Rivilla, Teresa 16n
- sanctuaries for curing possessed or bewitched 34n, 36 fig., 51
- Sandoval y Rojas, Bernardo, inquisitor general 3–4, 6, 14 fig., 15, 21–23, 101, 183, 186, 196, 237, 238, 246, 252–56, 266–68, 366, 389n, 420, 455, 472
- biography of 16
- bishop of Pamplona (1588–1596) 16, 186
- circular about witch problem 183, 237–38
- patron of Quevedo, Lope de Vega and Cervantes 16
- San Fermín festival, and 16
- visitation to Baztán Valley in 1595 16
- Sandoval y Rojas, Francisco de, duke of Lerma 16, 83, 97
- Sansín, Juanes de, sievemaker (doc. 2.II.12) 118, 134
- Santesteban, commissioner of *see* Irisarri, Miguel de
- Santesteban, Catalina de (H 91) 324

- Santesteban, Juanes de (A 85) 300
 Santesteban (de Lerín) *Na* 28, 61, 69,
 70 fig., 91–92, 178, 218, 226, 250
 map, 251–52, 254, 258, 274, 278,
 286, 300, 326, 380, 388, 460
 Santesteban Valley *Na* 40, 57
 Santiago de Compostela 34
 Sanz (Sáenz) de Ilarduya, Ana (F 313)
 322
 Sardo, Domingo de, Franciscan monk,
 52, 58, 62, 251, 254, 278, 342, 444
 Sare *La* 38
 Sarmiento de Mendoza, Francisco,
 bishop of Jaén 21
 Sastrearena, Catalina de (E 391) 61,
 272, 278, 286, 288, 294, 298, 308,
 444, 448
 Sastrearena, Juanes de (C 255) 448
 Sastrearena, Martín de (H 134) 294
 Satanic child abuse *see*
 child-witches>modern and historical
 scepticism 60–61; *see also under* clergy,
 Inquisition Council, Salazar,
 Solarte>epistemology, Valencia,
 Venegas
 “seal, the” 62, 156
 Serasti, Pedro de (D 253) 334
 Serauren, María (G 41) 294, 318
 sermons *see* witch-craze>sermons,
 witchcraft>indoctrination of
 Sigarroa, Juan de, Franciscan monk
 52
 Sigüenza 29–30
 Sixtus V, pope 262, 432
 sleeping/awake *see* Salazar>dichotomies
 of
 scrofula, curing for *see* cunning folk
 Solarte, Hernando de, Jesuit 25, 52,
 54–56, 58, 67, 73, 75, 143–45, 185,
 239
 epistemology of 85–86, 162–68
 Franciscans, and 52
 Irisarri, and 143–44, 158–60
 journey to Las Cinco Villas 54–56,
 143–44, 146–68 *passim*, 226–34
passim
 reports of 3, 25, 239
 Venegas, and 56
 social conflicts 33–34, 42, 45–46,
 202–204, 212, 334
 Soraburu, Catalina de (G 166) 296
 sorcery *see* cunning folk
 Sosa, Francisco de, bishop of Osma,
 former councillor of *la Suprema* 457,
 490
 Soto, Domingo de, theologian 82
 Spee, Friedrich von, Jesuit 93
 Sprenger, Jakob, demonologist 372
 Stevnsborg, Henrik xii
 Subildegui, Domingo de, charcoal
 burner (doc. 2.II.29) 138
 Sumbilla *Na* 65, 68 fig., 148, 172,
 174, 178, 218, 222, 226, 232, 294,
 460
Suprema, la see Inquisition Council
 Tanborín Jarra, María de (C 365) 61,
 162, 302, 318, 446
 Tapia, Pedro de, councillor of *la*
Suprema 456, 488
 Tarbes (France) 38–39
 Telechea, Juana de, miller’s wife
 (doc. 2.II.10) 134
 toads 87, 124, 126, 128, 210; giving
 birth to 284; *see also* “dressed
 toads”, child-witches>toads at the
 sabbat
 Toledo 22, 455
 Tolosa *Gui* 254
 Torreblanca, Francisco de,
 demonologist 9
 torture
 deaths caused by 174, 218, 222
 extra-judicial 25, 62, 65–67,
 172–74, 178, 214, 218–24,
 320–22
 Inquisition, by the 64, 101, 356,
 376
 secular courts, by 11
 Trejo Paniagua, Gabriel de, councillor
 of *la Suprema* 457, 488
 Ulibarri, María de (E 671) 322, 328,
 330, 332
 universities
 Alcalá de Henares 12, 16, 45, 56
 Murcia 56
 Oviedo 14
 Sigüenza 21
 Salamanca 12, 16–17, 18n, 21, 29,
 82
 Valencia 45
 Urdax *Na* 18, 24, 28, 31, 33–34,
 38–39, 47, 57–59, 79, 106, 136,
 138, 166, 250 map, 260, 342
 Urdax, abbot of *see* Aranibar, León de

- Urdax, prior of *see* Elizondo, José de
 Urrugne *La* 202
 Urtubie *La* 42
 Urtubie, Lord of *see* Gamboa d'Alsatte,
 Tristan de
 Ustároz, Miguel de (B 281) 90, 282,
 440, 448
- Valderro *Na* 61, 254, 342
 Valencia *see under* universities
 Valencia, Catalina de (A 89) 300
 Valencia, Pedro de, humanist 4
discurso on witches' tales 4, 6–7,
 81, 92–93, 238
 epistemology of 6–7
 history of religions, and 6
 Inquisitor General, and 4
 Valle Alvarado, Juan de, inquisitor,
 17–20, 101, 353, 402, 430
 biography 17–18
 epistemology of 48
 visitation of 20, 29, 48, 110, 184,
 204, 204–206, 216
 Valles, Francisco de, demonologist
 81
 Varesio, Juan Bautista de, printer
 4n
 Vegas, Gaspar de, Jesuit provincial
 3, 21, 143–44, 146, 164, 173
 Velasco, Domingo de, Dominican
 monk 336
 Velate Pass *Na* 31, 37n
 Venegas de Figueroa, Antonio, Bishop
 of Pamplona 3, 28–29, 56, 65, 88,
 145, 183–85, 238–39, 348, 254
 Basque language, and 30
 Becerra and Valle, on 196–98
 biography of 29–30
 epistemology of 48, 86–87, 190,
 192
 Franciscans, on 52
 Gongora, and 30
 informants of 188
 Inquisition Council, former member
 of 29
 literary style of 87
 Logroño tribunal, and 190
 Pamplona meeting 184, 188
 report of 29, 186, 196, 202
 recommendations to inquisitor
 general 183–84, 186–200
 scepticism of 30, 188, 192
 Solarte, and 36
 viceroy of Navarra, and 36
 visitation to Cinco Villas 48–49,
 184, 186
- Vera *Na* 34n, 41–42, 43 fig., 44 fig.,
 45–46, 48, 63, 75–76, 80, 92, 143,
 148, 150–52, 166n, 204–206,
 214–16, 230, 234, 250 map, 252,
 254, 286, 298, 304, 310, 334, 398,
 436, 460
 Vergara *Gui* 57, 176, 254
 Vignato, Ambrogio, demonologist 9
 violence 25, 50, 62–63, 65, 67–73,
 75, 150, 160, 214, 222–24, 234,
 360, 388–89n, 398, 462; *see also*
 torture, extra-judicial
 Virgin of Aránzazu 51–52, 53 fig.,
 54; *see also* sabbat>Our Lady
 Vitoria *Al* 250 map, 254–56, 260
 Vitoria, Francisco de, theologian 82
 Vizcar, Martín, peasant (doc. 2.II.8)
 134
 Vizcaya 33, 56, 252
- Weyer, Johan, doctor and demonologist
 93
 witch belief (popular)
 comparisons: North and South Spain
 11–12
 definition of 47–48
 geography of 11–12
 legends (memorates) and visions
 290–92, 304, 308
 witch-craze and 47–48
 witch persecution
 15th and 16th Navarra, in 104
 comparisons: Iberian Peninsula and
 Europe 7–10, 12–13; Spain and
 France 344; Spain and Portugal
 12–13
 local authorities and 24–25
see also inverted witch-trials,
 witch-craze
 witch-craze
 anatomy of 46–47
 breakdown of society, and 51,
 212–14
 Christian devotion, and 212
 comparisons: Mountains of Navarra
 with Guipúzcoa and rest of
 Logroño district 256–58; Navarra
 before and after the outbreak
 396
 cultural innovation, and 49

- distribution of 25, 27 map, 252
dream epidemic, and 49–50,
59–61
duration of 50
French connection, and the 49,
106–108, 136, 183–85, 190, 192,
202–206
reconciliation after 51
sermons and 49–50, 52, 278, 342
silence and discretion, imposition of
50, 158, 160, 258, 342, 344,
416n, 466, 488
stages of 50
witchcraft (Satanic)
comparisons: Zugarramurdi and
Cinco Villas 162; different
content of confessions 434
humour and irony about 87–88
indoctrination of 192, 206–10
new phenomenon, seen as a 4, 19,
48, 190
Thomism (Spanish orthodoxy), and
12–13, 82
treatises about 7–9
witchcraft ordinances
1526 (14th Dec.) 10–11, 19,
368–70
1609 (11th March) 20
1611 (26th March) 56, 240–48,
260, 268, 274, 310, 334, 358,
410, 416
1611 (28th June) 340, 384, 386,
464
1614 (29th Aug.) 6, 267, 454 fig.,
457
witch-finders 61–62, 156–58, 232, 394
witches
age groups 79–80, 110–12, 458
children, damage to 128, 310
Devil's sect 3, 47, 79, 99, 102, 200
examined by midwives 232, 300
experiments with 88–89, 168, 246,
310, 460
mild punishment to 11
neuroses, suffering from 62, 108
questionnaires for examining 20,
236 fig, 246, 274, 410, 460
relapse, cases of 61, 238, 242, 244,
260, 266, 268, 296, 302, 306,
318, 324, 346, 384, 442, 458,
468, 480, 482, 484
Sacred Host, cannot see the 108,
120, 108
social and economic status of 40,
81, 150
storms, produced by 286, 306, 336,
474
vandalism, acts of 110, 124, 284
see also child-witches, sabbat,
witchcraft ordinances; *and under*
clergy
Xamatelu, Ana de (G 294) 318
Xarra, Graciana, matron of hostel
(doc. 2.II.27) 138
Ximildegui, Adame de, resident of
Ciboure 106
Ximildegui, María de, French witch
106
Xubil, Juana de (A 84) 300
Yanci *Na* 41, 62–63, 143–44, 148,
158, 162n, 172–74, 178–80, 232,
239, 252, 446
Yanci, María de (F 229) 324
“yellow liquid” 132
Yoldi S.J., José Antonio 84n, 176n
Zabala, María de (H 529) 326
Zabaleta, Felipe de, Premonstratensian
monk and priest of Zugarramurdi
37, 110
Zabaleta y Ollacariz, Diego de,
commandant of militia of Cinco
Villas 45–46
Zalderi, Estevanía de (H 134) 294,
Zamar Guillearena, María de (H 198)
326
Zapata Osorio, Juan, councillor of *la*
Suprema 455–56, 488
Zarandía, María de (G 105) 318
Zarauz *Gui* 372
Zozaya Larramendi, María de, spinster
from Rentería (doc. 2.II.19) 62,
136
Zubieta *Na* 25, 54, 66 fig., 80n, 218,
234n, 254, 306, 322, 326, 346, 390,
412, 438, 448n, 460
Zubieta, Graciana de (A 88) 300
Zugarramurdi *Na* 18–20, 24, 28,
31–35, 37–39, 47–48, 86, 92, 100,
104–10, 118, 132–38, 144, 166,
184–85, 204, 239, 250 map, 254,
272n, 302, 306, 346, 352, 356,
378–80, 382, 434, 455n

CULTURES, BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PEOPLES

Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions is a forum for an interdisciplinary sharing of insights into past popular experience in the European and European-related world, from late antiquity to the modern era. The series covers studies in a wide range of phenomena, among them popular rituals and religion, art, music, material culture and domestic space, and it favors a variety of approaches: historical anthropology, folklore and gender studies, art- and literary analysis, and integrative approaches employing a combination of disciplines. It contains monographs, text editions (with translation and commentary), collections of essays on defined themes, acts of conferences and works of reference.

1. HEN, Y. *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481-751*. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10347 3
2. MEGGED, A. *Exporting the Catholic Reformation*. Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10400 3
3. SLUHOVSKY, M. *Patroness of Paris*. Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10851 3
4. ZIOLKOWSKI, J.M. *Obscenity*. Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10928 5
5. POSKA, A.M. *Regulating the People*. The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain. 1998. ISBN 90 04 11036 4
6. FERREIRO, A. (ed.). *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*. Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10610 3
7. SÖRLIN, P. 'Wicked Arts'. Witchcraft and Magic Trials in Southern Sweden, 1635-1754. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11183 2
8. MITCHELL, K. & I. WOOD (eds.). *The World of Gregory of Tours*. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11034 8
9. FRIEDLANDER, A. *The Hammer of the Inquisitors*. Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle Against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11519 6
10. FRIEDMAN, Y. *Encounter Between Enemies*. Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11706 7
11. COHEN, E. & M.B. DE JONG (eds.). *Medieval Transformations*. Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11728 8
12. TAYLOR, B. *Structures of Reform*. The Mercedarian Order in the Spanish Golden Age. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11857 8
13. ROLLO-KOSTER, J. *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual*. Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11749 0

14. JONES, P.M. & T. WORCESTER. (eds.) *From Rome to Eternity. Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550-1650.* 2002. ISBN 90 04 12469 1
15. FROJMOVIC, E. *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other.* Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12565 5
16. GODSALL-MYERS, J.E. *Speaking in the Medieval World.* 2003. ISBN 90 04 12955 3
17. PETKOV, K. *The Kiss of Peace.* Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13038 1
18. SCHUTZ, H. *The Carolingians in Central Europe, their History, Arts and Architecture.* A Cultural History of Central Europe, 750-900. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13149 3
19. EMISON, P.A. *Creating the "Divine" Artist.* From Dante to Michelangelo. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13709 2
20. GOLDGAR, A. & R.I. FROST. *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society.* 2004. ISBN 90 04 13880 3
21. HENNINGSEN, G. (ed.) *The Salazar Documents.* Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías and Others on the Basque Witch Persecution. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13186 8
22. BAERT, B. *A Heritage of Holy Wood.* The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13944 3

ISSN 1382-5364