

A Very Handsome Book: A Case Study on the Reception of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa in Portugal

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Abstract:

The Portuguese Inquisition archives currently stand as an underexplored resource for the understanding of local heterodoxies. Among the numerous references to Iberian grimoires and nameless prayer and magic books, here one can find various trials focusing on wider reaching European magical literature. Particular among these is the trial of Cristóvão Francisco, a New Christian businessman accused of possessing a copy of Agrippa's *Three Book of Occult Philosophy*. This trial, besides its usual proceedings, contains a unique written analysis of this book by the influential book examiner Bartolomeu Ferreira. Thus, besides providing relevant information on Portuguese book trafficking, the record of this trial offers a window into the reception of Agrippa by the modern Portuguese (official) intellectual landscape.

Keywords: Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Magic, Portuguese Inquisition.

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1. Introduction: Records of magical literature in the Portuguese Inquisition

The particularities and continuities of Portuguese history, and the history of its institutions of power and authority, have given rise to a culture of apparent intellectual and religious uniformity many academic centers are only now emerging from. There has long existed an internal narrative of exemplary and uniform Catholicism as an irreducible character of Portuguese identity, often times explicitly supported and orchestrated by the ruling elites (such as with the *Estado Novo*, 1933-1974) which has silenced most heterodoxies and removed them from public awareness and academic inquiry. Consequently, there is a great deal of work and reconceptualization of Portuguese intellectual history to be done to fully appreciate the many religious heterodoxies which manifested not only in this general territory, but equally in that of its former Imperial possessions.

As with most of the Catholic European South, the most visible institutions of religious persecution provide nowadays invaluable databases for the inquiry into such apparently elusive aspect of intellectual history. The Portuguese Inquisition in particular should be underlined as a remarkable instance for such studies due to its highly bureaucratic and organized structure, having produced hundreds of thousands of pages, documents and reports during its three centuries of existence. While in terms of non-normalized cultural and religious expressions a lot of the documentation in this database fits into the general categories of folk magic and religion, in terms of learned esotericism this also offers many clues for the understanding of the circulation and conception/production of magical and esoteric literature in Portugal and Spain.

In terms of autochthonous productions, analyzing the relatively few magic book trials in this database, besides the presence and mentions of nameless books of folk prayers and magic, the most frequent cases deal with vague mentions of either *Livros de São Cipriano* (*Books of Saint Cyprian*) or *Keys of Solomon*. These two book categories can at times partially overlap, with the first one largely constituting a local Iberian literary expression and the *Keys of Solomon* being a far-reaching European tradition.

Books of Saint Cyprian are a complex topic in themselves, and they are most often associated with more folkish aspects of magical practice. While frequently described as magical treasure hunting books—a practice with its peak in the 18th century (Paiva, 2002: 160)—, there are Inquisition reports which also describe them as having been used in

general magical healing.¹ On the other hand, the cases of the *Keys of Solomon* are quite distinct, and often associated with more recognizable European patterns of ritual magic.

As mentioned by Robert Mathiesen (2007: 1), *Keys of Solomon* are a manuscript tradition within itself, with several known material and content arrangements. While this author has performed extensive research and was not able to locate any Spanish or Portuguese language versions of this title, such manuscripts are known to have circulated here, with examples given by Maria Tausiet (2014: 36, 54-55), as well as Marcos Veiga (2011: 125-129). Besides these instances, hailing from Spain, and possibly referring to French manuscripts, Francisco Bethencourt equally notes mentions of the use of *Keys* in several Inquisition trials from the 16th century (Bethencourt, 2004: 169) and further research has revealed additional trials from the 17th and 18th. Interestingly, most of them seem to either refer to Spanish individuals caught by the Portuguese Inquisition nets, or Portuguese individuals with personal or professional ties to Spain, possibly suggesting a non-Portuguese origin to all these manuscripts.²

Besides these apparent local productions, a very relevant aspect to also be explored is that of the circulation of externally produced books.

External book control constituted one of the greatest preoccupations of the local Inquisition, even though this did not concern itself too highly with the persecution of magic or esoteric literature. While magic books were very much prohibited by law and the Tridentine Council (Bethencourt, 2004: 264-265), the ultimate purpose of Inquisitorial book persecution was the control of Lutheran ideas. Thus, inquisition book control took the form of general visitations to bookstores, printers and libraries, as well as to all newly ported ships (Bethencourt, 1994: 177-178). This last mechanism was specifically designed to target foreign visitors to Portugal, who would be under constant suspicion of carrying Protestant ideas. In this same vein, book control equally implied that all foreigners needed to be accounted for at all times, and local landlords had to denounce any foreign guests who might have been carrying unaccounted books (Bethencourt, 1994: 178).

¹ See Processo de Pedro Afonso, from 1621-11-29 to 1621-12-07, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Coimbra, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), nr. 5634.

² See Processo de Alonso Carrilho de Albernoz, from 1616-08-11 to 1617-10-13, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, ANTT, nr. 4203; Processo de Alonso Carrilho de Albernoz, from 1617-11-06 to 1620-05-20, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, ANTT, nr. 4203-1.

Still, no mechanism of control was ever perfect, and various cases of non-local prohibited books could always be found. Following the Inquisitorial preoccupations, most often they were Protestant or general humanistic books, amply covered by the *Tridentine Index*, but also relevant among them were the instances of books by the German humanist Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa.

A perfect example of such a case was the 1578 trial of D. Agostinho, an Augustinian friar from Naples living in Portugal who was found with a book by Agrippa. While this trial did not go into particular detail about the volume, its content or how it came into D. Agostinho's possession, its existence did weigh heavily over Agostinho as irredeemably incriminating evidence. Still, this trial does emphasize the common discreditation of magical crimes in the face of other more serious accusations. While the Inquisitors in charge were quite interested in a baptism ritual of a mirror meant for divination purposes performed by this defendant,³ their concern rested rather in this act constituting, first and foremost, a crime of sacrilege, and not so much a forbidden magical act.

While not focusing on any form of magical literature at all, this trial still highlights the foreign networks often times behind the circulation of magical literature in Portugal, as well as a clear blind spot in the Inquisition book censorship networks when it came to controlling other clergy members.

One other much later case also highlights yet another weak spot in Inquisition book control: that of the trial of Vicente Nogueira, the Portuguese representative with the Roman Curia during the reign of King John IV. This trial, from 1631, while not dealing explicitly with the possessions of prohibited literature, but rather with sodomy, does include a catalogue of Vicente Nogueira's vast library, which was found to contain books by Hermes Trismegistus, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lull, Paracelsus, Giordano Bruno, Agrippa and many others (Paiva, 2001: 169) This likely represented one of the most remarkable esoteric libraries in modern Portugal on record, and it also highlights the apparent ease with which noblemen or state officials could acquire such forbidden literature.

But what is likely the most remarkable case of all is that of Cristóvão Francisco, a New Christian small businessman charged with the possession of Agrippa's *De Occulta*

³ Processo de D. Agostinho, from 1587-05-01 to 1588-02-18, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, ANTT, nr. 13184, fol. 60r.

Philosophia libri tres in 1581. This case, while unremarkable from a judicial perspective, is quite notable for our contemporary preoccupations due to its particular composition. Among its general interrogation and questioning, this trial record illustrates, in exemplary terms, the avenues and channels by which illicit books could enter and circulate in Portugal, as also those who would procure this type of literature and their underlying ambitions.

Finally, what makes this document quite unique is the addition of a review of the confiscated book by the very relevant Inquisition book examiner and censor Bartolomeu Ferreira. This offers one of the best available insights into the overall reception of Agrippa in Portugal in the early modern period, allowing for a contextualized understanding of the overall view of not only this author but the topic of magic and its associated literature by the early modern Portuguese (official) intellectual landscape.

2. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa and *De Occulta Philosophia*

Looking at this trial overall, and the reading and interpretation given to Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* by the master censor Bartolomeu Ferreira, the context and censorship mechanisms targeting Agrippa in Portugal cannot be separated from the life of Agrippa himself.

Agrippa was born in Cologne in 1486, having led a life of constant travel and religious inquiry. Having acquired an interest in magic at least as early as 1509, when he met Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim (Lehrich, 2003: 25), throughout his academic career he would become familiar with authors such as Johannes Reuchlin and works such as the *Pimander* (Lehrich, 2003: 26), a text included in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and translated by Marsilio Ficino and Lodovico Lazzarelli (Hanegraaff, 2018: 1).

Accompanying all such travels and interests, Agrippa was also frequently hounded by censorship and persecution over his opinions, positions and writings. Such was the case of Jean Catilinet, a high-ranking Franciscan from Burgundy, who accused Agrippa of being a “judaizing heretic” while he was teaching at the University of Dôle (Lehrich, 2003: 26). Equally, he would become the target of disfavor over his book *De Vanitate*, condemned by the Faculty of Theology of Louvain and the Sorbonne Faculty in 1531

(Valente, 2006: 6), as was also the case of his *magnum opus*, *De Occulta Philosophia*, which led to condemnation from the Cologne Dominican Inquisition (Lehrich, 2003: 29).

De Occulta Philosophia libri tres, or *The Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, counted three particular publishing moments, in 1510, 1531 and 1533, the first of which being a direct result of Agrippa's meeting with Trithemius. As a whole, the purpose of this book is to rehabilitate and reconceptualize magic as a divine art. For Agrippa, while Christianity was the culmination of all ancient wisdom, it was still lacking the knowledge contained in works such as the *Corpus Hermeticum*, or in Jewish Kabbalah, for its full realization (Hanegraaff, 2015: 97). Agrippa's magic was then reconceptualized beyond strict orthodox Christian theological concepts by the use of non and pre-Christian sources, and it was revealed in *De Occulta Philosophia* as if a kind of bread trail to be followed on a path of ascension towards the Divine.

While certainly unorthodox and an assumed admirer of Luther, Agrippa never abandoned the Catholic Church, even if he was an anti-scholastic and a critic of both sides of the Reformation (Valente, 2006: 6). From his own perspective, nothing in his magic was anti-Christian or anti-Catholic in essence; it was rather a deeper understanding of divine reality using a broader literary base. Yet, it is the figure of Agrippa as a black magician which is most often presented in literature, even during his own lifetime. This is no doubt related to the religious controversies he fought throughout his entire life, but also due to the 1559 publication of a magical text of a much more explicit *goetic* character entitled *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (Davies, 2009: 50) claiming to be the final part of Agrippa's *magnum opus* (Valente, 2006: 8).

This other book has for most of its existence been considered to be only spuriously attributed to Agrippa, a position always fiercely defended by Johann Weyer (Davies, 2009: 69), Agrippa's student between 1530 and 1534/35 (Hanegraaff, 2012: 83). This process of attribution was further aided in the years following the publication of this *Fourth Book* by its frequent inclusion in editions of Agrippa's *Opera*, a collection of works attributed to Agrippa bound together and frequently published in various arrangements (Davies, 2009: 50). This continuous association of the name of Agrippa with more "mundane" forms of magic, by the 18th century, would reveal itself in a new trend of books in France, referred to as the *Agrippa Noir*, used in the conjuration of spirits and in treasure hunting (Davies, 2009: 113). Equally on the Spanish side of the border, one can

find mentions of the book *Agrippa Negra* around this same time period, once again described as a treasure hunting book (Davies, 2009: 114), now occupying the same place and function as the local *Books of Saint Cyprian*.

3. The Trial of Cristóvão Francisco

This construction of Agrippa as a heretic, frequently found in disputes with theologians, a swindler and a black magician, to whom numerous books can be attributed, is what shall largely inform his 16th century reception in Portugal. Beyond any concrete understanding of Agrippa's extremely nuanced theological positions and religious concepts, his fame is what shall always precede him.

Returning to the trial of Cristóvão Francisco, this is the result of an intersection of various circumstances which gave it a remarkable uniqueness. Cristóvão Francisco was, as is often the case, mostly an unforeseen victim of historical and social circumstances. Nothing about this man was in itself noteworthy for an understanding of the transmission of esoteric ideas in early modern Portugal, only the circumstances he found himself in.

As already mentioned, Cristóvão Francisco was an unmarried New Christian businessman (*tratante* in the original), twenty-four years old at the time of his arrest and born and raised in Lisbon. He seemed to have come from a relatively well-placed family, with his father, named Caetano, having been a trouser salesman (*calceteiro*) in the past but at the time of his arrest also a businessman. He received a certain degree of education at the Colégio de Santo Antão, a historical Lisbon Jesuit college founded in 1553, by which he could read Latin to a degree. He had a younger brother called Agostinho who worked as a physician in Lisbon, and three older sisters, still living with their father. Other than this, he had a few aunts and uncles, one of which was a silversmith in this same city.

Overall, the general activities of his immediate family, as self-employed dealers, craftsmen and physicians, places him within the general New Christian social sphere. Yet, although giving rise to a certain degree of suspicion by his interrogators, his New Christian status is never really used to build up a more serious case against him, and the dreaded accusation of judaizing is never brought up.

Turning to the other side of the trench, it is in the analysis of all the other interveners in this case where a much greater interest lays. These were the Inquisitor Diogo de Sousa, the already mentioned book censor and reviewer Bartolomeu Ferreira, and a large cast of

Castilian soldiers stationed in Lisbon, with Cristóvão's accuser, João Miguel del'Ara, amongst them.

3.1. Inquisitors and Accusers

While mostly inconsequential to the trial and accusation process, Diogo de Sousa should be noted as a fairly relevant figure of the late 16th century Inquisition and Portuguese Catholic hierarchy. He was a Doctor of Canon Law from Coimbra, sworn into the local Inquisition on the 2nd of April of 1571, becoming an Inquisitor in Lisbon on the 30th of December of 1578 (Telles da Sylva, 1723: 476), when he would have presided over the current trial. His subsequent career seems to have been quite successful, as between 1589 and 1597 he can be found as a deputy of the General Council of the Inquisition (Paiva, 2011: 64), and from 1597 to 1610 he was appointed as the Bishop of Miranda, eventually being transferred to Évora, where he would act as Archbishop for nine months (Paiva, 2006a: 580).

Contrarily to Diogo de Sousa, Bartolomeu Ferreira, the Dominican book censor and reviewer who examined the *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* in the possession of Cristóvão Francisco, is one of the most influential figures of the Portuguese letters in the 16th century. Although many details about his life are unknown, he is reported as having been a Theology master (Machado, 1741: 460), and his name seems to first feature as a book reviewer on the *Libro primeiro del espejo el principe Christiano*, by Francisco de Monçon, in 1571 (Rêgo, 1982: 71). His work with the Inquisition lasted at least until 1605, counting about 160 books reviews under his name (Tocco, 2010: 590), the most remarkable of which being without a doubt Luís de Camões' *The Lusíadas*, originally reviewed in 1572 (Anastácio, 2012: 28) and once again in 1584 (Anastácio, 2012: 32).

During his tenure as a book censor and reviewer, Bartolomeu Ferreira's position in the Inquisition can be seen to be continuously solidified, eventually becoming instrumental in all book examination and legislation. This is most apparent by his participation in the composition of the 1581 Portuguese *Index* of forbidden books. In this quality, he was responsible for the composition of the particular Portuguese section of this list which was to be added to the general *Tridentine Index* for local implementation (Nemésio, 2011), as well as for the specific rules of censorship to be employed in the Portuguese Kingdom (Sá, 1983: 608-647). Further on, in 1591, Ferreira was also

appointed responsible for all visitations to Lisbon bookstores and markets (Bethencourt, 1994: 171), becoming a deputy of General Council of the Inquisition in 1598, on which diligence Diogo de Sousa was one of the witnesses (Paiva, 2011: 159).

Finally, the presence of a contingent of Castilian soldiers in Lisbon acting as accusers and witnesses should be understood as the result of a very particular moment in history. As this trial occurs in Lisbon in 1581, it comes in the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Portugal by the forces of Philip II under the command of the Duke of Alba, giving rise to the period of dynastic union between Portugal and Spain (1580-1640). Thus, in the second half of 1580, a substantial army under the command of the Spanish crown was to sweep Portugal in a quick and decisive wave of conquest which culminated with the fall of Lisbon on the 25th of August of 1580 (Valladares, 2010: 112).

While the conquest itself was uneventful, after further mobilizations between September and October of the same year, about three thousand Castilian soldiers were left garrisoned outside the Lisbon walls (Valladares, 2010: 112), eager to sell the loot acquired during the campaign. It is this precise circumstance which triggered the very existence of this trial by bringing to light the existence of several prohibited books in private libraries in or around Lisbon, now in the hands of Castilian soldiers wanting to make a profit.

3. 2. A Narrative of Events

Analyzing the several testimonies and Cristóvão's questionings, while some initial discrepancies are detectable, within a very short time Cristóvão Francisco seems to come in line with the overall narrative of events given by the trial's witnesses. There is of course a certain degree of uncertainty when dealing with such a situation, as one can never be sure if indeed the defendant in question genuinely began admitting to the truth of the events, or if he was simply catering to the descriptions given by the witnesses in an effort to prevent further dangers to himself.

As a New Christian, Cristóvão Francisco's position before an Inquisitional tribunal needs to be understood as highly fragile, and he was very likely to be aware of this. From its inception, the Portuguese Inquisition was overwhelmingly preoccupied with the crime of judaizing, focusing its persecution on the significant Portuguese New Christian population created by the forced conversion of the Portuguese Jews in 1497 (Marras &

Paiva, 2016: 49-50). Thus, preoccupations with crimes such as magic or witchcraft were very low on the scale of the Portuguese Inquisition, giving rise to what José Pedro Paiva has called “a country with no witch hunt” (see Paiva, 2002). What this meant for Cristóvão Francisco was that there was a very concrete danger of an escalation of accusations should he challenge the inquisitorial examination or his accusers. Most likely it was a much better deal for him to just accept the guilt of a low-profile magical crime, or the possession of a prohibited book, than allow the case to potentially turn into one of judaizing with much worst consequences.

Be it as it may, cross-checking all the witnesses and Cristóvão’s ultimate confession does bring about a coherent story, plausible in its entirety and coherent with the historical moment in which it supposedly happened. As it then seems to follow, on the 19th of November of 1580 Cristóvão bought a book by Cornelius Agrippa from an unnamed Castilian soldier who was dealing in books acquired during the sack, having given him four *reais* of silver for it. His intention with this book seems to have been twofold: firstly, he was “a natural friend of reading”⁴ and the topic was of his personal curiosity and, secondly, as a business man, it seemed like a “gallant” book on which he could make a profit. Such, in fact, seems to be the most often quoted reason for the possession of magic books in Portugal; the general population’s interest in these was not associated with their actual content, but rather with the perception of such books as rare and valuable objects. Coming in line with this preoccupation, Cristóvão’s description of this book is quite impressive: a quarto in size, bound in red leather with gold finishes, with a piece of black leather in the middle and a golden spine, printed in Latin. From his analysis, Cristóvão recognized this binding as the handiwork of a particular book binder who used to live in Lisbon, a man called Guilherme, and that it was likely taken from the library of the Duke of Aveiro.

This supposition as to the possible origin of this book by Cristóvão is quite interesting. The most noticeable sack of the entire Castilian campaign had been the three day long one to the outskirts of Lisbon (the inner walls were kept relatively untouched during the short siege), which amounted to a radius of about seven leagues around the city and resulting in a profit estimate of two million ducats (Valladares, 2010: 106).

⁴ “natural amigo de ler”, in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, from 1581-01-03 to 1582-06-28, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, ANTT, nr. 3700, fol.22r.

However, on the 17th of July, the Castilian army had also sacked the outskirts of Setúbal (Valladares, 2010: 89), thirty-two kilometers southwest of Lisbon. Although this constituted a completely unsanctioned sack by the Castilian commanders, and supposedly the entirety of the loot was returned, the palace of the Dukes of Aveiro was indeed located here; more precisely in the parish of São Lourenço —currently Azeitão (Azevedo, 1969: 111)—, to the west of the Setúbal center. Logically, this is merely a supposition by Cristóvão, and the book could have had a different origin, as Cascais, to the west of Lisbon and where the Castilian troops landed after crossing the Tagus River, was also sacked on the 1st of August (Valladares, 2010: 94) and the sack of the Lisbon outskirts logically targeted many wealthy houses, convents and monasteries (Valladares, 2010: 119) which could easily afford to own such a book. Besides this supposition by Cristóvão, one further clue into this particular volume is given by Bartolomeu Ferreira, as in his analysis he rather casually offers the observation that this particular edition of the *Three Books* was bound together with the spurious *Fourth Book*, placing its production at least as late as the 1560s.

Independently of its origin, after acquiring the book, Cristóvão kept it for a few days (he mentions about two weeks, but this does not add up with the rest of the dates presented by the witnesses), having read about eighteen chapters from it. After this time, being in the bookstore of Joam d’Espanha in the street known as “Rua Nova”, he met a Castilian *Alferes* (second lieutenant) by the name of João del’Ara, there to sell ten or twelve books and some pieces of French porcelain, the result of his part of the sack. The “Rua Nova” mentioned by Cristóvão was most likely to be the “Rua Nova dos Mercadores” (New Merchant Street), a heavily commercial Lisbon street running parallel to the Tagus River and destroyed in the 1755 earthquake, roughly located in what is today the Rua do Comércio. Although somewhat chronologically removed from the events being analyzed, in the mid-16th century, this street was also known for its relevant foreign book dealers, counting eleven bookstores and print houses in 1552, mostly specializing in science and mathematics (Gschwend, 2015a: 114). Although no Joam d’Espanha has so far been found among the records of the “Rua Nova” book dealers (Gschwend, 2015b: 247-251), his name (translatable as “John of Spain”) clearly points to a foreign origin, very likely placing him in this specific location.

In casual conversation, due to being “curious of books”,⁵ Cristóvão bought two books from João del’Ara, and on that occasion he mentioned to the *Alferes* that he also possessed many curious books he could sell. Interested in the proposition, João asked if he had either the *Key of Solomon* or the Cornelius Agrippa, to which Cristóvão responded affirmatively to the second. According to João, his interest in these books was due to a doctor in the Castilian company by the name of Pereira, who was putting together a library and had given the *Alferes* a list of curious books for him to procure on his behalf.

With a possible deal in sight, Cristóvão arranged to meet João at his house, where he would show him the book. The date when this happened is unclear, but indeed, according to Miguel Anriques, servant of João del’Ara, Cristóvão met with him there with the book, which he intended to sell for five hundred *cruzados*. On this occasion, João claimed they further discussed magical procedures on how to win at gambling and not be injured by weapons, something which Cristóvão later denied. From here both men went to search for Doctor Pereira in the house of Alonso de Inhesto, supply keeper in the army of Philip II, in São Paulo, a parish outside of the city walls to the west and close to the harbor. There they encountered Christovão de Esconêdo, a soldier from Murcia. João showed him the book, which Christovão found to be a “very handsome book”,⁶ and upon being inquired about the whereabouts of the Doctor, the Murciano told them both that no such a man lived there.

Becoming impatient, Cristóvão tried to sell the book directly to João, as he could settle this issue later with the Doctor. João however refused, not having enough money to cover that expense, and the two agreed to make a kind of written contract: Cristóvão would borrow the book to João temporarily, and he would be responsible to sell it to Doctor Pereira, being obliged to pay him one hundred *cruzados* should he somehow lose it. João agreed to this and signed this document on the 25th of November, supplying Cristóvão with the false name of Alvaro del’Ara.

João took the book with him, and a few days later, around the 10th of December, he discussed the situation with his fellow *Alferes* Ruy Dias Alcocer, a knight from the city of Toledo. Hearing this story, Ruy became very curious as to the content of a book of such high price, and decided to show it to Dom João Maldorado, a captain of the Duke of

⁵ “curioso de livros”, in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, fol.20r.

⁶ “hum livro muj lindo”, in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, fol.16r-16v.

Alba who could read Latin. By this time Christovão de Esconêdo had ran across Cristóvão Francisco a second time, relating that by now the Portuguese man was very upset and impatient over the delay in the deal, wanting his book back.

Back at the garrison, upon analyzing the book, Captain Maldorado immediately gave it back, advising João do get rid of it, get it back to its owner and be free from that whole affair, as he recognized it as a prohibited and heretical book. Ruy on the other hand took the book from João, wanting instead to denounce Cristóvão for its possession, immediately filling an arrest order with the garrison.

In a fit self-righteous rage, João and Ruy took to the streets to find Cristóvão, eventually running into him near the church of Loreto, on the Santa Catarina Gate, at the west edge of the inner Lisbon. Upon laying his eyes on them, Cristóvão immediately demanded for his book back, now saying that he would not sell it for six hundred ducats. They seemed to argue for a moment, with Cristóvão denying knowledge of the prohibited status of the book. However, shortly after, the garrison authorities arrived and, upon identifying Cristóvão as the owner of the book in question, arrested him, keeping him in the garrison prison until he was transferred to the Inquisition.

The book being apprehended, somewhere along the way got passed on into the hands of the master censor Bartolomeu Ferreira for analysis. Cristóvão's trial began on the 31st of December of that same year, when João and his servant Miguel came to testify against him. Overall the trial was quite quick; Cristóvão was delivered into the custody of Damião Mendez, bailiff of the Inquisition, and transferred to the prisons of the Holy Office on the 2nd of January. This very day still saw the testimony of Ruy Alcocer and further sessions happened on the 3rd, when Cristóvão was heard for the first time, on the 4th and on the 7th. Cristóvão's confession came into its final form on the 22nd of this same month, although he was further questioned on the 10th of May. On the 15th of June of 1582, over one year after his last audience, Cristóvão was once again called into session for the correct assessment of his genealogy, a very delicate and dangerous moment for any New Christian, on which he was not found in any further guilt, as he knew "the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the commandments of the Law of God, and the articles

of Faith”.⁷ On this occasion he was neither found to be a Protestant nor to be associated with any other Protestants, Muslims or illicit magic users.

There being no reason to escalate his sentence, he was merely charged with the possession of a prohibited book and sentenced to an *auto-da-fé* to occur on the 28th of June, where he, with his head uncovered and holding a candle, abjured *de leve*. His final punishment was overall quite light, being simply that of spiritual penitence and paying the costs of his trial.

4. The analysis of Agrippa’s *De Occulta Philosophia libri tres*

Similar to an *auto-da-fé*, a public spectacle and staging of repent and conversion, Bartolomeu Ferreira’s reading and analysis of *The Three Book of Occult Philosophy* can be understood to be an almost ritual underlining and reinforcing of the intellectual and religious *status quo*, as it would be for any other Protestant or magic book. Ultimately Ferreira is subjected to the *Tridentine Index*, with which he was profoundly familiar with, and this lists Agrippa as a forbidden author. Consequently, his own personal reading or understanding of the book is completely irrelevant, and his job as master censor is simply to find in its pages the justification of its prohibited status. His reading and analysis is essentially a reification of the *Tridentine Index*, and Ferreira does not effectively read *The Three Books* in themselves; he read what he wanted or was expected to read in order to underline their inherent and intrinsic heretical status. Following of the *Tridentine Index*, both in its content, and, in particular, its history, will then prove to be the ultimate blueprint for the understanding of all of Ferreira’s claims in relation to *The Three Books*.

Focusing firstly on the history of Portuguese forbidden book indexes, a mention to Agrippa can already be found in the first of these: a manuscript produced in 1547 (Sá, 1983: 147). Going into detail on this original *Index*, this was a somewhat *impromptu* construction based on loose censorship documentation from the Paris Faculty of Theology, Spanish *Indexes* from 1545, 1547 and possibly 1540, book censorships from the University of Louvain and the Flemish Inquisition (Nemésio, 2011).

Looking back into Agrippa’s life, some of these institutions have already been mentioned as those having had direct conflicts with him. Consequently, the use of

⁷ “opatre noster e ave maria credo (?)(?) e os mandamentos da ley de deus, e os artigos de fee”, in *Processo de Cristóvão Francisco*, fol.25v.

documentation from them for the construction of the first Portuguese *Index* makes an excellent case for the origin of the first prohibition of this author in Portugal.

The same prohibition can be seen to be perpetuated in the two subsequent Portuguese indexes from 1551 and 1559, with this last one based on the *Index auctorum et librorum*, promulgated by Pope Paul IV, bringing relevant novelties such as mentioning the *Clavicula Salomonis* (Sá, 1983: 193), Reuchlin (Sá, 1983: 218) and general banishments on books dealing with a variety of divination techniques such as geomancy, chiromancy, hydromancy or pyromancy.

An extremely relevant particularity of the 1559 *Index* is that it was published in Portugal with the signature of Francisco Foreiro, a Portuguese Dominican friar who, in 1561, was called to Rome to head the Council of Trent's commission charged with the revision of the previous *Roman Index* (Paiva, 2006b: 524). Thus, the *Tridentine Index*, used by Ferreira in his analysis of Agrippa, was itself a production heavily influenced by the Portuguese experience in book censorship, which was informed by documentation produced by the very opponents of Agrippa during his own lifetime.

Although appearing after Cristóvão's trial, it should also be noted that the next Portuguese *Index* was the already mentioned 1581 edition, organized by Bartolomeu Ferreira himself (Paiva, 2006b: 524). As this trial was happening mostly in 1580/1581, it is likely that Ferreira's analysis of *The Three Books* was produced during his full immersion into the study and understanding of the *Tridentine Index*, which contained a deep and ingrained anti-Agrippa censorship referential loop. This is the very starting point from which Ferreira will evaluate and analyze not only the *Three Books*, but equally the *Forth Book*.

Ferreira's analysis immediately opens with a clear statement: Agrippa is a "most condemned heretic of the first class"⁸ author of the book *De Vanitate Scientiarum et Excellentia Verbi Dei*. This reference to *De Vanitates* not only seems like a callback to the book which caused the earliest censorship attention to be cast on Agrippa, but its overall theme of skepticism is further pointed out by Ferreira as an attack on tradition, making it potentially identifiable with Lutheranism. Still in his opening, Ferreira equally lays down the description of Agrippa as "a great magician and Necromancer, and this

⁸ "heretico (?) judicialíssimo da p^a classe", in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, fol.4r.

science is taught in this book”.⁹ What is ultimately revealing in this point, and which will dominate Ferreira’s whole analysis, is that, independently of what Agrippa might concretely mention in his book, the very use of words such as “magic” in its pages creates an immediate condemnable association for Ferreira which bypasses any potential presentation or reconceptualization Agrippa might be proposing for magic. Any and all magic referred to in *The Three Books* is immediately associated with Necromancy by Ferreira, dispensing him from actually engaging with the content of the books themselves:

And that magic, and magical art, which this heretic teaches in this book, is Necromancy, this is manifestly clear, for it says in chapter two that Zoroaster was the inventor of this science, and all writers confess that Zoroaster was the first Necromancer in the world, and as he was the first, born laughing against all nature, thus he died disastrously. And that he invented it is worked in the entire discourse of this book so as to make theology similar to this art of magic and sorcery, for thus it says in chapter second.¹⁰

A clear example of how Ferreira’s reading and analysis can become skewed is that this immediate association between Necromancy and magic he claims is present in the second chapter of *The Three Books* is actually a complete projection, as the word “Necromancy” is only mentioned for the first time in chapter XLI of Book III (Agrippæ ab Nettesheym, 1533: 299). From this base, any further readings by Ferreira unto the magical material presented by Agrippa fall into quite common Christian polemics on magic. All the magical procedures presented in *The Three Books*, which Agrippa describes as being lawful miracles, are read by Ferreira as blasphemous, as his idea of magic cannot be conceptually paired with any form of divine work. To further support this association and deconstruct Agrippa’s arguments, Ferreira briefly quotes from the *Fourth Book*, where the summoning of demons is prescribed as an integrating part of the same magic described in the original Agrippan *Three Books*. Demons being thus presented as aiding in the practice of magic lend weight to Ferreira’s reading of all magic as Necromancy, and such ceremonies thus become a mocking and perversion of true church practices. With the magical base clearly covered, Ferreira passes on to what is his

⁹ “m^{to} grãde mago e Nigromãte, e esta sciencia ãsina neste livro”, in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, fol.4r

¹⁰ “E ã a magia, e arte magica ã este heretico ãsina neste livro, seja a Nigromãcia, manifestamente se he claro, porque diz no 2 capitulo ã Zoropher foi o inventor desta sciencia, e todos os scriptores cõfessão que Zoroaster foi o primeiro Nigromãte que ouve no mũdo, e que assi como foi o primejro ã nasceo rindo cotra toda a natureza assim morreo desastradamẽte. E ele a inventou trabalha em todo o discurso deste livro por fazer semelhãte a theologia á esta sua arte de magia e feitiçaria, ã assi diz no capitulo segundo”, in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, fol.5r-5v.

ultimate point, and on which the justification of the prohibition of the *Three Books* is to be grounded: the identification of Agrippa as a Protestant.

As mentioned, the whole preoccupation of Portuguese book censorship was that of Protestantism. Thus, when Ferreira picks up any book his overwhelming preoccupation is the immediate identification of Lutheranism in its pages, overlooking most other aspects to highlight this single one. Ferreira's impressive rhetorical exercise at this point, based on a single inconsequential word from the last sentence of the very first chapter of *The Three Books*, offers a perfect example on how, even if no explicit Protestantism was present in a book, this would still be found:

In the first chapter of this book, in the last words it says this:

Qæcunq; hic à me dicta sint, & inferius dicenur, his nolo quenquã plus assentiri, neq; ipse ego plus assentior, nisi quatenus ab ecclesia catholica, fidelium q; cœtu non fuerint reprobata; in which words is implied that he is a fine Lutheran and in all books he has written he has denied the roman church, and the power of the pope. It is evident in this proposition that he has spoken as a confirmed and cunning heretic, who erred, and did not name the church as roman church, but rather *catholic church, ut fidelium cœtu*, because the Lutherans have it for themselves that there is no roman church, but only the church which is the company and gathering of the faithful. And without a doubt, judging by that word *fidelium* he *lutheranized* because the Lutherans to all the just call *faithful*, and to the unjust, they call *unfaithful* and usually, in the bible where our vulgate text has, just or unjust, they transcribe, *faithful and unfaithful*, as if *faithful and just* and *unfaithful and unjust* are the same thing and that no one may be *unjust* without immediately being unfaithful, and lose faith, which is without a doubt a manifest heresy and lutherancy, saying that sinners have no faith. And in almost all bibles of large form, and those of Robertus Stephanus, where our text says *infius dus impius*, the Lutherans place in its place, *faithful and unfaithful*, and they do not include under this name of church but the just, who they take as faithful.¹¹

This appreciation of Agrippa as a Lutheran is not simply a rhetorical exercise for the condemnation of *The Three Books*, but it can also be understood as being behind Cristóvão's very trial. Analyzing his questioning, besides clarifications on the origin and

¹¹ "No primeiro capitulo deste livro nas ultimas palavras diz isto.

Que cū que hic, ame dicta suuma, e inferius diçõr, his nolo quẽquã plus asẽ tiri, neqe ipso ego plus assentior, nisi quatenus *ab Ecclesia Catholica, fidelium q çentu* nõ fuerint reprobata : nas quæs palavras soposto q̃ ele hé lutherano fino e ã todos os livros que escreuo negou a igreja romana, e poder do papa, parece que nesta propsiçãõ, falou como dobrado, e astuto, hereje, q̃ erou, e naõ nomeou a igreja por igreja romana, senãõ por *igreja catholica, ut fidelium çetu*, por q̃ os lutheranos tẽ para si q̃ naõ há hi igreja romana, senãõ q̃ a igreja hé a cõpanhia, e o ajuntamẽto dos fieis. E sem nenhuma duvida, ajudar naquela palavra *fideliũ lutheranizou* porque os luteranos a todos os justos chamaõ *fieis*, e aos ijustos, chamãõ *infieis* e ordinariamente, na brivia õde o nosso texto vulgato tem, *justo ou injusto*, transladaõ eles, *fiel, e infiel*, como que seja o mesmo *fiel e justo*, e *infiel e injusto* e que nẽguem possa ser *injusto* sem logo ser infiel, e perder a fé, o qual sem nenhuã duvjda, he manifesta heresia e lutherana dizer q̃ os pecadores naõ tem fé e quasi en todas as brivjas de folha grandes e de Roberto Sterbano, onde o nosso texto diz *infius dus impius*, os lutheranos poẽ ã seu lugar, *fieis e infieis* e naõ cõprendẽ de baxo deste nome igreja senãõ os justos que entendem por fieies", in Processo de Cristóvão Francisco, fol.4v-5r.

the circulation of this one prohibited book, the whole point of this trial was not to determine if Cristóvão was a magician (something the Inquisition had very little interest in), but to ascertain if he was himself a Lutheran. This, in part, justifies the discrepancy we find in this case with the inquisitors' lack of interest in judaizing. Looking at it objectively, it would be extraordinarily easy for Ferreira to link Agrippa to Judaism via his use and exposition of Kabbalah and Catilinet's previous condemnation of Agrippa as a "judaizing heretic", which would stick very well to Cristóvão's New Christian status. This never happens however because the presence of an indexed book causes a kind of Protestant-centric tunnel vision in both Ferreira and Diogo de Sousa, making them abandon their typical Jewish targets and start to construct an accusation of Protestantism which never comes to fruition.

Thus, although Ferreira does further extend himself to some consideration, all his subsequent arguments and underlinings around *The Three Books* consistently fall into these same two main points: magic is an irredeemable crime and an illicit practice and intellectual activity placed beyond any possible Christianization or positive reconceptualization; and, independently of any potential argumentation, *The Three Books* are Lutheran, as is their author, making their claims inherently false and unworthy of consideration.

All of this Ferreira largely derives from the first two chapters of *The Three Books*. While he does occasionally refer to its later chapters, and even the *Fourth Book*, this is meant to either offer further evidence of these two points or lists of practices and words explicitly mentioned in the *Tridentine Index* so to further highlight this book's prohibited status and to make easy and sweeping assessments and explanations.

5. Conclusions

The Portuguese Inquisition, more than anything, more than its concrete function of persecuting and rooting out heresy, was about maintaining the *status quo*. The *auto-da-fé*, its very public display of power and effectiveness, was largely what its very name suggests: a theater of faith. Its spectacular ritualistic representation, its public abjurations of guilt and repentance were meant to reify the *façade* of exemplary Catholicism and spiritual conformity of Portuguese society. This was surely successful in its own time, but

today, this very exercise and its associated trials reveal the actual underbelly of Portuguese spiritual life and interests.

Taken in its full context, even if a single example, this trial underlines the mechanisms behind the acquisition and transport of magical and heretical literature in Portugal. The current case, as well as those of the Italian friar D. Agostinho, or the 17th century bibliophile Vicente Nogueira, reveal some of the potential weaknesses in the Inquisition networks. It becomes obvious that as one approaches the country's power and ruling structures, the Inquisitional control systems seem to break down. Clergy member and, above all, noblemen, such as the Duke of Aveiro, would apparently possess prohibited and magical books with little to no hassle, save for their discovery due to extraordinary or unforeseeable circumstances, such as a sake.

The same is also true on the exact opposite side of the social spectrum. While bookstores and printers were being carefully controlled by regular book visitations, the underground markets of informal commercial ties, wonderers, mercenaries and small individual businessmen seemed to equally pass unnoticed unless spontaneous accusations were made.

Overall, the interest in learned magic most often originates from noble and clerical elites. These were the ones who either owned such books or were the eager clients of other less-fortunate individuals with access to these. In particular, during the Iberian dynastic union, the interest in learned magic does seem to spike among a recurrent number of noble families and officials. Beyond the case of Cristóvão and its single mention to the Duke of Aveiro, during this time period the names of the Counts of Faro, Castanheira, Linhares, Vimieiro and Redondo, or those of the Marquises of Cascais or Alenquer were frequent mentions in the halls of the Lisbon Inquisition, as were the names of several inquisitors, such as Pedro da Silva Sampaio, deputy of the General Council and future Bishop of Bahia (Brazil).¹²

The particularities of the Portuguese Inquisition, as a reflection of Portuguese early modern society itself, thus reveal the fragilities and cracks in its persecution methods. Putting up a strong and effect front against Judaism and Protestantism also created an

¹² See Processo de Processo de Alonso Carrilho de Albernoz, from 1616-08-11 to 1617-10-13 and 1617-11-06 to 1620-05-20; Processo de frade António Pimentel, from 1647-12-03 to 1648-06-06, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, ANTT, nr. 3810; Processo de João Baptista, from 1618-10-03 to 1619-03-03, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Évora, ANTT, nr. 9613.

environment where specific magic users, or their high-profile customers, could hide in plain sight, falling into preestablished rhetorical condemnations of little consequence should they ever be caught.

Regarding Agrippa and his writings, it is obvious that his greatly nuanced propositions for magic, when under the eyes of the likes of Bartolomeu Ferreira, would not be understood on their own terms. Beyond typical and traditional Christian polemics against magic and superstition, the construction of the Portuguese censorship mechanisms and its indexes, the back and forth of ideas between this country and Rome, creates a complete impossibility for any other reading of Agrippa to exist besides the one given by Ferreira. In fact, the history of the several Portuguese indexes in the 16th century represents probably one of the most perfect instances for the complete prohibition of Agrippa, starting off by being constructed over a document base produced by his direct opposers and critics and then refashioned by, and itself refashioning, the *Tridentine Index*.

Thus, the reading Ferreira gave needs to be understood as a reading with a history behind it, and not merely as superficial ramblings of a conservative censor. He gave the reading that needed to be given, and no other reading could have been produced from the center stage of the official Portuguese theater of faith.

Annex: Bartolomeu Ferreira's report on the book *De Occulta Philosophia*

Censorship of the book *De Occulta Philosophia* by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa
heretic of the first class

This book teaches, among other impious, and superstitious, and necromantic, and aeromantic things, how one may bring life and soul to images, and stones, and elements, and wood, and wax.



Some things it says are true in philosophy, but with those it carries others greatly false and impious.



The Author of this book *De Occulta Philosophia* is Cornelius Agrippa a most condemned heretic of the first class, from whom is that book whose title is *De Vanitate Scientiarum et Excellentia Verbi Dei* (which is a proper phrase against us, for it has it that one should not believe but in the bible, and to this they call *verbi dei*, and from here it denies all traditions which are not expressed in the gospels) in which book it has that Saint Mathew erred in saying that the spear strike to the Lord was made before he expired, against all the authority of Saint John who says that it was given afterwards, and this Saint Mathew never said.

This was a great magician and Necromancer, and this science is taught in this book, and to this magic and necromancy, it calls occult philosophy and a most holy science, which is an impious and blasphemous thing, and it divides this philosophy in its second chapter into physics, and mathematics, and theology, which division is impious and blasphemous, for philosophy and mathematics are natural sciences and theology is divine, and supernatural and it is not a peer to philosophy.

In the first chapter of this book, in the last words it says this:

Qæcunq; hic à me dicta sint, & inferius dicenur, his nolo quenuã plus assentiri, neq; ipse ego plus assentior, nisi quatenus ab ecclesia catholica, fidelium q; cœtu non fuerint reprobata; in which words is implied that he is a fine Lutheran and in all books he has written he has denied the roman church, and the power of the pope. It is evident in this proposition that he has spoken as a confirmed and cunning heretic, who erred, and did not name the church as roman church, but rather *catholic church, ut fidelium cœtu*, because the Lutherans have it for themselves that there is no roman church, but only the church which is the company and gathering of the faithful. And without a doubt, judging by that word *fidelium* he *lutheranized* because the Lutherans to all the just call *faithful*, and to the unjust, they call *unfaithful* and usually, in the bible where our vulgate text has, just or unjust, they transcribe, *faithful and unfaithful*, as if *faithful and just* and *unfaithful and unjust* are the same thing and that no one may be *unjust* without immediately being unfaithful, and lose faith, which is without a doubt a manifest heresy and lutherancy, saying that sinners have no faith. And in almost all bibles of large form, and those of Robertus Stephanus, where our text says *infus dus impius*, the Lutherans place in its place, *faithful and unfaithful*, and they do not include under this name of church but the just, who they take as faithful.

And that magic, and magical art, which this heretic teaches in this book, is Necromancy, this is manifestly clear, for it says in chapter two that Zoroaster was the inventor of this science, and all writers confess that Zoroaster was the first Necromancer in the world, and as he was the first, born laughing against all nature, thus he died disastrously. And that he invented it is worked in the entire discourse of this book so as to make theology similar to this art of magic and sorcery, for thus it says in chapter second. Which among other things teaches theology, and how to make miracles, and it offers the virtue of words, and how to work with figures, and lines, and signs, and this he intends to teach in these books where he deals with certain words, and figures, and ceremonies, and characters, into which he placed [the] virtue to produce miraculous things, and to this he calls magical ceremonies, and occult philosophy.

As it seems clearer in the fourth book, where it also deals with how demons and evil spirits aid in this art and how they preside in this, and it intends to justify the superstitious and diabolical signs, and figures, and lines by saying that theology also uses them, which he says of the exorcism which the church uses, and the blessings, and crosses, and ceremonies in mass which are usually lied about by the Lutherans, who deny all the canons of mass, and they blaspheme by calling these magical ceremonies, and signs of sorcery and which the vulgar call the sign of Solomon.

It says on page nine, superstitiously dealing with the force of fire and light, that the demons have greater power and virtue at night, and that the angels take their virtue, and increment from the light, and not only of that from the sun but also from our fire of the earth, and that because of this the church, in its ceremonies, uses the light of luminaries and candles.

And its whole business is to place power in creatures, and figures, and characters, to support his sorceries, and place exaggerated virtue on creatures to perform all the things which men may wish to work, and superstitious remedies for venereal love, and it says that all animals which live long, also make one live long.

It places superstitions over the evil eye, and fascinations and it also says that the customs of men are subjected to the stars, plus these words in page seventy-five.

Solaria ad gloriam & victoriam & animositatem: Venerea adamorem, libidinem & concupiscentiam: Mercurialia ad facundiam: Lunaria ad vulgarem vitam. Ipsaq, hominum exercitia & mores fecundum planetas distributa sunt: nam Saturnus regit senes, &

monachos, & melancholias, & tesouros absconditos, & quæ longis itineribus & cum difficultate acquiruntur: Iupiter vero habet religiosos, prælatos, reges & duces, & lucra licite acquisita.

Chapter xxxix is most impious and superstitious and in it he proves that we may attract onto us demons, and in the following chapter he poses how one may bind thieves so as these are not be able to steal within a certain place, and so as merchants are not be able to sell and buy, and so as ships, with any force of winds and with infinite sails, may not be able to sail, nor may windmills turn, and how one may bind a place and in it nothing may be built, and other diabolical arts.

And on pages eighty one it teaches how to make certain candles, so as one may see demons in the air and in other parts, and the candle, it says that it should be made with the gall of a man, and the eyes of a black cat, it teaches how to change things into other things, and how men transform into wolves.

Finally this entire book is impious and superstitious, from cover to cover, and filled with sorceries, and divinations, and characters, and figures, and of demons for the purpose of nigromancy, and it deals with all kinds of magic, both natural, as mathematical, as beneficial magic, and goetia, and necromancy, theurgy, aeromancy, and theomagia, of which he claims to be learned in, and that he knows all things which are to come, and that he has power over demons and angels, and has the power to make miracles, and he cites the opinions of those who say that due to Moses knowing this science, did he do all the miracles in Egypt, and that through it he converted the water into blood, and the rods into serpents, whose opinion is of Justinus, which proves that Moses was a magician and necromancer, due to these miracles which he made in the holy scripture, and this heretic cites this opinion and does not reproach it.

And following he places the virtues and power of the letters of the a.b.c., and in numbers, so as with them divine, and he also deals with chiromancy, and finally this book deals with all the arts prohibited in the tridentine catalogue, in which are prohibited all books which deal with what this heretic deals with here. And the ninth rule says the following *libri omnes et scripta Geomantiæ, Hydromantiæ, Aëromantiæ, Pyromantiæ, Onomantiæ, Chirantiæ, Necromantiæ*, sive in quibus continentur *sortilegia, veneficia, auguria, auspicia, incantationes artis magicæ* prosus rejiciantur. All of which are in this

book, besides the author being prohibited as a heretic under penalty of excommunication, [as is prohibited] owning such books, and this is the case in the roman index.

This author is prohibited with all his works. And in the catalogue of the holy inquisition of Spain it is forbidden, in particular terms, the works by Cornelius Agrippa, by the following names:

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa Omnia Opera
De Occulta Philosophia
De vanitate scientiarum
De originali peccato; com alijs ibi contentis



It says on pages two hundred and thirty-six that God taught Noah how to make the arc according to the measurements of man. It also says in these same pages that there is not any member in man which does not correspond to some sign of the heavens, and to some star, and to some intelligence, this in order to use these things for his divinations.

It teaches how to read dreams, which are used by necromancers in order to tell what is to come.

It teaches how to make certain figures, and images, where he says that there should be life in such a way that these should be assisted by some natural, or heavenly, or heroic, or animastic, or angelic, or demonic virtue.

And it say in page two hundred and eighty four that by placing remedy on certain images, and stones, and metals, these gain life, and wood, and wax gain a soul, it says that these secrets are not understood nor studied by the artifices of hard flesh, but those who are lords of the elements, and victors of nature by the rules and arts he teaches here.

Friar Bartolomeu Ferreira

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