

## I N Q U I S I Ç Ã O E M Á F R I C A

# Sorcerers and folkhealers: africans and the Inquisition in Portugal (1680-1800)<sup>1</sup>

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## *Introduction*

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This study is based on a survey of twenty-seven Portuguese Inquisition *processos* (trials) concluded against Luso-Africans in continental Portugal between 1690 and 1784. All were *mágicos* – persons accused of magical crimes. Some were superstitious folk healers (*curandeiros* or *saludadores*) while others were alleged to have committed different magical infractions. Together, these twenty-seven individuals account for just 6.13 percent of the total number of persons (four-hundred forty) tried for magical crimes by the Portuguese Holy Office between 1679 and 1802. These cases represent the only Luso-Africans found to have been tried for magical crimes in Portugal during this period.<sup>2</sup> Of the twenty-seven Luso-Africans in this data set, twelve were slaves

<sup>1</sup>This article is a modified version of 'Free Blacks, Slaves and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal: race as a factor in magical crimes trials', published in the *Bulletin of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, XXV, 2, 2000: 5-19.

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Didier Lahon, of the Portuguese Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT) in Lisbon, and Dr. James Sweet of Florida International University (USA), both assure me that their respective research into the documents of the Portuguese Inquisition has uncovered additional cases of Africans tried for magical crimes during this period. However, both were of the opinion that the castigation patterns observed in those cases were consistent with my findings. For details see Lahon, Didier 'Esclavage et Confréries Noires au Portugal Durant l'Âncien Régime (1441-1830)', PhD diss., EHESS, Paris, 2000 and Sweet, James 'Recreating Africa: culture, kinship and religion in the African Portuguese World, 1441-1770, Chapel Hill, 2003.

and fifteen were free blacks (most of whom were manumitted slaves rather than free-born blacks). Of the fifteen free blacks or manumitted slaves, nine were female and six were male. The sub-group of twelve slaves consisted of an equal number of males and females.

The purpose of this study is not to be broadly comparative with other parts of the Atlantic world. Rather, it seeks to contribute to the historiography of the African diaspora in the Atlantic world by shedding light on one area — the condition of blacks living in eighteenth-century continental Portugal — that heretofore has received relatively little attention.

Overwhelmingly, the victims of all Portuguese Inquisition trials for magical crimes, black or white were of the lowest social status. True, some were relatively skilled laborers, but these were still mechanicals of very low social station who did piecework or collected wages; many were actually journeymen who hired themselves out by the day. Far more numerous were the general laborers, tenant farmers, itinerant beggars, free blacks and slaves whose cases (or those of their dependents) filled Inquisition court dockets.<sup>3</sup> Of particular interest is this dynamic: while pursuing a genre of criminalized activity in which the overwhelming majority of perpetrators were poor whites, the Portuguese Inquisition treated convicted slaves with the greatest leniency. Free blacks, meanwhile, received on average the most severe treatment when found guilty of the same type of transgressions.

In her study of prosecution patterns of the Portuguese Inquisition during the first half of the eighteenth century, Maria Luísa Braga observed that she encountered a larger percentage of slaves, freed slaves, Africans, and mulattos as defendants in cases for crimes involving magic than in trials for any other type of crime.<sup>4</sup> Statistically, social outsiders — blacks, mulattos, and foreigners among them — stood a greater chance of being accused of witchcraft or other magical offenses. Approximately fifty-two percent of those charged with magical crimes in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portugal can be classified as outsiders — persons marginal to their communities; nearly twelve percent of those were of African origin. Further, she noted that penalties in these cases tended to be heavier, but there her analysis stopped. The research conducted for this study confirms and expands on her findings.<sup>5</sup>

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### *Sentencing Free Blacks: Inês do Carmo (1755) and Cristovão Silva Marreiros (1784)*

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In 1754, Inês de Carmo was a recently-freed slave from Tavira, a fishing town and trading port on the southern coast of Portugal. She had gained her freedom when her

<sup>3</sup>Walker, Timothy D. 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition: The Persecution of Popular Healers in Portugal during the Enlightenment Era', unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Boston University College of Arts and Sciences, Boston, 2000; see tables in Ch. VIII which detail the occupations of healers and non-healers persecuted for magical crimes in Portugal.

<sup>4</sup>Maria Luísa Braga, *A Inquisição em Portugal; primeira metade do séc. XVIII: O Inquisidor Geral D. Nuno da Cunha de Athayde e Mello* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1992): 177; 200–207. Braga organized the Inquisition trials she examined into eight different criminal categories; they are, in order of the frequency of their incidence: Sorcery, Bigamy, Blasphemy, Acts against the Functioning of the Holy Office, Perjury, Heresy, Visionary Prophesying and Sodomy.

<sup>5</sup>Walker, 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition...' Ch. VIII: 40-46.

owner, an Anglo-Portuguese sea captain named John Pires, died; the terms of his will provided for her manumission.<sup>6</sup> Inês de Carmo was an illegitimate child but, because her mother had been a slave to the same master, Inês was probably the daughter of her owner. At the time of her arrest, she was forty-eight years old and married to a local mariner. Among her neighbors she was known as *a Palita* («the Toothpick») or *a Viva* («the Lively»).

Although the Portuguese Inquisition first arrested her in 1754, the earliest set of denunciations against Inês de Carmo had been collected in 1738. Over a period of fifteen years, the Évora tribunal of the Holy Office had collected testimony about her activities as *a curandeira*, or magical folk healer, from dozens of residents of Faro and Tavira. Among other things, Inês de Carmo was accused of pronouncing superstitious incantations; these she had employed in the curing of a neighbor's child.<sup>7</sup> Predictably, some denunciations had come from state-licensed medical professionals.<sup>8</sup> João de Deos, a *sangrador* (phlebotomist) and *barbeiro* (barber) of Faro, gave evidence against Inês de Carmo in June, 1753. He was followed by João Baptista Marçal, licensed in the same professions but practicing in Tavira. That year the Inquisitorial commissioners interviewed twenty-eight people over nearly two months (30 May to 25 July, 1753), building a solid case against the accused folk healer.<sup>9</sup>

In late April of 1755, after sixteen months in the Holy Office prisons, Inês de Carmo learned that the Évora inquisitors had found her guilty of committing magical crimes. For a first-time offender, Inês de Carmo received a surprisingly severe sentence. Besides being whipped through the public streets of Évora, she was banished for four years to Viseu, a cold, isolated mountain town nearly five hundred kilometers to the north of her home, and was forbidden to ever again enter Tavira or its environs.<sup>10</sup> What accounts for this?

The death of Captain John Pires, Inês de Carmo's master, had left her suddenly vulnerable. While the Holy Office had obviously been reluctant to prosecute and banish her while Pires was alive, hence denying an owner of a valuable slave, once he had died the inquisitors no longer felt any deterrent. With no master (who was also most likely her father) to protect her, Inês de Carmo's position in her community, already weakened by years of accusations, became untenable. To both public and Holy Office authorities,

<sup>6</sup> Versions of this paper were first presented at the following conferences: 'Enslaving Connections: Africa and Brazil During the Era of the Slave Trade' (York University, Toronto, Canada; 12-15 October 2000), and 'From Slavery to Freedom: Manumissions in the Atlantic World' (College of Charleston; 4-7 October 2000). The author is grateful to the Instituto Camões, the Fundação Luso-Americano para Desenvolvimento and the William J. Fulbright program for grants which funded my research.

<sup>7</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 5940: 63(v)-65(v), Inquisitors' final acordão (summary) of the trial. Apparently, de Carmo attributed the youngster's illness figuratively to invisible jumping fleas. Given that illnesses at this time were frequently blamed on an invasion of foreign entities — either spiritual or physical, representing either a real or imagined type of creature — that Inês de Carmo would have singled out fleas to blame should not be considered unusual. See Maria Benedita Araújo, *Magia, Demónio e Força Mágica na Tradição Portuguesa (Séculos XVII e XVIII)* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1994): 17-30. See also Francisco Bethencourt, *O imagário da Magia: feiticeiras, saladores e nigromantes no século XVI* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova, 1987): 55-63.

<sup>8</sup> Inquisition denunciations of superstitious illicit folk healers by licensed medical professionals were quite common in eighteenth-century Portugal. See Timothy Walker, 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition...'; Ch. I and VI.

<sup>9</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 5940.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Also, *Atlas de Portugal, Selecções do Reader's Digest com Cartas do Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral*, Lisbon, 1988: 16-17.

a newly-freed, master-less ex-slave constituted a different matter entirely from an enslaved, supervised laborer. Inês de Carmo, once freed, had become a greater threat. However, because she lacked a patron, she represented a more manageable menace.

The *curandeira* Inês de Carmo, after being released from her bonds of servitude, presented a three-fold affront to the established social order. First, her presence in the community was a daily reminder to local enslaved blacks of the arbitrary nature of their condition. Second, her continued residence in Tavira constantly called to mind the precedent — inconvenient and certainly unpopular among whites — that John Pires had set by freeing her. Third, of course, she placed herself in jeopardy by conducting superstitious cures, a practice with which local state-licensed healers and the Holy Office would not abide. In 1754, therefore, local residents, medical professionals and Inquisition authorities combined to act decisively against Inês de Carmo, shackling her anew with the stigma of an Inquisition condemnation — and a sentence which guaranteed that she would cause their community no further trouble.

Inquisition records describe Cristovão Silva Marreiros as an *homem pardo* (a black or mulatto man); he was almost certainly either a free black or manumitted ex-slave.<sup>11</sup> He lived in the Algarve, a region of southern Portugal which, at the time of his arrest in the late eighteenth century, had a substantial population — approaching ten percent in some areas, both slave and free — that was of African descent.<sup>12</sup> Such demographic circumstances were a cause of tension within the established social hierarchy in the Algarve, as well as in other parts of Portugal, because of the seeming paradox that free blacks and mulattos existed alongside those who remained enslaved. The series of Inquisition trials against Luso-Africans considered for this study offers one window into this world and allows for an assessment of the discomfort whites felt at the social contradiction they had created through legalized manumission. These cases also highlight the role of the Holy Office in addressing magical crimes perpetrated by non-whites.

What emerges is a picture of Inquisition jurisprudence being used to reinforce both the institution of slavery and the idea of the social superiority of whites over free blacks. Further, these cases reveal the vulnerability of free blacks who, without the protection of their white masters, fell outside the established social parameters the institution of slavery had created for persons of African ancestry. Deprived of a place or allies in white society, free blacks typically received far more severe penalties than did their enslaved counterparts. Slaves, the evidence suggests, were too valuable to be banished or sent into exile. (Moreover, banishing a slave would have created other social problems. How, for example, would the Inquisition accommodate a slave who had been sent away from her or his master? For that matter, would a master have to be compensated for the loss of a slave? Or, conversely, could the master be held responsible for a slave's behavior? No Holy Office policies outlined in the institution's by-laws address these issues.) Cristovão Silva Marreiros' case provides an example of the dynamic that kept free blacks in a state of oppression and enslaved Luso-Africans free, for the most part, of heavy penalties under Holy Office jurisdiction.

Folk healer Cristovão Silva Marreiros had been born in Lagos, but he lived in Figueiras, near the village of Monchique. Both communities are in the Algarve, but the

<sup>11</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 372.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge University Press, 1987: 14-15.

former is a coastal port while the latter is situated in a low chain of mountains, about twenty-five kilometers inland.<sup>13</sup> He was married to a woman named Ana whose race and last name, like her husband's age, are unknown. He was unemployed (*sem ofício*), but did earn some money to live on by performing cures among the local peasant population.<sup>14</sup> The earliest denunciations of Cristovão Silva Marreiros came by letter. They were lodged by the Inquisition commissioner of the village of Tavira, António de Almeida Pereira de Macedo, on 10 August 1783. Shortly thereafter, the Évora tribunal desired to question Marreiros. The accused healer was very uncooperative at first, refusing to appear before the Inquisition to give an account of himself when summoned to Évora from his home near Monchique.<sup>15</sup> Because his appearance implied a northward journey of more than three hundred kilometers, his reticence is understandable.<sup>16</sup>

There followed the establishment of a Holy Office commission to collect depositions from witnesses who could speak about the accused *curandeiro's* alleged crimes. This commission met on 22 March 1784 and recorded six initial depositions. Curiously, the commission met only in Évora, far from Cristovão Silva Marreiros' home. Most of the witnesses do not seem to have been his neighbors.<sup>17</sup> The first denunciation came from a licensed barber, José da Silva; he was thirty-eight years old and a resident of Évora, his birthplace.<sup>18</sup> He named and physically described the accused, using a common derogatory term for his skin color, and went on to describe how Marreiros was well-known and often called upon to effect false cures on people. Next, he recounted that, several times in his barber's practice he had come into direct competition with Marreiros. Finally, he named other angry citizens, another barber among them, who he said would corroborate his denunciation.

One of the citizens José da Silva mentioned was the well-known Évora merchant Francisco José Cordeiro, who testified (together with his sister) later on the same day. Because they had never lived in the same community, how these persons had come to know Cristovão Silva Marreiros is unclear. In any case, their testimony is thoroughly damning; it dwells heavily on the inadequacies of the accused as a healer and repeatedly mentioned his non-white racial status. As a result of this testimony, the Inquisition finally had Marreiros arrested on 20 May 1784. Évora's tribunal reached a decision in the case within three months. Cristovão Silva Marreiros abjured as a condemned *curandeiro* at a public *auto-de-fé* celebrated in Évora on 3 August 1784. As a free black man and first-time offender, he received a very heavy sentence. He was to be banished for six years to the royal *galés* («galleys» — forced labor on the king's oared ships or in the Lisbon shipyards) and whipped through the public streets of Évora.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps part of the severity of this judgment was due to the offender's initial uncooperativeness when summoned to Évora. Still, his punishment is consistent with that which other free blacks received during this era following their first Holy Office trial.<sup>20</sup> Whether undesirable as an illicit healer, a free black person or both, Marreiros dis-

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Atlas de Portugal*: 32.

<sup>14</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora; Processo no. 372.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Atlas de Portugal*. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora; Processo no. 372.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, testimony of José da Silva.

<sup>19</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora; Processo no. 372 (final *acórdão*, i.e. sentence).

<sup>20</sup> See Inquisition Tribunal of Évora; Processo nos. 2229; 2615; 4745; 5940; 7075; and Inquisition Tribunal of Lisbon; *processo* no. 538.

covered that an Inquisition trial and sentence could be a starkly efficient means to control those elements of Portuguese society which white elites deemed inconvenient.

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*Luso-African magical folk healers:  
mystique as a power source*

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*Familiars* (informers and functionaries) of the Évora Inquisition arrested the *curandeira* Maria Grácia on 7 October 1724. The crimes alleged against her were many: pact with the Devil, sorcery, superstitions, sacrilege, and «practicing false arts.» This accused healer was a slave, born in Angola; she is described in the trial record as being unmarried, forty years old and *preta retinta* («pitch black»). Her master was Felipe Rodrigues Vitório, a wool contractor who lived in Évora. Because she had been taken from Angola when she was very young, the trial record explains, the accused did not know the name of her parents. Maria Grácia was taken into custody in the dispensary house of the Évora Inquisition palace — she was not incarcerated with white offenders in the official prison.<sup>21</sup>

She was said to cure the malady of «weakness» (*quebranto*, thought to be caused by bewitching, or transmitted through the Evil Eye), and the «malady of the moon,» which she achieved with the following superstitious chants (*orações*):

I bless you, [name], the bewitched one; sun, fire and moon  
In the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit  
Here is the way of the Truth  
In this way, take the evil from this creature  
Jesus gives birth to Santa Ana  
Santa Ana gives birth to Jesus  
Here is the way of the Truth  
In this way, take the evil from this creature.<sup>22</sup>

At other times, Maria Grácia conducted a remedy that involved the use of simple sorcery and mechanical healing methods. She would employ the following chant, using a cup of cool, clean water that she had blessed:

When the Virgin, Our Lady, walked through the world curing  
She cured with a cup of cold water.  
Jesus gives life to Santa Ana  
Santa Ana gives life to Jesus  
In the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen.<sup>23</sup>

Additionally, in order to cure carbuncles, she would exclaim:

I bless you, carbuncles, in the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit!  
When the Virgin, Our Lady, passed by here, snakes and lizards were killed  
In this way I beg God and the Virgin Mary for that which has begun to go  
back!<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora; Processo no. 4333.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

Maria Grácia only «completed her confession of guilt» (to use the euphemistic language of the Holy Office) after being tortured on 10 September 1725, nearly a year after her date of arrest. She performed her *auto-de-fé* on 16 December 1725, after which she was banished to Faro, in the Algarve, for three years.<sup>25</sup> Hers is one of the very few cases wherein a slave was allowed no clemency; normally, slaves were simply released to their masters. Exactly why she was punished is not clear. However, Maria Grácia was tried at the high point of Inquisition vigilance against illicit healers; further, the diversity of her crimes suggests that she was a particularly resolute, unrepentant magical practitioner – something for which the *inquisidores* had little tolerance.

Statistically, persons of African descent make up only a small percentage of the total cadre of folk healers encountered in early modern Portugal. At most, the Portuguese Holy Office tried only fourteen or fifteen Luso-Africans as *curandeiros* during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, amounting to less than ten percent of all prosecuted contemporary folk healers (this figure does not include Luso-Africans whom the Holy Office prosecuted for other magical crimes).<sup>26</sup> Yet blacks were some of the most renowned and notorious purveyors of superstitious remedies in the country. Healers of African origin seem to have been surrounded by a mystique that benefited their commerce in folk remedies. Many whites accorded black healers respect and power based on their singular exoticism, assuming that their origins in Africa or Brazil had provided them with healing knowledge to which white *médicos* or *curandeiros* did not have access.

This dynamic was especially true regarding black women. Of the twelve positively-known cases where the Portuguese Inquisition prosecuted blacks as healers, two-thirds (eight) are women. Four of the twenty-two popular healers tried in Lisbon – two women and two men – were of African descent (though most had been born in Brazil). The Évora tribunal tried five Luso-African *curandeiros*; this number is higher in part because the southernmost Algarve province, where the black population was greater, was in Évora's jurisdiction.<sup>27</sup> Part of the popular esteem given to black women as healers is attributable to enduring North African influences on Portugal's past.<sup>28</sup> Folk tales of mysterious, alluring *mouras encantadas* (enchanted Moorish women) originated during the medieval Reconquista. Such stories abounded in early modern Portugal; they spread powerful images which resonated in the popular mind. Beautiful dark women from Africa were said to entrance, seduce or spirit away lone travellers in the Portuguese countryside. Peasants commonly believed these *mouras encantadas* were ageless; they were thought to have been left behind to guard treasures hidden by the retreating Muslims.<sup>29</sup> Such women were said to have uncommon powers to charm and to heal Christians. In context, that unlettered rustics should project the powers of characters in folk tales on to living Luso-Africans is not so difficult to understand.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Certain cases include Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo nos. 2362, 7199 and 7807; Inquisition Tribunal of Évora, processo nos. 372, 4333, 5940, 6390 and 7759; Inquisition Tribunal of Lisboa, Processo nos. 252, 437, 2355 and 4260.

<sup>27</sup> Walker, 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition...' Chapter VIII.

<sup>28</sup> Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West. The Moriscos: A Cultural and Social History*, State University of New York, Albany, 1983: 115-131.

<sup>29</sup> José Pedro Paiva, *Bruxaria e Superstição num País Sem 'Caça às Bruxas: Portugal 1600-1774*, Editorial Notícias, Lisbon, 1997: 159-160.

One of the most famous *curandeiras* in the diocese of Coimbra, for example, Antónia Nunes de Costa, was almost certainly a black or mulatto woman. Her nickname, «*a Preta*», was and remains a pejorative term for people of African descent.<sup>30</sup> Still, she had earned a widespread notoriety for her ability to address many types of illness. To treat a headache, for example, Antónia Nunes de Costa would «apply the hot entrails of a male sheep, opened, at the base of [her client's] neck, and put milk from the breast of a woman into [the patient's] ears, along with some small sprigs of wormwood, increasing the amount until a good result is achieved.»<sup>31</sup> Or, for toothache, she «applied hot embers from the hearth fire soaked in wine, affixed inside the mouth, above the jawbone and teeth» of the sufferer.<sup>32</sup>

In order to care for the numerous clients who summoned her, da Costa would travel great distances on foot to various communities scattered across Portugal's midlands. Her long and well-documented career lasted at least from 1694 to 1716.<sup>33</sup> She became well-known to church officials, her name having surfaced repeatedly during ecclesiastical visitations through the countryside. Before her eventual banishment to Brazil, she would endure two Inquisition trials in 1711 and 1716.<sup>34</sup>

Antónia Nunes de Costa was joined in the Coimbra district later in the century by two further *curandeiras* of color. In 1731, the Inquisition arrested forty-year-old Joanna Baptista, resident of a village outside Oporto; she was described as a *parda* (woman of mixed-race or mulatto).<sup>35</sup> Also, in 1754-1755, the Holy Office tried one Maria Teresa, who lived in the city of Oporto. She was described as *mulata* — her father had been a priest (a sacerdote of the habit of São Pedro) and her mother was a black slave owned by another priest.<sup>36</sup> All of these women were accorded respect as popular healers in part because of the color of their skin.

The Inquisition, however, dealt with them harshly. Each of these women were *pretas forras*, or free blacks. Further, at least one of them was almost certainly the beneficiary of a legal manumission. As the daughter of a slave, Maria Teresa had been born into bondage. Her father and his colleague of the cloth, Maria Teresa's owner, must have contrived to provide her with her Freedman's status, as it was in that capacity that she stood before the inquisitors of the Coimbra Holy Office tribunal.<sup>37</sup> In any case, all three illicit folk healers, as first-time offenders and free blacks, received exceptionally severe penalties when sentenced at the end of their trials. Joanna Baptista was sent south, exiled to the penal asylum at Castro Marim for three years.<sup>38</sup> Maria Teresa's sentence mandated that she live for three years in the cold mountains of Viseu in north-central Portugal.<sup>39</sup> Such treatment demonstrates that the inquisitors felt no inclination to bestow clemency on free blacks; indeed, they had little incentive to do so. These

<sup>30</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo no. 7199.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*; cited in José Pedro Paiva, *Práticas e Crenças Mágicas... na Diocese de Coimbra (1650-1740)*, Minerva, Coimbra, 1992: 106. For the medicinal qualities of wormwood, see Maria Benedita Araújo *O Conhecimento Empírico dos Fármacos nos Séculos XVII e XVIII*, Edições Cosmos, Lisbon, 1992: 39-54.

<sup>32</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, processo no. 7199; cited in Paiva, *Práticas e Crenças Mágicas...: 106.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo no. 7199.

<sup>35</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo no. 7807.

<sup>36</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo no. 2362.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo no. 7807.

<sup>39</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra, Processo no. 2362.



women of color had no one to advocate for them. As they were not property, they enjoyed no form of protection. Because they were *pretas forras*, they suffered disproportionate punishment.

Even though otherwise generally marginalized in Portuguese society, Luso-African folk healers held a particular fascination for the cosmopolitan community living in the nation's capital city well into the next century. Historian of medicine Augusto da Silva Carvalho, writing in the early twentieth century, has provided us with the following vivid example of a notorious free black *curandeiro* active in Lisbon during the first quarter of the nineteenth century: the «*Barão de Catanea*.»<sup>40</sup> (Taking contemporary Brazilian slang into account, this pseudonym was apparently a mischievously clever quadruple-entendre, connoting simultaneously «The One-Horned [Libidinous] Baron of Medicinal Roots and Rude Put-Downs.»<sup>41</sup>)

There was a man well-known in the town; tall, stooped, gaunt of face, humbly dressed in a black jacket, trousers of cotton duck, and a high silk hat, mounted on an old hack, who would go about the streets of Lisbon practicing «*clínica*» or visiting his devotees whose state of health did not permit them to consult him at the house where he resided. This was a palace in ruins at the foot of Rua de São Francisco de Paulo, where over the gate was ostentatiously displayed the device of a *curandeiro*, which read: *Soli Deo, honor et gloria*.

In this house you would find crowded together a bunch of *pretas* of all ages, mixed up with a great number of animals, of which the most prominent were parrots and monkeys. All of these constituted the sonorous elements of a macabre symphony, which accompanied the consultations of «the Baron.»

The common people put great faith in him, and not only the darker part of the population; he was considered very able in healing various ailments (he was often called on for child-birthing), but also the better part of the city called upon his services not a few times. Further, he was certain to have crews of the English ships which visited our port; seamen and officers of the highest rank constituted the largest part of his clientele [for treatment of venereal disease?].

It was said that he disembarked in Lisbon, coming from Brazil, but his origins, just like his [true] name, were unknown.<sup>42</sup>

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**P**rocedures and practices:  
the Regimentos and magical crimes

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The specific document that empowered the Portuguese Inquisition to pursue practitioners of magic of any race was that institution's by-laws, or *Regimento*. The set of by-laws in force during the entire span of Portugal's most active period of magical

<sup>40</sup> Augusto da Silva Carvalho, *Médicos e Curandeiros*, Tipographia Adolphe de Mendonça, Lisbon, 1917: 52.

<sup>41</sup> Franz Wimmer (ed), *Michaelis Illustrated Dictionary*, Vol. II (Portuguese-English), Edições Melhoramentos, (São Paulo, 1961: 261).

<sup>42</sup> Augusto da Silva Carvalho (1961): 52.

criminal persecution was first promulgated in 1640, shortly after the restoration of Portuguese independence, the crown having been decisively wrested from Spanish control earlier that year.<sup>43</sup> This *Regimento* remained in force until 1774, when it was substantially revised under the direction of the Marquês de Pombal, his motive being to reduce the Holy Office's independent power and subjugate that body more thoroughly to crown authority.<sup>44</sup> For our purposes, the 1640 *Regimento* is far more important than the 1774 revised edition.

In the 1640 *Regimento*, Title XIV of Book III established the penalties for those found guilty of perpetuating magical crimes, including sorcery, fortune telling, divination, pact with the devil and «any others of the same species;» this passage covered illicit superstitious healing, as well.<sup>45</sup> The letter of Holy Office law made no distinction based on an accused person's race. However, Inquisition tribunals were empowered to apply a wide spectrum of penalties to convicted individuals according to the inquisitors' interpretation of each convict's level of merit and contrition. Free blacks suffered under these circumstances while slaves clearly benefited. In order to understand the true severity of free blacks' sentences for magical crimes, and to compare them meaningfully with the lightness of punishments for slaves, it is first necessary to know something of Inquisition castigation patterns for all magical criminals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Title XIV of Book III in the 1640 *Regimento* mandates that persons found guilty of magical crimes, if they did not repent their behavior, were to be treated in the same way as other heretics and apostates. That is, they were subject to execution under secular justice, as well as excommunication, the confiscation of their goods, and a range of other spiritual punishments. However, penalties were far less severe for confessed, repentant *mágicos*.<sup>46</sup> These persons could expect banishment, a public whipping, the confiscation of their goods and various spiritual punishments, but not excommunication or execution. In practice, the Holy Office handed down variations of the latter sentence to the vast majority of convicted *mágicos* and *curandeiros* during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Those condemned for magical crimes almost never received a sentence mandating their execution, though most everyone endured spiritual punishments, banishment and a period of imprisonment; relatively fewer had to face a public whipping or the confiscation of their goods.

For all of the diligence of Portugal's inquisitors and *familiares* in bringing popular healers and other *mágicos* to trial during the Enlightenment era, the salient feature of the Holy Office's treatment of magical criminals is, by European standards, the incomparable lightness of a conviction's consequences. The Inquisition publicly humiliated sorcerers, witches, diviners and illicit superstitious healers, or drove them away from their homes to live in exile under very difficult circumstances, but it hardly ever had them killed. Certainly, when measured against other European regions during the

<sup>43</sup> *Regimento do Santo Officio da Inquisição dos Reynos de Portugal. Ordenado por mandado do Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Francisco de Castro, Inquisidor Geral do Concelho de Estado de Sua Magestade, Manoel da Sylva, Lisbon: 1640.*

<sup>44</sup> *Regimento do Santo Officio da Inquisição dos Reinos de Portugal, organizado com o Real Beneplacito e Regio Auxilio pelo Eminentissimo, Reverendissimo Cardeal da Cunha, dos Conselhos de Estado, e Gabinete de Sua Magestade, e Inquisidor Geral nestes Reinos e em todos os Seus Domínios, Oficina de Manuel Manescal da Costa, Lisbon, 1774.*

<sup>45</sup> *Regimento do Santo Officio da Inquisição (1640), Livro III, Titulo XIV, §§ 1-9.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

previous three centuries, when being found guilty of a magical crime generally meant suffering some form of capital punishment, Portuguese sentences, lethal in only the rarest of circumstances, were comparatively benign. By the late seventeenth century, Portuguese Holy Office trials against practitioners of magic, be they folk healers, fortune tellers, purveyors of love magic or, rarely, those who undertook to cause harm through superstitious means, were intended primarily to discredit unorthodox, superstitious practices. The *inquisidores* were not interested in extirpating folk magic by killing its adherents, no matter what their race.<sup>47</sup>

While a slave's illicit behavior involving the propagation of magic or superstitions might logically have been considered, under the law, ultimately the responsibility of that slave's master and owner, in Portugal it was the slave who was forced to undergo trial by an Inquisition tribunal. Further, no evidence exists showing that a master was held to account for his or her slave's actions. Still, having a master meant that enslaved blacks were possessed of a foil for an Inquisition trial's worst consequences. Slaves rarely had to serve any kind of sentence after their trials. Free blacks, of course, typically had no one of a higher social status to help them. Luso-Africans living outside the condition of bondage incurred upon themselves all of the penalties consequent to being convicted by the Holy Office.

A fairly typical severe sentence might have read like the following example, which Inquisition deputies of the Évora tribunal handed down to the former slave Francisco Luís in early December, 1690. Though quite arduous, it includes most of the components of a standard sentence for *mágicos*:

Banishment for five years to the Royal Galés; whipped through the public streets of Évora; forbidden for the rest of his life to enter the villages of Beringel and Ferreira; perpetual imprisonment and the wearing of a penitent's habit; arbitrary imprisonment.

It is important to recognize, though, that the main component of any sentence, the part which really gave teeth to the process of castigation, was the penalty of banishment. Banishment from one's community constituted the primary component of the great majority of sentences of convicted *mágicos* — healers and non-healers, black and white alike. The Holy Office employed two basic types of banishment as punishment for magical crimes: internal (to a location within continental Portugal), and external (to one of the colonies in the Atlantic sphere).<sup>48</sup>

During the seventeenth and, more frequently, eighteenth centuries, the Holy Office sent particularly odious or recalcitrant magical criminals to one of Portugal's overseas colonies for a fixed number of years. Banishment to the colonies, though, was an invitation to contract an incurable disease. Because of poor health conditions prevailing in the tropics, as well as the expense of a homeward voyage, few common *degradados* (exiled convicts) ever returned to metropolitan Portugal after being banished to the colonies.<sup>49</sup> No *mágicos* were ever required to leave the Atlantic rim; none were sent east to the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. Instead, most whites were sent to Angola,

<sup>47</sup> Walker, 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition...' Chapters I and VII.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., see the tables of penalties located in Chapter VII.

<sup>49</sup> Timothy J. Coates, *Degradados e Orfãos: colonização dirigida pela Coroa no império português, 1550-1755*, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações Portuguesas, Lisbon, 1998: 121-8.

but a handful also received sentences that required them to relocate to Príncipe, São Tomé, or Brazil.<sup>50</sup> The two Luso-African *mágicos* known to have been banished abroad were both sent to Brazil; both were free blacks who had lived their entire lives on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>51</sup> External exile for a first offense was exceedingly rare.

Internal exile entailed either being banished to a specific city or ecclesiastic region (typically a bishopric), or being exiled *from* a specific city or bishopric (typically the convict's home district). In either case the criminal, with only portable resources, was forced to shift for her- or himself as a stigmatized stranger in an unfamiliar environment for a specified number of years.<sup>52</sup> An additional type of internal banishment involved forced labor: male and female convicts could be sentenced to a type of penal asylum or work camp — either the salt pans of Castro Marim in the Algarve or, for men only, the royal shipyards in Lisbon — where they would be compelled to perform arduous manual labor for a fixed number of years. Few survived the latter ordeal.<sup>53</sup>

Nearly eighty percent of all magical criminals received some form of banishment for their first offense. However, the average initial sentence for whites was banishment for just over two years, and this to an internal destination that did not entail forced labor. Poor whites were almost never sent abroad, and only rarely banished to a penal asylum or work camp, for a first offense.<sup>54</sup> Among Luso-Africans accused of magical crimes, however, punishment patterns were very different. There is a demonstrable relationship between the severity of a sentence and the civic status of the individual; that is, whether the accused person of African descent was a slave or a «*preto forro*».<sup>55</sup> Almost all free blacks were given exceptionally long and arduous punishments, particularly as first offenders. The length of free black convicts' banishments were well above average for these crimes, when compared to white offenders' sentences for the same crimes. Conversely, nearly all currently owned slaves were let off with exceptionally light punishments, far below the average usually meted out to whites or free blacks for the same type of crime. Poor free whites who were found guilty of the same transgressions were typically given longer periods of exile than contemporary slaves' punishments, on average. Most slaves, on the other hand, were either let off with a warning, or they enjoyed the benefit of a legal fiction: they were «condemned,» but the Holy Office took no further penal action against them.<sup>56</sup> For example, in 1729 when the Inquisition tribunal of Coimbra tried Pedro Jorge, described in the trial record as a «black slave» born on the Minas coast of Brazil, he was found guilty of conducting acts of sorcery. At his sentencing, though, he was given leave to return to his master's home in Oporto «under prescribed conditions and until summoned.»<sup>57</sup> The Holy Office took no further action in his case. Similarly, when the Lisbon tribunal arrested Angolan-born slave António Mascarinhas in 1742, he was convicted for conducting acts of sorcery but was released after publicly abjuring in an *auto-da-fé*.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the Lisbon tribunal was notably lenient on the slaves whom it tried for magical crimes. (Of the

<sup>50</sup> See Walker 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition...', tables of penalties located in Chapter VII.

<sup>51</sup> See the data presented in the table at the end of the present text.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Coates (1998): 96-99.

<sup>54</sup> See Walker, 'Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition,' tables of penalties located in Chapter VII.

<sup>55</sup> See Table.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Coimbra: Processo no. 7840.

<sup>58</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Lisbon; Processo no. 254.

three Portuguese tribunals, Lisbon heard the highest number of slave's cases for magical crimes. Several of these *processos* originated in Brazil. Slaves comprised forty-five percent of the Lisbon detainees held for non-healing magical crimes.<sup>59</sup>) Of the nine slaves Lisbon's *inquisidores* prosecuted during the period under study, eight either were condemned and released without penalty, received only a formal warning, or had their cases dismissed outright.<sup>60</sup>

By contrast, when a *preto forro* named Manuel Inácio, who had used his freedom to serve as a trumpeter in one of his king's cavalry regiments, was tried for sorcery in 1706, the Évora tribunal encumbered him with every penalty at their disposal. He was banished for five years to the royal galés, whipped through the public streets of Évora and deprived of all his worldly goods — which the Holy Office confiscated. Further, he was compelled to perform an *auto-de-fé* wearing a special hat (called a *corocha*) and carrying a sign that identified him as a «sorcerer.» After this, he was made to serve an arbitrarily determined period of imprisonment.<sup>61</sup>

A comparable fate befell Maria Vieira Pacheca in 1716. Described in her trial dossier as a *mulata forra* (free mulatto woman), she also was the daughter of a priest, Padre Diogo Viera de Matos, Prior of the parish of São Brissos near Castro Verde. Her mother had been her father's slave. The charges against Maria Vieira Pacheca included performing acts of sorcery, having a pact with the Devil, promoting superstitions and engaging in *sortilégio*, or fortune telling. When the Inquisition tortured her on 21 January 1717, she confessed to further offenses. Holy Office authorities then sentenced her to be banished for three years to the Bishopric of Miranda, whipped through the public streets of Évora and to serve an additional term of imprisonment.<sup>62</sup> Even more stringent was the sentence which had been passed on Estevão Luís in 1690. This itinerant free mulatto was a manumitted slave who made his living mostly through begging, but he also performed small magical services for the peasantry in the Portuguese countryside. He was known colloquially as «the Cobra.» Accused in 1686 of conducting acts of sorcery, having a pact with the Devil, harboring superstitions, as well as committing the sin of sodomy, Estevão Luís received six years' banishment to Brazil, a public whipping through the streets of Évora and an arbitrary term of incarceration in the Holy Office prisons.<sup>63</sup>

Indeed, most of the exceptions to these patterns of punishment can be explained by understandable extenuating circumstances. Among the three slaves who were given uncharacteristically arduous sentences after their Inquisition trials, one, Maria Grácia, was an inveterate magical offender, while another was a recalcitrant male whose owner lived in Brazil. Returning Domingos Álvares to Rio de Janeiro was apparently not deemed to be worth the trouble or expense, so he was sent to the penal asylum at Castro Marim.<sup>64</sup> The third, twenty-year-old Jacques Viegas, had resisted arrest and threatened a white man with a sword.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Typically, these slaves had been born in either Angola or Brazil. Jurisdiction for all Inquisition cases originating in the Atlantic colonies fell to the Lisbon tribunal.

<sup>60</sup> See Table.

<sup>61</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 2229.

<sup>62</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 4760.

<sup>63</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 4745.

<sup>64</sup> Respectively, Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo nos. 7759 and 4333.

<sup>65</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Lisbon: Processo no. 2355.

Of the two free blacks who got off lightly following their Holy Office convictions, one was released to the custody of the Franciscan clergymen with whom she lived and worked. Twenty-eight-year-old Maria de Jesus resided at the Hospital of São Francisco in Lisbon, where she cooked, cleaned and helped look after the patients. As an Angolan-born black woman of unknown parentage, she was most likely a manumitted ex-slave. By working in the service of the Franciscans, Maria de Jesus enjoyed their protection and patronage. Her Inquisition sentence amounted only to spiritual penitences.<sup>66</sup>

In another exceptional case, a free black woman was able to mount an effective legal defense. Maria Tomé, a mulatto widow whose deceased husband had been the slave of a *fidalgo* (social elite), earned her living as a midwife and through begging. When she was arrested for being a witch and sorceress on 23 April 1743, she fought the denunciations against her with the help of *procurador* (legal advisor) José Madeira de Castro, a university graduate. She apparently put her fate in capable hands; he managed to secure her release, with only a warning, on 30 April 1744, though she still had to pay the costs of her year in prison.<sup>67</sup> However, a Spanish-born free black cavalry trooper named Manuel de Valhares was not so lucky. When the Évora Inquisition arrested him in 1733 for having made a pact with the Devil and spreading superstitious beliefs, he engaged a Portuguese *procurador* named Inácio Murteira de Fontes to advocate on his behalf. But their efforts were to no avail. After fighting the charges against him for more than two and a half years, de Valhares was sentenced to three years' exile in Viseu.<sup>68</sup>

For all of the implicit inequality of the Holy Office policy toward Luso-Africans, it is interesting to note that Portuguese Inquisitorial jurisprudence did not prohibit blacks, be they free or enslaved, from providing testimony in a trial. At least, this was true if the black person's deposition worked in favor of the prosecution. For example, in the trial of Maria Catarina dos Prazeres, a white *curandeira* tried in Évora in 1746, many of the depositions damning her originated in the household of the licensed barber Cristovão Rapozo. Included in this testimony was a denunciation from one Maria Rapozo, who appears to have been the young daughter of one of Cristovão Rapozo's slaves.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, in the case of José Gomes Nicole, a white *curandeiro* brought to trial in Évora in 1760, five of the people who testified against him were either related to or dependents of João Azevedo, a licensed surgeon from Faro. Among them, Holy Office commissioners took a deposition from one of Azevedo's household slaves.<sup>70</sup>

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## Conclusions

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The cases discussed above show that the misfortunes of those accused and sentenced by the Portuguese Inquisition were by no means evenly distributed among its victims of African descent. Luso-Africans convicted by the Portuguese Inquisition for committing magical crimes during the late seventeenth century and throughout the century following experienced punishment patterns that were very different from

<sup>66</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Lisbon: Processo no. 2279.

<sup>67</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 6390.

<sup>68</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 3168.

<sup>69</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 5949, un-numbered pages in the trial dossier's second section of denunciations. Assuming from her name that Cristovão Rapozo was in fact her father, Maria Rapozo may herself have been a manumitted slave.

<sup>70</sup> Inquisition Tribunal of Évora: Processo no. 5436.

those of their white Lusophone counterparts. Moreover, Inquisition sentencing patterns reveal a stark disparity between the castigation of enslaved blacks and «*pretos forros*» (literally, blacks outside the condition of bondage). Among convicts of African origin, these trials present a demonstrable relationship between the severity of a sentence and the civic status of the individual; that is, whether the accused person of African descent was a slave or a free black.

Slaves convicted in Inquisition magical crimes trials typically received sentences that were far lighter than those of their white counterparts. Conversely, punishments meted out to free people of color, even if for a first offense, were more arduous than those free whites could expect to receive for comparable crimes. Among all magical criminals in Portugal between 1682 and 1790, slaves were given on average the lightest of penalties (which often amounted to no punishment at all). Free blacks, meanwhile, endured some of the harshest of all recorded punishments. White offenders fell between these two extremes.

Such patterns reveal a chronic intolerance for free people of color within early modern continental Portuguese society. At a time when some free blacks enjoyed a broad range of social privileges elsewhere in the Atlantic world, in Portugal the situation of manumitted slaves appears to have been comparatively precarious.<sup>71</sup> The tenuousness of their place in the Portuguese social hierarchy is nowhere better demonstrated than in cases where free blacks ran afoul of Inquisition laws regarding magical crimes.

These circumstances also point to a tendency for white slave owners in Portugal to jealously guard their property — the Africans or Brazilians in whom they had invested considerable sums — even in cases where the Inquisition had determined that the slave had committed a grave religious transgression. White elites in Portugal took such religious failings very seriously, as is demonstrated by the zeal with which they banished white offenders from their communities for the same types of magical crimes. Owing to their status as property — and the presence of their masters who tacitly advocated on their behalf (to say nothing of the master's own vested interests) — enslaved blacks apparently enjoyed a near-certain protection from the consequences of a conviction by Holy Office courts. Free or manumitted blacks, however, judging from the inequitable treatment they received during sentencing for equitable crimes committed by both slaves and whites, appear to have constituted a particular (though unarticulated) threat to elite white Portuguese society. An Inquisition trial in early modern Portugal, therefore, appears to have been used as an effective, convenient means to check the rising status of, or eliminate the perceived prominence enjoyed by, a free black person in many white communities.

If we accept that Inquisition cases provide a good representation of the conceits, values and prejudices of early modern Portuguese culture as a whole, then the record of the Holy Office in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicates that free people of color were not assimilated into society on anything approaching equal terms with whites. Manumitted slaves remained isolated and vulnerable. The lattice of social support that elite whites enjoyed extended neither to the poor whites nor blacks whom the Inquisition prosecuted for magical crimes. Luso-Africans living outside the

<sup>71</sup>See, for example, W. Jeffrey Bolster *Black Jacks*, Harvard University Press, (Cambridge, MA, 1997: 4-43; and Stuart B. Schwartz *The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1674-1745*, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1974): 603; 619-633.

bonds of slavery were additionally handicapped, apparently, by the continued ill effects of centuries of racial prejudice. Slaves, because of their status as property, enjoyed the protection provided by the influential families that owned them. Only living in servitude under such an umbrella of protection kept most slaves from suffering banishment or other additional castigation after an Inquisition trial.

Disparity of treatment between blacks and whites was a fact of life in early modern Portugal, a situation made more complex by the presence of manumitted slaves. The Holy Office appears to have responded tacitly to these circumstances by developing several standards of treatment, the application of which depended on the social position of the accused party. Such procedures, never formalized but rigorously adhered to, were the product of a social hierarchy which placed free blacks on the bottom-most rung, below slaves and poor whites.

*Table*

FREE BLACKS AND SLAVES CONVICTED FOR MAGICAL CRIMES  
BY PORTUGUESE INQUISITION, 1690-1784

Name	Case	Date	Status	Age	Sex	Crimes	Banishment
Francisco Luís	Évora 7075	1690	Free	50	M	Sorcey; Pact	5 yrs. to the Galés
Estevão Luís	Évora 4745	1690	Free	78	M	Dorceru; Pact	6 yrs. to Brazil
Luisa de Lara	Lisbon 538	1702	Free	27	F	Sorc.; Superst.	3 yrs. to Castro Marim
Manuel Inácio	Évora 2229	1706	Free	?	M	Sorcery; Pact	5 yrs. to the Galés
Antónia da Costa	Coimbra 7199	1711	Free	45	F	Sorc.; Curing	1 yr. to Miranda
Antónia da Costa	Coimbra 7199	1716	Free	50	F	Relapse	3 yrs. Brazil
Maria Pacheca	Évora 4760	1716	Free	30	F	Sorc.; Pact; Sup.	3 yrs. to Miranda
André Velho	Évora 5620	1717	Free	21	M	Superst.; Sorc.	2 yrs. to Coimbra
Joana Baptista	Coimbra 7807	1731	Free	40	F	Superst.; Sorc.	3 yrs. to Castro Marim
Manuel de Valhares	Évora 3168	1733	Free	?	M	Superst.; Pact	3 yrs. to Viseu
Maria de Jesus	Lisbon 2279	1735	Free	28	F	Witchcraft	Spiritual Penitences
Maria Tomé	Évora 6390	1743	Free	68	F	Sorc.; Witchcr.	Warned; pay costs
Inês de Carmo	Évora 5940	1754	Free	48	F	Sorc.; Pact; Sup.	4 yrs. to Viseu
Maria Teresa	Coimbra 2362	1754	Free	30	F	Sup. Cures; Pact	3 yrs. to Viseu
Josefa Maria	Évora 2615	1767	Free	?	F	Superst.; Sorc.	3 yrs. to Leiria
Cristovão Marreiros	Évora 372	1784	Free	?	M	Curing	6 yrs. to the Galés
Jacques Viegas	Lisbon 2355	1704	Slave	20	M	Sorc.; Witchcr.	3 yrs. to castro Marim
Maria Grácia	Évora 4333	1724	Slave	40	F	Pact; Sorc.; Sup.	3 yrs. to Faro
Pedro Jorge	Coimbra 7840	1729	Slave	20	M	Sorcery	Dismissed
Joseph	Lisbon 4260	1730	Slave	19	M	Superst.; Sorc.	Warned and released
Marcelina Maria	Lisbon 631	1734	Slave	26	F	Superst.; Sorc.	«Condemned»; no action
Florinda de São José	Lisbon 437	1736	Slave	17	F	Sorcery	Spiritual Penitences
António Mascarinhas	Lisbon 254	1742	Slave	25	M	Sorcery	Dismissed
Luzia Pinto	Lisbon 252	1742	Slave	50	F	Witchcr.; Super	«Condemned»; no action
Domingos Alvares	Évora 7759	1743	Slave	?	M	Superst.; Cures	4 yrs. to Castro Marim
Joana Antónia	Lisbon 348	1749	Slave	16	F	Sorc.; Pact; Sup.	Spiritual Penitences
Doroteia da Rosa	Lisbon 2632	1754	Slave	37	F	Witchcraft	«Condemned»; no action
Damião de Almeida	Lisbon 724	1771	Slave	28	M	Superstition	«Condemned»; no action