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The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17-18th Centuries)[1]

In a certain collection of *miracula*, entitled *Mennyei Korona* (Heavenly Crown) which was edited and published in 1696 by the Hungarian aristocrat and palatine Prince Pál Esterházy and contains a total of thirteen-hundred narratives about the pictures of the Virgin Mary, picture No.1128 bears the following title: "De Cinaloa Csudalatos Boldog Asszony Képe Cinaloaban, Indiaban" (De Cinaloa Picture of the Miraculous Blessed Lady in Cinaloa, India). The narrative of the relevant miracle runs as follows:

> In the Island of Cinaloa there was a stubborn, old Pagan, who did not even want to know about Christianity; falling sick and approaching death, he called a Jesuit Father to visit him in such a misery: the Pater took a picture of the Virgin Mary to him and gave it in his hands. Looking at the picture for a while, the Pagan received such a revelation from divine power that now he desired Christianity with all his strength, which he finally took, and passed away to eternity in happiness and joy: from that time on the picture has been held in great respect, and judged to be miraculous.[2]

Like many other narratives of the collection of Prince Esterházy, this miracle story was intended to contribute to the construction and legitimization of a cult of a holy

[1] An earlier version of this article has been published in Hungarian as Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, "A demonológia funkciói: misszionáriusok és indiánok az amerikai Délnyugaton (17-18. század) (The functions of demonology. Missionaries and Indians in the American Southwest (17th-18th centuries)." In Éva Pócs ed., *Démonok, látók, szentek. Vallásetnológiai fogalmak tudományközi megközelítésben* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008, Tanulmányok a transzcendensrõl VI), 15-134.

[2] The original text is in Hungarian, the English translation is mine: I. Sz. K. Esterházy 1696, 672-673. It is from an expanded version of Prince Esterházy's book of miracles, published six years earlier in Nagyszombat (Trnava, today's Slovakia), see idem 1994[1690], idem 1696 (esp. "A' Kegyes olvasohoz"), and Knapp-Tüskés 1994. I used the copy of the National Széchenyi Library.

picture in a distant place, and to spread and increase its reputation. "Cinaloa" however, was not an island, as it has been proposed by Esterházy's text, and was not to be found in India either. Or, more exactly, it *was* to be found in "India" in the sense that this name referred , as it did in early modern times, to the American continent. "Cinaloa" i.e. Sinaloa was, and still is a region in Mexico; it is now one of its states, and in the age of Prince Esterházy it was the land of the Yaki, Mayo, Sinaloa and many other indigenous peoples. This southern-southwestern region of the territory called New Mexico at that time belonged to the North American part of the Spanish Empire, i.e. New Spain. From the beginning of the conquest of the Nahuatl (Aztec) people in 1519 until the indepedence of Mexico in 1821 this Empire gradually absorbed almost the whole territory of what is called today the American Southwest -Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and (parts of) Colorado- as well as California, Texas and even some northern regions. The region of Sinaloa started to encounter the Spanish conquest in 1533, and soon after the turn of the 16th and 17th century a number of Jesuit missionaries were recorded to be active among the Native American tribes living there. The majority of the above-mentioned terriories were annexed by the United States as a conclusion of the Mexican-American war in 1846-1848, while Sinaloa, Sonora and other southern regions remained in the possession of Mexico.[3]

The "Pagan" mentioned in Prince Esterházy's story was intended to represent the indigenous peoples living in that enormous territory. They were, however, rather multifarious; they pursued diverse economic as well as cultural activities, and their languages also differed from one another. And, most of all, as their local histories show, they have not converted to Christianity at such a miraculous speed as it was shown by Esterházy, who relied on the characteristics and requirements of the genre of *miracula,* and its propagandistic intention. On the contrary.

My research of this subject started in the summer of 2001 in the American Southwest, especially in Arizona and New Mexico, as I had the opportunity to make study trips in many of the Indian reservations there.[4] This is the region of the so-called Pueblo Indians, i.e. certain groups of Native American people living a settled way of life, cultivating, traditionally, corn, squash and beans, building (in the past) multi-storey houses of adobe and mud, and speaking many different languages. Apart from these groups (who were called "Pueblo," i.e. *village people* after their specific lifeway by the

[3] On the early modern history of the territory of Sinaloa, see Spicer 1962, 27, 46-47, 50, 86. Among the native peoples living in this region, it is the Yaki who have probably become the most popular for a Euro-American readership through the pseudo-ethnographical writings of Carlos Castañeda. Castañeda's hero - and spiritual teacher - was, apparently, a Yaki Indian sorcerer, called Don Juan Matus; it is probably more correct to say, however, that it was by means of the elements of the Yaki culture that Castañeda, a pioneer of the *New Age* movements in North America, has constructed his main character as well as the cultural environment that constituted the background for his novels. See Castañeda 1968. For a severe criticism of the authenticity and anthropological relevance of his oeuvre, see de Mille 1976 and 1990.

[4] On the various aspects (cultural history, tourism, anthropology, indigenous self-determination, cultural copyright, etc) of our travels on the reservations of the Navaho, Hopi, Zuni and Acoma people see Sz. Kristóf 2004b and Sz. Kristóf – Szõnyi 2009.

Spanish conquerors) there lived - and still live - some other Native cultures traditionally more focusing on hunting and a nomadic way of life, and only gradually appropriating agriculture and corn-growing, such as the Navaho and the Apache people (who wandered to this territory from the North in early modern times), or the Seri people living in the southern regions, etc.[5]

My research started with the study of recent brochures, newspapers and etiquettes for tourists written and published by the local natives themselves[6] that frequently mentioned the Spanish aggression of the 1600s, discussed the violent efforts of the Spaniards to convert the Indians to Christianity, and reminded the reader of the horrible charges of idolatry and witchcraft that were brought against them at that time. I was collecting such prints for a while, then I started contextualizing them by researching the relevant historical, sociological, anthropological as well as indigenous literature in collections like the Library of the University of Kansas (Lawrence, Kansas), and, back in Europe, the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, Germany), and later, in 2004, as I had the opportunity again to stay in Lawrence, KS, I consulted a great many of books (course books and others) used by the professors and students of the Haskell Indian Nations University there, and the "Indigenous Studies" MA program of the University of Kansas in Lawrence.

Let me select one particular aspect of the specific encounter of cultures that has taken place in the territory of New Mexico during the late 16th and 17th centuries, and which produced a profuse European, Euro-American as well as indigenous literature, namely the presence and the impact of the European *diabolical discourse* there. In the following I am making an attempt at a complex interpretation of the latter which has a lot to do with Central European cultural history as well.

Local historical works tell us that the territory of the American Southwest can be regarded as a *frontier*-region - or, to use a term more recently suggested, a *contact zone* - in the northern part of American Spanish Empire at least from the 1530s. The border was rather fluid and unstable in this region until the end of the 17th century, nevertheless a considerable number of criminal procedures were executed here against local indigenous people. Such procedures resulted, on one hand, from the activity of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries arriving there from New Spain/Mexico - so, in fact, from Europe -, and, on the other hand, from that of the Spanish Inquisition itself (especially from 1626 on), and they closely resembled the European witchcraft trials of the period in form and

[5] On the Native American cultures of the American Southwest in general see Ortiz 1979 and 1983. Earlier descriptions and attempts at scientific classification were proposed by Kroeber 1928 and Kirchhoff 1954. On the Navaho people see the classical studies of Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962, and on the Pueblo Indians that of Dozier 1970.

[6] Such as for example the *Timeless Traditions. New Directions. Picuris Pueblo and Hotel Santa Fe*, a brochure published by the Hotel Santa Fe and Picuris pueblo, New Mexico (my own copy), or the *Special Visitors' Guide: Welcome to Hopiland!*, a newspaper published by the Office of Public Relations of the Hopi Indians, Arizona (my own copy), or the *Hopi Tutuveni* (especially 29.06.02), a newspaper of the Hopi Indians, that was published online as well. On such modern channels of communication used by Native Americans and their relation to a "postcolonial" form of tourism see Sz. Kristóf 2004a, 2004b and 2008.

ideology as well - a topic I have pursued research on in connection with the Kingdom of Hungary.[7] And, as book history reveals, some missionaries have produced writings that represented the indigenous people living there in a demonic guise. The diabolical language used in their works resembled, again, that of certain European Catholic demonological treatises published in the age of witch-hunting in the Old World.[8]

Unfortunately, only a minority of the students of European witchcraft and witch-hunting have turned their attention to the parallel phenomena in the New World. Among the scholars whose works I have consulted - and that represent the classical historical anthropological approach of the 1970s/1980s (and to some extent, also 1990s)[9] - I could cite only a handful, like Gustav Henningsen's studies on the activity of the Spanish Inquisition in America, some New England-related aspects of the research on early modern demonology by Stuart Clark, and, above all, the complex studies on Brazilian witchcraft beliefs by Laura e Mello de Souza.[10] Those researchers, however, who were directly interested in such a topic - i.e. the cultural history of the charges of witchcraft and idolatry outside Europe - discussed these phenomena in considerably broader and more complex dimensions. American historians of the Spanish Inquisition (like Richard Greenleaf in Albuquerque, New Mexico), historians applying fresh, anthropological approaches (French scholars like Serge Gruzinski and Solange Alberro, or Fernando Cervantes in Bristol, United Kingdom), intellectual historians (like Anthony Pagden in Cambridge), or cultural historians using a fresh, postcolonial approach (like Walter D. Mignolo in Durham, North Carolina) have provided excellent interpretations of such charges by putting and analyzing them in their adequate social, political, intellectual as well as epistemological contexts. Nevertheless, these scholars were focusing rather on the relevant -and more spectacular- events of huge *empires*, i.e. Spain and inside of it, the conquered indigenous empires of the Nahuatl (Aztec) and, in the south, the Inca/Quechua, and investigated the profound and elaborated process of diabolization of these indigenous cultures by the European missionaries, ecclesiastical writers, local criminal courts and the Inquisition during the 16th and 17th centuries.[11]

Let us see now what we find in the less known, less studied New Mexico frontier in the same period. In the following I would like to survey some aspects relating to the

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[7] The best historical surveys that I know in this field are that of Spicer 1962 and Cervantes 1994; see also Grahn 1999 and Radding 1999. Less of an academic, more of an exoticizing approach is applied in Simmons (1974); his later, shorter historical summary is a more serious scholarly work, but it does not focus on the phenomenon of witchcraft and witch-hunting, see Simmons 1979) A more general survey of early modern cultural history is provided in Elliott 1989. For the concept of *contact zone* see Pratt 1992. For my own research on witch-hunting in early modern Hungary see Sz. Kristóf 1998 and 2006.

[8] This phenomenon has already been emphasized by Spicer 1962, especially 308-331.

[9] See the bibliography of my book on the social and religious background of witch-hunting in the city of Debrecen and Bihar county during the 16th-18th centuries, Sz. Kristóf 1998, 199-210.

[10] Henningsen 1986 and 1992, Clark 1997, 144 and ibid. Note 40, Mello e Souza 2003.

[11] Greenleaf 1961 and 1969, Gruzinski 1988, Bernand-Gruzinski 1988, Alberro 1988, Pagden 1990, Cervantes 1994, Mignolo 1995. See also Reinhard 1993.

local geographical-cultural-historical context; aspects that may bring us closer to the understanding of "demonology" and its uses in this specific *contact zone*.

The first aspect is *philology*. The process of early modern economic and political colonization was accompanied by a certain globalization of knowledge. Consequently, the question of New Mexico demonology could not be considered as a marginal issue, and it does not belong to American or Latin-American/Hispanic studies alone. It has much to do with Europe, and not infrequently with Central Europe as well. The origins of a number of missionaries who were active in New Mexico relates them to the Old World, as does the publication of their works as well. As far as the Jesuits are concerned, the following persons should be mentioned. Eusebio Kino, of Italian origins, who worked in Sonora among the Pima Indians in the 1680s/90s and wrote an account of his stay there; Adam Gilg, of Czech (Moravian) origins working in the same years with the Seri Indians; Daniel Januschke, of Polish origins (he was born in Wroclaw), himself trying to convert the Pima in the 1690s, Joseph Neumann, a German-Czech missionary (born in Brussels), who tried to convert the Tarahumara Indians in Sonora between 1681 and 1732, and whose *Historia Seditionum* was published in 1730 by the University of Prague; and, Ignaz Pfefferkorn, a German missionary working among the Pima and Opata Indians in Sonora in the second half of the 18th century, and whose *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora* came out in 1794 in Cologne.[12] Let me mention finally the German-Polish Juan Nentuig, or Johann Nentvig, who also worked in the 1750s/60s in Sonora, and who wrote his own account of his mission.[13]

As the miracle story cited above and included in the collection of Prince Esterházy shows, the knowledge gathered by the missionaries in the American continent has found its way to Hungary, too. As it was as revealed by the studies of Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, Palatine Esterházy translated stories from foreign Jesuit collections of *miracula* , and compiled his own collections of miracles of the Virgin Mary in this way.[14] In the preface to *Mennyei Korona* he mentioned one of his most important sources, namely the *Atlas Marianus* of the German Wilhelm Gumppenberg which saw several editions from 1655 on,[15] and included many other miracle stories concerning the work of the European missionaries outside Europe. So, the knowledge spread by the Jesuits on the non-European world has penetrated into Central Europe, Hungary as well, even if we are not familiar with the process to the desirable extent. The example of the miracle stories suggests that it followed latent, more indirect ways. Beyond such extremely simplified, miraculous interpretations (Esterházy's *Mennyei Korona* contains stories placed

[12] I could consult both these works in Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

[13] On the individual missionaries see Spicer 1962, 308-331; on Gilg and Januschke see also Roedl 1994, 25, 89 and 91. On Neumann see ibid. 20-33; on Pfefferkorn see Schröder 1996; on Nentvig see Spicer 1962, 308-331.

[14] Knapp-Tüskés 1994.

[15] According to the research of Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, this work of Gumppenberg was published in Ingolstadt (1657 and 1659) and München (1672), and saw translations into German, Italian and Czech languages. See Knapp-Tüskés 1994, 13 and 26.

in other parts of Mexico, and also Peru, India, North-Africa, or, for that matter, the Canary islands), there are more direct testimonies by our own missionaries as well; the account of the mission among the Mojos Indians in Bolivia (at that time Peru) by Ferenc Éder Xavér published in 1791 in Buda is a good example.[16] However, it is clear that the descriptions of missionaries like Éder could be considered "direct" only to the extent that their authors have indeed visited the depicted territories. In the following I will return to the problem that their texts - dividing the world into the same polarized opposition of pagans and Christians as miracle stories did, and, moreover, relying on the discourse of 16th-17th century demonology in representing those "pagans"-, themselves were produced by characteristic intellectual/religious interpretive filters.

The next aspect is more closely related to *literary history*, the question of *genres*: what is to be understood by demonology in such an early modern European-American relation? In the case of New Mexico it should certainly be understood more as a *diabolic discourse*, in its broadest sense - a practice of demonization as well as a demonizing manner of speech - than a branch of strict and focused scientific treatises, like those by Martín Delrió or Jean Bodin in the Old World.[17] Such treatises are not known from the territory of New Mexico, but the language of the accounts and descriptions of the missionaries -their choice of words and expressions as well as their associations- is penetrated by explicit demonic ideas, i.e. the devil itself, demons, sorcery, witchcraft, idolatry, charms, superstitions etc. One of the earliest -and most diabolical- account from this region is the work of the Spanish Franciscan Alonso de Benavides, entitled *Memorial*, which was published in a shorter and a longer version in Madrid in 1630 and 1634, respectively.[18] Benavides acted as a missionary among the Piro, Jumano and Navaho Indians between 1625 and 1629; and his account of these years was soon translated in many other European languages, like German, French, Latin, etc.[19]

In the following I would like to pinpoint some further aspects of demonology in early modern New Mexico, relying on the (more or less) diabolical accounts of Alonso de Benavides, Joseph Neumann and Ignaz Pfefferkorn, and aiming to explore the uses and functions of demonology in this region. Beyond the direct and evident *religious*

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[16] Éder 1791; I used the copy of the special collections in Somogyi Library, Szeged. On Éder see Boglár 1952 and 1978; Boglár-Bognár 1975 and Boglár-Komor 2003. In the age of Éder's activity, and even earlier, Jesuit missionaries of Central European origin (Croat, Hungarian, Slovak, etc) were working in South America as well as New Mexico. However, their oeuvre and its evaluation is rather missing from the history of the emergence of cultural anthropology in the Kingdom of Hungary, which, for that matter, itself has not been written yet. This history should include many other Jesuit and Protestant authors from the early modern period who published in the genre of *geographia mundi* and *historia naturalis*, and who are to be considered as important representatives of the reception of early Western anthropology in Hungary. My broader research - pursued in the Somogyi Library, Szeged, University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Library of the Academy, Budapest, and National Széchenyi Library, Budapest - aims such explorations. See for example Sz. Kristóf 2011b; see also note 39.

[17] Bodin 1593 and Delrio 1600; I have used the copies of Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

[18] I could consult this work in the Library of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

[19] Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 1-17; 19-33.

function, we find two main, and altogether four functions -or, rather uses- of the diabolical discourse in New Mexico. There is a *political-ideological* use, with its historical and also recent forms, and there is an *epistemological-philosophical* use, that also has its early modern/historical and present day/recent manifestations, relating mostly to the history of anthropological thinking. Let me survey these four uses.

1. Demonology as an ideology legitimizing colonization and Christianization – on the part of the Europeans

The diabolization of the American Indians by European missionaries and civil magistrates seems to have occurred in the territory New Mexico in ways (by means of texts, pictures, and the practice of criminal courts) similar to those in the more central American areas of the Spanish Empire, i.e. Mexico and Peru. In New Mexico, however, it was a somewhat later and, so to say, more provincial phenomenon. Local demonology has not produced so elaborated visual or textual representations there as those known from 16th century Mexico or Peru.[20]

The majority of the accounts of the missionaries working in 17th century New Mexico cannot be considered scholarly treatises. They mostly lack the scientific apparatus (references to demonological authorities and biblical texts) required in such a written/printed discourse in Europe, and their use of terminology - what and why they call sorcery, witchcraft or idolatry - is frequently undefined and/or inconsequent. These writings were born clearly "in the field," i. e. in the very process and circumstances of mission work.[21] Through them, however, one can get closer to, on one hand, the *mental intellectual filter* (so to say, "glasses") of the missionaries, i. e. their own worldview and the categories of understanding and classification, through which they interpreted the indigenous cultures of New Mexico, and, on the other hand, a certain *political context*, i. e. the exact micro- or macro-situation in which they were born, and which frequently had an impact on them.

Let me mention two examples of the latter.

Alonso de Benavides wrote and offered his *Memorial* in 1634 to Pope Urban VIII with the intention of organizing the mission area in New Mexico into a bishopric, rich and profitable, according to his hopes.[22]

Having this purpose in front of his eyes, he packed his writing with devils and demons who, according to him, so far deceived the native inhabitants of New Mexico

[20] Gruzinski 1988, Bernand-Gruzinski 1988, Alberro 1988, Pagden 1990, Cervantes 1994.

[21] The account of Father Pfefferkorn of his mission in Sonora, published in 1794 is an exception. A rich apparatus of footnotes is attached to it, which was made not by him alone but with the help of one of his Jesuit colleagues, and which abounds in ethnographical data on many different indigenous cultures as well as scholarly references. See Pfefferkorn 1996.

[22] Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 13-15.

and kept them in their diabolic captivity, so the need for Christian missionaries was enormous indeed in that region, and, he also pointed to the alleged thousands of natives willing to take Christianity, which would prove for the Pope that there would be an appropriate number of sheep in the flock of the bishop, who would be noone else but Benavides himself. If we look more closely at the number of the natives that Benavides claims to have already converted to Christianity, we are to suspect that there were not as many native inhabitants altogether in New Mexico; we read not only about tens, but thirties, and even hundreds of thousands of people belonging to different indigenous cultures.[23] Regarding such features of the *Memorial,* it seems legitimate to say that the author's objectives have been made all too evident. They might have probably been identified by the Pope himself, since finally he did not give permission to establish the bishopric.

The other example is from the period before the so-called Pueblo revolt, i.e. the big uprising of the Eastern Pueblo Indians in 1680. As the Franciscan missionaries working among the Indians during the 1650s realize that their native flock, continously Christianized from the beginning of the century on, still practices its ancient rituals (such as the so-called *kachina* dances[24]), they elaborate a kind of apology in the letters and accounts sent to their superiors. They frequently argue that the failure of Christianization is due to the *spell* of some wicked Indian „sorcerers," „witches" (*hechiceros*, *brujos*) communicating with the devil, that had been cast upon them. So, those *Indian witches* are said to have bewitched the missionaries, that is why they were not able to spread the Word with a greater succes.[25] What is recognizable in this argument is the strategy of scape-goating - well-known from European witchcraft discourse, criminal processes as well as demonological writings.

The political efforts and arguments to be found in the two examples do not exclude, however, that the missionaries believed indeed in the supernatural power of the Indian sorcerers as well as the devil and his demons making a contract with them. On the

[23] Op. cit. 15, 45, passim.

[24] According to the beliefs of the Pueblo Indians, the *kachinas* would come to them during the first half of the year in order to assure a favourable weather (abundant rains), good luck in farming (an abundant harvest of corn), and the health of the people (recovery from illness), and also to initiate children who have reached puberty in the secret knowledge and rites of their clan. The appearance of the *kachinas* is accompanied by spectacular dances and masks. Pritzker 2000, 5.

[25] Spicer 1962, 160-162 and Simmons 1974, 25-27. Speaking about the events of the period of the 1620s/30s, Father Benavides uses the argument according to which the Indian sorcerers could cause a supernatural harm to the Christian missionaries as a self-evident truth, and so does Father Neumann, almost a century later. See Benavides in Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 66passim and Neumann 1994, 114 and 121passim. This belief could perhaps be confirmed by the fact that during the early modern native revolts in New Mexico dozens and dozens of missionaries were (physically) killed by the Indians; during the great Pueblo revolt of 1680 for example not less than twenty-one. The Christian missionaries, facing their Indian flock, have thus proven vulnerable indeed. See Spicer 1962, 163. As the account of Father Pfefferkorn testifies to it, however, by the end of the 18th century, that argument seems to have lost its earlier weight. In his description of Sonora published in 1794 Father Pfefferkorn depicts the local Indian sorcerers (*Zauberer*) not as powerful and frightening, but ignorant and miserable, just like the "stupid folk" (*das dumme Volk*) that believes in their practices. See Pfefferkorn 1996, 233-234. See also note 40.

contrary. Their argumentation could have been all the more efficient as it was based on a consensus of beliefs and religious doctrine that they shared with their colleagues and superiors.

A more or less politically loaded and diabolizing religious ideology can be found among the missionaries of both orders that worked in early modern New Mexico - although it seems to have occurred earlier and with more emphasis in the case of the Franciscans than among the Jesuits -, and they shared another feature as well. Namely, that it is frequently the *native political and religious leaders* - various (clan, etc) chiefs, priests, keepers of religious knowlegde, *medicine men* etc., opposing and sometimes literally fighting Christianization - that have become witches (*brujos*, *hechiceros*, *Zauberer*, *Aerzte*, *magos*, *impostores*) in the eyes and writings of the missionaries. The local history of early modern New Mexico is packed with smaller or bigger revolts of indigenous people. The Yaki, Pima, Tepehuan, Tarahumara, Opata people as well as the different Pueblo tribes attempted to get rid of their colonizers and missionaries, as I will return to it later, and the leaders, organizers as well as the participants of these revolts are transformed "witches" in the accounts of the missionaries.[26]

Nevertheless, there are also important differences between the discourses of the two religious orders. It seems that the Jesuits did not rely on the diabolic vocabulary so readily as the Franciscans, and they were more careful to use the term *idolatry*, too - as I will return to it - than for example the Franciscan Benavides. The account of the latter abounds in diabolical terms, associations and classifications. He is convinced to find *idolators* in each and every village (although he does not explain what he exactly means by idolatry); he sees the Devil behind every tree, and he exorcizes bushes and pieces of stone.[27] It seems that Father Benavides, writing around the 1620s/1630s, continued the interpretive tradition of the Mexican Franciscans, who diabolized the Nahuatl (Aztec) people from the early 16th century on. His attitude and religious-intellectual filter is very far from those of the Jesuit missionaries who showed a more careful and critical approach toward the whole question of witchcraft and diabolism already during his lifetime, and whose attitude - as we will see in the case of Father Pfefferkorn - has become penetrated by certain ideas of the Enlightenment during the 18th century.

The excellent historian of the area, Edward Spicer must be mentioned here, who says that the Franciscan missionaries did not write much, but they were very active in practical issues of criminalizing - and demonizing - the ancient religion of the natives. They led plenty of expeditions - kind of patrols of punishment or razzias - to confiscate ritual objects, masks, costumes etc from the Indians in order to burn them, and they held criminal proceedings against them with the charges of sorcery (*sortilegium*), witchcraft (*hechicería*) and idolatry (*idolatria*). Their territory of mission lay north of Sonora

[26] For Benavides see Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 66-67, 75-76, 78-89; for Nentvig see Spicer 1962, 20-21, 32; and for Neumann 1994, 114; 121-154.

[27] Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 41passim, especially 62-63.

(the land of the Tarahumara Indians), and comprised the area of the Eastern Pueblo Indians living along the Rio Grande (from El Paso to Taos). The Jesuits, for their part, seem to have been less violent. Their method of Christianization was more intellectual - and they wrote a lot. They have written the most accounts on the encounter between the Europeans and natives in early modern New Mexico. And their territory of mission consisted mostly of the southern provinces, Chihuahua, Sonora, Sinaloa, etc.[28]

So, at least from the first half of the 17th century trials of sorcery and witchcraft are known from New Mexico, especially from the area of the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande, but also from the Zuni and Hopi living further to the West. The archival documents relating to those proceedings, however, are not entirely known yet, they are not fully explored, let alone published. I am not able to give any statistical assessment at this moment; I am aware of some two dozens of individual trials from different sources and publications,[29] but the dimension of witch-hunting (formal as well as informal accusations) was surely greater there.[30]

2. Demonology as *casus belli* – on the part of the Indians: past and present

The practice of demonization has become part of everyday life in early modern New Mexico, but, as I have already mentioned, counter-reactions also have risen against it. Such reactions represent another use of demonology.

As regards the *past/historical* aspect of that use, let me again point to the fact that local history is full of more or less violent resistance and revolts on the part of American Indians. Several tribes attempted to resist colonization and Christianization; the purpose of the defence of native religion permeates all three of their greatest and most devastating uprisings. The Tepehuan revolt in 1616-1618, the Pueblo revolt (the already mentioned uprising of the Rio Grande Pueblos) in 1680, and the Yaki-Mayo-Pima uprising all shared the same background objective of defending indigenous customs and

[28] Spicer 1962, 32-33, 52, 591.

[29] Spicer 1962, especially 152-169 and 281-331, Simmons 1974, 5-35, Parsons 1996 [1939], II, 1065-1066. The 16th-17th century criminal proceedings and the activity of the Spanish Inquisition (cases of sorcery and witchcraft together with other crimes, and Indian accused together with other ones) in Mexico are discussed in Greenleaf 1961 and 1969, Alberro 1988 and Cervantes 1994.

[30] Let me briefly mention here that local witchcraft accusations had another form, too, namely charges brought by Indians against Indians, and examined by Indians according to their own native beliefs and rituals. For the traditional witchcraft beliefs of the different Native American tribes see Walker 1970; especially for those of the Pueblo Indians see Ellis 1970. Some data that I am aware of show that this form itself goes back to the age of the early modern Spanish conquest and colonization, however it is documented most abundantly from the second half of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century. That is, from the very period when Euro-American presence has become the most intensive in the American Southwest, and upset local social order there. See Sz. Kristóf 2011a, with further readings on the subject.

rituals[31] - we are very far indeed from the idealized world of Prince Esterházy's miracle story of Sinaloa.

Remarkably, the charge of causing harm in a supernatural way - i. e. witchcraft - occurred during those uprisings as well, but from the *opposite side*. The uprisings were frequently preceded by epidemics, - mostly measles and smallpox -, and the Indians interpreted them along their own witchcraft beliefs as the spell of the "Whites." This is what happened in 1686 as the medicine men of the Pimas came to the conclusion that the Indians die because of the oil (used for baptism) of the missionaries, the oil supposedly spreading the illness. Similarly, before and during the Tarahumara uprising in 1696-1698 the leaders of native rituals thought that the smallpox currently raging among them was spread by the missionaries; the latter are indeed the "sorcerers and witches of the Spaniards."[32]

Admittedly, we know about such "counter-accusations" on the part of the Indians from the accounts of the missionaries only, which certainly means kind of a Christian re-interpretation of what really happened in those cases. Yet, this reaction occurs so frequently in their writings, is related to so many different Indian cultures, and fits so well in local witchcraft beliefs that it has to be held more than just an invention of the missionaries, or a literary topos.

The use of demonology discussed here has another, *current* aspect as well. How do the Native Americans face this dark period of their past today? I had the occasion to study this problem quite closely earlier, and I pointed to the fact that the current indigenous interpretations of the past are embedded in highly important cultural-political processes of identity construction in the *present* that are based, for their part, on the American Indian civil right movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and the so-called *American Indian Ethnic Renewal* that itself goes back to these times. American Indian intellectuals - academics, scholars, artists etc - are struggling to (be able to) create *their own* interpretation of their past, and to control and overwrite the external representations that have been formed of them.[33]

In such a context the period of Christianization appears as one of shameful and unjust oppression, and the charges of idolatry and witchcraft are radically denied and repudiated. They are evoked with anger and hatred as another means of violent intrusion into indigenous cultures by the Euro-Americans, and also mocked as another nonsense coming from the latter. The brochures, newspapers and etiquettes for tourists published by the American Indians in New Mexico and Arizona that mentioned these charges and by which this research of mine started, were embedded in such an indigenous (re-)interpretation.

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[31] On the Tepehuan revolt see Spicer 1962, 27-28; on the Pueblo revolt see op. cit. 158-165, Simmons 1979, 182-186 and Sando 1979; and on the Yaki-Mayo-Pima uprising see Spicer 1962, 51-53.

[32] For the Pimas see Spicer 1962, 123; for the Taraumaras see Neumann 1994, 122.

[33] See Nagel 1997 and Hertzberg 1988; indigenous views are expressed in Fixico 1997 and Mihesuah 1998. See also Sz. Kristóf 2004a, 2004b, 2007, and 2011a.

Let us go on and see the *epistemological-philosophical* use of demonology, that, as I said earlier, also has its historical and contemporary manifestations. The two are essentially inseparable, it is only for the sake of the clarity of the survey that I make such a division.

3. Demonology as a way of classifying the Other – in the past, on the part of the missionaries

Whether we look in the writings of the Franciscans or the Jesuits, we find that the discourse used by them constitutes sort of a *diabolical othering* in the sense that it reveals a particular form of the early modern classification of non-European/non-Christian societies. Plenty of the missionaries observe that the indigenous peoples of America are not identical, they differ from one another in many respects. The missionaries rely on the unifying-stereotyping categories of idolatry, communication with the devil, etc, but behind/beyond them they do perceive and describe the differences between, for example, the settled agriculturalists (such as the Pueblo Indians) on the one hand, and those pursuing a nomadic way of life (the Seri, Apache, Navaho people, etc) on the other. Moreover, some of them elaborate on such social and cultural differences, and emphasizes the idea - which has emerged during the next two centuries as one of the most important , but politically-ethically most ambiguous and unjust concept in the philosophy of history as well as anthropology -, according to which the settled, farming societies are *more developed* than the gathering/hunting ones, and all of them are *less developed* than the peoples forming states and huge empires, and building, for example, enormous temples, like the indigenous "Mexicans" and the "Peruvians."[34] This stadial concept goes back at least to the Jesuit writing of history in the late 16th century, for example to the works of the Spanish Father José de Acosta on America.[35] We find it with the theoreticians of universal social progress in the age of the Enlightenment,[36] and

[34] On the cultural differences among the American Indians more abundantly see Benavides in Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 37, 52, 61, 81 and Pfefferkorn 1996, 218-237. In contrast to the hunters of New Mexico, labelled most often as "wild" and "warlike", the Pueblo Indians were called already by Benavides "decent, settled people" in his work in 1634, see Hodge-Hammond-Rey 1945, 61. From among the missionaries mentioned in this study, the stadial concept of universial social progress is to be found in a most elaborate form with Father Pfefferkorn in the late 18th century, although it does not constitute an explicit system of thought, see Pfefferkorn 1996, 218-239 (*Abschnitt X. Religion der unbekehrten Sonorer*).

[35] See Elliott 1976, 19. For the classical Greek-Roman roots of the concept and the impact of the works of Herodote, Epicure and Lucretius see Harris (1968, 26). According to my (as yet unpublished) research, Acosta was known in early modern Hungary. He is cited, for example, in one of the footnotes attached by Jesuit Father Makó to the account of the Bolivian mission of his colleague, Father Ferenc Éder Xavér, see Éder 1791, 7 and 23, which is an important evidence of the reception of foreign scholarship on America in Hungary during the early modern-modern period. On this subject see also note 39.

[36] For example with Vico, Turgot, Montesquieu, or Ferguson, Robertson, etc, see Harris 1968, 27-35; see also Bodrogi 1991. The concept also appears in 18th century works of *geographia mundi* written and published in Hungary, that I am currently studying. See also note 15 and 39.

it leads in late 19th century evolutionary anthropology, namely to Lewis H. Morgan - and through his works, Friedrich Engels -, Edward B. Tylor, and many other stadial thinkers of the age. It is by these authors and during this period of the late 19th century that the most elaborated form of the idea of universal socio-cultural progress (evolution) appears, namely the schema of *savagery-barbarism-civilization*.[37]

The interpretation given by Father Pfefferkorn on the Indians of Sonora and published in his account in 1794 exemplifies the stadial thought in one of its early manifestations. From the perspective of the Jesuit missionaries, but also applying some ideas and terms of the Enlightenment, Father Pfefferkorn argues that the Indians of Sonora are to be considered wild (*Wilden*), if compared to the Aztecs and Peruvians. They do not have religion, he says, since they do not perform services to honour the supernatural, they do not have churches, and they do not know the One god creator either. They ignore the laws of nature (*Gesetze der Natur*), and they live like beasts without reason (*unvernuenftige Vieh*).[38]

His arguments, on the one hand, clearly correspond to the characteristic *Euro-centrism* of the missionaries which implies that a religion cannot be imagined otherwise but according to the European concepts and patterns - which, for that matter, derive from (and identify themselves with) classical Greek and Roman precedents.[39] On the other hand, his texts testify to an important transformation in the age of late Enlightenment as well. Namely, that the earlier, diabolizing discourse based upon the (rather religious) opposition of pagans and Christians is already fading, and gives way to another (rather socio-cultural) opposition, namely that of the "savage" versus "civilized"[40] This

[37] For a general survey see Harris 1968, 142-216. See also Voigt 1971, Sárkány 2001 and Sárkány-Somlai 2003; also Morgan 1961[1877] and Tylor 1871.

[38] Pfefferkorn 1996, 222-231.

[39] For Father Pfefferkorn the religion of the Mexican Indians organized in a state and living in towns was more easily understandable, and more readily considered indeed a *religion* -one of the pagan religions-, than the less spectacular, more simple rituals of the Sonora Indians, living in smaller kinship groups. The "idols" of the Mexicans could easily be equated with the gods of the pagan Romans; "Die Mexikaner verehrten, neben andern Götzen, auch ihren Vitziliputzli, der bei ihnen eben das, was bei den Römern der Mars, war."Pfefferkorn 1996, 220.

[40] The history of the classification and representation of otherness in Western Europe has been studied by an immense number of scholars; let me refer here only to some classics that are closer to the history of anthropology: Hodgen 1964, Cocchiara 1965, Todorov 1982, Bitterli 1982, Pagden 1990. From among Hungarian researchers the works of Tibor Bodrogi and Mihály Sárkány are closer to an anthropological-intellectual history, see Bodrogi 1991, 1997b and 1997c, Sárkány 2001 and Sárkány-Somlai 2003. At the same time, however, the whole question of early modern anthropology in Hungary - the emergence of the sciences of ethnography and anthropology through the 16th/18th centuries - has not yet received due attention. In recent historiographical accounts it is to be found in mosaics rather, see Kósa 2001, 26-28, or Sárkány 2000, 29-38. It does not have any general survey; parts of its history are treated in Bodrogi 1978a and 1978b; see also Voigt 1972. It is still in a need of a thorough archival exploration, and its bibliography should be gathered by monitoring that of many different disciplines, like ethnography, history, literary history, art history, etc. I do not even think of providing any such comprehensive bibliography in this paper. In the specific case of America, the archival explorations started by ethnologues

(continued...)

transformation seems to have exercised an enormous impact on the use - and uselfulness - of demonology. What exempts the Sonora Indians from the practice of idolatry, adoring the devil, and other kinds of religious/diabolic abuses in the eyes of Father Pfefferkorn and his Jesuit colleagues is that they are *so* wild. They know the Devil, - as Father Pfefferkorn argues -, but they do *not* adore it by any means of organized service or ritual, and they do *not* have idols, since they do not have religion either.[41]

It would be reasonable to suppose in this context, that such a classification of the Other - which opposed and contrasted the "savage" inhabitants of New Mexico with the more "civilized", but "idol-adoring" peoples of Mexico and Peru from almost the beginning - itself contributed to the fact that the demonological discourse in New Mexico has not become so elaborated as the one relating to the latter peoples. If you do not happen to find many idols, you do not write huge scholarly treatises to extirpate them...

4. Demonology as history/philosophy of anthropology – in the present, on the part of the researcher

Early modern demonology as a particular way of classifying otherness appears for the (post)modern researcher as a piece of the history of thinking, or, ethnography/ anthropology at birth. And it is to be interpreted like that. I would hesitate, however, to subscribe to the widely accepted notion that the missionaries were indeed sort of early heroes, pioneers of the science of anthropology. If we find similarities between their practice and that of later anthropology (gathering knowledge "in the field," by oral communication and "participant observation"), the *aims* nevertheless differ. The transformation (frequently violent as it was) of the societies investigated was probably more in the focus of the missionary program of Christianization, than in the rather secular program of *primitivization* of the science of anthropology, i.e. a desire for learning about (no matter how imaginary) non-Christian/pre-Christian cultures and preserving

[40] (...continued)
like Boglár 1952, Bodrogi 1978a, Borsányi 1999 fail to meet and correspond to those started by the other disciplines, history or literary history, and *vice versa*. My own research and explorations, mentioned in note 15 aimed as a contribution to a better knowledge of the early modern history of the sciences of ethnography and anthropology (especially the Western impact and the reception of the indigenous peoples of the Western hemisphere) in the Kingdom of Hungary. See for example Sz. Kristóf 2011b.

[41] Pfefferkorn 1996, 222-223; 231-232. In judging the Indian "sorcerers" in Sonora - of whom, as he says, many believe to have made a contract with the devil - Father Pfefferkorn applies an argument that is well-known from late European witchcraft discourse and strengthened by the the impact of the Enlightenment. According to that argument the sorcerers and witches are only *impostors, swindlers*, who abuse the simplicity and credulity of their fellowmen, and have never contacted the devil: "Indessen haben diese vorgegebenen Zauberer nie eine Klaue vom Teufel gesehen: sie haben auch keinen Bund, keine Gemeinschaft mit ihm. Es sind nur verschnißte Betrieger, welche die Einfalt und Leichtglaubigkeit ihrer Landesleuthen zu ihrem Vortheile benutzen." Op. cit., 234.

them as such. It is important, in my view, to keep this basic difference in mind. Instead of considering Christian missionaries as predecessors of ethnography/anthropology, I would agree with a more critical approach proposed, for example, in the studies edited and presented by Claude Blanckaert, and which could be circumscribed as identifying a *Christian interpretive horizont* in the missionary accounts of otherness.[42]

I myself have found that the observations of the New Mexico missionaries have not been guided by an early ethnographical questionnaire. They were guided rather by the questions of the early Catholic books of confession and catechism; especially by the points of the *Ten Commandments* and the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Both Franciscan and Jesuit Fathers frequently condemn the "manifestations" of gluttony/ebriety, lechery/fornication, sloth, greed etc - i.e. what *they* consider such - among the American Indians, and they always focus on "how many wives" are customary with the particular people. However, they tend to neglect to reflect upon the structure and organization of the same indigenous societies, or the details of their kinship, inheritance or economic system, that later ethnographers/anthropologists would not lose sight of.[43]

Nevertheless, what makes the missionary accounts - and the diabolical discourse they include - truly significant for a historian of (anthropological) thinking, is that two particular epochs, or rather branches, of the history of the European classification of otherness are to be identified in them. *Demonization* is the one, and *barbarization* (in the sense of the above mentioned stadial conception of history) is the other - and that they offer an (unfortunately) adequate and abundant field to study them.

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In conclusion let me reflect on two points discussed above.

A similarly complex approach to demonological discourse - an exploration of its *political/epistemological uses* - could be applied in plenty of European cases of othering, too. Jews and Gypsies immediately come to one's mind, but let me call the attention to two *frontier* areas, or *contact zones* inside early modern Europe where witchcraft charges seem to have merged with the process of othering ethnic/cultural foreigners. One is the territory of Finnmark in northern Scandinavia, where the indigenous Sami (Lapp) people have been accused of witchcraft through a series of trials relating to the colonization of the area between the end of the 16th and the 17th century. And the other is the Hungarian Great Plain, which was resettled after the Turkish conquest, and

[42] On *primitive society* as a core concept in late 19th-20th century British anthropology, see Kuper 1988. Blanckaert1985.

[43] It is worth mentioning here how Father Neumann described a ritual of the Tarahumara Indians in 1634. This ritual was accompanied by dances and *tesquino* drinking (an alcoholic drink made by means of fermenting corn). Father Neumann looked at this ritual through the Christian glasses of the sin of gluttony/ebriety, and was horrified of how much the Indians drank in such occasions. However, he has not devoted much attention to the particular *ritual context* itself, or to the very *aims* - individual and social - of it, namely curing and recovery. Neumann 1994, 97, 104, 121, 130 and Spicer 1962, 310.

where we find a considerable number of witchcraft accusations against so-called "foreigners," i.e. newcomers.[44] A more profound, more complex analysis of the exact uses of demonology in such territories would contribute to a better understanding of European witch-hunting, too.

In the case of Hungary, the demonological discourse - and the specific genres in which it appeared - could and should be studied in order to explore the concrete ways and representations through which knowledge about America and its inhabitants had been transferred to Central Europe in the early modern period. Parallel to the missionaries' accounts and descriptions, or, included in them, miracle stories or witch-craft narratives, as we have seen, could function as important channels communicating information on the non-European world. The discourse and the genres would also indicate, to some extent, the audience, whom such knowledge was aimed at. A detailed investigation of such channels of knowledge about the non-European world and its indigenous peoples is the aim of the research presented here.

The approach that I have applied here is based on the methodology of the French *histoire de la lecture*,[45] and it consists of identifying and contextualizing the various uses of demonology. For the establishment of such uses - or, for that matter, *readings* - the indications of the *text* in which they are inscribed should be studied very carefully (*demonology as a religious-political legitimization*, *demonology as casus belli*, *demonology as a form of classifying the Other*, as we have seen in the particular case of New Mexico). And, by applying the requirement of (self)reflexivity, present in cultural anthropology or sociology for some thirty-forty years by now,[46] the interpretation of the *reader* herself/himself should also be taken into consideration which might as well go beyond the text (*demonology as a branch of the history of thinking*).

[44] On the witch-hunt against the Sami see Hagen 2005. For an earlier, now sharply criticized concept of *frontier* territories see Turner 1966[1894]). For the Hungarian Great Plain conceived as a *frontier* area, see Den Hollander 1960-1961 and 1975; for witchcraft charges against early 18th century settlers in the Great Plain see Sz. Kristóf 1998 and 2006. For centers and peripheries in early modern European witch-hunting, the occurrence of some inner *frontier*-relations and marginality, see Ankarloo and Henningsen 1990; for the Kingdom of Hungary see Klaniczay 1990a and 1990b, and Sz. Kristóf, 2006. See also Pratt 1992.

[45] Parallel to, and influenced by New Historicism and the so-called Cultural Turn, the history of reading appeared in French historical writing during the 1990s, and it had a broader sphere of interest and investigation than just the concrete practices of reading (and writing). It provided a new historical-philological-epistemological discourse, methodology and attitude for those who were sensitive to an interpretive-reflexive way of writing history. On the methodology of making such an *histoire de la lecture*, see Chartier 1989, 1992, 1994.

[46] The French history of reading is based largely upon the reflexive sociology/anthropology of Pierre Bourdieu, see Bourdieu avec Wacquant 1992. Bourdieu himself reflects, however, upon some parallel thoughts coming from the critical stream of American cultural anthropology, such as those of Clifford Geertz 1973, James Clifford and George Marcus 1986, or Renato Rosaldo 1989 - who, for that matter, have relied to a great extent on thinkers of the French postmodernism, like Michel Foucault, Jean-François Lyotard or Jacques Derrida.

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Illustration

A diabolized representation of the Aztec god, Uitzilipochtli from Everhardus Happelius, *Thesaurus Exoticorum*. Hamburg, 1688. Courtesy of the Somogyi Library, Szeged.