Bryan Givens. *Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011. viii + 255 pp. $48.00. Review by VALERIE HEGSTROM, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY.

In his preface to *Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal*, Bryan Givens tells us he did not set out to write a book about a middle-class woman from seventeenth-century Portugal. He had planned to study the Inquisition's prosecution of believers in *sebastianismo* during the years that the Spanish Habsburg kings also ruled Portugal (1580-1640); his study would shed light on the "social composition of the *sebastianista* movement" (vii). *Sebastianismo*—the messianic belief that the Portuguese King Sebastian I, who disappeared during an ill-fated invasion of Morocco in 1578, would return to liberate Portugal from its Spanish kings and lead the country to victory and honor—affected the Portuguese sense of national and cultural identity for more than a century in the Early Modern period. The author could not write the book he had planned, because he did not find any evidence of an organized inquisitorial campaign against *sebastianismo*. Instead, *Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal* offers us a fascinating microhistory, the story of an individual woman, her relationship to and understanding of *sebastianismo*, and her contact with the officers of the Inquisition.

The introduction, "A Journey to Another World," describes the author's microhistorical approach, which regards Macedo's pamphlet and the trial record as cultural artifacts, which he reads closely, studying each element to find the clues that will lead his contextualizing research to the origins of the images and beliefs expressed in both records.

The book's first section provides context. The first chapter surveys millenarian legends, including the ideas of Joachim of Fiore, as well as the prophetic *Trovas* of Bandarra, and shows how these worked together with the foundational Portuguese legend of Ourique—in which Dom Afonso Henriques defeated the numerically superior army of the Moors in 1139—to promote the cultural belief in a hidden, promised, desired king who would liberate Portugal from its enemies. The chapter ends focusing on King Sebastian, cultural representations of him as the

"Hidden One," what he might have believed about his own identity, and the ill-fated Battle of the Three Kings, in which he disappeared. Chapter two, "The Evolution of Sebastianism," describes the context in which *sebastianismo* developed. After Sebastian vanished without an heir, his elderly, celibate uncle took the throne, but died within two years. The strongest of the pretenders, Philip II of Spain quickly took control and thus began the 60-year reign of the Habsburg (Spanish) Philips in Portugal. Several false "Sebastians" appeared, including the "Prisoner of Venice," who eventually suffered hanging for treason. This prisoner received special support in Dom João de Castro's writings. The chapter also delineates the development of *joanismo*, in which João IV, the Braganza king who took Portugal back from Spanish control, appears as the heroic, desired king. *Joanismo*, which waned quickly, had as its most illustrious supporter Padre António Vieira. The author implies that during Vieira's lifetime, his sermons were "available only to a select group of people" (40). This is a mistake—11 of the 15 volumes of Vieira's sermons appeared in print before he died—but this does not detract from the argument that "despite [Vieira's] efforts, *joanismo* essentially died out in the 1660s" (40). S*ebastianismo* spread and the myth expanded to include the "Hidden Isle." The chapter describes *joanismo* as an elite movement and *sebastianismo* as the movement that caught the popular imagination.

In the second section, the book tells the stories of Maria's visions and her trial. Chapter three introduces a middle-aged, middle class, literate, and pious woman who claimed to have visions she dictated to her husband, Feliciano Machado. Two copies of the manuscript pamphlet survive among the papers relating to Maria's inquisitorial case. The bulk of the chapter consists of an adequate English translation of the pamphlet. (Some passages in the manuscript are impossible to decipher or ambiguous. Clarifying words appear in brackets.) The translation makes Maria's story available for the first time to an audience who cannot read Portuguese. She tells of nighttime visits from enchanted, shape-shifting Moors who take her to dig for gold or carry water and introduce her to their king. Following her account, Feliciano adds more details he remembers from her stories. For example, he names the king as Sebastian, now married with children. He also describes more

details about the "Hidden Isle" and about the king's future return to Lisbon. Chapter four details "The Trial of Maria de Macedo," including the denunciation of Maria by a familiar of the Inquisition and prominent *joanista*, the appointment of three experienced inquisitors, the examination of the first witnesses, the imprisonment of Maria, the several interrogations of Maria and her unwillingness to deny her account, the other witnesses examined, the eventual appointment of defense counsel, and the different recommendations made by the inquisitors to the General Council. In the end, Maria was tortured and she confessed that she had fabricated her stories. She appeared in an *auto da fé*, but the sentences of public whipping and exile in Angola were commuted. Maria, now a poverty-stricken widow, returned home to care for her four children and passed out of history.

The author analyzes Maria's story in the book's third section. The fifth chapter studies the use of time in Maria's visions and shows that the images in her visions shift meanings over time. As family members or neighbors suggest possibilities to her, Maria imposes these new interpretations on her visions. Her initial beliefs involve enchanted Moors; many years pass before she begins to believe in King Sebastian and the Hidden Isle as well. In chapter six, "A Glimpse of Paradise," the author carefully traces the images in Maria's view of utopia to their antecedents in folktales and other sources. Enchanted Moors, the sharing food, magical palaces, magic doors, St. John's Eve, red caps, blond hair, zoomorphia, great wealth, and supernatural lizards are all elements of folk tales and Maria's visions. Intriguing connections and shifts exist between the Prisoner of Venice in Dom João de Castro's writings and Maria de Macedo's descriptions of King Sebastian on the Hidden Isle, and the author convincingly argues that Castro is the most likely indirect source of Maria's beliefs about Sebastian's identifying characteristics. Maria's notions of the Hidden Isle may grow out of the legends of the land of Cockaigne, the Joachimite vision of the Third Age, or biblical stories of the Garden of Eden. The prophets and kings who associate with Sebastian in Maria's visions all serve to legitimate and connect him with millenarism. The author ties Maria's spiritual practices to the values of a cloistered, contemplative life and her *sebastianismo* to a withdrawal into political fantasy. Chapter 7,

"Utopia's Judges," studies what the record reveals about the mindset of the inquisitors and their subculture. They valued legalism, well-ordered procedures, and canon law. The account of their interrogations of Maria reveals as much about their own cultural understanding as about hers. For example, the inquisitors read as heretical some of the details of her vision that Maria took as clear evidence of King Sebastian's devotion to Christian principles and doctrine. They saw such details as flaws in Maria's story, which led them to conclude that she was not telling the truth. This left only two possibilities in their minds: the devil's deception, or fraud. Eventually they rejected the possibility of a pact with the devil and chose fraud as her crime by elimination. They never obtained any evidence of lying, except her confession under torture. The chapter makes explict the gendered and class-conscious nature of Maria's prosecution, pointing out the Early Modern suspicion of visionary women and the inquisitors' sense of their authority in the trial.

The book's conclusion summarizes the composite nature of Maria de Macedo's vision and delineates the ways in which the vision and the trial can help us understand what *sebastianismo* meant to the culture of seventeenth-century Portugal. In an important appendix, the author provides his transcription of the Portuguese text of Maria's pamphlet, thus making it more widely available to scholars of Portuguese history and literature.

Givens might have helped his non-Portuguese readers by including translations of Portuguese book titles, and his reader may stumble over a few proofreading errors, but *Judging Maria de Macedo* offers its readers a serious study in English of the development and evolution of *sebastianismo*. It provides an understanding of how *sebastianismo* played in popular culture among the middle class in Early Modern Portugal on one hand, and on the other how the tensions, values, and personalities of the inquisitorial subculture affected their reading of *sebastianistas*. Additionally, this book delivers the first full-blown close reading and microhistory of Macedo's visions and trial, and in so doing introduces us to a unique female voice, a previously unknown and unpublished non-elite woman writer. In this very important way, Maria de Macedo's visions are a revelation.