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Sorcery and Eroticism in Love Magic

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During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries—and even now in some rural areas—Spain maintained a long and extensive tradition of magic. Men and women of all ages and social conditions passionately practiced some of these rituals that the Church considered superstitions. One large group of magicians of both sexes—although some Inquisition tribunals prosecuted more women—claimed the power to cure illness, especially when caused by dark forces. The Inquisition prosecuted them for the improper use of Catholic liturgical prayers. A second large group composed mainly of men were feverishly caught up in the search for enchanted treasures, supposedly hidden by both Muslims and Jews at the time of their expulsion from the Iberian peninsula. Monks and priests, intellectuals, peasants, and city dwellers all formed silent partnerships with *judeoconversos* and *moriscos*, the former members of the expelled ethnic groups.

Largely carried out by men, this “masculine magic” employed—or at least claimed to employ—knowledge derived from such sources as astrology, the cabala, readings of the psalms, and the more popular esoteric books; thus we may also call it an “educated magic,” although in most cases the protagonists were no more than simple amateurs with very vague notions of the specializations that experts—among whom we must include the level-headed men of science—had practiced for centuries. Women were not completely absent from these silent partnerships, although their role was always that of extra or assistant in the complicated maneuvers intended to disenchant hidden riches.¹

Inquisitorial proceedings clearly distinguish another group of women

as equally involved in magical practices, with the primary goal being seduction and conquest of a suitor. This third type of magic had a distinctly amorous nature, not only in its objectives, but also in its chants, invocations, and rites.² The Spanish Inquisition prosecuted all of these men and women equally for their deviation from one of the fundamental dogmas of the Catholic Church, the exercise of free will, and for the misuse of the sacred liturgy and of the names of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. The practice of love magic was also condemned for its invocation of evil spirits—such as the Lame Devil (*el Diablo Cojuelo*), Satan, Barabbas, and similar demons—that allowed the possibility of establishing some kind of inadvisable pact with Evil. The “diabolical pact” had already been clearly defined and repudiated by ecclesiastical authorities since well before the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition.³ Fortunately for our sorceresses and amateurs, however, as well as for the solutions to their problems by means of magic, the attitude of the judges and prosecutors of the Spanish Holy Office were never so strict as in other areas, and even in the most extreme cases, prisoners usually received penalties limited to whipping and exile.⁴

The inquisitional archives constitute the best source available for studying the three types of magic referred to above. On the basis of these sources, I have cataloged the following summary of superstitious practices and sorcery performed by women who were concerned about the absence or possible loss of love.

LOVE MAGIC

In my analysis of the *relaciones de causas* (the lists of prisoners sent by every local tribunal to the central or supreme council) that I have been able to study to the present, the rituals practiced by the Catalan, Valencian, Andalusian, and Castilian sorceresses, as well as those tried by the tribunals of Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, belonged to a common store. Transmitted orally, and slowly elaborated over an undetermined period of time, they probably originated in the early Middle Ages.⁵ Little by little the sorceresses incorporated themes and rites into a common repertory, which immediately “traveled” over all of Spain as a result of the women’s great mobility. The sorceresses tried by each tribunal frequently came from areas quite distant from where they had finally been denounced and detained, and, as we shall see, many led restless lives, continually moving from place to place.

As these women came into frequent contact with one another, their consultations rarely ended after visiting one “expert.” Each chance oc-

casion—a gypsy who entered the house asking for alms, a traveler who arrived at the town, a short trip made to another city—provided an opportunity for making contact with some new professional who contributed original solutions and new methods. For in effect, the practice of sorcery is almost a profession for many women, and this double aspect of professionalism and geographical mobility explains the fundamental sameness of these practices, which offer few variations throughout the entire Iberian peninsula.

The study of the various tribunals reveals very similar profiles, and according to the goals and content of these rituals, the characteristics of “love magic” may be classified in the following manner:

First, there is a cluster of romantic procedures or spells, aimed always at uncovering the intentions of the man. These procedures are divided according to the instruments needed for the divination:

- a) procedures carried out with beans, cards, a sieve, scissors, or other similar instruments;
- b) divinations that make use of fire, spells that employ alum and salt, spells with “saucepans,” “flasks,” and similar items;
- c) spells with various other objects such as a rosary or oranges.

Second, we can distinguish a cluster of rites with either an obvious or an underlying erotic content. Their erotic content may be termed implicit or explicit:

- a) explicit: those rites which employ menstrual blood, semen, pubic hairs, and similar items;
- b) implicit: those prayers and rituals whose goal—as stated in the documents—is to achieve “illicit” contact in a more or less implicit manner, such as the conjuration of the shadow-broom, and other similar cases.

Finally, there are a series of cants and invocations of spirits which may be accompanied by a generally uncomplicated ceremony, such as gesturing with the hands, or showing oneself at a window, with the conjuration or recitation of the decisive act. These cants are meant to appease some suitor, to regain his love, to make him return and visit the enamored woman, and other similar goals. I am grouping them under the heading of “the power of the word,” because without the sorceress’s conviction and force in reciting them, no one would seriously believe in their effect:

- a) cants to placate a man and obtain his favors such as “Furious you come to me” (“furioso vienes a mí”), and “Hello, hello, man” (“hola, hola, varón”), and conjurations to the sun, moon, and stars;

- b) conjurations to obtain a visit from the man, such as conjurations of the door and window;
- c) magic cants to obtain the love of a suitor and avenge his neglect, such as the cant to the Lonely Soul [Ánima Sola], to Santa Marta, to "wicked" Marta, to Santa Elena, to San Silvestre, and to San Onofre.

As we have seen, the sorceresses' objectives completely justify the label of "love magic," and this has appeared to be the appropriate name for the practices generally carried out by women, but the seeming passion of these sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century women deserves to be examined with greater thoroughness. In reality, and as is readily apparent in these supplications to the spirits, the presence of a suitor represents more of a material necessity than a truly amorous one. More than any other, our sorceresses' most frequent conjuration, that "[man's name] come, *giving me what he has and telling me what he knows,*" demonstrates that the desired "friend's" presence basically meant the support of someone who would help the women overcome life's difficulties in a society controlled by men economically as well as religiously. The single woman not only saw herself obliged to fight against material adversity, but also became suspect to her neighbors, unless she placed herself under the tutelage of some mystic "spouse" by following the path of the nuns and *beatas*. Isolated in society, unable to count on any masculine support, whether real or sublimated, she risked falling into the category of witch, especially if she had reached middle age. The sorceresses and their clients, therefore, were deeply invested in winning over and retaining the man who, in this case without any extraordinary powers, could ward off poverty and social marginalization. The fundamental goals underlying their rites were those of women who desperately sought men's redeeming company by:

- a) determining a man's amorous intentions;
- b) obtaining a man's love;
- c) recovering and retaining the love of a scornful man.

AMOROUS ANXIETY IN FEMININE SORCERY

The long tradition and repeated practices of the cants, rites, and conjurations in the Middle Ages and the following centuries amassed so many possibilities for the woman in search of a stable companion that without having to analyze all the categories previously mentioned, and examining only the most frequently recited phrases and refrains,⁶ we

penetrate the very heart of "feminine magic," discovering the most intimate aspects of the sorceresses and their clients during these rituals. Judging from the chants recited by the sorceresses in order to attain the secret desires of their clients, love was the chief aim of these women of the Habsburg regime, who so readily solicited "love magic."

Despite their assertions, these enamored women were not satisfied merely with having their love reciprocated. Their aspirations and amorous passion extended to the total control of the beloved's will, and the reasons for desiring such control had little to do with the admired mystical sighs of their religious sisters' passion. Our enamored women, practitioners of magic, were essentially pragmatic souls who realized that they must obtain masculine support at all costs, so as not to be socially devalued.

Yet the purely amorous or erotic aspect of most of these practices is undeniable. Refrains of a basically impassioned nature are recited in all the rites and conjurations. In a client's name, a sorceress entreated the immediate appearance of the man, they ordered him to return if he had gone away, and repeated, through various chants, the desire that he be consumed with passion. This was only one facet of love magic, however, and we need to examine and learn about the others. Let us first examine the emotional characteristics of our foremothers.

The usual divinatory practices with beans or cards tell us very little regarding feminine emotions. The expert restricted herself to telling fortunes and inquiring about the possible appearance of the man. The extremely long conjuration of the beans recited by a sorceress named Castellanos who was tried by the Toledo tribunal contains only one enlightening phrase. After a tedious conjuration in which the beans were tossed to reveal the future, and after naming the Virgin, the saints, and such elements as the sea, the sands, the ground, and the seven heavens, the conjuration included only the following phrases:

Así como esto es verdad
me declararéis lo que os fuere preguntando . . .
habas que me digáis la verdad
desto que os fuere preguntando
si hubiere de venir fulano⁷

[Just as this is true
You will tell me what I ask . . .
Beans, tell me the truth
About this which I ask you
If (man's name) will come]

Other sorceresses stated the case even more concisely. Isabel Bautista, also tried by the Toledo tribunal,⁸ recited a long conjuration, repeating only:

Si fulano ha de venir
salga en camino

[If (man's name) is coming
Let him be on his way]

In spite of their complexity, neither the conjurations recited before tossing the beans nor fortune-telling with cards offers much information about the emotions of the women tried by the Inquisition, except for their desire to conjure a man who would take an interest in them.

Fortunately for us, the conjurations and practices of love magic were so numerous that other sorceries and cants reveal, little by little, the most recondite thoughts of these enamored women as well as the extent of their desires. Love magic is a process through which we can observe the various stages of love as well as the diverse psychological states which the lovers—men or women—experienced in their erotic-emotional relations. The sorceries of the beans and the cards would have been useful only during the initial anticipatory phase when the beloved had not yet appeared, or resisted doing so. The professionals would employ these sorceries only for women wishing to know whether or not they were to achieve this essential goal, but they still reserved a vast repertory for future situations that might occur once the coveted suitor had been trapped, such as the need to arouse a passion not overly potent, to achieve the beloved's constancy, and—admittedly—to calm the anxieties and thirst for revenge of a rejected woman. The professional sorceress applied each phrase on the conjurations, according to the specific needs and circumstances of the women, since they hid nothing regarding their personal situations. This specificity created an entire range of psychological nuances that must also be taken into account.

Clients requesting the appearance of a man, therefore, consulted the beans or the cards—a common occurrence, judging by the frequency with which these conjurations were solicited. But the woman visiting the sorceress was not always lonely or frustrated, and almost as frequently we encounter in the trials other sorceries, such as the oranges and the rosary, which confirmed that love had finally arrived, albeit without the desired intensity. Once again the enamored woman had to resort to an expert who could change the course of her future by bringing the will of her man to a more complete state of submission.

The phrases in the sorceries requiring a rosary or some oranges as the divinatory instrument allow us to understand the second stage of the amorous process. Esperanza Badía, for example, tried in Valencia, held a rosary and recited a long and complicated conjuration in which she invoked various demons and other magical characters, ending with the following phrase:

Venga el corazón de fulano
atado, preso y enamorado⁹

[Let the heart of (man's name) come
Bound, captured, and enamored]

The same phrase also appears in the conjuration employed in the sorcery of the oranges, in Castile as well as in Valencia and the rest of the peninsular regions. It thus constitutes a veritable leitmotiv expressing the central message of such apparently diverse practices. The preliminary phrases vary, the conjured "diabolical" beings may be different, but the essential phrase is always the same: "Let the heart of [man's name] come / Bound, captured and enamored" [Venga el corazón de fulano / atado, preso y enamorado].

The fundamental goal now became retaining the male lover. The conjuration accompanying the sorcery of "the palms" was recited with this goal in mind. The sorceress would pat the length of her arm with the palm of her hand in order to uncover the intentions of the absent man and would again recite a very similar phrase. Laura Garrigues, a sorceress in the 1655 Valencian auto de fe, stated quite bluntly:

Fulano,
donde quiera que estés,
te envío este clavo
te doy este martelazo
Por mi amor presto vengas
por mi amor, preso y atado¹⁰

[(man's name),
Wherever you are,
I send you this nail
I strike you with this passion
Soon you will come for my love
For my love, captured and bound]

Like the other sorceries, the sorcery of the palms circulated in multiple versions over the entire Iberian peninsula, but the variations occurred principally at the beginning of and in addition to, the mantic

practice.¹¹ The central phrase, however, is very similar in all cases and confirms that this sorcery belongs to the second amorous phase together with the sorceries of the rosary and the oranges. In Castile, María Castellanos recited it as follows:

Yo, María, te llamo Francisco,
que vengas por mi amor gimiendo y llorando¹²

[I, María, call you, Francisco,
To come for my love, moaning and crying]

With this variant, this singularly interesting woman, to whom we shall refer again, introduces us to a new phase in love magic beginning with the conjurations and rites in which the symbolic value of fire intervenes: conjurations of salt and alum and sorceries of "pans" and "flasks" or "phials." In the latter, the name varies in different regions according to the language, but the examples all reveal the intimate feelings of women in search of love.

The conjurations of alum and salt were recited in order to divine the future. The sorceress threw a fistful of salt or a bit of alum into the fire so that she could interpret the flame. In all cases the sorceresses began to reveal a state of mind in which impatience appeared to have played an important part. The woman reciting the conjuration did so on behalf of someone whose anxiety was much more intense than in the former cases. In the simplest versions, as in Gerónima González's case in the Valencia auto de fe, the invocation is simple:

Sal, salida . . .
assi como moros ni cristianos
pueden estar sin ti
que Fulano no pueda estar sin mi¹³

[Salt, pouring forth . . .
Neither Moors nor Christians
Can be without you
Nor can (man's name) be without me]

However, the use of fire seemed somehow to stimulate and to contribute to a new psychological state in those women who resorted to the help of sorceresses, as we can clearly observe in the conjuration of alum. María Antonia de Neroña, also from Valencia, explicitly indicated her desire to inflame her beloved's heart:

No pongo alumbre
sino el corazón y entrañas de Fulano¹⁴

[I do not use alum
But rather the heart and soul of (man's name)]

Gerónima González uses a very similar phrase in the same alum ritual:

Así quemame el corazón de Fulano
y arada en amor mío¹⁵

[Thus burn the heart of (man's name)
and plow in my love]

The formula is repeated in Castile (in the version of our friend Castellanos) in even more explicit form. The beloved must be consumed with love and visit the woman who loves him.

. . . Que así como te has de quemar
se quemame el corazón de Fulano
porque me venga a ver¹⁶

[Just as you will be burnt up
(man's name)'s heart must be inflamed
So that he comes to see me]

Of course, all of these imprecations, which are in general quite poetic, were accompanied by flames and were directed toward the powers of Avernus, who conferred upon them their magical aspect; we are, however, more concerned with analyzing their psychological content and scope.

As we can see, the emotional temperature of the love-magic enthusiasts rose quite a few degrees thanks to the use of fire, and we begin to understand their real intentions toward their suitors. The enamored women of the Habsburg regime wanted absolute control over the will and movements of the men they had snared, and this wish is an essential chapter in their magic manipulations and anxieties, clearly manifested in the fact that the experts' conjurations employed no instrument or ceremony. The unadorned word is the fundamental factor here, and it is an indispensable key to our elemental "psychoanalysis" of love magic.¹⁷

When the professional sorceress resorted to magic cants, the relationship had apparently reached its worst state. The man was scornful, he missed assignations, and the woman also suspected the presence of another woman on the scene. To revive his interest, it now became necessary to resort directly to evil forces. St. Marta, Marta "the wicked," and the entire chorus of devils already familiar to the client—Satan, Barabbas, the Lame Devil—were invoked directly or indirectly, but with almost no instruments or paraphernalia.

At this point the enamored woman had to placate her companion's anger, and the sorceress placed at her disposal a wide variety of "appeasing conjurations" to rekindle his passion, mainly through the influence of St. Elena or St. Marta. The sorceress would also endeavor to reinstill in the man the need to see his abandoned lover. The conjurations aimed at changing the man's angry attitude were usually short and extremely graphic. No doubt the women of the Habsburg regime feared their companions' violent tempers, proof of which is frequently documented in the declarations. Prudencia Grillo, tried by the Toledo tribunal, justifiably resorted to magic because she was afraid of being locked in a castle by the man on whom she depended.¹⁸ Other women also speak of the bad treatment they received at the hands of their husbands or lovers, and of attempts on their lives in various forms. One woman even stated that she was fed ground glass in a murder attempt.¹⁹ Given the men's violence and mean temperament, it is not surprising that these women viewed sorcery as a far more satisfactory recourse than the customary Christian prayers and resignation recommended by their confessors.

In any case, a brief reading of one of these women's versions confirms their obvious fears. Undoubtedly the man's presence is as much feared as desired. Laura Garrigues, for example, tried in Valencia in 1655, would conceal her hand inside her clothes when she saw her angry lover approach, and pulling her pubic hairs, would repeat:

Furioso vienes a mí
 furioso vienes a mí
 tan fuerte como un toro
 tan fuerte como un horno
 tan sujeto estás a mí
 como los pelos de mi coño
 están a mí²⁰

[Furious you come to me
 Furious you come to me
 As strong as a bull
 As hot as an oven
 You will be as subject to my will
 As the hairs of my cunt
 Are to me]

The best-known and most widely spread refrain, however, contains a somewhat mysterious formula—surely a synthesis achieved after centuries of use—that gives it even greater poetic charm. Most likely its obscure meaning and brevity contributed at the same time to its enor-

mous divulgation and popularity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

Con dos te miro
con cinco te ato
tu sangre te bebo
el corazón te parto²¹

[With two I watch you
With five I bind you
Your blood I drink
Your heart I rend]

Laura Garrigues also knew a version of this conjuration which reveals more clearly the need to control an overly impetuous man:

Con dos te miro
con tres te ligo y ato
la sangre te voto
el corazón te parto
con las parias de tu madre
la boca te tapo
¡Hale, asno!
sobre ti cabalgo²²

[With two I watch you
With three I bind and tie you
Your blood I curse
Your heart I rend
With your afterbirth
I cover your mouth

(The sorceress covered her mouth here)

Come along, ass!
I'll ride you]

It is not difficult to infer, after reading this brief imprecation, that the magic enthusiast believed she would shut the mouth that insulted her, subjecting it to her will in the same way as women dominated the little asses that so frequently served as ladies' mounts precisely because of their inferior strength and docility. The version Isabel Bautista used in Castile confirms and expands my point:

Con dos te miro
con tres te tiro

con cinco te arretrato
 calla, bobo, que te ato
 tan humilde vengas a mí
 como la suela de mi zapato²³

[With two I watch you
 With three I toss you
 With five I captivate you
 Quiet, fool, I'll bind you

(At this point the sorceress would slap her knee as a sign of command, and finish:)

You will come to me humble
 As the sole of my shoe]

As shown above, enamored women understood quite well the mean temperament of their companions, but surely this formed part of the rules of the game. It was extremely important to placate their tempers in order to achieve a reconciliation. The amorous encounters and visits—which were most likely at night, judging by the extramarital nature of the majority of the relationships—rekindled the love interest. Without a doubt, the man's return constitutes an important motive for anxiety. His arrival is impatiently awaited, but he does not appear. The lover goes to her window, opens the door and looks down the street. He is nowhere to be seen; feeling exasperated, she nevertheless continues to wish for his presence, perhaps with increased anxiety. The conjurations of the door and the window reflect perfectly the scene I have just described.

In the conjuration of the door, like that of the window, the woman who recited went outside and looked down the street, where she supposed the man she wanted to attract would appear. Laura Garrigues did not object to going outside in broad daylight to call her lover:

Fulano
 ni tú me ves
 ni yo te acierto
 yo te llamo con el Padre . . .
 tan humilde
 tan sujeto
 vengas a mí
 como mi señor Jesucristo
 subió al santo árbol de la cruz

a morir por ti y por mi
Amén

[(man's name)
You do not see me
Nor have I found you
I call you in the name of the Father . . .

(Here the sorceress invoked the powers of the Holy Trinity, and this was followed by the supplication and command:)

so humble
so subjected
You will come to me
As my lord Jesus Christ
Climbed the Holy Tree of the Cross
To die for you and me
Amen]

Evidently the sorceress tried to evoke the sacred figure's proverbial docility and resignation before a superior will. But, as the reader can imagine, the inquisitors were not partial to complex poetic associations.²⁴

María Antonia de Neroña, also of the Valencian tribunal, preferred to act at night, apparently at ten o'clock sharp. She would then invoke the lover, calling him three times, imagining him with a noose around his neck, that is, bound like a prisoner pleading for help:

Fulano, Fulano, Fulano,
por la calle abajo te veo venir
una soga de ahorcado traes a la garganta
a grandes voces diciendo
Fulana, váleme . . .

[(man's name, man's name, man's name,)
from down the street I see you coming,
A hangman's noose around your neck
Clamoring in a loud voice,
(woman's name,) help me . . .]

Repeated again and again, the refrain emphasizes not only the attempt to draw the companion's attention, but the woman who is to help him as well. The woman then denies him her aid, however, and turns him over to the conjured demons so they may penetrate the man's heart, provoking the same anxieties and pain she has suffered, as she recites this magic prayer:

. . . No te quiero valer
 válgate Barrabás y Satanás
 y todos los diablos que allá están
 todos os juntaréis
 y en el corazón de Fulano entraréis
 y este cuchillo de cachas negras
 por el corazón le clavaréis
 tantas ansias le daréis
 que a mi casa le traeréis

[I don't wish to help you,
 Let Barabbas and Satan help you
 And all the devils who are there
 You will all gather together
 And this black-handled knife
 You will plunge into his heart
 You will cause him so much anguish
 That you will lead him to my house]

The basic intention is evident, but the woman is not satisfied with this wish alone, and she adds one of the refrains frequently repeated when the woman's anxiety led her to the brink of desperation:

. . . Y no le dejaréis
 reposar, ni comer, ni dormir
 ni en la cama reposar
 sino conmigo pensar

[. . . And you won't let him
 Rest or eat or sleep
 He will not rest in bed
 But will think only of me]

The rest of María Antonia de Neroña's conjuration is explicit in this invocation "of the window":

. . . Que venga con ansias y pena
 en su corazón
 por verme y hallarme

[. . . Let him come with anguish and sorrow
 In his heart
 To see me and find me . . .]

The only instrument the woman employed during this ceremony was the black-handled dagger that was to be thrust in the windowsill at the opportune moment—an obvious symbol of the forgetful lover's heart.²⁵

María Antonia de Neroña was one of the women who best expressed her love frustration in these cants. Her trial summary included a similar cant bidding the man to visit her again. On this occasion María Antonia was even more decisive: the man should appear bound and held fast by his most delicate parts:

A Fulano veo venir
 sogas de ahorcado trae tras él . . .
 estas le traeréis
 de su coxón
 de su riñón
 de su baçón
 de las telas de su corazón²⁶

[I see (man's name) coming
 A hangman's noose after him . . .

(At this point she conjured the demons who were in this case, interestingly enough, feminine.)

You will bring him
 By the balls
 By his kidney
 By his spleen
 By his heartstrings

Yet most of the sorceresses are not as explicit or rhetorical as María Antonia de Neroña. Gerónima González conjured the street and called the demons, limiting her entreaty:

¡Ah de la calle!
 ¡ah, so compadre!
 . . . Satanás, Barrabás y Lucifer
 que me den a saber si Fulano vendrá²⁷

[Hey, the street (repeated)
 Hey, mate!

(The invocation of the demons continued and was much longer than in Neroña's version, surely because Gerónima González emphasized the ceremony's magic aspect rather than merely stating her desires, which were limited to one phrase:)

. . . . Satan, Barabbas, and Lucifer
 Let me know if (man's name) will come]

Laura Garrigues employed a brief and disconsolate imprecation to make her man return. She then entreated him by invoking such magic characters as María de Padilla, of the so-called Circle of the Castilian king Pedro I, who bewitched men and subjected them to her will with a ring containing an enchanted demon, and condemned the souls to hell, diabolical figures, like the "desperate souls":

Vecino y compadre,
 gran señor de la calle
 Fulano solía venir a verme
 y ahora no viene
 yo quiero que venga
 y me lo has de traer
 yo te conjuraré

[Neighbor and mate,
 Great lord of the street,
 (man's name) would come and see me
 And now he does not come
 And you are to bring him to me
 I will entreat you . . .]

As with María Antonia de Neroña, Laura also added her wish that the demons penetrate this man's heart to induce such anguish that he would not rest until he had sought her out.²⁸

At this precise psychological moment, these semi-abandoned women employed very simple ceremonies, whose symbolic value was as evident as the use of fire. In general, the rites associated with the door, the place where one awaits the appearance of the beloved man, were limited to sweeping the threshold and conjuring him. Laura Garrigues awaited nightfall, left the door of her house ajar, and recited:

Conjúrote, puerta y quicial
 por donde Fulano ha salido
 ha de volver a entrar²⁹

[I conjure you, door and side-post
 where (man's name) went out
 He must enter again]

The pleas of the sorceresses and their clients directed to the stars, the moon, and the sun follow the same pattern we have seen during this

stage, as the woman attempts to retrieve her man but also desires to avenge herself for his absence. These cants addressed to the stars praise their beauty—"Maiden star, the highest and most beautiful . . ." [Estrella doncella, la más alta y la más bella]—and entreat them to penetrate the ungrateful heart painfully. One of the most ancient is the prayer by the beata of Huete, from the Cuenca tribunal of 1499; she invokes nine stars in all and then proceeds to the cant's central message:

Al monte Synay iréys
 e nueve varas de amor me saquedes
 por la cabeza de Santa Cruz las hinquedes
 e de la cabeza al corazón al riñón
 y al taso o al baço
 y a las andas del espiñaço
 e las tresientas coyunturas
 que en su cuerpo son
 que no pueda comer ni beber
 hasta que a mí venga a bien querer
 e a aver plaçer³⁰

[You will go to Mount Sinai
 And bring me nine staffs of love
 You will drive them into the head of the Holy Cross
 And from the head to the heart
 And from the heart to the kidney
 And to the taso or the spleen
 And all along the spine
 And the three hundred joints
 in his body
 So that he can neither eat nor drink
 Until he comes to love me well
 And to take pleasure in me]

The conjuration of the stars appears frequently in the Castilian tribunals at Cuenca and Toledo, and the well-known refrain from this conjuration, "So that he can neither eat nor drink . . ." [que no pueda comer ni beber], constantly accompanies other invocations throughout the following centuries. The Castilian Juana Dientes disrobed and let down her hair before reciting it, perhaps as a means of invoking the physical encounter with the lover; we must not forget that during this time, nudity and untied hair had sinful erotic connotations. Her conjuration was even more forceful than that of the religious devotee from Huete, who does not invoke the demons Beelzebub and Satan conjured by Juana:

Y con la fragua de Belzebú y Satanás
 siete rejonas le amolad
 e con el corazón de Fulano las lançad
 para que ningún reposo pueda tomar
 hasta que venga a mi mandar
 Diablos del horno
 traédmelo ayna
 diablos del peso
 diablos de la plaça
 traédmelo en dança
 diablos de la encrucijada
 traédmelo a casa³¹

[. . . and with the forge of Beelzebub and Satan
 You will sharpen seven daggers
 And thrust them into (man's name)'s heart
 So that he shall have no rest
 Until he answers my command
 Devils from the furnace
 Bring him to me now
 Devils of the scales
 Devils of the plaza
 Bring him dancing to me
 Devils of the crossroad
 Bring him to my house]

The proceedings against Isabel Bautista contain another conjuration to the stars recited by the Castilian sorceresses as early as the sixteenth century. Isabel added a brief and surprising ritual difficult for us to interpret. She measured the door jamb and door of her house with a cord, threw salt into one of the door jambs and placed a broom in the other, conjured the nine stars just as the other sorceress did, and then specified her desire that the man not forget her:

Tres varas de mimbre me traeréis
 por las muelas de Barrabás las afiléis
 por las calderas de Pedro Botero las pasaréis
 una la hincareis por el sentido
 que no me eche en olvido
 otra por el corazón
 que vaya a mi afición
 otra por las espaldas
 que venga por mis palabras³²

[Bring me three willow rods
Sharpen them on Barabbas's molars
Carry them through hell
Drive one into his mind
So that he won't forget me
Another into the heart
So he will come when I desire
Another into his back
So he will answer my call]

The conjurations that employ the stars, the sun, and the moon as the magical motifs, as well as others we will examine below, are basically all the same. The sorceress varied the invocation to the evil spirits, increased or reduced the form of the cant, but always concluded by supplicating the same thing: the recovery of lost love.

We can observe this wish clearly in the cants invoking the sun and the moon, which are usually quite brief: ". . . so that [man's name] cannot live without me" [que Fulano no pueda estar sin mí], or simply, "so that [man's name] loves me" [que Fulano me quiera]. The cant to the moon recited by doña Juana de la Paz, tried in Valencia in 1655, demonstrates the features of these conjurations, actually the laments of abandoned women expressed aloud:

Luna clara
bella y hermosa
tan clara y tan bella
como me pareces a mí
tan bella y hermosa
paresca yo a mi galán
como la estrella que está cerca de ti³³

[Bright moon
Lovely, beautiful
As bright and beautiful
As you appear to me
So bright and beautiful
May I appear to my man,
As the star which is near to you]

To express simultaneously their frustration and attempt to recover lost love, the sorceresses not only resorted to profane elements like the stars; their repertory also included the Church's intercessors, certain saints, whose relation to the golden legend associated them with the basic purpose of the sorceresses' love magic. The sacred figures most fre-

quently invoked include the "Lonely Soul" [Ánima Sola], who requires prayers because of her destitution; San Silvestre, magical because of the date of his feast day; and Santa Elena and San Onofre.

The prayer to the Lonely Soul, generally quite beautiful, nonetheless sheds very little light on the situation of these enamored women. After the ritual invocation, the woman simply repeats a wish very similar to that which we have already seen. Doña Juana de la Paz recited thirty-three Our Fathers, Hail Marys, and the accompanying Glorias, standing by her window, and enumerated the conditions of her plea to the spirit:

Esto que he rezado os ofrezco
os encomiendo
ánima sola
para que me traigas y me déis
buena señal desto que os pido³⁴

[I offer you this prayer
I commend you
Lonely soul
To bring me and give me
A hopeful sign of what I ask of you]

In other cases, the prayer is even more similar to previous conjurations. The preambles employed to conjure the Lonely Soul are not prayers but rather diabolical entreaties to such various elements as "Lucano's blood" [la sangre de Lucano], "the heart of the man who was stabbed in cold blood" [el corazón del hombre muerto a hierro frío], and the "twelve tribes of Israel" [las doce tribus de Israel] to cut nine wicker staffs:

Tres me las clavaredes a Fulano por el corazón
que no pierda mi amor
tres por el sentido
que no me eche en olvido³⁵

[You thrust three of them into (man's name)'s heart
So he won't forget my love
Three of them into his consciousness
So he won't forget me]

Still less original are the invocations in the prayers to Santa Marta, San Onofre, San Silvestre, and Santa Elena, yet they are beautiful compositions that would naturally impress a woman in need of help. As in the former case, all of these cants are simply assorted preambles fol-

lowed by familiar refrains employed on other occasions. In the case of the prayer to San Onofre, the sorceress limits herself to entreating:

Como atastéis y encontrastéis
a todos estos—la Draga y el Dragón—
así venga Fulano
tan humilde,
tan rendido, tan prostrado
tan atado y tan encortado
como todos estos se rindieron
y prostraron a vuestros santísimos pies . . .

[As you bound and encountered
All of these—the lady Dragon and the Dragon—
Thus will (man's name) come
So humble
So surrendered, so prostrated
So bound and tied
Like all of those who surrendered themselves
And prostrated themselves at your holy feet]

The conjuration ends with the refrain, “May he not eat, or drink, or rest,” and so on [Que no pueda comer, ni beber, ni reposar, etc.].³⁶

All the petitions to San Onofre are very similar. First, the sorceress evoked his harsh penitence in the following manner:

Así como estas palabras son verdad
santo glorioso
me cumpláis esto que os pido
de traerme a mi marido³⁷

[Just as these words are true,
Glorious saint
Do what I ask of you
And bring me my husband]

The prayers to Santa Marta, Marta “the Wicked” [La Mala], and Santa Elena usually repeat familiar refrains (“May he not eat or drink . . .” [Que no pueda comer, ni beber . . .]) and various entreaties to make the man appear or to “resuscitate” his heart.

THE EROTIC BOND AS WEAPON

Once the enamored woman had exhausted all the possibilities of the above magical cants, she was then obliged to employ the most powerful weapon in this type of magic. She had to bind her lover so tightly

through intimate relations that he would be unable to leave her for another woman. The "binding" or "impotency spell" thus consists of rendering the man impotent, except when in the presence of the woman who bound him either through the conjuration or some other magic practice.

Men and women of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries literally believed in the possibility of producing this kind of spell, ironically justifying the double meaning of the term "sorceress" as pronounced by the male lover. Frequently we find men who appear before the Inquisition, afraid that they have fallen victim to this embarrassing spell and hoping that the imprisonment and sentencing of their domestic Circe will release them from it. Women were at once perpetrators and victims of an attitude that helped them to achieve their goals, but that also brought them to the attention of the Inquisition. Although these details cannot be described here, the repertory of conjurations itself reveals sufficient information to help us understand their circumstances. "Love magic" also contains the appropriate cants for "binding" a man to prevent him from approaching anyone other than the woman who loves him.

The conjuration of "the shadow-broom" appears in multiple versions throughout Castile, Valencia, and other regions. According to the documents, it renewed "illicit relations," its essentially erotic content recited by a woman generally completely naked and with her hair down. The shadow-broom came to symbolize an entreaty to both a demonic spirit and to the man whose return was desired. Actually, each sorceress added the touches from her personal repertory which seemed most opportune or which most openly suggested the possibility of inducing the absent lover to desire the woman once again. In one case the woman simply swept her own shadow with the broom, saying, "Come, husband, for I am alone."³⁸ The beata from Huete, however, added a conjuration allowing us to appreciate the symbolic value of the scene:

Sombra
 cabeça tenéis como yo
 cuerpo tenéis como yo
 yo te mando que así como tienes
 mi sombra verdadera
 que tu vayas a Fulano
 e lo traigas a mí³⁹

[Shadow,
 You have a head like mine
 You have a body like mine

I command that, just as you have
 My true shadow,
 You go to (man's name)
 And bring him to me]

María de Santarem, tried in Cuenca in 1538, employed a cant that seems to apply sorcery of the beans to her specific case. She would pitch several black chickpeas as she mentioned them (calling them beans in the invocation), finishing the spell by positioning herself to await the conjured man:

Sombra señora
 con vos me vengo a enamorar
 sombra señora
 con vos me vengo a consolar
 ava, que me habéis de ir por Fulano
 y me le avéis de traer
 ava, que quiero echar las suertes
 ava, que si en vos cayere
 ava, que me lo avéis de traer . . .
 ¡ah! en vos cayó la sombra
 presto, presto
 traédmelo preso y atado
 y presto en un crédito
 y no me lo dexéys a la puerta
 sino traédmelo a mi cama⁴⁰

[Madame shadow
 I come to fall in love with you
 Madame shadow
 I come to console myself with you
 Bean, you must fetch (man's name)
 And bring him to me
 Bean, I want to cast lots
 Bean, I want to cast them
 Bean, if it falls to you
 Bean, you must fetch him to me.

(Here, she pitched the chickpeas, letting the last one fall in her shadow.)

Ah! The shadow fell on you
 Quickly, quickly
 Bring him captured and tied
 And quickly on your word
 And don't leave him at my door
 But bring him to my bed]

Sexual relations constituted the real weapon which the sorceresses and their clients relied upon in order to retain a man. The woman's physical surrender, however, guaranteed neither his constancy nor his good humor, the two fundamental goals that were desired. Consequently, sorceresses cast spells obliging the man to seek out only one woman, who became the heroine of these occult narratives. Our enamored women counted on a wide range of methods for their purposes. They may have bewitched the man by using his semen to cast various "impotency spells." Similarly, he may have been bound to the woman by means of some love potion composed of her sexual fluids. The following are examples of several practices which, while not always poetic, were indeed quite expressive.

Throughout Spain, sorceresses frequently performed the "conjunction of the oil lamp's wick," which utilized semen. The woman would collect it after having had "contact with her friend"—called illicit in the documents. The cotton or linen with which the woman cleaned herself after intercourse was twisted into a "wick," then placed in an oil lamp and ignited. For several nights she would leave it burning while she recited:

Así come arde esta torcida
arda el corazón de Fulano

[As this wick burns
So shall (man's name)'s heart burn]

Doña Juana de la Paz performed this conjuration in Valencia,⁴¹ while in Castile we find a similar procedure where the woman recited a more complex and explicit cant:

Vida de la vida
de la carne y de la sangre
de Fulano
que me ames . . .
y te conjuro Fulano con Barrabás
y así como estas torcidas arden en este candil
así me quieras⁴²

[Life of life
Of the flesh and blood
Of (man's name)
You must love me
. . . And I conjure you, (man's name), with
Barabbas

And just as these wicks burn in these lamps
You will love me]

Another curious ceremony with wicks had to be performed collectively. The women all sat in a circle and called upon the man to perform “lewd acts.” Lighting nine wicks, they would pass around three grains of salt, three lumps of coal, nine nails, nine beans, and a wax candle. They would throw the salt, beans, and other objects into the circle and then pick them up again; if the two beans indented with teeth marks landed together in the circle, it was a sign that the absent man would return.

Women’s menstrual blood also contained magical powers that could be channeled to the same ends as semen. In this case, the sorceresses generally did not utilize this ingredient alone, but would add the brains of an ass and pubic hairs. Once the dish containing the impotency spell had been prepared, the man would have to eat it for the desired effect. Laura Garrigues, for example, added a little pepper; doña Juana de la Cruz simply dried the blood and mixed it with wine; other women spread it on a meat dish. The conjuration recited by doña Juana de la Paz adds a poetic touch:

Yo te conjuro
sangre de la fuente—o de mi fuente—la vermeja
que vaya Fulano tras de Fulana
como el cordero tras la oveja⁴³

[I conjure you,
Blood from the crimson fountain—or my fountain—
Make (man’s name) follow (woman’s name)
Like the lamb after the sheep]

The inclusion of menstrual blood, pubic hair, and semen guaranteed these rites the most obvious and astonishing sexual content. Yet the “conjuration of the sexual member” probably originated because some women dared to venture even further in their desire to cause their lovers’ impotency with other women. Laura Garrigues held her lover’s penis and, making several crosses, recited: “I repeat, the cross enters” [Hago coro, entra cruz].⁴⁴ María Antonia de Neroña made the sign of the cross on her lover’s back—presumably in bed, although the document does not specify where—and said:

Hasta que esta cruz te veas
tú me ames y me quieras⁴⁵

[Until you see this cross
May you love and desire me]

Besides these "love potions" and magical concoctions, sorceresses resorted to less complicated rites also aimed at rendering the undecided lover impotent. The Valencian sorceresses would take a ribbon touched by the man, and at the stroke of six, they would make nine knots, tying and untying them nine times; the woman would then wear the belt for nine days. Variations of the "spell of the knots" with cloths or similar objects appeared in Castile and other areas.

These rituals thus describe clearly women's anxieties regarding love, but a more profound analysis reveals that, although they wished to be accompanied and loved by men, material support was an equally desired goal, a fact evinced orally through the conjurations.

SENTIMENTAL PRAGMATISM AND LOVE MAGIC

Despite the essential constant in love magic of winning over and keeping a man, the institution of matrimony appears only in an occasional conjuration. Marriage, the official bond par excellence, is scarcely ever mentioned; in most cases the magical rites were directed toward a purely sexual conquest. "Love magic" was also extramarital magic, one in which erotic relations always carried a sinful, condemnable connotation for the zealous priests and inquisitors. The inquisitorial proceedings refer to physical relations in such unequivocal terms, in spite of the fact that no lack of married women resorted to the sorceresses to recover husbands distracted by other women. In the terminology appearing in the inquisitorial documents, the sorceresses and their clients sought "illicit contact" and "lewd acts," they used fluids from "private parts," and they were interested in "dishonest relations"; in effect, the words "husband" and "wife" were rarely mentioned, nor were marriages reclaimed.

While the term "husband" does not always mean a spouse officially recognized by the Church, but can also refer to a stable couple, only Isabel María de Mendoza, tried in Valencia, employed the term in her prayer to San Onofre:

Assí como estas palabras son verdad
santo glorioso,
me cumpláis esto que os pido
de traerme a mi marido⁴⁶

[. . . Just as these words are true,
 Glorious saint
 You will do what I ask of you
 And bring me my husband]

Very few of the experts whose practices I have collected in this basic repertory of love magic make any reference to marriage or to legal husbands. Nor is the conjugal bond mentioned with any frequency in the proceedings and *causas de relaciones* in other peninsular trials I have studied. This does not mean that married women were not involved in this type of magic, but they generally resorted to it in secret when they suspected their husbands of leaving them for some rival. It was undoubtedly better to try to recover a husband's love through spontaneous means such as physical relations than to suffer in silence and resign oneself, following the confessor's advice. In any case, love magic became an unorthodox method, not only for the religious reasons adduced by the theologians and judges of the Holy Office, but because the Church Fathers condemned and marginalized sexual relations. For these women, carnal pleasure thus assumed a significance that is more characteristic of the classical world than of Christianity.

Of course, the term "husband" is not completely absent from the basic repertory, a term whose distinct resonances compare with the variant "friend," according to Cirac Estopañán.⁴⁷ Significantly most of these women were either prostitutes, the lovers of friars or married men, or simply women who had no qualms about having sexual relations with whomever they chose. One of the advocates they appealed to most frequently was "Marta the Wicked," whose description illustrates the extra-marital nature of these relations:

Marta, Marta
 no la digna ni la santa
 la que descasa casadas
 la que junta los amancebados
 la que anda de noche por las encrucijadas
 yo te conjuro con tal y tal demonio
 y con el de la carnicería
 que me traiga a Fulano más ayna
 o de hombre que hable
 o de perro que ladre⁴⁸

[Marta, Marta,
 Neither decent nor a saint
 She who separates married women

She who unites lovers
 She who travels the crossroads by night
 I conjure you with such-and-such a demon
 And with the demon of the slaughterhouse
 That you bring (man's name) to me more quickly
 Than a man speaking
 Or a dog barking]

In truth, the women who practiced such rites were rather importunate, taking advantage of their male friends' sexual desires to benefit themselves. Requests for gifts are an essential part of the conjurations and rites that attempt to recover and maintain carnal relations with scornful suitors. Many of the more poetically structured compositions usually end with the pragmatic refrain: "Let [man's name] come, and give me all he has and tell me all he knows" [Venga Fulano y me dé lo que tuviere y me diga lo que supiere].

Although one of the most erotic, the following conjuration of the wicks recorded by Paz y Melia ends on a pragmatic note:

Que me ames
 me estimes y me regales
 que me des cuanto tuvieres
 y me digas lo que supieres⁴⁹

[. . . So that you love
 And esteem me and give me gifts,
 So that you give me all you have
 And tell me what you know]

The lengthy and poetic invocation to the stars also contains the same line:

Que venga con ansias y pena en su corazón
 por verme y hallarme
 dándome lo que tuviere
 y diciéndome lo que supiere⁵⁰

[So that he come with anguish and pain in his heart
 To see me and find me
 Giving me all he has
 And telling me what he knows]

The same phrase appears in Laura Garrigues's invocations of the street:

Ansias le daréis
 que no le dejaréis reposas
 hasta que me venga a buscar
 dándome lo que tuviere y diciéndome lo que supiere⁵¹

[. . . You will provoke his anguish
 And you won't let him rest
 Until he seeks me out
 Giving me all he has and telling me what he knows]

As the reader may guess, this phrase appears in the conjurations and phrases that conclude the ceremonies with explicitly erotic content, and in the superstitious cants:

La gloriosa santa Elena
 de la cruz los tres clavos sacó
 el uno en el mar echó
 el otro a su hijo Constantino dió
 para que en las batallas entrase
 no fuese vencido sino vencedor
 así, santa bienaventurada,
 sea yo la vencedora con Fulano
 que no pueda estar . . .
 hasta que me venga a buscar.
 Que venga volando
 que you le estoy esperando
 véngame dándome quanto tuviere
 y me diga quanto supiere⁵²

[Glorious Santa Elena
 Took the three nails from the cross
 She threw one into the sea
 She gave one to Constantine her son
 So that in battle
 He would be victor instead of conquered
 In like manner, blessed saint
 Let me be the victor over (man's name)
 So that he cannot . . .

(The sorceress adds the refrain conjuring the anxiety wished upon the man)

Until he comes to find me
 May he arrive as fast as possible
 As I am waiting for him
 Let him come to me, giving me all he has
 And telling me all he knows]

This new leitmotiv reveals facets that were unimagined until now. What conclusion can we reach regarding these women and their practices after having analyzed the material? Were they, in effect, basically concerned with love, or were they unprotected and self-centered women? They seem to include elements of both, no doubt, but what is most essential is that their rituals created an authentic popular poetry that allows us a view of a previously unknown world.

NOTES

1. The documents in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN) in Madrid dealing with cases of superstitious practices include sixty-six men and two hundred women. They are incomplete as to the sentences, and in some instances the case record consists merely of a denunciation. According to the investigation that I have carried out—which includes files 82–89 with a total of 113 proceedings, from A through L—the cases can be grouped under the following headings: twenty-eight men were accused of practices related mainly to the search for enchanted treasures which they tried to recuperate through a more or less extensive knowledge of the cabala, derived from “learned magic,” although there are also spell-casters (*ensalmadores*) and *curanderos*; nineteen women testified before the inquisitors regarding their superstitious practices for healing sick people, generally employing cants and similar ceremonies; another thirty-one women were also accused, however, of performing the evil eye (*mal de ojo*) or curses (*maleficios*), that is, of attempting to make their neighbors ill by means of magical practices; finally, thirty-eight women were tried for performing superstitious practices related to amorous ends, what I have called “love magic” in this essay. To complete the picture, we need to keep in mind the four women considered witches by their neighbors, accused before the Holy Office of this supposed crime. This makes a total of ninety-two women versus the twenty-eight men I have mentioned. According to the previous classification, the four types of superstitious practices in Castile and the rest of Spain are evident: masculine magic, approximating “learned magic” in most of the cases and generally dedicated to the search for enchanted treasures; feminine magic, which emphasizes the woman’s connection to evil or to curses (*maleficio*); the male and female spell-casters (*ensalmadores*); and the enamored women spoken of in this essay.

2. When I wrote the first version of this study, “love magic” spontaneously suggested itself as a title for these typically feminine manipulations, since I had already employed it in previous lectures. At the time, I was unfamiliar with Professor Noemí Quezada’s interesting work, *Amor y magia amorosa entre los aztecas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), an ethnological investigation of cants and techniques similar to the Spanish ones. This significant coincidence of titles demonstrates, from my point of view, the pressing need to identify the rich repertory of magical practices accumulated by women

in Europe and the Americas during various centuries. It is important to remember Covarrubias's definition of *hechizar*: "a type of incantation which controls the bewitched person in such a way that his judgment is distorted and he desires what would normally repel him. This occurs through an express or tacit pact with the Devil; and sometimes, or concurrently, he rejects what he rightly desired before, as in the case of enchanting a man so that he rejects his wife and pursues another woman." Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua española*, ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: Editorial Alta Fulla, 1987). Covarrubias believes that the term derives from the Latin *fascinum*: *fachizar-hechizar-hechizería*.

3. The discussions in which the theory of the "diabolical pact" was formulated by theologians from the Sorbonne, as well as the evolution of ecclesiastical legislation, are found in Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1906; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1966). Refer to vol. 4, chap. 8, "Sorcery and Occult Arts." On the evolution of beliefs surrounding the problem of relations with the devil, see Jeffrey B. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972).

4. In order to understand the evolution of the Spanish Inquisition on these issues, refer to the indispensable works by Julio Caro Baroja, *Las brujas y su mundo* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1961) (Eng. trans., *The World of the Witches* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964]), and Gustav Henningsen, *The Witch's Advocate* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982).

5. For a more complete approximation from a formal perspective on the practices of these women, see my *La Inquisición y los gitanos* (Madrid: Taurus, 1988).

6. The complete versions of these conjurations and cants which I will analyze below are found in *La Inquisición y los gitanos*. The rites I examine in this essay represent, from my point of view, the "fundamental repertory" familiar to and employed by most of the women dedicated to these practices throughout Spain. The common store or "basic recipe book" deserves to be examined carefully in its entirety.

7. In this essay, I focus only on the phrases and gestures that are erotically or amorously significant. As I pointed out previously, the complete versions are in my book, *La Inquisición y los gitanos*. The sorceries used to identify a husband or male friend are, in effect, very frequently employed by single women and can be traced to very recent times; see R. Salillas, *La fascinación en España* (Madrid: E. Arias, 1905), and Julio Caro Baroja, *La estación de amor* (Madrid: Taurus, 1980). This does not mean, however, that this essay does not comply with its own basic suppositions. The "honest" woman could use love magic during the early stages and reserve the rest of the ritual for more serious situations which we will examine below. We must add to the rites of the beans and the cards that of the egg floating in water taken from a urinal or a wash bowl, which reveals, according to the way the egg floats, whether or not the boyfriend (*novio*) will arrive. This rite usually took place on the night of San Juan, and Caro Baroja has beautifully depicted the almost immediate repercussion of these rites.

In any case, the theses I have arrived at in this essay seem to be confirmed by the admired late José Antonio Maravall's study in *El mundo social de "La Celestina,"* 3d ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), and by the theories of the Swiss philosopher Denis de Rougemont in *L'amour et l'occident* (Paris: Plon, 1939).

8. As noted earlier, I am concerned in this essay with what I have denominated the "fundamental repertory." It is necessary to emphasize however, that this "basic recipe book" coincides almost completely with the one compiled by Sebastián Cirac Estopañán in his book *Los procesos de hechicerías en la inquisición de Castilla la Nueva (tribunales de Toledo y Cuenca)* (Madrid, 1942). The reasons for this "coincidence" are explained in my book *La Inquisición*. Quoted by Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8, p. 150.

9. The Valencian sorceresses I have alluded to in this essay were tried in 1655 in an auto de fe condemning forty women for the same crime. For the complete study of this auto, see my *La Inquisición*.

10. AHN, Inquisición, libro 942, fol. 230v. Laura Garrigues's version includes the word *martelaço*, augmentative of *martelo*, jealousy or amorous anguish brought on by jealousy. Covarrubias does not record the term, which appears for the first time in the *Diccionario de autoridades*. It is interesting to note that the word appears to have a learned origin. The dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy (1980 ed.) states that it is derived from the Latin *martillus*. The Espasa encyclopedia attributes an Italian origin, since the same term appears with the same meaning in that language as well (*Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, vol. 33, [Barcelona: Espasa, n.d.]). This dictionary notes the meaning of *dar martelo* as equivalent to "to provoke jealousy."

The sorceresses, therefore, employ a learned term which Covarrubias did not consider to be worth recording; it has survived in modern Spanish in the term *estar amartelado* as synonymous with "to be in love." Laura Garrigues spoke of *martelaço* in the conjuration of the wicks and said *martillaço* in the conjuration of the palms because of its relation to the nail, which also desired the lover: "[Man's name], I send you this nail, I strike you with this hammer" [Fulano, te envío este clavo, te doy este martillaço], AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 230v.

11. Doña Juana de la Paz, from the group of sorceresses tried in 1655, said, "[Man's name], I send you this shooting pain / I extend your life / and I shorten your steps" [Fulano, yo te envío este ramalaço / y te alargo la vida / y te acorto el paso]. She made the sign of the cross and said, *ergo sum*. At the end of the conjuration one should swallow saliva and strike the left palm three times with a closed fist. Esperanza Badía, also from the same group, recalled the conjurations utilizing fire with her formulas: "May the fire of love burn you, let the fire of love be consumed as Christ was crucified" [Fuego de amor te abrase, fuego de amor sea abrasado así como el Cristo fue crucificado]. There are many variations that depend on the sorceresses' imaginations, as they try to expand and enrich a frequently repeated augury.

12. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8, p. 126.

13. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 27v.

14. *Ibid.*, fol. 60v.

15. Ibid., fol. 282.

16. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8.

17. The exclusive use of the spoken word in this group of cants and conjurations led me to denominate this group "the power of the word" in my aforementioned book as a means of emphasizing the persuasive power of these women.

18. Prudencia Grillos's trial can be found in the AHN, Inq., legajo 87, numero 20 (1571). I referred to this woman in my essay "La mujer en el Antiguo Régimen: Tipos históricos y arquetipos literarios," in *La mujer y la inquisición en la perspectiva inquisitorial* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1988).

19. This was the case with María Ruiz, processed for bigamy, who fled from her husband for this reason. See my essay, "La mujer en el Antiguo Régimen."

20. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 55r.

21. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8.

22. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 56v.

23. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8.

24. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 233v.

25. Ibid., fol. 59v.

26. Ibid., fol. 59v.

27. Ibid., fol. 27r.

28. Ibid., fol. 56v.

29. Ibid., fol. 54v.

30. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los Procesos*, chap. 8.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 16r.

34. Ibid., fol. 16v.

35. Ibid., fol. 62v.

36. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8.

37. Ibid.

38. Love magic experts do not frequently employ the term *marido*—I will return to this point below—and seem to prefer *galán*; it is interesting to recall Covarrubias's definition: "An elegantly dressed man who appears to be a gentleman, and because enamored men usually appear very smartly dressed in order to capture a woman's interest, the women call them their *galanes*" (*Tesoro de la lengua española*).

39. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8.

40. Ibid.

41. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 178r.

42. Quoted in Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos*, chap. 8, p. 42.

43. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 180r.

44. Ibid., fol. 230v.

45. Ibid., fol. 62v.

46. *Ibid.*, fol. 8or.

47. *Galán* (suitor) is the word most frequently used by these women, but the term *marido* (husband) is not entirely absent. It is important to remember, however, that in terms of rhythm it is interchangeable with *amigo* (friend) and it is not essential to refer to a marriage that is legal from the civil or ecclesiastical point of view. The only conjurations from this "fundamental repertory" that refer to a husband are Catalina Gómez, condemned in Toledo in 1535. The versions collected by Cirac Estopañán, who adds the word *amigo* as variant, mention the arrows that must be thrust into the husband's heart in the conjuration of the "star maiden."

48. Quoted in Paz y Melia, *Papeles de Inquisición, Catálogo y extractos* (Madrid: Patrimonio del Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1947), p. 240. Professor Noemí Sánchez has collected the American versions of devotions to this permissive saint. See her "Santa Marta en la tradición popular," in *Anales de Antropología* 10 (Mexico, 1973): 221-240.

49. Paz y Melia also cites another version of the prayer to St. Marta that confirms the designs of this saint, protectress of enamored women in need of special aid according to the nature of their loves:

Marta, Marta

a la mala digo, no que no a la santa

a la que por los aires anda

a la que se encadenó, y por ella nuestro padre Adán pecó

y todos pecamos, al demonio del polo

al del repolo

al del repeso

y al que suelta al preso, al que acompaña al ahorcado,

diablo cojuelo, al del rastro, y al de la carnicería,

que todos juntos os juntéis,

y en el corazón de (man's name) entréis

a guerra, a sangre y fuego le deis, que no pueda parar,

traédmelo luego

demonio del peso,

traédmelo preso. (Paz y Melia, p. 239)

Marta, Marta

I speak to the evil one, not the saint

to the one who goes through the air

to the one who chained herself, and for whom our father Adam sinned

and we all sin, to the devil of the pole

to the one of the double pole

to the one of the double weight,

and to the one who frees the prisoner, to the one who accompanies the hanged man,

to the Lame Devil, to the one from the flea market, and the meat market,

that you all may come together,

and enter in (man's name)'s heart

and war, blood, and fire give him, so that he cannot stop.

until he comes to find me,
bring him to me soon,
devil of the weight,
bring him to me a prisoner.

50. Paz y Melia, p. 241.

51. AHN, Inq., lib. 942, fol. 59v.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., fol. 56v.