

# Notes

## Prologue: Abracadabra Omnipotens

1. 'Wherever there is religion there is magic, even though the magical stream does not always follow the main channel of religion; similarly, wherever there is magic there is religion, although it can be only one specific type of religion.' Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, Princeton and New York, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 468–469. Quoted by permission of © Princeton University Press.
2. See Guillermo Fatás (ed.), *Guía Histórico-Artística de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1982.
3. Writer Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (1559–1613), for example, dedicated a poem to the city in which he even compared it with Ancient Babylon.
4. See María Tausiet, 'Zaragoza celeste y subterránea: Geografía mítica de una ciudad (siglos XV–XVIII)', in François Delpech (ed.) *L'imaginaire du territoire en Espagne et au Portugal (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2008.
5. The coat of arms was not granted by the emperor Augustus (as certain seventh-century panegyrists had it), but by Alfonso VII of Castile and León (the lion rampant was the ensign of the kings of León) when he gained 'imperial control' of the city in 1134, taking advantage of the fact that the people of Saragossa were unable to defend themselves against the Moorish threat without outside help.
6. This enclosure was in the San Andrés parish and had a boundary fence that enabled 'those who went there to see and admire the said lion without danger'. In 1577, Brother Jorge Oliver wrote that in Saragossa 'they have a lion, representing the insignia or arms of that city, and that it was so valued by all the people that when it died they greatly mourned its loss and kept its skin in its memory'. See Ángel San Vicente, 'El escudo de armas de Zaragoza', in Guillermo Fatás (ed.), op. cit., p. 42.
7. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, ch. 1, cited in Owen Davies, 'Urbanization and the decline of witchcraft: an examination of London', *Journal of Social History*, 30 (3), 1997, p. 597.
8. Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Tabu. Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker*, Vienna, Hugo Heller & Cie, 1913. (Eng. transl. *Totem and Taboo. Resemblances Between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, trans. Abraham A. Brill, New York, Moffat Yard & Co., 1918.
9. See Randall Styers, *Making Magic. Religion, Magic and Science in the Modern World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, in particular Chapter 2, 'Magic and the Regulation of Piety', pp. 69–119.
10. See E. M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948.

11. See Stuart Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', *Past and Present*, 87, 1980, pp. 98–127, and *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.
12. See Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers. Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002.

## 1 The judicial backdrop: Saragossa and the three justice systems

1. 'Estatuto hecho a seys de Deziembre de mil quinientos ochenta y seys contra las Brujas y Hechizeras' [Statute of 6 December 1586 against Witches and Sorceresses], in *Recopilacion de los estatutos de la ciudad de Zaragoza por los Señores Jurados, Capitol y Consejo, con poder de Concello General. Confirmados y decretados el primero de Deziembre de 1635*, Saragossa, Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1635, p. 291.
2. See Ángel San Vicente Pino, 'El escudo de armas de Zaragoza', in Guillermo Fatás (ed.), op. cit., pp. 35–44.
3. See Miguel Beltrán Lloris and Guillermo Fatás Cabeza, 'César Augusta, ciudad romana', *Historia de Zaragoza*, vol. 2, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1998.
4. See José Luis Corral Lafuente, 'Saragossa musulmana (714–1118)', *Historia de Zaragoza*, vol. 5, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1998.
5. See María Isabel Falcón Pérez, 'Zaragoza en la Baja Edad Media (siglos XIV–XV)', *Historia de Zaragoza*, vol. 7, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1998.
6. See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vicent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, Ed. Alianza, 1985, p. 61.
7. See María Isabel Falcón Pérez, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV. Morfología urbana, huertas y término municipal*, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza & IFC, 1981.
8. See Eliseo Serrano Martín, 'Zaragoza con los Austrias mayores (siglo XVI)', *Historia de Zaragoza*, vol. 8, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1998.
9. See Jesús Maiso González and Rosa María Blasco Martínez, *Las estructuras de Zaragoza en el primer tercio del siglo XVIII*, Saragossa, IFC, 1984.
10. See Pablo Desportes Bielsa, 'Entre mecánicos y honorables. La "élite popular" en la Zaragoza del siglo XVII', *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, 75–2000, Saragossa, IFC, 2002.
11. See José Antonio Salas Auséns, 'Zaragoza en el siglo XVII', *Historia de Zaragoza*, vol. 9, Saragossa, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1998.
12. See Ángel San Vicente Pino, *El oficio del Padre de Huérfanos en Zaragoza*, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1965. To quote Andrés Giménez Soler, Saragossa was a 'haven to all Spain's outlaws, since the freedoms of Aragon devolved not upon men but upon land' (Andrés Giménez Soler, *La Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid, Ed. Labor, 1930).
13. See Christine Langé, *La inmigración francesa a Aragón en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Saragossa, IFC, 1994.
14. According to Henry Kamen, 'the pruning of saints, and the corresponding attempt to uproot superstitious practices connected with them, was by no

- means a step towards the simpler, purer religion that reformers wished for. On the contrary, the many campaigns to foster more devotion among the people led inexorably in the opposite direction.' (*The Phoenix and the Flame. Catalonia and the Counter Reformation*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1993, p. 136.)
15. See María Tausiet, 'Zaragoza celeste y subterránea...', in François Delpech, *L'imaginaire du territoire...*, op. cit., p. 141.
  16. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos. Brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI*, Madrid, Turner, 2004.
  17. The office of the *Justicia* in Aragón enjoyed a judicial status unique in early modern Spain. The role's origins can be traced back to the royal *Curia*: in Castile, this developed into the *Court Tribunal*, a permanent, collegiate institution; in Aragón, on the other hand, its powers over time devolved to a single judge, or *justicia*, who dealt with cases involving members of the nobility, as well as lawsuits arising between nobles and the monarch. From the mid-fourteenth century onwards, however, this judge was also responsible for pronouncing upon the correct interpretation of the Kingdom's laws and customs and, through the court system, for preventing their abuse or violation.
  18. See Gregorio Colás Latorre and José Antonio Salas Auséns, *Aragón en el siglo XVI. Alteraciones sociales y conflictos políticos*, Saragossa, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1982.
  19. 'Estatuto contra los broxos y broxas, y hechizeros y hechizeras, y contra los complices en dichos casos' (1592), in Archivo Municipal de Daroca, *Estatutos de la comunidad de Daroca (siglos XIV–XVI)*, fol. 348r.
  20. *Statuto de la bal d'Aysa* (1530), Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, Protocolo 8146, notario Orante, fol. 24.
  21. *Libros de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza* (September 1584), Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza (AMZ), 34 B-30, fol. 65v.
  22. The *zalmedina* or *zabalmedina* (from *çahamedina*, itself derived from the Hispanic-Arabic term *sâhib al-madina*, meaning chief of police: *sâhib* – chief/inspector – and *madina* – city) was a municipal judge with both civil and criminal jurisdiction. He was appointed by royal decree and selected from those citizens who were entitled to be chosen as city councillors. He was expected to visit the local prison every Friday and to hold court on designated juridical days. If he wanted to leave the city he had to obtain permission from the councillors (for periods of a six days or less) or from the presiding judge of the *Audiencia* (for longer periods).
  23. 'Estatuto hecho a seys de Deziembre de mil quinientos ochenta y seys contra las Brujas y Hechizeras', in *Recopilacion de los estatutos de la ciudad de Zaragoza...*, op. cit., pp. 291–294.
  24. Their names were Magdalena Ortiz and María de Val and their cases are mentioned in the *Bastardelo y y borrador de los actos y eventos de los señores jurados en 1590, 1591, 1592 y 1593*, AMZ, 34 B-30, fols. 60–63.
  25. *Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Teruel (1627)*, Saragossa, Pedro Cabarte, 1628, fol. 248. For more on the episcopal courts' involvement in persecuting magic, see José Pedro Paiva, *Práticas e crenças mágicas. O medo e a necessidade dos mágicos na diocese de Coimbra (1650–1740)*, Coimbra, Minerva, 1992, pp. 44–50.

26. *Constituciones Sinodales del Arzobispo de Zaragoza Juan Cebrian*, Saragossa, 1656, fol. 141.
27. *Registrum epistolarium missarum et acceptarum a capitulo sedis cesaraugustane insigni* (Collection of letters from 1567–1580), no folio number. Letter dated 23-X-1576.
28. These were trials (whose documentation is housed in Saragossa's Diocesan Archive [ADZ]) brought by the city's archbishop against the following: Joanna Polo in 1561 (ADZ, C. 1–41), María Sánchez in 1574 (ADZ, C. 1–7), Gostanza Rossa in 1581 (ADZ, C. 27–35), Jerónima Fernández in 1581 (ADZ, C. 28–15), Juan Blanc in 1584 (ADZ, C. 26–3), Pedro de Salanova in 1591 (ADZ, C. 37–20), María Rodríguez in 1604 (ADZ, C. 23–13) and Isabel Gombal in 1605 (ADZ, C. 44–27).
29. Record of the trial of María Sánchez (Saragossa, 1574), ADZ, C. 1–7, fol. 8.
30. Record of the trial of Pedro de Salanova (Saragossa, 1591), ADZ, C. 37–20, fols. 3–4.
31. *Ibid.*, fol. 15v.
32. Record of the trial of Gostanza Rossa (Saragossa, 1581), ADZ, C. 27–35, fol. 5v.
33. *Ibid.*, fol. 45r.
34. *Ibid.*, fol. 48r.
35. 'Relación de causa contra Isabel Gombal' (1597), in *Zaragoza. Relacion de causas de fee desde el año de 1597 hasta el de 1608*. Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN). Sección Inquisición (Inq.). Libro (Lib.) 990, fol. 15.
36. Record of the trial of Isabel Gombal (Saragossa, 1605), ADZ, C. 44–27, fol. 11.
37. *Ibid.*, fol. 13.
38. *Ibid.*, fol. 20.
39. The records of these six trials are currently housed in Saragossa's Archivo Histórico Provincial (AHPZ). They are those of Tomás Bonifant, a military scout and innkeeper from Huesca accused of blasphemy, but also of 'taking the Devil as his master' (Saragossa, 1509, AHPZ, leg. 28–1); Pedro Bernardo, a Florentine merchant accused of sorcery and necromancy (Saragossa, 1510, AHPZ, leg. 28–5); Juan Vicente, a French priest accused of necromancy (Saragossa, 1511, AHPZ, leg. 28–7); Catalina Aznar, a sorceress specializing in love magic (Saragossa, 1511, AHPZ, leg. 28–6); Agustina, a young girl accused of practising love magic at the instigation of an old midwife (Saragossa, 1646, AHPZ, leg. 125–9); and Catalina Baeza, also accused of being a sorceress and using love magic (Saragossa, 1648, AHPZ, leg. 124–20).
40. Another source of information about those Saragossa residents brought to trial for practising magic (in addition to the six surviving trials which also provide the names of various alleged accomplices who were also tried, although their records have since disappeared) as well as about the famous inquisitorial trial summaries (*relaciones de causa*) is the document known as the *Green Book of Aragon* ('a record of infamy', to quote Baltasar Gracián). This consisted of a carefully compiled genealogy of Aragon's principal *converso* families and was of great use to the inquisitorial judges. It contains a mention of four more Saragossans tried for witchcraft or sorcery between 1498 and 1537: Gracia la Valle, Miguel Sánchez, Martín de Soria and Joan Omella. See Isidro de las Cagigas (ed.), *Libro Verde de Aragón*, Madrid, Compañía Iberoamericana de Publicaciones, 1929, pp. 119–130. It is impossible to put

- an exact number on how many men and women of the city were brought to court by the Inquisition for such crimes given that no records survive for any of the trials that took place before 1540.
41. See Jaime Contreras and Gustav Henningsen, 'Forty-Four Thousand Cases of the Spanish Inquisition (1540–1700): Analysis of a Historical Data Bank', in Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi (eds.), *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, De Kalb (Illinois), 1986, pp. 100–129. According to the authors' preliminary estimates, reports on around 44,000 cases tried before the 20 peninsular tribunals have survived.
  42. See José Ángel Sesma Muñoz, *El establecimiento de la Inquisición en Aragón (1484–1486)*, Saragossa, IFC, 1986.
  43. Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Inquisición*, Madrid, Ed. Anaya, 1990, p. 14.
  44. See Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate. Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609–1614)*, Reno, Nevada, University of Nevada Press, 1980.
  45. Ricardo García Cárcel, op. cit., p. 47.
  46. Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice. 1550–1650*, Oxford and New York, Basil Blackwell Ltd/Inc., 1989, p. 218.
  47. Pilar Sánchez López, *Organización y jurisdicción inquisitorial: el Tribunal de Zaragoza, 1568–1646*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Barcelona, Universidad Autónoma, 1989, p. 31.
  48. William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*, Cambridge, CUP, 1990, pp. 79–80.
  49. See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, Ed. Alianza, 1985.
  50. William Monter, op. cit., p. 53.
  51. Record of the trial of Domingo Ferrer (Pozán de Vero, Huesca, 1535), AHPZ, C. 31–2.
  52. William Monter, op. cit., p. 83.
  53. See Florencio Idoate, *La brujería en Navarra y sus documentos*, Pamplona, Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1967 and William Monter, 'Witch Trials in Continental Europe', in Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. The Period of the Witch Trials*, London and Philadelphia, The Athlone Press, 2002, pp. 44–49.
  54. A summary of the discussions held at the 1526 meeting in Granada can be found in AHN, Inq., Lib. 1231, fols. 634–637 under the title 'Dubia quae in causa praesenti videntur diffinienda'.

## 2 Magic circles and enchanted treasures

1. *Relación de causa* of Brother Pedro Moliner (Saragossa, 1641), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 611v.–612r.
2. *Relación de causa* of Agustín Sanz (Saragossa, 1631), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 104v.–105r.
3. See Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Chercheurs de trésors et jeteuses de sorts. La quête du surnaturel à Naples au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Aubier, 1986, and Alberto Serrano Dolader, *Tesoros ocultos y riquezas imaginarias de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2002.

4. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos* ... op. cit., pp. 474–507.
5. See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.
6. The antecedent of this principle is what the Greeks of third-century Alexandria had called the ‘science of Hermes Trismegistus’ (‘the Thrice-Great’), whose teachings came to form an encyclopedia of all universal knowledge based on the observation of natural processes. See Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, London, Routledge, 2001 and Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
7. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic. Book One: Natural Magic*, New York, Cosimo Classics, 2007, p. 40.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
9. See Edmond Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l’Afrique du Nord*, Paris, J. Maisonneuve, 1994, and Michel Gall, *Le secret des mille et une nuits (Les Arabes possédaient la tradition)*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1972.
10. On the close connection between magic and holiness in the Renaissance, see Bruce Gordon, ‘The Renaissance angel’, in Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 41–63.
11. In 1277, and despite the fact that some members of the Church were far from convinced of the matter, Pope John XXI, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Paris condemned ritual magic as demonic. Then, in 1320, Pope John XXII, obsessed by the fear that he was the target of conjurations aimed at eliminating him for one reason or another, again condemned it, but this time assimilated its practice into the crime of heresy, meaning that it could now be prosecuted by the Inquisition.
12. *Constitución de S. S. El Papa Sixto V, dada en Roma el 5 de enero de 1585 contra cierta clase de magia* (Constitution of his Holiness Pope Sixtus V, issued in Rome on 5 January 1585 against a certain class of magic), Spanish translation in Rafael Gracia Boix, *Brujas y hechiceras de Andalucía*, Córdoba, 2001.
13. See François Delpech, ‘Grimoires et savoirs souterrains. Éléments pour une archéo-mythologie du livre magique’, in Dominique de Courcelles (ed.), *Le pouvoir des livres à la Renaissance*, Paris, École des Chartes, 1998, pp. 23–46, and ‘Biblioteca de Magos, Astrólogos y Hechiceros’ in Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos de hechicerías en la Inquisición de Castilla la Nueva*, Madrid, CSIC, 1942, pp. 1–38.
14. *El Libro Magno de San Cipriano o Tesoro del Hechicero*, Madrid, Humanitas, 1985, p. 229. This book, whose origins appear to lie in the eleventh century, although the version we know of dates from the sixteenth, includes, in addition to a chapter about ways to lift the enchantments from buried treasure, a list of 174 hoards hidden in the Kingdom of Galicia (see Álvaro Cunqueiro, *Tesoros y otras magias*, Barcelona, Tusquets, 1984, pp. 69–72). See also Bernardo Barreiro, *Brujos y astrólogos de la Inquisición de Galicia y el famoso libro de San Cipriano*, La Coruña, 1885, republished in Madrid by Akal in 1973.
15. Jesuit theologian Martín del Río thought that demon-invokers had two main reasons for choosing a circle: firstly, it had no beginning or end,

- making it a symbol of divinity (a quality to which Satan aspires); secondly, 'the circle, with no angles, is opposed by the cross, a most angular shape [...] greatly abhorred [by the Devil] who therefore loves the contrary figure. In fact, in magic seals you will find the cross surrounded by a circle, as if held captive.' (Martín del Río, 'Libro II de las *Disquisiciones Mágicas*', in Jesús Moya (ed.), *La magia demoníaca*, Madrid, Ed. Hipérior, 1991, p. 192.
16. The manuscript in question is *Le secret des secrets, autrement la clavicule de Salomon, ou le véritable grimoire*. MS 2350, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; English quotation taken from *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)* ed. and trans. S.L. MacGregor Mathers, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 13.
  17. *El Libro Magno de San Cipriano*, op. cit., pp. 229–230.
  18. *Ibid.*, pp. 217–218.
  19. *Ibid.*, pp. 219–229.
  20. Of the many sorcery trials brought by Saragossa's inquisitorial tribunal in early modern times, the records relating to only 12 survive, four of which are focused on ceremonial magic. Nevertheless, references in these 12 cases to other individuals found guilty of the same crime, as well as those contained in trial summaries (*relaciones de causa*), show the extent of such practices from the late fifteenth century onwards.
  21. It should be noted that a substantial proportion of the men tried in Aragon for sorcery or necromancy were originally from southern France, and from the regions of the Béarn and Gascony in particular, which is where, according to some scholars, the first mention of the *sabbath* appeared, in a number of witchcraft trials of the mid-fourteenth century. It was also in fourteenth-century France that the demonic pact was first defined: in 1398, the University of Paris stated that there was an implicit pact 'in all superstitious practices whose result cannot reasonably be expected from God or from Nature'. It is therefore no coincidence that the term most commonly used in Aragon to refer to a book of magic, *grimorio*, derives from the French *grimoire*. (See Christian Desplat, *Sorcières et diables en Gascogne (fin XIV<sup>e</sup> – début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Toulouse, Ed. Cairn, 2001.)
  22. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fol. 71v.
  23. *Ibid.*, fols. 63 and 39.
  24. 'Joan Vicente, beneficed priest of San Pablo, necromancer, fugitive, relaxed in effigy on 19 March 1511' and 'Miguel Sanchez del Romeral, notary, resident of Saragossa, heretic, fugitive, necromancer, relaxed in effigy on 16 June 1511', both listed in the 'Memorial of those burned at the stake up to the year 1574 in the Inquisition of the residents of this city of Saragossa', in Isidro de las Cagigas, op. cit., pp. 125 and 131.
  25. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fols. 67v.–68.
  26. As well its symbolic links with purity, there was a scientific basis for the use of parchment made from the skins of young animals. The highest-quality parchment, vellum (deriving from the Latin *vitellus*, calf), is prepared from the skins of young or newborn calves. Its principal quality is that it holds ink or paint well and allows the original colours to be better preserved, which is why the most beautiful miniatures were painted on vellum.

27. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fol. 69.
28. Although we know that his three fellow conspirators (Miguel de Soria, Miguel Sánchez and Jerónimo de Valdenieso) were also accused of necromancy and brought to trial, only Vicente's record has survived.
29. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fol. 4.
30. Both the gosling and the pimpernel had great symbolic value. Geese had since ancient times been linked to certain esoteric traditions associated with alchemy. The popular 'game of the goose' recalls the labyrinthine stages that alchemists had to work through in order to achieve their goal. The pimpernel is a plant with reddish stalk and flowers which gave rise to its Latin name, *Sanguisorba* (blood-sucking/absorbing).
31. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fol. 8.
32. *Ibid.*, fol. 8.
33. *Ibid.*, fol. 16.
34. *Ibid.*, fol. 16.
35. According to the evidence given by Miguel de Soria, as well as using the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the conspirators had also drawn on other such texts when planning their experiments, including the so-called *Clavicule of Virgil*. See the record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fol. 63.
36. For more on the different interpretations of the meaning of numbers, see Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism. Its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, and Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism (Ideas and Forms in English Literature)*, London, Routledge, 1970.
37. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fol. 31v.
38. *Ibid.*, fols. 16v.–17r.
39. *Ibid.*, fol. 48.
40. *Ibid.*, fol. 52v.–53r.
41. *Ibid.*, fol. 53.
42. *Ibid.*, inserted document, no folio number.
43. *Ibid.*, inserted document, no folio number.
44. To quote William Monter: 'a huge dossier of over 100 folios, probably our best source on high magic in Renaissance Spain'. (*Frontiers of Heresy*, op. cit., p. 258.)
45. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, inserted document, no folio number.
46. A case bearing many similarities to those described in this chapter is that of Pier Giacomo Bramoselli (archpriest of Brignano, in the diocese of Cremona). Born in Milan but a resident of Madrid, he was tried by the Toledo tribunal between 1660 and 1663, charged with being a 'heretic, apostate, impenitent, incorrigible, dogmatizing [and] superstitious [and of having committed] a form of idolatry, sacrilege, entering into an explicit pact with and invoking the Devil, etc.' He eventually confessed to having done all these things not because he believed in them but because of 'his greed for money'. See 'Vida y milagros del doctor Milanés', in Julio Caro Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición*, vol. II, Barcelona, Círculo de Lectores, 1990, pp. 260–335.



47. See 'Proceso de Jerónimo de Liébana', in Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., pp. 160–180.
48. AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 522r.
49. Ibid., fols. 525r., 530r., 531v., 534r. and 536v.
50. Ibid., fols. 522v., 523r.
51. Ibid., 522v., 523r.
52. Ibid., 523r.
53. Ibid., fol. 535v.
54. The belief that it was possible to command demons by means of a magic ring comes from legends surrounding King Solomon made known not only by the Bible but also, and more importantly, by a large number of Arab, Turkish and Persian writers, as well as Talmudists. These stories portrayed Solomon as the richest, wisest and most powerful man of all time. Among the many powers attributed to him was that of dominating all earthly, celestial and infernal spirits. The tales told how he was able to capture and enslave demons using a ring on which was engraved the secret name of God. Hence many books of magic attributed to Solomon explained how to obtain this ring. See Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, The Jewish Publication Society/Princeton University Press, 1987.
55. AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 534v.
56. Ibid., fol. 530r.
57. Ibid., fols. 524v.–525r.
58. In the words of Pedro Ciruelo, 'In the First Commandment God speaks to us of the faith, love and loyalty with which as good vassals we are to honour him. And the Greeks call this latria or theosebia; the Latins call it religion or devotion. The sin against it is idolatry or betrayal of God, by making a bond of friendship with the Devil, His enemy.' (See Pedro Ciruelo, *Reprobacion de las supersticiones y hechizerias* [1530], Valencia, Albatros, 1978, p. 32.)
59. Record of the trial of Pedro Bernardo (Saragossa, 1510), AHPZ, C. 28–5, fols. 28v–29r.
60. AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 525r. This sentence was never imposed in its entirety. In fact, Jerónimo 'appeared at an *auto de fe* held at the church of San Francisco in the year 1620, in penitent's habit, wearing the *coroza* [conical hat], carrying a candle, in person [...] and was then given one hundred lashes in the city streets [...], and when he was serving in the galleys of the Principality [of Catalonia] he falsified some papers of the Holy Office so that the part of his sentence still to be served was commuted', which meant he was tried again in 1623 by the Inquisition of Barcelona. (See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 162.)
61. Record of the trial of Pedro Bernardo (Saragossa, 1510), AHPZ, C. 28–5, fol. 32v.
62. On the belief in magic and its efficacy, see the classic studies by Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, New York, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954, and Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain, London/New York, Routledge Classics, 2001.
63. In general terms, this meant fairies, though they had acquired different names and characteristics in each region (Basque *lamias*, Galician *donas*, Asturian *xanas* and so on). See Julio Caro Baroja, *Algunos mitos españoles*, Madrid, Ed. Nacional, 1941.

64. According to mythological traditions about dwarfs, gnomes, elves, goblins or imps (*trasgos*), as they were known in the Iberian Peninsula, such creatures lived underground, had deformed bodies and were mischievous and unpredictable. See Antonio de Fuentelapeña, *El ente dilucidado*, Madrid, 1676; Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, 'Duendes y espíritus familiares', in *Obras completas*, Madrid, BAE, vol. 56, pp. 111–112, and Francisco Flores Arroyuelo, 'Duendes y tesoros encantados' in *El Diablo en España*, Madrid, Ed. Alianza, 1985, pp. 231–273.
65. The term 'giant' did not always have size implications, and there were also traditional tales of huge dwarfs. See Louis Charpentier, *Los gigantes*, Barcelona, Ed. Plaza & Janés, 1976; Claude Lecouteux, *Demonios y genios comarcales en la Edad Media*, Madrid, Ed. José J. de Olañeta, 1995, and François Delpech, 'Rite, légende, mythe et société: fondations et fondateurs dans la tradition folklorique de la péninsule ibérique', *Medieval folklore* (1991), pp. 10–56.
66. One of the key strands in the Polish Count Jan Potocki's novel *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa* (1813) is the idea that the Moors had created a hidden underground domain after their expulsion from the peninsula. Central to the novel are the complementary stories of two men: one very young, who on entering adulthood has to face a disturbing universe, the other a 40-year-old who, feeling himself old, weak and burdened with responsibilities, hopes to find an heir. The young man, Alphonse van Worden, has to undergo a series of initiation tests (he wakes up among rotting corpses, has to keep a secret which is gradually revealed to him, travels into the depths of the earth to dig for gold, and so on). All of these have been designed by the older man, the Sheikh of the Gomélez, ruler of a subterranean society which has spent centuries preparing to come out into the light and impose the true religion, although his plans are ultimately thwarted. (See Jan Potocki, *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa*, trans. Ian Maclean, London, Penguin Classics, 1996.)
67. See Vicente Risco, 'Los tesoros legendarios de Galicia', in *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, tomo VI, 1950, pp. 1–55; Álvaro Cunqueiro, op. cit., and François Delpech, 'Libros y tesoros en la cultura española del Siglo de Oro. Aspectos de una contaminación simbólica', in Javier Guijarro Ceballos (ed.), *El escrito en el Siglo de Oro. Prácticas y representaciones*, Salamanca, Ed. Universidad de Salamanca, 1998, pp. 95–109.
68. AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 95v. and 97v. The Cardinal whose miraculous relic Gama y Vasconcellos hoped would lend its magical powers to his cause was the Italian Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621), one of Catholicism's most significant champions during the Counter-Reformation. He was canonized and named a Doctor of the Church in the twentieth century. Although he was elevated to the college of cardinals and appointed bishop (against his personal wishes), Bellarmino continued to lead a life of extreme austerity, a fact that added greatly to his popularity and led to his being revered as a saint in his own time.
69. *Ibid.*, fol. 95v.
70. *Ibid.*, fols. 97v.–98v.
71. *Ibid.*, fol. 100r.

72. For more on the role played by young virgins in treasure seeking in seventeenth-century Spain, see 'Tesoros ocultos', in Rafael Martín Soto, *Magia e Inquisición en el antiguo reino de Granada (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, Málaga, Arguval, 2000, pp. 196–202.
73. See Maria Helena Sánchez Ortega, *La Inquisición y los gitanos*, Madrid, Ed. Taurus, 1988, pp. 193–243 and 323–349.
74. A seer or diviner, from the Arabic *zuharí* (geomancer), itself an adjective deriving from *azzuharah* (Venus), to whose influence the gift of divination was attributed. Generally applied to those believed to be able to find what is hidden, water sources in particular.
75. The man in question was Antón Lozano, whose career as a *zahorí* who specialized in treasure seeking in Saragossa and the surrounding area is detailed in his inquisitorial trial summary, as is his sentence to appear at a public *auto de fe*, abjure *de levi* and then be exiled for three years from the inquisitorial district (AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 57v.–59r.).
76. *Ibid.*, fol. 59r.
77. Álvaro Cunqueiro, *op. cit.*
78. See Gilbert Durand, *The Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary*, Mount Nebo (Queensland, Australia), Boombana Publications, 1999.
79. AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 97r. and v.
80. According to a rite associated with a treasure-seeking spell that was included by Ibn el H'ádjj in a treatise entitled *Choumoûs el Anouâr*, the magical work relating to this enchantment had to be carried out in a deserted place over a period of many days. After 21 days, the practitioner would see a black slave riding an enormous lion; after 42, 70 men dressed in green would greet him; after 47, a white city would appear before him, and so on. Finally, he would find himself in the presence of the imam Et'-Tâoûs, the man who knew the secret of the enchantment protecting the hidden treasure. (See Edmond Doutté, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–268.)
81. See Vicente Risco, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
82. AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 97r.
83. *Ibid.*, fol. 97v.
84. *Ibid.*, fol. 97v.
85. *Ibid.*, fol. 104v.
86. *Ibid.*, fol. 105r.
87. *Ibid.*, fols. 103r. and v.
88. *Ibid.*, fol. 104r.
89. AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 639v.–648v.
90. *Ibid.*, fols. 643 r. and v.
91. *Ibid.*, fol. 646v.
92. See Helena Sánchez Ortega, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–238.
93. AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 404.
94. The girl, born in Ponzano (Huesca) and a resident of Saragossa, was known as Manuela de Biescas and went from place to place indicating the location of hidden treasures, based on her skills as a clairvoyant. According to her own statement, 'when she was in her parents' house [...] a serpent appeared to her and she heard a voice which told her not to be afraid, for the serpent would not harm her'; she also said she had seen other angelic and demonic apparitions (AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 380).

95. AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 371r. and v.
96. Ibid., fol. 368.
97. Ibid., fol. 160.
98. AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 614v.
99. Ibid., fols. 605r. and 607v.
100. Ibid., fol. 608r.
101. Ibid., fol. 607r.
102. Ibid., fol. 608v.
103. Ibid., fol. 607v.
104. Ibid., fol. 605r. Author's italics.
105. Ibid., fols. 605v–606r.
106. Ibid., fols. 606r. and v.
107. As late as the mid-eighteenth century, Brother Benito Jerónimo Feijoo was writing against the belief in familiar demons and 'the futile and pernicious insistence on searching for hidden treasures'. See the second of his *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*, vol. III, Madrid, Herederos de Francisco del Hierro, 1742–1760, pp. 11–22.
108. See Eloy Benito Ruano, 'Búsqueda de tesoros en la España medieval', in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, vol. III, Naples, Giannini, 1978.
109. See Pedro Cunqueiro, op. cit., p. 71.
110. Ibid., p. 72.
111. See Eloy Benito Ruano, op. cit., pp. 185–189.
112. 'Treasure has to be long desired and long dreamed of. [...] It is easier to find a treasure that closely resembles one once seen in a dream, and when the treasure appears, he who finds it believes he is still dreaming. There have therefore been cases of men finding treasure and leaving it where it lay, because they believed the treasure before their eyes was but a dream, that it was air and not gold.' (See Álvaro Cunqueiro, op. cit., p. 45.)
113. Cervantes alludes to this in *Don Quixote* as justification for the knight errant's poverty and fidelity to his lady. ('It is very likely that Altisidora loved me well; she presented me, as thou knowest, with three night-caps; she wept and took on when I went away [...] It was not in my power to give her any hopes, nor had I any costly present to bestow on her; for all I have reserved is for Dulcinea; and the treasures of a knight errant are but fairy-gold, and a delusive good.' Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Peter Motteux [1700/1712], Ware, Wordsworth, 1993, p. 726.)
114. See, for example, Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* [1611], Barcelona, Ed. Altafulla, 1993, pp. 302 and 407.
115. Sebastián de Covarrubias, op. cit., pp. 19–20. Covarrubias was drawing a comparison between the treasure seekers' task and his own work as a lexicologist, for which he had had to 'do battle' with the 'monsters' of foreign languages as he sought definitions for Spanish words; he also wrote of his fear that all this work would be in vain because 'the tongues of gainsayers and malcontents' would try and turn his 'treasure' into coal. See also François Delpech, 'Libros y tesoros...', op. cit., p. 101.
116. AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 399r.
117. Ibid., fol. 399v.
118. See Álvaro Cunqueiro, op. cit., p. 26.

### 3 Magic for love or subjugation

1. Miguel de Cervantes, *El licenciado Vidriera*, in *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613), Madrid, Castalia, 1982, pp. 115–116 (my own translation).
2. *Relación de causa* of Jorge Núñez Pineyro (Saragossa, 1636). AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 233r.
3. Juan de Mena, in his *Laberinto de Fortuna* (Labyrinth of Fortune, 1444), uses the example of two Roman women executed for poisoning their spouses to serve as a dire warning to all husbands about the dangers of love magic: 'The women Licinia and Publicia / were giving their husbands, / to the dishonour of their line, / fatal potions made with poisonous herbs; / for once is lost that noble chastity, / which is a necessary virtue in woman, / such fury grows, such hatred is sown, / that she holds her husband in enmity. / Therefore you, o husbands, / should ever suspicion take hold within you, / let your right hand rest idle, / and let it not be known that you know; / but apply your own remedy first / before the circumstances cause you sorrow; / fight great cunning with greater, / since forewarned is forearmed.' See Maxim Kerkhof (ed.), Juan de Mena, *Laberinto de Fortuna*, Madrid, Ed. Castalia, 1995, pp. 172–173.
4. See René Nelli, *L'Érotique des Troubadours*, Toulouse, Édouard Privat, 1963.
5. The first known edition, in 16 acts and dubbed a *Comedia*, was printed in Burgos in 1499. The *Comedia* was soon turned into a *Tragicomedia* in 21 acts and was published in Seville in 1501.
6. See Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, Madrid, Austral, 1977, p. 22.
7. See Otis H. Green, 'Amor cortés y moral cristiana en la trama de *La Celestina*', in Alan Deyermond (ed.), *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, vol. I, Spanish trans. Carlos Pujol, Barcelona, Crítica, 1979, p. 507. (A partial reproduction of Otis H. Green, *Spain and the Western Tradition. The Castilian Mind in Literature from El Cid to Calderon*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1963, pp. 112–119, specifically p. 115.)
8. On magic in *La Celestina*, see Peter E. Russell, 'La magia de Celestina', in Francisco Rico (ed.), op. cit., pp. 508–512; Francisco Rico, 'Brujería y literatura', in *Brujología. Congreso de San Sebastián. Ponencias y comunicaciones*, Madrid, Seminarios y Ediciones, 1975, pp. 97–117; Patrizia Botta, 'La magia en *La Celestina*', *Dicenda: Cuadernos de filología hispánica*, 12, 1994, pp. 37–67; Olga Lucía Valbuena 'Sorceresses, Love Magic, and the Inquisition of Linguistic Sorcery in *Celestina*', *PMLA*, 109, 1994, pp. 207–224; Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno, 'Rojas' Celestina and Claudina: In Search of a Witch', *Hispanic Review*, 69, 2001, pp. 277–297 and, in particular, Dorothy Sherman Severin, *Witchcraft in 'La Celestina'*, Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, London, 1995.
9. In fact, according to the spell cast by Celestina, Pluto is invoked as 'Lord of the infernal depths, emperor of the accursed court, sovereign captain of the condemned angels, lord of the sulphurous fires that erupt from Etna's boiling core, governor and overseer of torment and the tormentors of sinful souls' and so on. (See Fernando de Rojas, op. cit., p. 45).
10. Fernando de Rojas, op. cit., p. 45.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

12. 'Thomas was in bed for six months [...] and although they gave him all the treatment they could, they only managed to cure his bodily complaints, but not his mind. He got better but remained possessed by the strangest madness anybody had ever seen. The poor wretch imagined that he was all made of glass, and under this delusion, when someone came up to him, he would scream out in the most frightening manner, and using the most convincing arguments would beg them not to come near him, or they would break him; for really and truly he was not like other men, being made of glass from head to foot.' (Miguel de Cervantes, *The Glass Graduate*, op. cit., p. 128).
13. Cervantes held that such enchantments were nothing but poison ('Those who give these aphrodisiac drinks or foods are called "poisoners": because all they do is to poison those who take them, as experience has shown on many and varied occasions.'). See Miguel de Cervantes, op. cit., p. 128.
14. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote* (Part 1, Book III, Chapter VIII), op. cit., p. 131.
15. AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fol. 214.
16. Ibid., fol. 213v.
17. AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 13v.
18. Record of the trial of Gracia Tello (Saragossa, 1605), ADZ, C. 22-7, fol. 11.
19. AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 461v.
20. AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 477r.
21. AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 459r.
22. AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, fol. 290v.
23. Ibid., fol. 433v.
24. Ibid., fol. 537v.
25. Specifically, the full records of three trials brought by the city's episcopal court (against Joanna Polo in 1561, María Rodríguez in 1604 and Isabel Gombal in 1605) and of a further three brought by the inquisitorial tribunal (against Catalina Aznar in 1511, Agustina in 1646 and Catalina Baeza in 1648), as well as 50 trial summaries relating to cases heard by the Saragossa Inquisition involving people accused of practising love magic in the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
26. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., pp. 105-159; Noemí Sánchez Quezada, *Amor y magia amorosa entre los Aztecas*, Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975 and *Sexualidad, Amor y Erotismo. México Prehispánico y México Colonial*, Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996; Francisco Fajardo Spinola, *Las Palmas en 1524: Brujería y sexualidad*, Madrid-Las Palmas, Patronato de la 'Casa de Colón', 1985; María Helena Sánchez Ortega, *La mujer y la sexualidad en el Antiguo Régimen. La perspectiva inquisitorial*, Madrid, Ed. Akal, 1992 and *Ese viejo diablo llamado amor. La magia amorosa en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, UNED, 2004.
27. AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, fols. 533r. and v.
28. Ibid., fol. 534v.
29. Ibid., fols. 535r. and v.
30. Ibid., fol. 536r.
31. Ibid., fol. 536v.
32. Ibid., fol. 537r.

33. Christopher A. Faraone, in *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge & London, Harvard University Press, 1999) offers a fascinating view of love magic in Ancient Greece using a bipartite system of classification based primarily on the gender of its practitioners. In the words of the author, this allows a clear distinction to be drawn between 'those rituals used mainly by men to instill erotic passion (*erôs*) in women and those used primarily by women to maintain or increase affection (*philia*) in men.' (Preface, p. ix)
34. AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 235r.
35. *Ibid.*, fol. 232v.
36. AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, fol. 432r.
37. *Ibid.*, fols. 432r and v.
38. *Ibid.*, fol. 432v.
39. *Ibid.*, fol. 433r.
40. Carlos de Federicis was one of the 17 conspirators tried between 1690 and 1693 by the inquisitorial tribunal in Saragossa for having made 'a league and a union to undertake treasure-seeking', specifically among the ruins of the Castillo de Miranda. See Chapter 2.
41. AHN, Lib. 998, Inq, fol. 334r.
42. *Ibid.*, fol. 335r.
43. *Ibid.*, fol. 371r.
44. Isabel Gombal, born in Benluguacil (Valencia), whose indisputable success in the sphere of love magic allowed her to enjoy a level of prosperity unusual among sorceresses, was tried by Saragossa's Inquisition in 1597, and was sentenced to 'reconciliation, penitential habit and prison for four years, and to one hundred lashes in Saragossa's streets'. (AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 34r.) This did not stop her practising her craft, with the result that she faced another trial in 1605, on this occasion at the episcopal court. According to the confession she made to the vicar-general of the archbishop of Saragossa, 'she was imprisoned by the Holy Office and punished with the sanbenito, which she wore for four years'. Furthermore, one of the women who gave evidence at the episcopal trial stated that she herself had thought of paying for her services and that 'at the time Isabel was being made to pay penance by the Holy Office and was wearing the habit.' (ADZ, C. 44-27, fol. 39v.)
45. Record of the trial of Isabel Gombal (Saragossa, 1605), ADZ, C. 44-27, inserted document, no folio number.
46. 'Lovesickness', or *amor hereos* (a hybrid term deriving from both the Greek 'eros' and Latin 'heros', suggesting that love was a noble disease that only affected heroes) had been thought since ancient times to be caused by the five external senses but also by the so-called internal senses, or 'faculties of the soul' (common sense, imagination and memory). In around 1260, Arnaldo de Villanova was the first European to write a treatise that dealt specifically with this condition (Arnaldi Villanovani, *De amore heroico*, in *Opera Omnia*, Basle, 1585). From the fifteenth century onwards, an increasing emphasis was placed on the role of evil spells as a direct cause of lovesickness. Hence the practice of *philocaptio* (spells cast to win another person's love) was condemned as superstitious in the 1600s by writers such as Saragossan canon Bernardo Basin and Juan Nider, both of whom held that the devil was primarily to blame for

- inciting people to lustful behaviour. See M. F. Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and its Commentaries*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1990; D. Beecher, 'The Essentials of Erotic Melancholy', in K. Bartlett, K. Eisenbichler and J. Liedl (eds.), *Love and Death in the Renaissance*, Ottawa, Dovehouse, 1991; D. Beecher, 'L'amour et le corps: les maladies érotiques et la pathologie à la Renaissance' in J. Cêard, M. M. Fontaine and J.-C. Margolin (eds.), *Le corps à la Renaissance*, Paris, Amateurs de Livres, 1990.
47. See Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Musical Treatments for Lovesickness: The Early Modern Heritage', in Peregrine Horden (ed.), *Music as Medicine. The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000, pp. 213–245.
  48. There was a growing tendency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to medicalize love within the concept of 'erotic melancholia', as can be seen in many treatises of the day, such as those of Jacques Ferrand (*De la maladie d'amour ou mélancolie érotique. Discours curieux qui enseigne à connaître ce mal fantastique*, Paris, 1623); Luis Mercado (*Opera omnia*, Valladolid, 1604, vols. 3–4, p. 102), Alonso de Santa Cruz (*Dignotio et cura affectuum melancholicorum*, Madrid, 1622), Tomás Murillo y Velarde (*Aprobación de ingenios y curacion de hipochondricos*, Saragossa, 1672), and so on. See also Christine Orobitg, *L'humeur noire. Mélancolie, écriture et pensée en Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle*, Bethesda, International Scholars Publications, 1997.
  49. One chapter of Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* is devoted to the subject of the transference of evil and states, among other things, that 'The notion that we can transfer our guilt and sufferings to some other being who will bear them for us is familiar to the savage mind'. As well as citing examples testifying to the existence of this belief among various primitive peoples, he also refers to a European case dating from the late sixteenth century: 'In 1590 a Scotch witch [...] was convicted of curing a certain Robert Kers of a disease "laid upon him by a westland warlock when he was at Dumfries, whilk sickness she took upon herself, and kept the same with great groaning and torment till the morn, at whilk time there was a gret din heard in the house." The noise was made by the witch in her efforts to shift the disease, by means of clothes, from herself to a cat or dog.' (See Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*, Ware, Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1993, pp. 539 and 542).
  50. We know that several of the sorceresses of Saragossa attempted to cure people by transferring their illnesses to animals. Several witnesses at the inquisitorial trial of Elena Sánchez said that 'on two occasions she did advise that, to be cured, those sick people who said they had been bewitched should take some mouthfuls of bread and chew them furiously then, holding them in their hands, say an Our Father and an Ave Maria, and while they were praying should kiss the bread three times and then place it on their stomachs one night [...]. And in the morning they should remove it and give it to a dog to eat, and the dog would die.' (AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 289r.)
  51. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 122.
  52. Ibid., p. 112.
  53. Ibid., p. 129.
  54. AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 410v.



55. Ibid., fol. 454r.
56. Ibid., fol. 451v.
57. Ibid., fol. 454r.
58. *Relación de causa* of Jerónima de Torres (Saragossa, 1651), AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, fols. 433v. and 434r.
59. See 'That Old Black Magic Called Love' in Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions. Tales of Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 108.
60. See Francisco Bethencourt, *O Imaginário Da Magia. Feiticeiras, Saludadores e Nigromantes no Século XVI*, Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 1987, p. 113.
61. See Noemí Quezada, *Sexualidad, Amor y Erotismo ...*, op. cit.
62. See Noemí Quezada, *Amor y Magia amorosa entre los Aztecas ...*, op. cit., p. 81.
63. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., pp. 49–52.
64. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 451v.
65. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 453 and 458.
66. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos ...*, op. cit. pp. 507–538.
67. Guido Ruggiero, op. cit., p. 98.
68. Ibid., p. 112.
69. Ibid., pp. 110 and 124.
70. For more on the links between valerian and love magic, see Rafael Martín Soto, op. cit., p. 219.
71. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de Mota (Saragossa, 1665), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 477r.
72. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq. Lib. 995, fol. 448r.
73. Ibid., fol. 450v.
74. Francisco Bethencourt, op. cit., p. 111.
75. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de la Mota (Saragossa, 1665), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 470v.
76. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos ...*, op. cit., pp. 511–514.
77. Véase François Delpech, '“Camino del infierno tanto anda el cojo como el viento.” Monosandalisme et magie d'amour', in A. Molinié and J.P. Duviols (eds.), *Enfers et Damnations dans le monde hispanique et hispano-américain*, Paris, La Découverte, 1987, pp. 294–315.
78. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos ...*, op. cit., pp. 514–522.
79. According to the widespread belief in the so-called *law of contact or contagion*, 'things which have once been conjoined must remain ever afterwards, even when quite dissevered from each other, in such a sympathetic relation that whatever is done to the one must similarly affect the other.' (See Sir James Frazer, op. cit. p37.)
80. Record of the trial of Catalina Aznar (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–6, fol. 13.
81. Ibid., fols. 19v.–20.
82. Ibid., fol. 19.
83. AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 89v.
84. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 454v. and 455r.

85. AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fol. 212v.
86. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 444v.
87. *Relación de causa* of Carlos de Federicis (Saragossa, 1690), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 334r. Béarnais man Pedro de Pedinal confessed in similar fashion to Saragossa's inquisitors that 'desiring greatly to have a woman', he took the advice of those who told him that 'all he needed to do was anoint an apple with the man's semen and give it to the woman in question to eat', an experiment which he admitted to having carried out 'on nine occasions [...] but never with any effect'. (AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 217).
88. *Relación de causa* of Antonio Poyanos (Saragossa, 1692), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 368.
89. *Relación de causa* of Jorge Núñez Pineiro (Saragossa, 1636), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 232v.
90. *Relación de causa* of Miguel Melchor Aguado (Saragossa, 1651), AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, fol. 432.
91. A witness who appeared at Catalina Aznar's trial recounted how once, at an inn in Saragossa, she had seen 'performing the experiment of the sieve for a woman named Joana, wife of a bookseller [...] and the present witness had performed it three times'. (ADZ, C. 28-6, fol. 45). Divination by the turning of a sieve, or *coscinomancy*, is one of the most widespread such practices, common since the Middle Ages and still in use today.
92. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 447v.
93. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Teresa Castañar (Saragossa, 1682), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 320v.
94. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de Mota (Saragossa, 1664), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 472.
95. See Guido Ruggiero, op. cit., pp. 99-103. For more on *cartas de toque*, see also Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 156 and José Pedro Paiva, *Práticas e crenças mágicas. O medo e a necessidades dos mágicos na diocese de Coimbra (1650-1740)*, Coimbra, Minerva, 1992, pp. 150-151.
96. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de Mota (Saragossa, 1664), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 475.
97. An example of such a prayer, in this case mentioning St John, comes from the trial summary of Jorge Piñeiro, from which we learn that 'when in the presence of the woman he desired, he said on some occasions: So-and-so (naming the said woman by name), Our Lady has sent me to you that you may love me of your free will as Our Lord Jesus Christ loved the blessed St John. God lives, God reigns, since he achieves that which he desires, thus may I have all I desire with you.' (AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 232v-233.)
98. See Guido Ruggiero, op. cit., p. 106, and François Delpech, 'Système érotique et mythologie folklorique dans les "Conjuros amatorios" (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)', in Augustin Redondo (ed.), *Amour légitimes, amours illégitimes en Espagne (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*, Paris, La Sorbonne, 1985, p. 219.
99. AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fol. 214. Other mentions of Christ also make reference to the incarnation ('may your love be bound to me as was Our Lord Jesus Christ in the womb of the Virgin Mary') or to episodes from the Passion, for example 'may all so-and-so's limbs and senses be bound just as Jesus Christ

- was bound in Pilate's house'. See the record of the trial of Catalina Aznar (Saragossa, 1511), ADZ, C. 28–6, fol. 24v.
100. *Relación de causa* of María Romerales (Saragossa, 1609), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 134v.
  101. See François Delpech, 'Système érotique...', op. cit., p. 217.
  102. See François Delpech, 'De Marthe a Marta ou les mutations de une entité transculturelle', in *Culturas populares*, Madrid, Ed. Universidad Complutense, 1986, p. 67.
  103. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 131.
  104. *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132.
  105. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 460v.
  106. A reproduction of a St Martha prayer card seized by the Inquisition from a Lanzarote woman accused of sorcery in 1624 can be seen in Francisco Fajardo Spínola's book *Hechicería y brujería en Canarias en la Edad Moderna*, Las Palmas, Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1992, p. 157.
  107. *Relación de causa* of Petronila Sanz (Saragossa, 1635), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 193.
  108. *Relación de causa* of Ana María Torrero (Saragossa, 1636), AHN, Lib. 992, fol. 229.
  109. *Relación de causa* of Jorge Núñez Piñeiro (Saragossa, 1636), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 234 and 235.
  110. Sebastián Cirac Estopañán quotes a prayer said to St Helen, which demonstrates a clear link between her life story and the reason for which she is being called upon: 'Helen, Helen, / daughter of King and Queen, / 't was you discovered the cross of Christ, / and with three nails you found it. / One you threw into the sea / and with it you were blessed; / another you gave to your brother Stephen, / and with it he fought, defended and won; / and the third you kept yourself. / With it, Helen, I wish / that you would pierce So-and-so's heart, / so that you render him / unable to eat or drink, / until he return to my door.' (See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., pp. 134–135.) In Saragossa, references to prayers addressed to St Helen can be found in the trial summaries of Isabel Teresa Castañer (1663, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 322) and Ana Tris (1663, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 356).
  111. See François Delpech, 'Système érotique...', op. cit., p. 225.
  112. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 459.
  113. See Jacobus de Voragine *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (transl. William Granger Ryan), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012, p. 397.
  114. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
  115. See Luis Coronas Tejada, 'Hechicería y brujería ante el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Córdoba', *I Congresso Luso-Brasileiro sobre Inquisição*, Lisbon, Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos do Século XVIII, 1986.
  116. See Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., p. 163.
  117. Peter did in fact marry María as well, and they had four children together: Alfonso (who was declared the legitimate heir to the throne, but predeceased his father), Beatriz, Constanca and Isabel. For more on María and her associations with the underworld, see Bernard Leblon, 'María de Padilla aux enfers', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 83, 3–4, 1981, pp. 463–465.

118. Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., p. 164.
119. See François Delpech, 'En torno al diablo cojuelo: demonología y folklore', in María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (eds.), *El diablo en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004.
120. As also mentioned in Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 149.
121. *Relación de causa* of Ana María Torrero (Saragossa, 1636), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 229.
122. *Ibid.*, fol. 230.
123. See François Delpech, 'Camino del infierno...', op. cit. and María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos...*, op. cit., pp. 264–265.
124. *Relación de causa* of Ana de Yuso (Saragossa, 1585), AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fol. 211v.
125. See Ana Labarta, *Libro de dichos maravillosos (Misceláneo morisco de magia y adivinación)*, Madrid, CSIC, 1993.
126. See Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla, *La magie en Espagne: morisques et vieux chrétiens aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles*, Zaghouan (Tunisia), Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996.
127. *Relación de causa* of Cándida Gombal (Saragossa, 1597), AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 13v.
128. 'The said Isabel Gombal [...] told him [...] to say: this I offer to Barabbas, and another to Beelzebub, another to Satan, another to the devil and she-devil, and another to all the demons'. Record of the trial of Isabel Gombal (Saragossa, 1605), ADZ, C. 45–27, fol. 66v.
129. One woman who was a witness at the trial of Cándida Gombal stated that, having consulted the defendant as to 'how to marry an absent man', she had been advised 'to go one night to the Ebro bridge with three pieces of bread and give them to the first dog she met, without mentioning on the way there or back either Jesus, Mary or any saint'.
130. *Relación de causa* of Ana de Yuso (Saragossa, 1585), AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fol. 212.
131. *Relación de causa* of Ana Ruiz (Saragossa, 1603), AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 208.
132. See María Tausiet, 'Gritos del Más Allá: la defensa del purgatorio en la Contrarreforma española', *Hispania Sacra*, vol. LVII, nº 115 (2005), pp. 81–108.
133. Feliciano de Sevilla, *Racional campana de fuego que toca a que acudan todos los fieles con agua de sufragios a mitigar el incendio del Purgatorio, en que se queman vivas las benditas animas que allí penan*, Cadiz, 1704, p. 33.
134. José Pavía, *Rescate piadoso y libertad gloriosa de las almas del Purgatorio. Obra que socorre a los muertos y no menos ayuda a los vivos*, Valencia, 1666, p. 208.
135. *Relación de causa* of Jerónima Torrellas (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 285v.
136. *Relación de causa* of María García (Saragossa, 1655), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 442.
137. A Portuguese version of this belief is cited by Francisco Bethencourt, op. cit., p. 78 ('As it grew dark, and to the first star she saw in the sky, she would say, o most forsaken soul, you who are in the fire of purgatory without father or mother, without brother or sister, and without godfather or godmother, without godson or goddaughter, one gift do I wish to beg of you, another do I wish to promise you.') As for so-called 'star charms', they were also very

- common in the region of Castilla la Nueva, as reflected by Sebastián Cirac Estopañán (op. cit., pp. 106–112). See also Julio Caro Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición*, op. cit., p. 106 and François Delpech, ‘Système erotique...’, p. 220.
138. According to various seventeenth-century Spanish treatise-writers, purgatory was ‘a part and the privy of hell’ so that ‘a single fire torments the damned and purges and cleanses the chosen ones’. (See Dimas Serpi, *Tratado de purgatorio contra Lutero y otros hereges...*, Barcelona, 1604, p. 63 and Felipe de la Cruz, ‘Tratado de purgatorio’, in *Tesoro de la Iglesia...*, Madrid, 1631, p. 164.)
139. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., pp. 132–134 and Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., pp. 167–169.
140. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 459.
141. ‘She would say the prayer of the lonely soul [...] and if the soul replied that she had not prayed long enough, she would say a longer prayer. And she would say to the soul that she would negotiate for what she wanted, and that she would say a prayer for her [the soul] after these negotiations. And when she prayed, she would look for portents, and what she heard in the street was the soul’s reply.’ (See Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., p. 168).
142. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 447.
143. José Pavía, op. cit., p. 276.
144. See Juan García Polanco, *Memoria de las Misas que en sus testamentos y por las animas del Purgatorio y por negocios graissimos a devociones particulares se dicen*, Madrid, 1625, fol. 2.
145. Limbo was thought to be home to the souls of those who had died without being baptized or below the age of reason (infants and the mentally deficient) and a temporary home to the souls of virtuous people (pagans and Jews) who had lived before the incarnation of Christ and who were then set free and sent to heaven by him, as part of his redemption. See Jacques Le Goff, ‘Les limbes’ [1986], in Jacques Le Goff, *Un autre moyen âge*, Paris, Gallimard, 1999, pp. 1235–1259.
146. See Adelina Sarrión, *Beatas y endemoniadas. Mujeres heterodoxas ante la Inquisición. Siglos XVI a XIX*, Madrid, Alianza, 2004, pp. 278 and 296.
147. On the fate of suicides, see David L. Lederer, ‘Reforming the Spirit: Society, Madness and Suicide in Central Europe, 1517–1809’ (Ph.D diss, New York University, 1995) and Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 85.
148. See Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, Fayard, 1978, pp. 75–87; Francisco Bethencourt, op. cit., pp. 108–109 and Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., pp. 169–170.
149. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos*, op. cit., pp. 517–519.
150. *Relación de causa* of Ana de Yuso (Saragossa, 1585), AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fol. 212v.
151. According to the trial summary of Jerónima Torrellas, she had told ‘someone who wanted to win at gaming that she would bring him a fragment of consecrated altar stone and a length of gallows rope [...] and that he was to place the rope beneath the altarcloth while three Masses were said, and

- to carry it with him whenever he needed its luck. And first he was to say an Our Father and an Ave Maria for the soul of the man who had died with it around his neck.' (AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 234).
152. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 454v.
  153. For more on the shadow as an expression of the belief in an external soul, thought to be a double or a hidden aspect of the personality, see Sir James Frazer, op. cit.; Claude Lecouteux, *Fées, Sorcières et Loups-garous au Moyen Âge. Histoire du Double*, Paris, Imago, 1992, and Victor I. Stoichita, *Breve historia de la sombra*, Madrid, Ed. Siruela, 2000.
  154. For examples of the kind of erotic charms addressed to the shadow, see Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 112 and Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., p. 182.
  155. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, op. cit., p. 113 and Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., p. 111.
  156. Record of the trial of Catalina Aznar (Saragossa, 1511), ADZ, C. 28–6, fol. 37.
  157. See Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *La sorcière de Jasmin*, Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1983; Wolfgang Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf. Chonrad Stoeckhlin and the Phantoms of the Night*, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1994.
  158. See François Delpech, 'Système érotique...', op. cit., pp. 221–222.
  159. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de Mota (Saragossa, 1665), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 475.
  160. See María Helena Sánchez Ortega, 'Sorcery and Eroticism in Love Magic', in Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters. The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, University of California Press, 1991, pp. 79–83.
  161. *Relación de causa* of Lucía de Soria (Saragossa, 1642), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 672–673.
  162. *Ibid.*, fol. 676v.

#### 4 *Saludadores* and witch-finders

1. Pedro Ciruelo, op. cit., p. 101.
2. Francisco de Quevedo, 'Sueño del infierno' or 'Las zahúrdas de Plutón', in *Desvelos soñolientos y discursos de verdades soñadas, descubridores de abusos, vicios y engaños en todos los oficios y estados del mundo*, Barcelona, 1629. (See *Obras de Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas*, Madrid, BAE, vol. XXIII, 1946, p. 318.)
3. For more on the role of the *saludador*, see Fabián Alejandro Campagne, 'Cultura popular y saber médico en la España de los Austrias', in María Estela González de Fauve (ed.), *Medicina y sociedad: curar y sanar en la España de los siglos XIII al XVI*, Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires, pp. 195–239; Fabián Alejandro Campagne, 'Medicina y religión en el discurso antisupersticioso español de los siglos XVI a XVIII: un debate por la hegemonía', *Dynamis*, No. 20 (2000) pp. 471–456, and Enrique

- Perdiguero, 'Protomedicato y curanderismo', *Dynamis*, No. 16 (1996), pp. 91–108.
4. See Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours. The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, London, Harper Collins, 1996, pp. 171–195, and María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos*, op. cit., pp. 325–346.
  5. See Luis Sánchez Granjel, *Aspectos médicos de la literatura antisupersticiosa española de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1953, p. 66.
  6. See Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Book XI.
  7. See François Delpech, 'La "marque" des sorcières: logique(s) de la stigmatisation diabolique', in Nicole Jacques-Chaquin and Maxime Préaud (eds.), *Le sabbat des sorciers en Europe (XV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Grenoble, Jérôme Millon, 1993, pp. 347–368.
  8. Scholar and bibliophile Antonio de Torquemada wrote this about the *saludadores*: 'they say that they are known by the wheel of St Catherine on their palate, or on some other part of the body'. See Antonio de Torquemada, *Jardín de flores curiosas* [1570], Madrid, Castalia, 1982, p. 324.
  9. See Marc Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, Paris, Gallimard, 1983, and François Delpech, 'Du héros marqué au signe du prophète: esquisse pour l'archéologie d'un motif chevaleresque', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 92 (1990), pp. 237–257, and 'Les marques de naissance: physiognomie, signature magique et charisme souverain', in Augustin Redondo (ed.), *Le corps dans la société espagnole des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990.
  10. See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic. Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*, London, Penguin, 1973, pp. 237–239.
  11. As noted by Luis Sánchez Granjel, 'the fact that Philip IV could add to his status as king of Castile his having been born on Good Friday gave greater credence to the notion [...] that Castilian royalty also had, as if by right, the power to cure the possessed and the bewitched.' (See Luis Sánchez Granjel, op. cit., p. 66.)
  12. *Relación de causa* of Gabriel Monteche (Saragossa, 1619), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 435v.
  13. *Ibid.*, fol. 433v.
  14. *Ibid.*, fol. 435v.
  15. *Ibid.*, fol. 434r. For more on mirror divination, or catoptromancy, see the fascinating treatise by Raphael Mirami, *Compendiosa introduzione alla prima parte della specularia* (Ferrara, 1582), and Jurgis Baltrusaitis's *El espejo* (Madrid, Miraguano, 1988), especially the chapter devoted to Renaissance catoptromancy, which includes a reproduction of an image of a sixteenth-century 'magic mirror' from Saragossa (p. 197).
  16. *Ibid.*, fols. 435r and v.
  17. *Ibid.*, fol. 436v.
  18. Martín de Castañega, *Tratado de las supersticiones y hechicerías* [1529], Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1946, pp. 62–64.
  19. Pedro Ciruelo, 'Capitulo seteno: en que se disputa contra los comunes saludadores', in op. cit., pp. 100–107.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
21. One notable example is known of in Valencia, where, during the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century there existed the post of 'examiner of *saludadores*'. As María Luz López Terrada notes, this was held for some years by a certain Domingo Moreno, a needle-maker, and himself a *saludador*. See María Luz López Terrada, 'Las prácticas médicas extraacadémicas en la ciudad de Valencia', *Dynamis*, No. 22 (2002), pp. 118–119, and José Rodrigo Pertegás, 'Los "saludadores" valencianos en el siglo XVII', *Revista Valenciana de Ciencias Médicas*, No. 8 (1906) pp. 219–220.
22. *Constituciones Sinodales del Arzobispado de Zaragoza de Antonio Ibañez de la Riva*, Saragossa, 1698, fols. 471–472.
23. *Relación de causa* of Andrés Mascarón (Saragossa, 1620), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 574r.
24. *Ibid.*, fol. 574r.
25. *Ibid.*, fol. 574v.
26. Record of the trial of Bárbara Blanc (Peñarroya de Tastavins, 1591), ADZ, C. 31–34, fol. 24.
27. Record of the trial of Pascuala García (Herrera de los Navarros. 1572), ADZ, C. 42–12, fol. 8.
28. Gaspar Navarro, *Tribunal de superstición ladina*, Huesca, Pedro Blusón, 1632, fol. 95.
29. Jaime de Corella, *Practica de el confessorario*, Madrid, 1690, fols. 13–14.
30. 'When he said he could cure all ailments, they took him to see a girl who was sick, and he gave her something to drink, and soon afterwards she died.' *Relación de causa* of Andrés Mascarón (Saragossa, 1620), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 574r.
31. Orosia, the least well known name in this list, was the patron saint of Jaca (Huesca), famous among other things for her ability to cure the possessed whose custom it had been, since at least the thirteenth century, to come to the city on 25 June each year. See Enrique Satué Oliván, *Las romerías de Santa Orosia*, Saragossa, DGA, 1988, and Ricardo Mur Saura, *Con o palo y o ropón. Cuatro estampas inéditas sobre el culto a Santa Orosia*, Jaca, Francisco Raro, 1995.
32. *Relación de causa* of Andrés Mascarón (Saragossa, 1620), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 575v.
33. *Relación de causa* of Francisco Casabona (Saragossa, 1623), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 639v.
34. *Ibid.*, fol. 637v.
35. *Ibid.*, fols. 637v.- 638r.
36. *Ibid.*, fol. 633r.
37. *Ibid.*, fol. 635v.
38. *Ibid.*, fol. 635r.
39. *Ibid.*, fol. 635r.
40. *Ibid.*, fol. 636v.
41. See Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, 'El Estatuto de Desaforamiento del Valle de Tena de 1525 por delitos de brujería y hechicería', *Boletín de los Colegios de Abogados de Aragón*, 115 (1989).
42. *Relación de causa* of Francisco Casabona (Saragossa, 1623), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 639r. and v.



43. *Relación de causa* of Jacinto Vargas (Saragossa, 1636), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 251r.
44. *Ibid.*, fol. 251v. (The monochord, as its name suggests, was a single-stringed instrument. The string was stretched across two fixed bridges, and a moveable bridge was placed beneath it, enabling it to be used, primarily, as a tuning device.)
45. *Ibid.*, fol. 251v.
46. *Ibid.*, fol. 251v.
47. *Ibid.*, fol. 252r.
48. *Ibid.*, fol. 252v.
49. Incidentally, after being denounced, Jacinto was called to appear before the Saragossa tribunal, whereupon he fled to France and 'was absent for a period of five months'. After this, however, he returned 'of his own volition', which was viewed in a positive light by the inquisitors. (*Ibid.*, fols. 252 r. and v.)
50. On age and its relationship with inquisitorial jurisdiction, see Henry Charles Lea, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 3–4 and Haim Beinart, 'El niño como testigo de cargo en el Tribunal de la Inquisición', in José Antonio Escudero (ed.), *Perfiles jurídicos de la Inquisición española*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1989, pp. 391–400.
51. *Relación de causa* of Juan de Mateba (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 94r.
52. *Relación de causa* of Juan José de Venegas (Saragossa, 1685), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 279r.
53. *Ibid.*, fol. 279r.
54. *Ibid.*, fol. 278v.
55. *Ibid.*, fol. 279r.
56. 'He said that [...] he had been brought up in his parents' house until the age of eight or ten years, when he was taken away by Don Braulio de Funes, an archdeacon of Huesca, with whom he stayed for around three years. And afterwards he spent another three years with Don Felipe Poman, prior of Monte Aragon, and that from there [...] he went to Valencia, where he had been [...] until he returned to Saragossa in 53, that he had not left this Kingdom until he went to Madrid to cure a daughter of the Marquesa of Guadalcazar.' *Relación de causa* of Pablo Boraó (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fols. 86v.–87r.
57. According to his trial summary, of the 114 witnesses who appeared at Pablo Boraó's trial, 68 were women and 46 were men, among them 17 priests. (AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 67r.)
58. *Ibid.*, fol. 67r.
59. *Ibid.*, fol. 67v.
60. *Ibid.*, fol. 69r.
61. *Ibid.*, fol. 69r.
62. *Ibid.*, fol. 75v.
63. *Ibid.*, fol. 75v.
64. *Ibid.*, fol. 69v.
65. *Ibid.*, fol. 68r.
66. *Ibid.*, fol. 68v.

67. *Ibid.*, fol. 69r.
68. *Ibid.*, fol. 68v.
69. *Ibid.*, fol. 68r.
70. The link between seemingly overwhelming male sexual potency and the corresponding female reaction in the form of collective demonic possession is a recurring theme in documentary evidence from this period, particularly in the case of the events that took place between 1633 and 1640 at the Ursuline convent in Loudun and which soon became the most notorious such episode in all of Europe. (See Michel de Certeau, *The possession at Loudun*, trans. Michael B. Smith, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996; Michel Carmona, *Les diables de Loudun: sorcellerie et politique sous Richelieu*, Paris, Fayard, 1988, and Juana de los Ángeles, *Autobiografía*, Madrid, Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría, 2002.) As for Spain, two of the best-known cases of possession were largely attributable to the sexual demands of a single man. The first episode involved the nuns of the San Plácido convent in Madrid in 1628, whom a certain Brother Francisco had tried to exorcize with kisses and caresses. The second outbreak affected several different villages in the Tena Valley (Huesca) between 1637 and 1642, and was defined by the inquisitor sent by the Saragossa tribunal to this mountainous region as 'an affliction caused by their refusal to satisfy the desires of Pedro Arruebo'. (See Beatriz Moncó Rebollo, *Mujer y demonio: una pareja barroca*, Madrid, Instituto de Sociología Aplicada, 1989; Carlos Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política en el reinado de Felipe IV. Los procesos de Jerónimo de Villanueva y las monjas de San Plácido, 1628–1660*, Madrid, CSIC, 1993; Ángel Gari Lacruz, *Brujería e Inquisición en el Alto Aragón en la primera mitad del siglo XVII*, Saragossa, DGA, 1991 and María Tausiet, 'Patronage of Angels and Combat of Demons: Good versus Evil in 17th Century Spain', in Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *op. cit.*) For another case similarly involving high levels of sexual tension, here between a woman accused of being a witch and her supposed victims, see María Tausiet, *Los posesos de Tosos (1812–1814). Brujería y justicia popular en tiempos de revolución*, Saragossa, Instituto Aragonés de Antropología, 2002.
71. *Relación de causa* of Pablo Borao (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 68r.
72. *Ibid.*, fol. 89r.
73. *Ibid.*, fol. 89v.
74. *Ibid.*, fol. 73r.
75. *Ibid.*, fols. 73r. and v.
76. *Ibid.*, fols. 74r. and v.
77. With regard to the significance of sexual imagery in the lives of nuns in the seventeenth century, Moshe Sluhovsky gives several examples, including that of the Benedictine nun Louise Boussard, who could not look at the crucifix because it made her imagine carnal scenes that made her feel ashamed – her mother superior's response to this, in an effort to calm her, was that visions of Christ were always pure, even when they took a carnal or sensual form. In other cases, such visions went as far as fantasies of intercourse between the nun and Christ. Seen as traps laid by the devil, these fantasies were often countered by further, divine apparitions. (See Moshe

- Sluhovskiy, 'The Devil in the Convent', *American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no. 5, 2002, pp. 1398–1399).
78. *Relación de causa* of Pablo Borao (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 74v.
  79. *Ibid.*, fol. 77v.
  80. *Ibid.*, fol. 75r.
  81. *Ibid.*, fol. 76r.
  82. See Ángela Atienza López, *Propiedad, explotación y rentas. El clero regular zaragozano en el siglo XVIII*, Saragossa, Departamento de Cultura, 1988, and Antonio Beltrán Martínez, *Zaragoza: calles con Historia*, Saragossa, Ediciones 94, 1999.
  83. *Relación de causa* of Pablo Borao (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 71v.
  84. *Ibid.*, fol. 69v.
  85. *Ibid.*, fols. 77r. and v.
  86. *Ibid.*, fols. 71v.–77v.
  87. *Ibid.*, fols. 77v.–78r.
  88. *Ibid.*, fol. 79r.
  89. *Ibid.*, fol. 79r.
  90. *Ibid.*, fol. 79v.
  91. *Ibid.*, fol. 79v.
  92. *Ibid.*, fols. 79v.–80r.
  93. *Ibid.*, fol. 80r.
  94. *Ibid.*, fols. 80r. and v.
  95. On this subject, see Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982; Isabelle Poutrin 'Souvenirs d'enfance: L'apprentissage de la sainteté dans l'Espagne moderne', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 23 (1987), pp. 331–354, and Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
  96. *Relación de causa* of Pablo Borao (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 90r.
  97. *Ibid.*, fol. 93r.
  98. *Ibid.*, fol. 95v.
  99. *Ibid.*, fol. 95v.
  100. *Ibid.*, fols. 267v.–268r.
  101. *Ibid.*, fol. 69v.

## 5 The city as refuge

1. *Libros de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza* (September 1584), Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza (AMZ), 34 B-30, fol. 65v.
2. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Discurso del amparo de los legitimos pobres y reduccion de los fingidos, y de la fundacion y principio de los albergues destos reynos y amparo de la milicia dellos*, Madrid, 1598. Quoted in Michel Cavillac (ed.), *Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera. Amparo de pobres*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1975, *Discurso Cuarto*, pp. 118–119.

3. 'Estatuto hecho a seys de Deziembre de mil quinientos ochenta y seys contra las Brujas y Hechizeras', in *Recopilacion de los estatutos*, op. cit.
4. See the aforementioned cases of Magdalena Ortiz and María de Val (Chapter 1, note 24).
5. Record of the trial of María Sánchez (Saragossa, 1574), ADZ, C. 1–7, fol. 3.
6. *Ibid.*, fols. 7v. and 8r.
7. *Ibid.*, fol. 11v.
8. *Ibid.*, fol. 15v.
9. Record of the trial of Gostanza Rossa (Saragossa, 1581), ADZ, C. 27–35, fol. 5v.
10. *Ibid.*, fol. 7r.
11. *Ibid.*, fol. 21r.
12. *Ibid.*, fol. 45r.
13. The last women condemned to death for witchcraft by Saragossa's inquisitorial tribunal, both in 1535, were Dominga Ferrer, nicknamed 'the Cripple', from Pozán de Vero (Huesca) and Catalina de Joan Díez, from Salinas de Jaca (Huesca). See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos...*, op. cit., p. 108.
14. See William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, op. cit., p. 257.
15. *Relación de causa* of Joanna Bruxon (Saragossa, 1581), AHN, Inq., Lib. 988, fol. 486r.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Alastruey (Saragossa, 1603), AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 309r. The law referred to in this case, which covered the villages of Sesa and Salillas (Huesca), may well have been approved in 1592, the same year in which another *desaforamiento* statute was passed to deal with witchcraft in the villages that were part of the judicial district of Gía (Huesca), a document now housed in the Barbastro Diocesan Archive.
19. *Ibid.*, fol. 309v.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Relación de causa* of María Romerales (Saragossa, 1609), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 134v.
22. *Ibid.*, fol. 135r.
23. *Ibid.*, fol. 136r.
24. The Logroño witch trials, which saw more than 2000 people accused and almost 5000 suspected of witchcraft, became one of the most famous such episodes in early modern Europe. See Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*, op. cit., and Manuel Fernández Nieto, *Proceso a la brujería. En torno al Auto de Fe de los brujos de Zugarramurdi. Logroño, 1610*, Madrid, Ed. Tecnos, 1989.
25. See Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*, op. cit., pp. 366–377.
26. Henry Charles Lea, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 239.
27. See José Luis Gómez Urdáñez's doctoral thesis (unpublished), *Beneficencia y marginación social en Aragón en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Universidad de Zaragoza, 1982).
28. See José Luis Gómez Urdáñez, 'La Real Casa de Misericordia de Zaragoza, cárcel de gitanas (1752–1763)', in M. García Fernández and M. A. Sobaler Seco (eds.), *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Teófanos Egido*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2004, vol. I, pp. 329–343.

29. See José Luis Gómez Urdáñez, 'La Real Casa de Misericordia ...', op. cit., and Asunción Fernández Doctor, *El Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia de Zaragoza en el siglo XVIII*, Saragossa, IFC, 1987, p. 27.
30. In the words of Ángel San Vicente Pino, 'The *Father of Orphans* was, over a period of three centuries, an officially and legally appointed local functionary who worked in the urban centres of Valencia, Navarre and Aragon. The job involved dealing with young people and criminals, with a particular emphasis on the discipline of servants and apprentices, within the context of a set of socially approved norms. Elsewhere in Spain, some of these functions were undertaken by the *Corredor de Mozos*, the *Acomodadora de Mozas* and the *Alguacil de los Vagabundos*.' The earliest surviving Saragossan statutes relating to the role date back to 1475. Abolished in 1708, it was reinstated ten years later and only finally disappeared in the late eighteenth century. See Ángel San Vicente Pino, *El oficio del Padre de Huérfanos ...*, op. cit.
31. 'Father was a generic name for anyone involved in working for the public welfare – a Roman custom imitated by Spain's fifteenth-century humanist men of politics.' Hence in Saragossa, for example, it was applied to the man responsible for caring for the insane at the Hospital of Our Lady of Grace (where, as in other asylums, such as that in Valencia, there was both a *Father* and a *Mother of the Insane*). There also existed at this time a *Father of the Brothel*, whose role was to maintain discipline among the city's prostitutes, but who often forced them to work very long hours. This role was not well regarded, and in 1579 the city councillors had no hesitation in bringing the then incumbent to trial charged with being a thief and an accessory to theft. (Ibid., pp. 18–19.)
32. Libro de Actos Comunes del Capitol y Consejo de la ciudad de Zaragoza, 21 de marzo de 1577, AMZ, fol. 145r. (See *ibid.*, pp. 290–291.)
33. Libro de Actos Comunes del Capitol y Consejo de la ciudad de Zaragoza, 18 de septiembre de 1585, AMZ. (See *ibid.*, p. 163.)
34. *Relación de causa* of Juana Bardaxi (Saragossa, 1626), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 897r. and v.
35. See James S. Amelang, 'Durmiendo con el enemigo: el diablo en los sueños', in María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (eds.), op. cit., pp. 327–356.
36. *Relación de causa* of Juana Bardaxi (Saragossa, 1626), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 898r.
37. *Ibid.*, fol. 898v.
38. *Ibid.*, fol. 898v.
39. *Relación de causa* of Margalida Escuder (Saragossa, 1626), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 896r.
40. *Relación de causa* of Juana Bardaxi (Saragossa, 1626), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 898v.
41. *Relación de causa* of Margalida Escuder (Saragossa, 1626), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fol. 896r.
42. 'The *Casa de Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia para prostitutas arrepentidas* or *Casa de Recogidas* [House of Our Lady of Mercy for repentant prostitutes or Home for Withdrawn Women] was established under the auspices of the Count of Sástago in 1594. It was founded as part of the process of creating 'Houses of work and labour' in which [...] women who had formerly been involved in prostitution or vagrancy would spend some years of

- reclusion in order to undergo spiritual education.' (See Jesús Martínez Verón, *La Real Casa de Misericordia*, Saragossa, Diputación Provincial, 1985, vol. I, p. 34.)
43. *Relación de causa* of Justa Rufina (Saragossa, 1640), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 565r.
  44. *Ibid.*, fol. 566r. and v.
  45. *Ibid.*, fol. 566v.
  46. 'Generally speaking, these correctional establishments acted as places of preventive detention for many women accused of committing marital infidelity or public sins, or of rebelling against their families. In some cases, therefore, it was their own husbands, fathers or other family members who decided they should be interned for a period of time until they saw the error of their ways.' (See María Dolores Pérez Baltasar, *Mujeres marginadas. Las casas de recogidas en Madrid*, Madrid, Gráficas Lormo, 1984, pp. 51–52.)
  47. Miquel Giginta, canon to the bishop of Elna (Roussillon), wrote four treatises in the late sixteenth century advocating the provision of various poor relief schemes: *Tratado de remedio de pobres* (Coimbra, 1579), *Exhortación a la compasión de los pobres* (Barcelona, 1583), *Cadena de oro* (Perpignan, 1584) and *Atalaya de caridad* (Saragossa, 1587).
  48. See Michel Cavillac's excellent introduction to his edition of Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera's treatise, *Amparo de pobres...* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1975). Also: Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain. The example of Toledo*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; David Goodman, *Power and Penury: Government, Technology and Science in Philip II's Spain*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988; Jon Arrizabalaga, 'Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Castile: An Overview' and Maria Luz López Terrada, 'Health Care and Poor Relief in the Crown of Aragon', in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe*, London and New York, Routledge, 1999, pp. 151–199; Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Ni espada rota ni mujer que trota. Mujer y desorden social en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*, Barcelona, Ed. Crítica, 1993, pp. 138–149; Bronislaw Geremek, *La estirpe de Caín. La imagen de los vagabundos y de los pobres en las literaturas europeas de los siglos XV al XVII*, Madrid, Ed. Mondadori, 1990, pp. 221–293; and Mónica Bolufer Peruga, 'Entre historia social e historia cultural: la historiografía sobre pobreza y caridad en la época moderna', *Historia Social*, 43 (2002), pp. 105–127.
  49. Michel Cavillac (ed.), *Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera. Amparo de pobres*, op. cit., pp. 122–123.
  50. For other cases of women tried for witchcraft in Spain who were then sent to convents, see Gunnar W. Knutsen, 'Where did the witches go? Spanish witches after their trials', in Hilde Sandvik, Kari Telste and Gunnar Thorvalds (eds.), *Pathways of the Past. Essays in Honour of Solvi Sogner. Time and Thought*, No.7, (Oslo, 2002), pp. 197–206.
  51. *Estatutos fundacionales de la Casa de Nuestra Señora de Misericordia de Zaragoza para prostitutas arrepentidas*. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza, Diego Casales, 1594, fols. 1.361 and ff. (See Ángel San Vicente Pino, *El oficio del Padre de Huérfanos...*, op. cit., pp. 297–301.)
  52. See *Razon y forma de la Galera y Casa Real que el Rey Nuestro Señor manda hazer en estos Reynos, para castigo de las mugeres vagantes, y ladronas, alcahuetas,*

- hechizeras, y otras semejantes*, Salamanca, 1608. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional, R. 29697.)
53. See Ángel San Vicente Pino, *El oficio del Padre de Huérfanos...*, op. cit., pp. 172–175.
  54. See Vincent Parello, 'Discours réformateur et marginalité féminine dans l'Espagne Moderne. Les "Galères" de Madalena de San Jerónimo (1608)', *Biblioteca de la Historia*, vol. 101, 1999, No.1, pp. 55–68.
  55. See Ángel San Vicente Pino, *El oficio del Padre de Huérfanos...*, op. cit., pp. 174–179.
  56. *Relación de causa* of Catalina Fuertes (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 131r.
  57. *Ibid.*, fol. 138r.
  58. *Relación de causa* of Quiteria Pascual (Saragossa, 1663), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 324v.
  59. *Ibid.*, fol. 326r.
  60. For more on witchcraft understood as a consequence of mental illness, see physician Johan Weyer's defence of witches based on this premise in his *De praestigii daemonum* (Basle, 1563). See also: George Mora et al. (eds.), *Witches, Devils and Doctors in the Renaissance: Johan Weyer, 'De praestigii daemonum'* Binghamton, New York, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991; Thomas S. Szasz, *La fabricación de la locura*, Barcelona, Kairós, 1974, and H. C. Erik Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 182–227.
  61. *Relación de causa* of Francisca Abat (Saragossa, 1668), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 122r.
  62. The first hospital in Europe (and probably in the world) devoted exclusively to caring for the mentally ill was founded in Valencia in 1409 by Juan Gilabert Jofré, a Mercedarian friar touched by the suffering of many Christian captives who had gone insane in the prisons and dungeons of Muslim Spain and North Africa. It was called the Hospital of the Innocents ('Espital dels Innocents') and remained as such until it was integrated in 1512 into the city's 'Hospital General'. See Hélène Tropé, *Locura y sociedad en la Valencia de los siglos XV al XVII. Los locos del Hospital de los Inocentes (1409–1512) y del Hospital General (1512–1699)*, Valencia, Diputación de Valencia, 1994. Other similar hospitals in Spain were those established in Seville and Toledo (see Carmen López Alonso, *Locura y sociedad en Sevilla: Historia del Hospital de los Inocentes*, Sevilla, Diputación Provincial, 1988, and Rafael San Román, 'El Hospital del Nuncio de Toledo en la historia de la asistencia psiquiátrica', *Anales Toledanos*, 17, 1983, pp. 55–71). The most famous such institution elsewhere, an establishment that had been caring for the insane since the fourteenth century, was London's Bethlem Hospital ('Bedlam'), originally founded in 1247 as the priory of St Mary of Bethlehem. See Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, London, Routledge, 1997, and Roy Porter, *Madness: A Brief History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.
  63. One of the good works done by Madrid's 'Cofradía del Refugio' (Brotherhood of Refuge) was that of arranging for those in need to be taken to the asylum in Saragossa, because there was nowhere in the capital for the mentally ill to be treated. See Enrique González Duro, *Historia de la locura en*

- España (siglos XIII al XVII)*, tomo I, Madrid, Temas de Hoy, 1994, p. 154, and William J. Callahan, *La Santa y Real Hermandad del Refugio y Piedad de Madrid. 1618–1832*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños-CSIC, 1980.
64. Calling the hospital one of the wonders of Saragossa, Father Diego Murillo said 'it had two large rooms for male and female lunatics. The patients came from all nations.' (See F. Diego Murillo, *Fundacion Milagrosa de la Capilla Angelica y Apostolica de la Madre de Dios del Pilar, y Excellencias de la imperial ciudad de Çaragoça*, Barcelona, 1616.)
  65. For more on the Our Lady of Grace Hospital, see Asunción Fernández Doctor, op. cit. and Aurelio Baquero, *Bosquejo histórico del Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, IFC, 1952.
  66. See Antonio Carreira and Jesús Antonio Cid (eds.), *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor, compuesto por el mesmo Estebanillo González*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1990.
  67. See J. M. Royo Sarrià, *El manicomio de Zaragoza (Seis siglos de su fundación)*. Trabajos de la Cátedra de Historia Crítica de la Medicina, 1935–36, VII, p. 79.
  68. See Hélène Tropé, op. cit., pp. 239–241. Around 70 wooden cages are known to have existed in the eighteenth century in which the most seriously afflicted were placed in isolation. These were fitted with small iron grilles through which food and drink could be passed; patients had to urinate and defecate through a hole in the cage floor. See Asunción Fernández Doctor, op. cit., pp. 267–272.
  69. See the 1929 issue of the journal *Aragón*, p. 26 (cited in Ángel San Vicente Pino, *El oficio del Padre de Huérfanos ...*, op. cit., p. 18).
  70. *Ordinaciones del Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia de la ciudad de Zaragoza* [1655], reprinted in Saragossa, Imprenta de la Calle Coso, 1836, p. 46. (See Asunción Fernández Doctor, op. cit., p. 274.)
  71. See Joaquín Gimeno Riera, *La casa de Locos de Zaragoza y el Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia*, Saragossa, Librería de Cecilio Gasca, 1908, p. 24.
  72. As stated in the 1655 regulations, 'within the hospital, the male lunatics will be put to work, carrying out all tasks of which they are capable, according to their condition. And the female lunatics will be given the work of spinning, sewing, basket weaving and other such tasks.' (See Asunción Fernández Doctor, op. cit., p. 288.)
  73. For more on this debate, see Hélène Tropé, op. cit., pp. 271–285. She disagrees with the idea that as early as the seventeenth century setting the insane to work was seen as therapy, but also underlines the fact that in the mindset of the day work was believed to have a redemptive aspect. Physician Philippe Pinel (1745–1826), famous for having advocated a humanitarian treatment of the mentally ill in revolutionary Paris and for supposedly having freed the patients at the asylums of Salpêtrière and Bicêtre from their chains, said that Saragossa's Hospital of Our Lady of Grace was one of the best such institutions in Europe and that it placed particular emphasis on occupational therapy. (See Philippe Pinel, *Tratado médico-filosófico de la enajenación del alma o manía*, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1804 and Peter K. Klein, 'Insanity and the Sublime: Aesthetics and Theories of Mental Illness in Goya's Yard with Lunatics and Related Works', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 61, 1998, pp. 198–252.)



74. See Julián Espinosa Iborra, 'Un testimonio de la influencia de la Psiquiatría española de la Ilustración en la obra de Pinel: El informe de José Iberti acerca de la asistencia en el Manicomio de Zaragoza, 1791', *Asclepio, Archivo Iberoamericano de Historia de la Medicina*, vol. XVI (1964), pp. 179–182.
75. *Relación de causa* of Estefanía Lázaro (Saragossa, 1679), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 183r.
76. *Ibid.*
77. See Henry Charles Lea, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 558–566, and Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, 'La atenuante de enajenación mental transitoria en la praxis inquisitorial: el tribunal de Tarazona a fines del siglo XV', in *Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XIV–XV)*, vol. I, Saragossa, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1999, pp. 1125–1149.
78. See Hélène Tropé, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–198.
79. On the subject of heresy and madness, see Sara Tilghman Nalle's excellent publication, *Mad for God. Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete*, Charlottesville and London, University Press of Virginia, 2001. The author analyses the case of a man found guilty of heresy by the inquisitorial tribunal of Cuenca but who was eventually deemed to be mentally ill and was sent to the Hospital of Our Lady of Grace in Saragossa to be cared for and cured.
80. See Michel Foucault, *History of Madness*, trans. J. Murphy and J. Khalfa, Abingdon, Routledge, 2006, Part One, p. 94 ff. According to Foucault, when magic is understood as madness, it is 'stripped of the efficacious power of sacrilege: it is no longer profanation, but is reduced instead to mere trickery. Its power is illusion, both in the sense that it is devoid of reality and in that it blinds the weak-willed and the feeble-minded...'
81. *Relación de causa* of Jusepa Ainda (Saragossa, 1689), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 323v.
82. *Ibid.*, fol. 324r.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, fol. 323v.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, fol. 324v.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
89. The inmates at the Valencia asylum wore clothes of two colours (usually yellow and blue), and this came to be seen as a symbol of their confused minds. Similarly, the uniform, or 'livery', for both men and women at Saragossa's Hospital of Our Lady of Grace was made 'of brown and green cloth, with panels in each colour; for example, the front of the right sleeve in green, the back in brown. And the front of the left sleeve in brown, the back in green, and so on.' (See Enrique Rodríguez Pérez, *Asistencia Psiquiátrica en Zaragoza a mediados del siglo XIX*, Saragossa, IFC, 1980, p. 133.)

## 6 Rural versus urban magic

1. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 459v.

2. See Richard Kieckhefer, op. cit.; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, op. cit. and Randall Styers, op. cit.
3. Julio Caro Baroja, *The World of the Witches*, trans. Nigel Glendinning, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964, p. 100.
4. See María Tausiet, 'Avatares del mal. El diablo en las brujas', in María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (eds.), op. cit., pp. 45–66.
5. See Walter Stephens, op. cit. and Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze. Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004.
6. For a summary of what its author terms 'the cumulative concept of witchcraft', see Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, London and New York, Longman, 1987, pp. 27–45.
7. See *relación de causa* of Pedro Solón (Saragossa, 1581), AHN, Inq., Lib. 988, fol. 492v.
8. See *relaciones de causa* of Juan de la Marca (Saragossa, 1585), AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fols. 140v.–141r. and Pascual Clemente (Saragossa, 1609), AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 645r and Lib. 991, fols. 118v.–119r.
9. See *relación de causa* of Guillén de Tolosa (Saragossa, 1603), AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fols. 307r. and v.
10. See *relación de causa* of Father Diego de Fuertes, priest at the Basilica of Our Lady of the Pillar (Saragossa, 1653), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 21v.–22r.
11. It is impossible to give a statistically reliable tally of the occupations of the men brought to trial (a detail not always included in inquisitorial summaries), but those highlighted here are the most frequently mentioned.
12. A huge number of clerics were involved in demonic conjurations. See Chapter 2 of this book ('Magic Circles and Enchanted Treasures').
13. In early modern Spain, medical services were provided by a disparate bunch of practitioners, including university-trained physicians (who were in the minority), surgeons, bone-setters, barber-bloodletters, midwives and other 'empirical' healers. See Luis S. Granjel, *El ejercicio de la medicina en la sociedad española del siglo XVII*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1971.
14. See *relaciones de causa* of surgeons Miguel Melchor Aguado (Saragossa, 1651), AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, 432r.–433v., and Francisco Ortiz (Saragossa, 1661), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 169r.
15. The 'calendars' in question were almanacs of calculations and predictions, very popular during this period. Covarrubias defined them as 'tables of observation of the days of the month' (see the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Barcelona, Altafulla, 1993, p. 269) and they undoubtedly inspired the Saragossan almanac *El firmamento*, founded in 1921 and still well known today. See *relaciones de causa* of Juan Antonio del Castillo y Villanueva, 'The Astrologer' (Saragossa, 1693), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 389–395, and Jerónimo Oller, a priest from Manresa who, having been banished by the Inquisition from Barcelona in 1612, made a living from astrology in Saragossa thereafter (Saragossa, 1617), AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fols. 334r.–337r.
16. See *relaciones de causa* of the alchemist monk Eugenio Bamalera (Saragossa, 1674), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 160r. and v., his accomplice Felipe Estanga (Saragossa, 1666), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 5v.–6v., and Félix Cortinas (Saragossa, 1692), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 376–380.

17. While no trials of executioners have been discovered among the cases studied, men of this trade are frequently mentioned in the trials brought against sorceresses specializing in love magic (as a source of gallows rope) and those charged with superstition for claiming they could win at gambling thanks to so-called 'hangman's coins'. See *relaciones de causa* of Juan de Berges (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 111r.–113v.; Jerónima Torrellas (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 284r.–287v.; Ana Tris (Saragossa, 1663), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fols. 335r.–347v. and Jusepa Clavería (Saragossa, 1666), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 13r and v.
18. See *relación de causa* of courtesan Miguela Condón (Saragossa, 1680), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 220r.–238v., as well as the record of the episcopal trial of Jerónima Fernández, dubbed a 'profane and worldly woman' who lived 'by giving her body [...] to anyone who asks for it' (Saragossa, 1581), ADZ, C. 28–15. In general, the term 'women of ill repute' is used rather than that of 'prostitute', thereby covering any kind of sexual conduct considered immoral, such as extra-marital sex or adultery (see Ruth Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 235–237). The only time the word 'puta', or 'whore', appears is in the margin of the *relación de causa* of Isabel Teresa Castañar in reference to an insult uttered by the defendant to the people she thought had denounced her: 'That the defendant did threaten the witnesses she suspected of testifying against her by saying that the first whore [*underlined*] who had spoken against her in this Holy Office would have to pay' (Saragossa, 1663, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 321r.).
19. See the episcopal cases brought against Joanna Polo (Saragossa, 1561), ADZ, C. 1–41; María Rodríguez (Saragossa, 1604), ADZ, C. 23–13 and Isabel Gombal (Saragossa, 1605), ADZ, C. 44–27. In all three cases, the line between the practice of love magic and procuring was as blurred as that between procuring and prostitution.
20. Many of the women who appeared before the courts had been servants before their marriages. Later, widowed and often in poor health as well, they ended up dependent on alms. See *relaciones de causa* of Isabel Francisca de Mota (Saragossa, 1665, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fols. 467r.–477v.) and Francisca Abat (Saragossa, 1668, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 107r. and 122r.). By contrast with the world of female beggars, many men involved in magic were termed 'vagrants', who earned a living by means of defrauding (in various ways) the people of the towns and villages they travelled through.
21. This relates to four significant cases: firstly that of the fake cleric Jerónimo de Liébana, from La Ventosa (Cuenca), and his four accomplices, Francisco de Alós, Hernando de Moros, Alonso Torrijos and Agustín Leonardo (Saragossa, 1620, AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fols. 522r.–536r.); secondly, that of the charlatan Luis Gama y Vasconcellos, from Lisbon (Portugal), whom the inquisitors dubbed a 'dogmatizing master', and his seven accomplices, Pedro Montalbán, Miguel Calvo, Antón Lozano, Juan Izquierdo, Vicente Ferrer, Agustín Sanz and María Luisa Monzón (Saragossa, 1631, AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 94r.–106r.); thirdly, that of Franciscan monk Eugenio Bamalera, from Oloron (France) and his accomplice Felipe Estanga (Saragossa, 1666 and 1674, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 5v.–7v. and 160r. and v.); and lastly, that of the Austrian healer and charlatan Carlos de Federicis and his ten accomplices: José Ferrer, Antonio Poyanos, Mateo de Albalate, Félix

- Cortinas, Manuela de Biescas, Juan Antonio del Castillo y Villanueva, Jusepe Fernández, Miguel Francisco de Pedregosa, Juan Clavero and Pedro Antonio Bernard (Saragossa, 1690–1693, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 334r.–417v.)
22. José Ferrer reported having once been in Toulouse, where some French people had told him 'that in Spain, in various places, there were great treasures that had been hidden since the expulsion of the Moriscos' (Saragossa, 1691, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 248r.). According to the confession made by priest Miguel Francisco de Pedregosa, he himself had witnessed at the Castillo de Miranda, in the company of 'two Frenchmen who said they knew how to find treasure', the appearance of a Moorish woman who told them that it was not yet the right time for the treasure to be revealed and that they would have to wait for the next month with an 'r' in its name (Saragossa, 1693, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 399r.–403v.). And, Brother José de Jesús María, when he was on the road back from Toulouse where he had been during carnival period, was given a copy of the *Clavicula Salomonis* by a Spanish woman in exchange for a diamond ring (Saragossa, 1666, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 5r. and v.).
  23. Frenchmen are a constant in the papers relating to trials brought against men. Examples include the case of surgeon Miguel Melchor Aguado, who 'had communicated with a Frenchman [...] who worked in a ward at the Hospital of Our Lady of Grace and was a herbalist, who had given him a short book by Albertus Magnus, *De secretis et virtute plantarum et lapidum* [...]' (Saragossa, 1651, AHN, Inq., Lib. 994, fol. 432r.), and that of Franciscan monk Eugenio Bamalera, who, according to Felipe Estanga, owned 'a printed book in the French language which belonged to Juan Belot, who had been burned in France because of the said book' (Saragossa, 1666, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 7r.). Cases of female magic, meanwhile, regularly cite the influence of the Mediterranean, either because the defendants themselves had lived in the regions of Valencia or Murcia, or because someone from that area had taught them what they knew: see, for example, the *relaciones de causa* of María García, a Castilian woman who practised magic and had lived in Valencia (Saragossa, 1656, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 440r); Ana Tamayo, of Murcia, who admitted having learned her skills from a Neapolitan woman who lived in Alicante (Saragossa, 1666, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 22v.–33r.); or Gracia Andreu, who confessed to having learned from 'a Valencian woman who died and from a man named Juan from Burgundy' (Saragossa, 1656, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 457v.).
  24. Bernd Roeck, *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden, Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität*, Göttingen, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989, pp. 829–844, especially pp. 836–837.
  25. Most of the concrete information we have about where defendants lived places them in one of two specific areas, both situated outside the city walls: the Moorish district and that of San Pablo. The latter attracted many immigrants, including a large number of people from the French dioceses of Oloron, Lescar and Tarbes. See María del Carmen Ansón Calvo, 'Zaragoza como lugar de inmigración en el siglo XVII', in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa, IFC, 1984, pp. 25–32 and Christine Langé, *La inmigración francesa en Aragón (siglo XVI y primera mitad del XVII)*, Saragossa, IFC, 1993.

26. Owen Davies, 'Urbanization and the decline of witchcraft: an examination of London', *Journal of Social History*, 30 (3), 1997, pp. 597–617.
27. On the commercial and monetary nature of magic in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venice, see Ruth Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
28. As seen in Chapter 2, according to *zahorí* Antón Lozano, he and his accomplices had dug into the earth in three different places in Pinseque (Saragossa) 'to find three earthenware jars full of money' and 'when they had dug, the said *zahorí* did say that the jars had moved themselves from that place' (Saragossa, 1631, AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 58v.–59r.).
29. *Relación de causa* of Trinitarian friar Pedro Moliner (Saragossa, 1641), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fol. 606r.
30. *Relación de causa* of Félix Cortinas (Saragossa, 1692), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 376r.
31. *Relación de causa* of Carlos de Federicis (Saragossa, 1690), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 334r.–346v.
32. See the *relaciones de causa* of two men with a taste for gambling: the priest from Our Lady of the Pillar, Father Diego de Fuertes (Saragossa, 1652, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 21v.–26v.), and silk throwster Juan de Berges (Saragossa, 1654, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 111r.–113v.). See also that of Jerónima Torrellas (Saragossa, 1654, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 284r.–287v.).
33. *Relación de causa* of Ana Merino Pérez (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 183v.–187v.
34. *Relación de causa* of María Ángela Madruga (Saragossa, 1661), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 165r.
35. See *relaciones de causa* of Isabel Teresa Castañer (Saragossa, 1663, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 321r.) and Isabel Francisca de la Mota (Saragossa, 1665, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 451v.). One of the women who testified at the latter's trial told of how 'the defendant had decorated a valerian plant, putting silver lace and a *dinero* coin among its roots [...] and that she had to water the valerian with white wine on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and speak lovingly to it, as if she were with a lover. And that on the said days she had to make the pot elegant, with all the gold and silver she might possess.' Gracia Andreu meanwhile confessed to having planted two valerian shrubs in one pot, 'one male and one female, and among the roots she placed a Catalan *sueldo*, a coin from the inn, another from the baker's, and another from the butcher's, and gold and silver lace and cochineal; the *sueldo* and other coins, to bring her money; the lace to bring jewels and linens; and the cochineal to make men happy with her or with the persons by whom it was planted.' (Saragossa, 1656, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 460r.)
36. According to Isabel Francisca de la Mota's trial summary, she 'would lay down the cards' face up, murmuring as she did so, 'and depending on what they asked her, she told them what would happen, so if jacks and knights were turned up together, their men were with other women, and if coins came out, they would have gold and money [...], and if two sword cards crossed, that meant prison. And if the two of clubs came out, it meant a path along which the lover would come [...]' (Saragossa, 1663, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 473r.)
37. Record of the trial of Joan Vicente (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–7, fols. 16v–17r.

38. Record of the trial of Catalina Aznar (Saragossa, 1511), AHPZ, C. 28–6, fol. 36v.
39. In the *relación de causa* of Catalina Fuertes, who was accused of witchcraft in Fago (Huesca) and later moved to Saragossa, the devil is described as ‘a man wearing a biretta and with four horns and cloven hoofs’ (Saragossa, 1658, AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 150 r. and v.).
40. See *relaciones de causa* of Joanna Bruxon (Saragossa, 1581, AHN, Inq., Lib. 988, fol. 486r.) and Isabel Alastruey, alias ‘la Luca’ (Saragossa, 1604, AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 309r.). The latter told how the devil had had ‘carnal knowledge’ of various witches ‘by the rear’ and on one occasion, having appeared in the form of a wolf, had ‘lifted their skirts and entered all of them the back way, putting something cold and hard in them’. See also *relaciones de causa* of Margalida Escuder and Juana Bardaxi (Saragossa, 1626, AHN, Inq., Lib. 991, fols. 894v.–899v.). In all these cases, the women confessed under torture to the secular judges in small Pyrenean villages, the inquisitors doing no more than transferring the trials to their own jurisdiction.
41. See the *relación de causa* of Cándida Gombal, according to which, ‘when the defendant was alone in her house, her husband being away, she used perfumes and invoked the devil to come, and indeed he did come in the shape of a tall and handsome man, dressed in blue, and with the defendant’s consent did sleep with her and know her carnally as if she had been with a real man, and thus she did give him her body over a period of three years’ (Saragossa, 1597, AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 14v.). According to a statement in another summary in the same volume, the defendant had assured a witness who had seen her faint, that ‘Maymon, with whom she had had carnal relations, was taming her’ (Saragossa, 1697, AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fol. 209r.).
42. See *relaciones de causa* of Jerónima de San Miguel and Ana de Yuso (Saragossa, 1586, AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fols. 211r.–214r.); and of Isabel Gombal and Cándida Gombal (Saragossa, 1597, AHN, Inq., Lib. 990, fols. 13r.–15v.)
43. See chapter entitled ‘Sex with the Devil’, in Lyndal Roper, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–103.
44. See ‘Terrores nocturnos’, in María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 346–368, and James S. Amelang, ‘Durmiendo con el enemigo: el diablo en los sueños’, in María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 327–356.
45. As seen in Chapter 1, according to part of the text of the *Constituciones Sinodales del Arzobispo de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, 1656, fol. 141), when it came to deciding whether or not there were ‘Witches, Sorceresses or folk indulging in superstitious conduct’, the episcopal *visitadores* had to keep in mind the fact that, ‘as crimes of this sort are always committed by night and in secret, they are very difficult to verify’. Even though it went on to add that ‘according to the law, strong indications and conjecture are sufficient for punishment to be meted out’, the episcopal court demonstrably did not believe in the reality of witchcraft.
46. See *relaciones de causa* of Isabel Francisca de la Mota (Saragossa, 1665, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 468r.); Elena Sánchez (Saragossa, 1654, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 288r.–291v.); and Ana María Mateo (Saragossa, 1656, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 413r.–415v.).

47. *Relación de causa* of Mariana Berona (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fols. 7r.12v.
48. *Relación de causa* of Miguel Francisco de Pedregosa (Saragossa, 1693), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fols. 399r.–403v.
49. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de la Mota (Saragossa, 1665), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 469v.
50. See the record of the trial of Catalina Aznar (Saragossa, 1511, AHPZ, C. 28–6, fols. 10 and 11), and the *relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu, who was said by several witnesses to have boasted that ‘she had been to the scaffold of this city and had taken the heart from a hanged man. And that another night she had gone to the market square in this city and had prayed to a man hanging from the gibbet [...]’ (Saragossa, 1656, AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 454v.)
51. See *relaciones de causa* of Isabel Teresa Castañer (Saragossa, 1663, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fols. 320r.–324r.), Isabel Francisca de la Mota (Saragossa, 1665, AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 468.) and Carlos Federicis (Saragossa, 1690, AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 334).
52. A reference to the cases of Father Joan Vicente and the *saludador* Pablo Borao. We saw in Chapter 2 how the former, having ‘been imprisoned in the great tower of the Aljafería [...] at ora capta and by night [...] had lowered himself from the tower window and escaped and fled wherever it may have suited him to go’ (Saragossa, 1511, AHPZ, C. 28–7, fols. 16v.–17r.). As for Pablo Borao, we learn from his *relación de causa*, that he ‘escaped from the prisons of this Inquisition at half past six at night, and a careful search had been made but there had been no news of the defendant in the city or surrounding area, and when letters had been despatched to all appropriate *comisarios* and *familiares*, the following morning the defendant did appear.’ (Saragossa, 1658, AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 85r.)
53. See María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos...*, op. cit., pp. 276–301.
54. Record of the trial of Agustina (Saragossa, 1646), AHPZ, no. 11, fols. 11–18.
55. That last victim was ‘Father Joan Omella, alias Blanca, citizen of Saragossa, necromancer, relaxed in person on 13 March 1537’, as listed in the notorious *Green Book of Aragon*, in the section headed ‘Memorial of those burned at the stake up to the year 1574 in the Inquisition of the residents of this city of Saragossa’. See Isidro de las Cagigas, op. cit., p. 130.
56. Catalina de Joan Diez, from Salinas de Jaca (Huesca), who was ‘relaxed in person on 10 October 1535’. See Isidro de las Cagigas, op. cit., p. 116.
57. The *Suprema* drew up the new norms, aimed at putting an end to witch hunts, in the aftermath of the Granada meeting of 1526, but they were not sent to the Saragossa tribunal until 1536. See William Monter, op. cit., p. 264.
58. See Henry Kamen, op. cit., p. 237–238, and William Monter, op. cit., pp. 265–267.
59. ‘Thirteen had died in prison and six died at the stake.’ See Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches’ Advocate*, op. cit., p. 197.
60. *Ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 322–332.
61. See Francisco Fajardo Spínola, op. cit., pp. 407–414.
62. See Rafael Martín Soto, op. cit., p. 417.
63. *Relación de causa* of Diego de Fuertes (Saragossa, 1653), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 25v.

64. Contrary to what was happening in Northern Europe, in Spain the inquisitors seemed to see suspected heresy as nothing more than a symptom of the true disease, namely a lack of religious instruction. See Henry Kamen, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–88.
65. *Relación de causa* of Ana Tamayo (Saragossa, 1666), AHN, Inq., Lib. 998, fol. 31r.
66. *Relación de causa* of Mariana Berona (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 13v.
67. *Relación de causa* of Jerónima Moliner (Saragossa, 1658), AHN, Inq., Lib. 996, fol. 16v.
68. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Teresa Castañer (Saragossa, 1663), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 324r.
69. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Francisca de la Mota (Saragossa, 1665), AHN, Inq., Lib. 997, fol. 467v.
70. *Ibid.*, fol. 477r.
71. *Ibid.*, fol. 477v.
72. Ruth Martin's study of the Inquisition and magic in Venice between 1550 and 1650 reveals that the most serious punishments meted out were exile, imprisonment and flogging (*op. cit.*, pp. 219–224).
73. According to Bernd Roeck, of all the witchcraft trials brought in Augsburg between 1590 and 1650, only one saw the death penalty imposed (*op. cit.*).
74. As Alison Rowlands highlights in her study of witchcraft and sorcery in the city of Rothenburg and its immediate area of influence, only three people are known to have been sentenced to death for these crimes throughout the entire early modern era. See *Witchcraft Narratives in Germany; Rothenburg, 1561–1652*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002, pp. 206–211.
75. Dries Vanysacker has shown that 66 individuals were tried for witchcraft in the city of Bruges between 1468 and 1687, 18 of whom were condemned to death. See 'The Impact of Humanists on Witchcraft Prosecutions in 16<sup>th</sup>. and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Bruges', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol. L, 2001, pp. 393–434.
76. See Max Marwick (ed.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, London, Penguin, 1982, p. 377.
77. See W. D. Hammond-Tooke, 'Urbanization and the Interpretation of Misfortune', in Max Marwick (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 422–440.
78. See Marc J. Swartz, 'Modern Conditions and Witchcraft/Sorcery Accusations', in Max Marwick (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 391–400.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
80. See Max Gluckman, 'The logic of African Science and Witchcraft', in Max Marwick (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 443–451.
81. See J. Clyde Mitchell, 'The meaning of Misfortune for Urban Africans', in Max Marwick (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 381–390.
82. See John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of New England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 275.
83. See Julio Caro Baroja, *De los arquetipos y leyendas*, Madrid, Istmo, 1989, p. 89.
84. *Relación de causa* of Pedro Moliner (Saragossa, 1641), AHN, Inq., Lib. 992, fols. 608r. and 613r.
85. On the transformation of myths and legends, see Arnold van Gennep, *La formation des légendes*, Paris, Flammarion, 1910, and Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, trans. Laurence Scott, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1968.



86. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 459v.
87. According to Gracia Andreu, her mother Isabel Andreu 'was wounded when this Holy Office came to take her and she died from the loss of blood' (*ibid.*, fol. 456v.).
88. *Ibid.*, fol. 459v.
89. *Ibid.*, fols. 459v–460r.
90. Henbane is commonly said to induce both lightheadedness and a sense of weightlessness, to the extent that one might believe one was flying through the air 'like a witch on her broomstick'. See Luis Otero, *Las plantas alucinógenas*, Barcelona, Paidotribo, 1997. See also Michael J. Harner (ed.), *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*, London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1973, and Michel Meurger, 'Plantes à illusion: interprétation pharmacologique du sabbat', in Nicole Jacques-Chaquin and Maxime Préaud (eds.), *Le sabbat des sorciers (XVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Jérôme Millon, 1993, pp. 369–382.
91. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 460r.
92. Three examples of the connection between henbane and magical powers in the Pyrenees are to be found in the cases of Bernard Correas and Juan de la Marca (both originally from the Béarn but now living across the border in the Huescan villages of Nocito and Belea respectively) and that of Pascual Clemente, a peasant from Embún, also in Huesca. We learn from Correas's trial summary that he had asked various clerics to take 'the said herb, also known as henbane' and to put it 'beneath the altar' so that 'nine Masses [could be said over it] without the priest who said them knowing it was there [...], and this having been done, the person who brought it there would have whatever he wished for'. The other two men meanwhile, according to a number of witnesses, had claimed that with 'five grains of a herb they call henbane [...] on the handle of their sickles, they could harvest a large field in no time at all.' (See AHN, Inq., Lib. 989, fols. 140v. and 751v., and Lib. 991, fol. 118v.)
93. *Relación de causa* of Isabel Andreu (Saragossa, 1645), AHN, Inq., Lib. 993, fol. 262v.

## Epilogue: In Times of Plague

1. Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, London, Penguin Classics, 1986, pp. 47–49.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.
3. See Carlo M. Cipolla, *Contro un nemico invisibile. Epidemie e strutture sanitarie nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1985.
4. José Estiche, *Tratado de la peste de Zaragoza en el año 1652*, Pamplona, Diego Zabala, 1655.
5. *Ibid.*, fol. 2.
6. *Ibid.*, fols. 44–45.
7. Daniel Defoe, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

8. In Barcelona, for example, the municipal court tried a Frenchman, Bernat Rigaldia, in 1589 on a charge of having spread the plague using various poisons. See José Luis Betrán Moya, 'Medicina popular y peste en la Barcelona de 1589: el proceso de Mestre Bernat Rigaldia', in Eliseo Serrano Martín (ed.), *Muerte, religiosidad y cultura popular. Siglos XIII–XVIII*, Saragossa, IFC, 1994, pp. 279–304. See also the chapter headed 'Typologie des comportements collectifs en temps de peste', in Jean Delumeau, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–142.
9. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 459v.
10. See Ann G. Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986; James S. Amelang and Xavier Torres (eds.), *Dietari d'un any de pesta. Barcelona, 1651*, Barcelona, Eumo, 1989; and Jesús Maiso González, *La peste aragonesa de 1648 a 1654*, Saragossa, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1982.
11. José Estiche, *op. cit.*, fol. 44.
12. *Certificacion del modo como Zaragoza ha hecho la purificacion del contagio*, 20 de mayo de 1653. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Secretaría de Aragón, leg. 96, no folio number. (Cited in Jesús Maiso González, *op. cit.*, p. 103.)
13. See José Estiche, *op. cit.*, fol. 45v.
14. *Relación de causa* of Gracia Andreu (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 456v.
15. *Ibid.*, fol. 457r.
16. As underlined by Jesús Maiso González in his study of the plague in Aragon between 1648 and 1654, once the epidemic had taken hold and begun causing large-scale loss of life, neither council nor Inquisition papers reflected what was going on in the region. The reports of sessions held by the Deputation of the Kingdom during those years also omit any mention of the catastrophe: 'the documentation on the period when the epidemic was at its height maintains essentially an absolute silence on the matter [ . . . ] This is clear from the procedures observed with relation to the 1652 outbreak of plague in Saragossa.' (See *op. cit.*, pp. 111–113.)
17. *Relación de causa* of Felicia Figueras (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 448v.–449r.
18. In the words of Pedro Barba, author of a treatise entitled *Breve y clara resumpta y tratado de la esencia, causas, prognostico, preservacion y curacion de la peste* (A clear and concise summary and treatise of the essence, causes, prognostic, means of protection and curing of the plague; Madrid, Alonso de Paredes, 1648), 'venereal activity is in no way advisable' (fol. 7).
19. See Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens*, Paris/The Hague, Mouton, 1975, vol. II, pp. 38–39.
20. Jesús Maiso González, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
21. Juan Tomás Porcell, *Informacion y curacion de la peste de Çaragoça y preservacion contra peste en general* (Information on and curing of the plague of Saragossa and means of protection against the plague in general), Saragossa, Bartolomé Nagera, 1565, fol. 84r.
22. According to Porcell, most of those infected with the plague in Saragossa in 1564 were very poor, but some well fed patients also came to the Our Lady of

- Grace Hospital. They were more likely to be successfully cured, unless they were 'of weak constitution [...] caused by their having had many dealings and conversations with women (on account of the great number and abundance of women usually to be found at times of plague and who were present on this occasion, even calling from their windows to men passing by in the street)', op. cit., fol. 22v.
23. *Relacion de medicos y cirujanos del 24 de abril de 1652* (Report of surgeons and physicians made on 24 April 1652). ACA, Secretaría de Aragón, leg. 96, without folio number. (Cited in Jesús Maiso González, op. cit., p. 40.)
  24. 'A woman who wished to know whether her husband was dead or alive so that she could marry again, asked her to do something to find this out.' See the *relación de causa* of María García (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 442r.
  25. *Relación de causa* de María García (Saragossa, 1656), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 439r.
  26. Ibid., fol. 439v.
  27. Ibid., fols. 439v.–440r.
  28. Ibid., fols. 443r. and v.
  29. *Relación de causa* of Jerónima Torrellas (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 235r. and v.
  30. See Rafael Martín Soto, op. cit., pp. 251–253.
  31. *Relación de causa* of Elena Sánchez (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fol. 288r.
  32. See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London, Penguin, 1971, pp. 27–57.
  33. See Pedro Ciruelo, op. cit., pp. 129–136.
  34. According to Pedro Ciruelo, public prayer gatherings organized by the clergy in order to ask for help in the face of storms and other misfortunes had to be very careful not to stray into superstitious practice. So, for example, when conjuring storm clouds priests were not allowed 'to leave the church to speak with the evil cloud', nor to take out holy relics, 'far less the Most Holy Sacrament into the storm, since they will speak to God with more devotion within the church than without, and their prayer will more quickly be heard by God in heaven'. That said, if we read the charms contained in a treatise written by Brother Diego de Céspedes, we can deduce that even well into the sixteenth century many clergymen were still practising all kinds of propitiatory rituals, seemingly with few restrictions. (See Diego de Céspedes, *Libro de coniueros contra tempestades, contra oruga y arañuela, contra duendes y bruxas, contra peste y males contagiosos, contra rabia y contra endemoniados, contra las aves, gusanos, ratones, langostas y contra todos qualesquier animales corrosivos que dañan viñas, panes y arboles de qualesquier semilla, ahora nuevamente añadidos, sacados de Missales, Manuales y Breviarios Romanos y de la Sagrada Escritura*, [Book of conjurations against storms, against caterpillars and mites, against evil spirits and witches, against plague and contagious disease, against rabies and against the possessed, against birds, worms, rats, locusts and all other destructive creatures who damage vines, crops and trees of any sort, now newly added, taken from Roman Breviaries, Missals and Manuals and from Holy Scripture], Pamplona, Heredera de Carlos de Labay, 1626.)

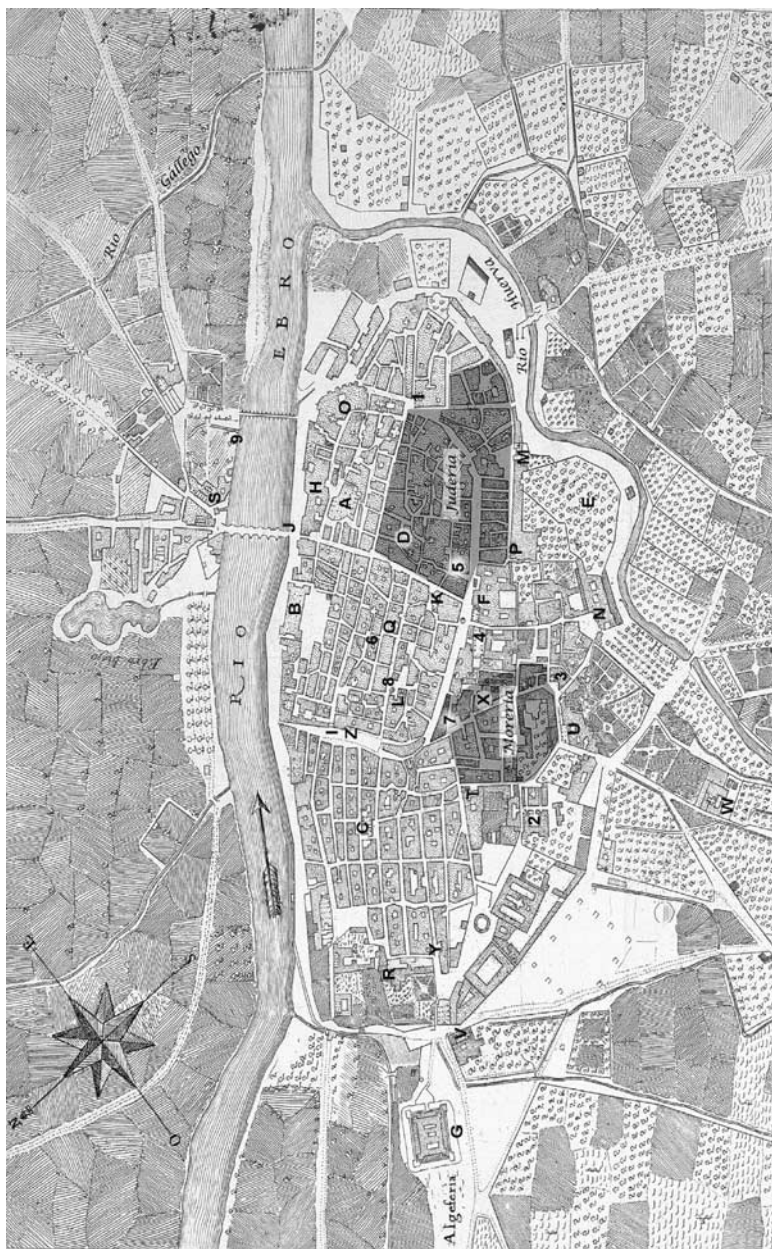
35. See Jesús Maiso González, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
36. Saragossa Cathedral Chapter Archive. Account of the 1652 epidemic, in *Libro de Gestis de 1653*, without folio number. For more on the miracles supposedly worked by Pedro Arbués as soon as his death became known, see Henry Charles Lea, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 251–252.
37. On the growing popularity of St Roch, see Jean-Noël Biraben, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 78–80, William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 42–43 and Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence. Iconography and Iconology*, Kirksville, Missouri, Truman State University Press, 2000.
38. *Relación de causa* of Elena Sánchez (Saragossa, 1654), AHN, Inq., Lib. 995, fols. 290v.–291r.
39. On the catechizing work of the Counter-Reformation Church in Spain, see ch. 7 ‘Taking the Message to the People’ in Henry Kamen, *op. cit.*, pp. 340–384).
40. On this matter it is worth noting that in their treatises Juan Tomás Porcell and José Estiche (the doctors responsible for tending to Saragossa’s plague victims during the outbreaks of 1564 and 1652 respectively) offer complementary interpretations of the disease. Thus for Estiche, the idea that the epidemic had been visited on the city by divine wrath to punish its inhabitants for their sins was compatible with the astrological explanation according to which there had been certain ‘portents’ of the plague, in the shape of ‘eclipses of both sun and moon’. As for Porcell, he recognized the usefulness of ‘objects with hidden qualities’ to combat the disease, such as pomanders or precious stones, which should be worn ‘on one’s left breast’. He even confides that ‘although some think it a laughable thing and one proper to empirics to wear on one’s left breast a piece of sublimate adorned [...] I hold it to be for the best [...] because when this sickness first began I was very sad and disheartened, and when I began carrying this it seemed that a great veil was lifted from my heart, and so I have had it on my person ever since, and continue to do so and shall do so until I die.’ (See Estiche, *op. cit.*, 35v., and Porcell, *op. cit.*, 109r.–111r.)

# Saragossa in the Early Modern Period: Locations of the Places Mentioned in the Text

Sitting on the banks of the River Ebro and its tributaries the Huerva, Gállego and Jalón (the last of which forms a natural boundary on the west with the neighbouring municipality of Alagón), Saragossa has been called 'the city of four rivers'. Its historic Moorish and Jewish quarters (the *Morería* and *Judería*) are shaded on the map; the remaining urban area was occupied by the Christian population.

The eleventh-century Castillo de Miranda is in the village of Juslibol, a short distance north of the city centre. The Monte de Torrero rises on the southern outskirts of Saragossa, while the Monte de Ejea lies 30 miles to the north, and the Monte de Mallén 45 miles to the northwest.

- (a) *San Salvador Cathedral (La Seo)*. The cathedral sits between Calle Pabostría and Calle Deán and Plaza San Bruno and Plaza La Seo. The same site was once home to the temple of the Roman forum, the earlier Visigothic cathedral and the city's oldest mosque.
- (b) *Basilica of Our Lady of the Pillar*. Built on the banks of the Ebro, on the site of the city's oldest Christian church, the Basilica houses the pillar supposedly revealed by the Virgin Mary to St James the Apostle in the year 40 AD. Work on the current building began in the mid-1600s.
- (c) *Church of San Pablo*. Located between Calles San Blas and San Pablo, more or less at the heart of the so-called 'King's settlement', a new district constructed on a grid pattern during the thirteenth century.
- (d) *Church of San Juan*. The church of San Juan el Viejo (later dedicated to both St John and St Peter) used to stand on the corner of Calle de San Juan y San Pedro and Calle del Refugio. It was demolished, complete with its Mudéjar tower, in the mid-twentieth century. Until the nineteenth century, there were two other St John's churches in Saragossa. The medieval church of San Juan del Puente, which was built close to one of the city gates, the Gothic Puerta del Ángel (and next to the home of the parliamentary institution known as the Diputación del Reino de Aragón), disappeared in the aftermath of the First and Second Sieges of Saragossa (1808 and 1809). The Baroque San Juan de los Panetes, meanwhile, still stands on the site of an earlier twelfth-century church, adjacent to the great tower known as the Torreón de la Zuda in the northwest of the city.
- (e) *Huerta de Santa Engracia*. A large green space between the church of Santa Engracia and the River Huerva, extending to the corner where the church of San Miguel de los Navarros stands. The Huerto del Nuncio lay within its boundaries.
- (f) *Hospital of Our Lady of Grace*. Founded in the fifteenth century under the auspices of Alfonso V of Aragón, the original hospital faced the southern



ends of Calle de San Gil and Calle Mártires but was destroyed during the sieges of 1808/9. Its activities later transferred to the present-day Provincial Hospital on Calle Madre Rafols/Calle Ramón y Cajal.

- (g) *Aljafería Palace (the Inquisition jail)*. The palace of the Islamic ruler Ahmad al-Muqtadir, built in around 1066, and later used by the Christian monarchs until the early 1500s. During the sixteenth century, it became the headquarters of the Inquisition and, after the Saragossa risings of 1591, a military fortress.
- (h) *Archbishop's Palace (the ecclesiastical jail)*. Mentioned in the sources as 'Palace of the kings in Saragossa, occupied by the Archbishop'. In the mid-seventeenth century, it underwent considerable alterations at the behest of John of Austria, illegitimate son of Philip IV and viceroy of Aragon.
- (i) *Puerta de Toledo (north tower: Royal Prison; south tower: Manifestation Prison)*. The Puerta de Toledo was another of the city gates, close to various public buildings and spaces, including the city marketplace (after Jaime I granted permission for an annual fair) and scaffold. Its towers housed the Royal Prison and the Manifestation Prison (whose inmates were held under the protection of the kingdom's supreme judge, safe from the rest of the judiciary, while their cases were investigated).
- (j) *Bridge over the Ebro (Puente de Piedra)*. The city's main bridge, the Puente de Piedra (Stone Bridge), was completed in the mid-fifteenth century and renovated at various points thereafter.
- (k) *Church of San Gil*: Built in the street of the same name (present-day Calle Don Jaime I) soon after the Christian reconquest in 1118, although the current structure is a fourteenth-century building updated in the early 1700s.
- (l) *Church of San Felipe*: Located between Calle Gil Berges and the Plaza de San Felipe. Founded in the twelfth century, it was rebuilt in the late 1600s/early 1700s by the Marqués de Villaverde, who also commissioned the adjacent Palacio de Argillo.
- (m) *Church of San Miguel de los Navarros*. Built at the end of Calle San Miguel, close to the Puerta Quemada (then called the Puerta del Duque). Founded in the 1200s, the Mudéjar-style building that can be seen today dates from a century later.
- (n) *Sanctuary of the Innumerable Martyrs (Church of Santa Engracia)*. Since the fourth century, this church has housed the remains of St Engracia and other Christians martyred during the persecutions of Diocletian. In the early modern period it was flanked by the gate of the same name. It was at its most celebrated during the sixteenth century.
- (o) *Holy Sepulchre convent*. Located between Calles Don Teobaldo and Coso, the convent was established in 1276 by the Marquesa Gil de Rada, daughter of Theobald II of Navarre, and dedicated to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. The present edifice dates from the 1300s–1400s.
- (p) *St Catherine convent*. Today the convent of St Lucy, located where Calles Isaac Peral and San Miguel meet, near the Plaza de los Sitios.
- (q) *College of Virgins*. Formerly located between the present-day Calles de las Virgenes, Méndez Núñez (previously Torre Nueva) and Jusepe Martínez.

- (r) *St Inés convent*. Built at the end of Calle San Pablo, on the corner with Calle Santa Inés.
- (s) *Mercedarian monastery*. This was the San Lázaro monastery on the far bank of the Ebro, near the Puente de Piedra. In the late nineteenth century, there was another Mercedarian community at the San Pedro Nolasco college in the square of the same name.
- (t) *Our Lady of Victory monastery*. Formerly located in the present-day Plaza de la Victoria, on the corner of Calles Ramón y Cajal and Ramón Pignatelli.
- (u) *Carmelite monastery*. Home to the 'shod' Carmelites, this monastery stood between the Puerta del Carmen and the present Calle Capitán Portolés. There was also an order of 'unshod' Carmelites at the St Joseph monastery, on the other side of the Huerva; its building later became a prison.
- (v) *Unshod Augustinian monastery*. Originally located close to the city walls, where the Avenida de Madrid (then the Camino de Madrid) now meets the Paseo de María Agustín, opposite the Puerta del Portillo, it was demolished during the sieges of 1808/9.
- (w) *Capuchin monastery*. Established in 1602 outside the city walls, opposite the Puerta del Carmen (in today's calle Hernán Cortés), it boasted extensive grounds which ran as far as the present-day Avenida Goya.
- (x) *House of Penance*. Founded in 1585 alongside the Convent of Holy Faith and Penance, in the square of the same name (today's Plaza de Salamero, known as the 'Plaza del Carbón'), it disappeared in the early 1800s.
- (y) *House of our Lady of Mercy*. A correctional facility housed in a building at the end of Calle del Portillo. This later became a prison and the institution moved to the former convent of Santo Tomás de Villanueva (now the church of la Mantería, Calle Palomeque).
- (z) *Scaffold*. This stood in the Plaza del Mercado, still home to the city's central market.
  1. *Father of Orphans*'. The city orphanage was established in the 1500s on Calle del Coso, opposite the Plaza de la Magdalena.
  2. *Convalescents' Hospital*. This is now the Provincial Hospital on Calle Madre Rafols/Calle Ramón y Cajal.
  3. *Pilgrims' Hospital*. Located where the Calle Azoque (formerly known as Calle del Juego de Pelota) meets the Plaza del Carmen, next to the Carmelite monastery.
  4. *Fraternity of the Blood of Christ*. Institution established in the church of San Francisco, on the site of the Provincial Council (present-day Plaza de España), and later transferred to the Church of Santa Isabel.
  5. *Brotherhood of Refuge*. Founded in 1642 in a house in the former Plaza del Refugio, now the place where Calles Verónica, Eusebio Blasco and San Andrés and the Plaza José Sinués meet, behind the Teatro Principal. In 1790 it moved to Calle Escuela de Cristo (now Calle Refugio).
  6. *Callizo de la Traición*. Now called Calle de Don Pedro de Atarés, this street runs between Calles Jusepe Martínez and Miguel de Molino.
  7. *Calle Mantería*. Former name of the present Calles Agustín Lezo and Palomeque.



8. *Calle Torre Nueva*. Although this street still exists, it used to include what is now Calle Méndez Núñez. It was named after a sixteenth-century Mudéjar tower that stood in Plaza San Felipe (demolished in 1892).
9. *Washing place for plague victims*. At one point, the San Lázaro monastery offered refuge to lepers, apparently not generally treated at the Our Lady of Grace Hospital. It therefore seems likely that the washing place for those infected by the plague was somewhere downstream from this monastery.

# Tables

Table 1 Individuals tried by the Inquisition for crimes relating to magic in Saragossa (1498–1693)

Year	Source	Name <sup>1</sup>	Place of origin	Place of residence <sup>2</sup>	Charge <sup>3</sup>	Sentence
1498	Green Book of Aragon	Gracia la Valle		Saragossa	Witchcraft	Relaxation to the secular arm (in person)
1509	AHPZ <sup>4</sup> Inquisition trial records	Tomás Bonifant*	Huesca	Saragossa	Blasphemy and apostasy	Prayer and fasting
1510	Idem	Pedro Bernardo*	Florence (Italy)	Saragossa	Necromancy and heresy	Life imprisonment
1511	Idem	Catalina Aznar*		Saragossa	Sorcery	Prayer and fasting
1511	Idem	Catalina López		Saragossa	Sorcery <sup>co</sup>	
1511	Idem	Magdalena de Vidos		Saragossa	Sorcery <sup>co</sup>	
1511	Idem	Joan Vicente <sup>co</sup>	Perpignan (France)	Saragossa	Necromancy and heresy	Relaxation to the secular arm (in effigy)
1511	Green Book of Aragon	Miguel Sánchez		Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Relaxation to the secular arm (in effigy)
1511	AHPZ Inquisition trial records	Jerónimo Valdenieso		Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Relaxation to the secular arm (in person)

Table 1 (Continued)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1511	Green Book of Aragon	Martín de Soria		Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Relaxation to the secular arm (in person)
1537	Green Book of Aragon	Joan Omella <sup>c</sup>		Saragossa	Necromancy	Relaxation to the secular arm (in person)
1540	AHN <sup>s</sup> (Inquisition)	Diego de la Foz <sup>c</sup>	Molina (Guadalajara)	Saragossa	Necromancy	
1545	<i>Relaciones de causa</i> Lib. 988 (1540–1581)	María Violas	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery and blasphemy	Flogging and exile
1549	Idem	Melchor	Navarre	Saragossa	Demonic invocations and blasphemy	Flogging and imprisonment
1554	Idem	Gracia de Deza		Saragossa	Sorcery	Imprisonment
1559	Idem	Antonio Filleras <sup>c</sup>	Toulouse (France)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Reclusion in a monastery
1561	Idem	Joan de Tarba	Oloron (France)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Flogging and exile
1568	Idem	Joan Baptista	Valencia	Saragossa	Necromancy	Imprisonment and a term in the galleys
1570	Idem	Antón de Aguilar	Riba-roja d'Ebre (Tarragona)	Saragossa	Demonic invocations	Exile

1582	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa</i> Lib. 989 (1582–1596)	Blas Ursino	Italy	Saragossa	Necromancy	Flogging and exile
1582	Idem	Isabel Marquina	Almonacid de la Sierra (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Flogging and reclusion
1585	Idem	Gracia Melero	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Imprisonment and order to wear penitential garb
1586	Idem	María de Espinosa	Tordehumos (Valladolid)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Trial suspended
1586	Idem	Jerónima de San Miguel	Toledo	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1586	Idem	Ana de Yuso	Alcalá de Henares	Saragossa	Sorcery <sup>co</sup>	Flogging and exile
1597	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa</i> Lib. 990 (1597–1608)	Cándida Gombal	(Madrid) Benaguasil (Valencia)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging, confiscation of goods, life imprisonment and order to wear penitential garb
1597	Idem	Isabel Gombal	Benaguasil (Valencia)	Saragossa	Sorcery <sup>co</sup>	Flogging, confiscation of goods, imprisonment and order to wear penitential garb
1603	Idem	Ana Ruiz	Saragossa	Saragossa	Demonic invocations	Flogging and exile

Table 1 (Continued)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1603	Idem	Antonio Carrasco		Saragossa	Healing	Exile
1610	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib.</i> , 991 (1609–1628)	Isabel Martínez Fuertes	Borja (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1610	Idem	María de Romeriales		Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1617	Idem	Jerónimo Oller <sup>c</sup>	Manresa (Barcelona)	Saragossa	Judicial astrology	Exile and suspension from holy orders
1618	Idem	Gabriel Monteche	Daroca (Saragossa)	No fixed abode	Healing	Flogging and exile
1620	Idem	Andrés Mascarón	La Ventosa	Saragossa	Healing	Trial suspended
1620	Idem	Jerónimo de Liébana <sup>c</sup>	(Cuenca)	No fixed abode	Necromancy	Flogging, exile and a term in the galleys
1620	Idem	Francisco de Alós	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1620	Idem	Hernando de Moros	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1620	Idem	Alonso Torrijos	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1620	Idem	Agustín Leonardo <sup>c</sup>	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reclusion in a monastery and suspension from holy orders
1623	Idem	Francisco Casabona	Albero (Huesca)	No fixed abode	Healing	Flogging, exile and a term in the galleys

1631	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib. 992 (1629–1643)</i>	Isabel Juana Truxequé	Valencia	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1631	Idem	Luis Gama and Vasconcellos	Lisbon (Portugal)	No fixed abode	Necromancy	Exile and a term in the galleys
1631	Idem	Pedro Montalbán <sup>c</sup>	Azuara (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Trial suspended on the death of the accused
1631	Idem	Miguel Calvo	Azuara (Saragossa)		Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1631	Idem	Antón Lozano	Saragossa	Cerdán (Saragossa)	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1631	Idem	Juan Izquierdo <sup>c</sup>		Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reprimand
1631	Idem	Vicente Ferrer <sup>c</sup>	Valencia	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Trial suspended
1631	Idem	Agustín Sanz	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Acquittal
1635	Idem	Petronila Sanz	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Instruction in a monastery
1635	Idem	Ana María Torrero	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1636	Idem	Ana Francisca de Torres	La Muela (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1636	Idem	Jorge Núñez Piñeiro	Lisbon (Portugal)	Saragossa	Conjurations and invocations	Flogging, exile and a term in the galleys
1636	Idem	Jacinto de Vargas	Basse Navarre (France)	No fixed abode	Healing	Reprimand
1640	Idem	Justa Rufina	Madrid	Saragossa	Sorcery	Spiritual penances
1641	Idem	Pedro Moliner <sup>c</sup>	Lérica	No fixed abode	Acts of superstition and conjurations	Reprimand

Table 1 (Continued)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1642	Idem	Jerónimo Juan Ferrer	Inca (Majorca)	No fixed abode	Necromancy	Flogging and a term in the galleys
1642	Idem	Lucía de Soria	Soria	Saragossa	Sorcery	Trial suspended
1644	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib. 993</i> (1644–1648)	Francisco Álvarez	Darque (Portugal)	Saragossa	Fortune-telling	Reprimand, prayer and fasting
1644	Idem	Ana Ángela La Mata	Valencia	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1644	Idem	Agustina Sáenz		Saragossa	Acts of superstition	Reclusion in the Hospital of Our Lady of Grace
1646	Idem	Isabel Andreu		Saragossa	Witchcraft and sorcery	Trial suspended on the death of the accused
1646	AHPZ Inquisition trial records	Agustina*		Saragossa	Sorcery	
1647	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib. 993</i> (1644–1648)	Isabel de la Cruz	Barbastro (Huesca)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reclusion in a home for withdrawn women
1648	AHPZ Inquisition Trials	Catalina Baeza*		Saragossa	Sorcery	

1649	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib. 994 (1649–1652)</i>	Francisco Beltrán <sup>c</sup>	Mallorca	Saragossa	Judicial astrology	Reprimand
1649	Idem	Juan Serrano <sup>c</sup>	Graus (Huesca)	Saragossa	Judicial astrology	Reprimand
1651	Idem	Miguel Melchor Aguado	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy and deception	Reprimand
1651	Idem	Jerónima de Torres	Alcira (Valencia)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1653	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib. 995 (1653–1657)</i>	Diego de Fuertes	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy	Reclusion in a monastery
1654	Idem	Juan de Berges	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy	Reprimand
1654	Idem	Ana Merino Pérez	Nájera (La Rioja)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1654	Idem	Jerónima Torrellas	Illueca (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1654	Idem	Elena Sánchez	Valencia	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1654	Idem	Ana Francisca de Torres	La Muela (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1656	Idem	Ana María Blasco	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1656	Idem	Ana María Mateo	Bárboles (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1656	Idem	Martina Coscollano	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1656	Idem	María García	Villena (Alicante)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1656	Idem	Felicia Figueras	Albalate (Valencia)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1656	Idem	Gracia Andreu	Saragossa	Saragossa	Witchcraft and sorcery	Flogging and exile



Table 1 (Continued)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1656	Idem	Juana María de Aguerri	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1657	Idem	Ana Pérez	Tarazona (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1657	Idem	Jusepa Ponz	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Trial suspended
1658	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa</i> Lib. 996 (1658–1660)	Mariana Berona	Barcelona	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1658	Idem	Jerónima Moliner	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1658	Idem	Francisco Moreno	Castile	Saragossa	Healing and blasphemy	Exile
1658	Idem	Pablo Boraó	Saragossa	Saragossa	Exorcism	Flogging, exile and a term in the galleys
1658	Idem	Catalina Fuertes	Fago (Huesca)	Saragossa	Witchcraft	Reprimand and acquittal
1659	Idem	Miguel Nuevos <sup>c</sup>	Calatayud (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Acts of superstition	Reprimand
1661	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa</i> Lib. 997 (1661–1665)	María Angela Madruga	Tarazona (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1661	Idem	Francisco Ortiz	La Muela (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Reprimand
1661	Idem	Jusepe Bernués	Graus (Huesca)	Saragossa	Healing	Reprimand

1663	Idem	Isabel Teresa Castañer	Barbastro (Huesca)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1663	Idem	Quiteria Pascual	Nocito (Huesca)	Saragossa	Witchcraft	Trial suspended
1663	Idem	Ana Tris	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Trial suspended
1665	Idem	Isabel Francisca de Mota	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1666	AHN (Inquisition) <i>Relaciones de causa Lib. 998</i> (1666–1700)	Juan de Santa Teresa <sup>c</sup>	Navarrete (La Rioja)	Saragossa	Defending astrology	Reprimand
1666	Idem	José de Jesús María <sup>c</sup>	Lisbon (Portugal)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Reprimand
1666	Idem	Felipe Estanga	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reprimand
1666	Idem	Jusepa Clavería	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1666	Idem	Ana Tamayo	Socobos (Murcia)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1667	Idem	Ana Cotillas	Saillias (Huesca)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1668	Idem	Juan de Mateba	Ballestar del Fluimen (Huesca)	No fixed abode	Healing	Exile
1668	Idem	Francisca Abat	Jaca (Huesca)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reclusion in the Hospital of Our Lady of Grace
1668	Idem	Francisca Pérez	Tudela (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1669	Idem	Gracia Montiel	Gascony (France)	Saragossa	Sorcery	
1673	Idem	Carlos Fabaro <sup>c</sup>	Palermo (Italy)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Exile
1674	Idem	Eugenio Bamalera <sup>c</sup>	Oloron (France)	Saragossa	Necromancy	Reclusion in a monastery

Table 1 (Continued)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1674	Idem	María Laudes	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Flogging and exile
1679	Idem	Estefanía Lázaro	Mainar (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Trial suspended
1679	Idem	Susana Raedor	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1679	Idem	María Domínguez	Lumpiaque (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1679	Idem	Pedro de Pedinal	Béarn (France)	Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1680	Idem	Miguela Condón	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1685	Idem	Juan José Venegas	Istanbul (Turkey)	No fixed abode	Healing	Flogging, exile and a term in the galleys
1689	Idem	María de Torres		Saragossa	Sorcery	Reprimand
1689	Idem	Jusepa Aínda	Saragossa	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1690	Idem	Carlos de Federicis	Austria	Saragossa	Necromancy	Exile
1691	Idem	José Ferrer	Tamarite de Litera (Huesca)		Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reprimand
1692	Idem	Antonio Poyanos <sup>c</sup>	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reclusion in a monastery
1692	Idem	Mateo de Albalat <sup>c</sup>	Albalate del Arzobispo (Teruel)	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reclusion in a monastery

1692	Idem	Félix Cortinas	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile and a term in the galleys
1692	Idem	Manuela de Biescas	Ponzano (Huesca)	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1693	Idem	Jusepe Fernández	Belchite (Saragossa)	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Exile
1693	Idem	Miguel Francisco de Pedregosa	Alcalá la Real (Jaén)	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reclusion in a monastery
1693	Idem	Juan Clavero	Saragossa	Saragossa	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Flogging and exile
1693	Idem	Pedro Antonio Bernard <sup>c</sup>	Bielsa (Huesca)	No fixed abode	Necromancy <sup>co</sup>	Reclusion in a monastery

<sup>1</sup>Where a trial record survives, either in full or partially, the individual's name is marked with an asterisk. In all other cases, the evidence comes either from a *relación de causa* (trial summary) or from other, isolated, documentary sources. Clerics are indicated by a superscript letter 'c'.  
<sup>2</sup>The vast majority of men and women whose stories appear in this study were residents of Saragossa, but a number of individuals of no fixed abode are also listed here.

<sup>3</sup>The superscript letters 'co' indicate crimes in which the individuals concerned were complicit, having actively collaborated with others. Residents of Saragossa often offered help to outsiders and vagrants.

<sup>4</sup>Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza.

<sup>5</sup>Archivo Histórico Nacional.

Table 2 Individuals tried by the episcopal court for crimes relating to magic in Saragossa (1561–1605)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1561	ADZ <sup>6</sup> Criminal trial records	Joanna Polo*		Saragossa	Sorcery, procuring and extra-marital sexual relations	
1574	Idem	María Sánchez*	Sallent de Gállego (Huesca)	Saragossa	Witchcraft	
1581	Idem	Gostanza Rossa*	Burgos	Saragossa	Sorcery	Exile
1581	Idem	Jerónima Fernández		Saragossa	Sorcery, procuring and prostitution	Prohibition from the brothel
1584	Idem	Juan Blanc*	Gascony (France)	Saragossa	Superstitious healing	
1591	Idem	Pedro de Salanova*	Béarn (France)	Saragossa	Necromancy, sorcery and extra-marital sexual relations	Reprimand
1604	Idem	María Rodríguez*	Navarre	Saragossa	Sorcery and procuring	
1605	Idem	Isabel Gombal*	Benalguacil (Valencia)	Saragossa	Sorcery	

<sup>6</sup>Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza.

*Table 3* Individuals tried by the secular court for crimes relating to magic in Saragossa (1591)

Year	Source	Name	Place of origin	Place of residence	Charge	Sentence
1591	AMZ	Magdalena Ortiz			Witchcraft	
1591	Idem	María de Val			Witchcraft	

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