

Out of Love: Magic and Control of (an)Other in Premodern Iberia

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As I went to bed on my eleventh birthday I was filled with a tint of disillusion considering an owl did not deliver my acceptance letter to Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry. This misunderstanding however did not hinder me from further immersing myself in the magical world J.K. Rowling created throughout my formative years. I allowed the magic of *Harry Potter* and of the demon-fighting sisters of *Charmed* to influence my imagination as I concocted my own potions, taught myself the properties of certain natural elements, and created my own grimoire carefully hidden away for safekeeping. It is no wonder then that this dissertation focuses on magic, after all, as Dumbledore reminds Harry in *The Deathly Hallows*, “words are, in my not-so-humble opinion, our most inexhaustible source of magic; capable of both inflicting injury, and remedying it.”

My interest in language, culture, and hybridity however I owe to my parents. All the travel and linguistic acquisition they provided me with from a young age, which may have at first caused me some inner turmoil, now provides me with a unique personal understanding of hybridity—one that I not only see in myself but also in so much of my subject matter. It is my parents’ example that engrained in me this love, curiosity, and determination for study. From my mother, Maria Cristina Menaldi, I learned perseverance as she continuously conquers life’s challenges as they come to her, professional and otherwise. And in my father, Jose Luis Menaldi, I have another rock of support, whose

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Abstract

What do deviant clerics, meddling old ladies, queens, and Moorish necromancers have in common? These unlikely companions share the magical ability to bend people and spaces to their will resulting in amorous entanglements for themselves or their clients. These characters appear in some of Iberia's most studied texts from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries—*Cantigas de Santa Maria* commissioned by Castilian King Alfonso X; *Libro del caballero Zifar* written by Toledan cleric Fernand Martinez; *Libro de buen amor* written by archpriest of Hita, Juan Ruiz; *Celestina* by presumed Converso, Fernando de Rojas; and *Inocencia castigada* written by Maria de Zayas. While the literary characters (and their historical counterparts) in these texts hail from various social spheres and were reproduced by equally varied authors in a span of four centuries, a common thread linking them all is their use of love magic.

These various amorous manipulations—regarding both the characters and the authors who created them—expose the complexity of Iberian identity and multicultural/multi-religious interactions. I view love magic as a dualistic cultural phenomenon; one that simultaneously claims power but also resists and subverts it. In premodern (Christian) Iberia, magic allows for the entrance of unorthodoxy and Islamicate knowledge while at the same time representing domination of another's will, sexuality, and mental state. As such, magic serves as a metaphorical tool for understanding the complex relationships of the Christian with the non-Christian: a mixture of imitation and control with a pinch of destruction and acceptance.

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Introduction

What do deviant clerics, meddling old ladies, ruling queens, and Moorish necromancers have in common? These characters, though unlikely companions, share the ability to bend people and spaces to their will, through magic, resulting in amorous entanglements for either themselves or their clients. While these literary characters (and their historical counterparts) span four centuries and hail from various social spheres, which were reproduced by equally varied authors, a common thread linking them all is their use of love magic. As such, this dissertation exposes the complexity of Iberian identity and multicultural/multi-religious interactions by exploring the various representations of amorous manipulations—regarding both the characters and the authors. I view love magic as a dualistic cultural phenomenon; one that simultaneously claims power but also resists and subverts it. In premodern (Christian) Iberia, magic allows for the entrance of unorthodoxy and Islamicate knowledge while at the same time representing domination of another's will, sexuality, and mental state. As such, magic serves as a metaphorical tool for understanding the complex relationships of the Christian with the non-Christian: a mixture of imitation and control with a pinch of destruction and acceptance.

These multicultural and multi-religious interactions, for this project, are centered on the interactions of Muslims, Christians and to a certain extent, Jews. In the Mediterranean, and in Iberia specifically, scholars often categorize these

conflicting relations as one of coexistence out of convenience.¹ These instances are documented in chronicles, treaties, and fictional literature. For example, much of the canonical literature of the Iberian Christian kingdoms and later unified Spain owe some their structure or even character archetypes to al-Andalus and the Arab world. This dissertation addresses the strategic inclusion and appropriation of magic—which, though not exclusively Islamicate, was revived through translations—within Castilian texts, revealing another layer of attempted dominance (and possible admiration) of the Peninsula’s Islamic past.²

Américo Castro, the leading scholar to coin the term *convivencia*, states that during the medieval period there was no complete geographical or racial separation between Christians and Muslims, rather there was opportunity for considerable contact (53). Castro saw this as *convivencia*, a space where Christianity, Islam and Judaism could exist near each other under a form of (restricted) tolerance (205).³ Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz challenged this notion, suggesting that he saw this tri-religious coexistence as one of many perpetual

¹ Brian Catlos first suggested this notion of convenience in his many books and articles. See his work *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* among his others like *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, and *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors*. Specifically, he ‘first’ suggests this notion in his 2001 article in *L’Avenç* volume 236: “Cristians, musulmans I jueus a la Coronoa d’Aragó medieval: un cas de ‘conveniència’”.

² See Nikola Clarke’s *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia* for a historical breakdown of the conquest and so-called Reconquista and historical framework of al-Andalus.

³ See Chris Lowney’s *A Vanquished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* and Stephan O’Shea’s *Sea of Faith: Islam and Christianity in the Medieval Mediterranean World* for more on the levels of coexistence and tolerance as the issue is not as clean cut as these terms would suggest.

crossroads Iberia faced. He did not deny the roughly 800 years of influence left behind by the Muslim and Arab presence, he does not view this contact as playing a significant role in the “costumbres españolas” (192). While indeed there are gaps in Castro’s original arguments, the research of this dissertation follows along the path laid out by him and later nuanced and modified by those who followed.⁴ *Convivencia*, began to be understood, thanks to the growing scholarship, as coexistence of convenience. While not without its complications and conflict, this cohabitation on the Iberian Peninsula led to a mixture of religions, languages and customs.⁵ These lines of research lead to Iberian and Mediterranean Studies as a means of exploring the Peninsula’s connections and role in the Mediterranean.⁶ The Islamicate influences in Spain are more than transitory or marginal, and as this dissertation proves, permeate even the more traditionally ‘Spanish’, i.e. Christian, literature.

⁴ See Francisco Márquez Villanueva (and his students like Greg Hutcheson, Leyla Rouhi and Luce López-Baralt), María Rosa Menocal (and her students like Ryan Szpiech and Barbara Fuchs) and James T. Monroe and Samuel Armistead—both of whom worked with Castro—(and their students like Michelle Hamilton and David Wacks). These scholars nuanced *convivencia* and show how it was not a binary issue of peaceful influence or violent resistance but rather a cohabitation that fluctuated to one side or the other depending on each circumstance.

⁵ See Menocal’s *Ornament of the World*, Marqu ez Villanueva’s *El concepto cultural Alfons * and Cynthia Robinson’s *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean* on some results and consequences of this convivencia and hybridized cultural production.

⁶ See Hamilton and Nuria Silleras-Fernandez’s *In and Of the Mediterranean* edited volume, which addresses Iberia’s role within the Mediterranean culture.

By using the (premodern) Mediterranean framework, this project bridges our contemporary temporal division of medieval and early modern and the anachronistic geographical divisions based on modern nation states. One of the takeaways of studying the Mediterranean is the interconnected networks of influence that came and went with the tides and traveling ships. As such many of the terms I use in this dissertation are fluid and move between cultures, like the sea that facilitated parts of its travel. Some of these fluid concepts include hybridity, cultural passing, and magic itself. With the first two concepts, let us take Barbara Fuchs's understanding of Iberian identity formation:

in a culture obsessed with identifying difference through outward signs, dress became a loaded marker of identity for all involved: if Christian Spaniards could playfully dress up as Moors, then the persecuted and ostracized Moriscos could also pass as "real" Spaniards. (7)

This question of appearance is an important factor in the phenomenon of one thing passing as another.⁷ If a change of clothes, an alteration of culinary customs, or the learning a language can facilitate a shift between cultures or perceived religion, then perhaps these categorical divisions are not as useful as we once thought. Particularly in Iberia, divides between Christianity and Islam (not to mention Judaism) and those between Spanish and Arab are not as clear cut since authors, literary works, and even fictional characters often contain

⁷ For more on the idea of the Other, one of the categories of people would be pass in and out of, see Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?*.

markers that place them in multiple categories. This ultimately pokes holes into the categorizations themselves. By having characters that can be identified as both Muslim (or Muslim-like) and Christian, what we understand by these categories is brought into question. We need to discard “rigid boundaries between often indistinguishable subjects” as fluidity destabilizes markers like “language, class ‘race’, ethnicity, religion, and nationality” (Fuchs 3,15). It is this use and understanding of fluidity that I strive for in this dissertation and, as consequence, align with scholars like Fuchs who highlight this complexity in their research.

Despite the supposed end of tri-cultural and tri-religious coexistence with the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, al-Andalus was celebrated and quickly became inseparable from ‘Spanish’ culture further demonstrating this complex Iberian identity.⁸ Certain cultural markers, such as dress and even food, were so mixed that only travelers unfamiliar with the Moorish influences of al-Andalus could notice them in the everyday customs of the Iberian population.⁹ No custom can be divided into black or white. Mary Elizabeth Perry finds that “to reduce difference to binary oppositions, such as same/different or center/margins, completely overlooks the intermingling of categories and limits the study of

⁸ See Márquez Villanueva’s *Moros Moriscos y Turcos de Cervantes*, Fuchs’s *Exotic Nation* and Luis Pons’s *Los moriscos: conflicto, expulsión y diáspora*, among others for their nuanced work on the intermingling of cultures, languages and traditions.

⁹ See the problematic classification of Africa beginning at the Pyrenees, a statement that highlights the perceived ‘Moorishness’ of Iberia, as coined by Dominique Frédéric Dufour de Pradt and those that followed his line of thought.

Morsicos” (12). The same can be said of magic. These categorical divisions are insufficient for understanding the intricacies of Iberia. Perry suggests that scholars of Iberian cultures should strive to:

replace that old center/margins model for history with a tapestry paradigm of many weavers—the Moriscos of Early Modern Spain, the many people with whom they lived, the historian who knits together a variety of sources, we who live in the present, and those who come after us (15).

As evident in her study, this approach works well with Morisco studies, but I aim to expand this methodology beyond the Moriscos and the Early Modern period by applying the interconnected approach to the study of the fluidity of love magic as it is represented in literature from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth. My dissertation demonstrates that love magic cannot, and should not, be viewed solely as a marginalized practice of undesired minorities, nor do I wish to suggest it always played a central position. To fully understand the power that magic (and love magic in particular) had—and arguably continues to have—one must piece together premodern instances of marginal practice, central desire, suppression, and encouragement into the “mosaic tapestry.” This must be done alongside our modern tendencies of labeled categorizations and our desire to understand the past.

One way of understanding Iberia’s past is by understanding how intricate interactions occurred in given areas. For example, scholars have long categorized the premodern city of Toledo as a site of multi-faith cultural contact

with multi-generational translation movements in medieval and early modern Iberia. Certain premodern Castilian novels and literary works bear traces of this knowledge and heritage in a surprising way—they incorporate instances of magical practices as more than a literary device but also as a means of appropriation of earlier Arabized practices of the Peninsula demonstrating attempted control, domination and possible admiration for the past. While it is not novel to suggest that many now canonized literature of the Iberian Christian kingdoms and later unified Spain owe parts of their structure or even characters to al-Andalus and the Arab world, their incorporation of magical knowledge into their fictional narrations remains understudied. In part due to translations, premodern Toledo became the ideal closer-to-home location in Western Europe for students, regardless of religion, to learn the occult sciences preserved and occasionally transformed from earlier Arabic sources—practices including love spells, necromancy, geomancy, prophetic divination, and botanical healing.¹⁰ The strategic inclusion within Castilian texts of magic—which, though not exclusively Islamicate, was revived through translations—reveals another layer of attempted dominance of the Peninsula’s Islamic past and manifestation of Iberia’s multi-cultural heritage. This desire for control however does not negate

¹⁰ See Eloy Benito Ruano’s article “A Toledo los diablos” which addresses the popularity of Toledo as a site to learn necromancy and the famous saying of thirteenth-century medieval chronicler Helinand de Froidmont in regard to how Paris was the cite of liberal arts learning, Salerno the site for medical learning and Toledo where devils went.

any level of admiration or respect for the previous practices, but rather highlights the aspiration to make it one's own.

This dissertation focuses on the presence of *philocaptio* and love magic as described in some of Iberia's most studied texts from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries—*Cantigas de Santa Maria*, *Libro del caballero Zifar*, *Libro de buen amor*, *Celestina* and *Inocencia castigada*. Love magic, whether performed with or without mediation, establishes bonds and serves as a metaphor for dominance and control of an Other or Others as well as a means to identity formation. Though at first glance the result of magic in these texts is a heterosexual union, I demonstrate that the manifestations of conquest depicted here, and by extension elsewhere, speak not only of dynamics between genders but also between sociopolitical classes and ethnicities. These dynamics are revealed not only through the characters in these texts—that is, who requests the magical interference, who creates it and who is (unwillingly) affected by it—but also through the authorship or royal commission (be they minorities, women, clerics or court-appointed writers) of the texts themselves.

The first chapter addresses two episodes from the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* commissioned by Alfonso X *el Sabio* (the Wise), which contain fictional representations of love magic, as can be seen in *Cantiga* 104 and *Cantiga* 125. In the first *cantiga*, *Cantiga* 104, a jealous concubine of an unfaithful married man turns to magic via the instructions of her elder lady neighbors, by means of a consecrated Eucharist, to ensure his faithfulness to her

and her alone. *Cantiga 125* tells the story of a lustful cleric who has his eyes set on a devout woman, who, after his normal advances fail, turns to his preexisting knowledge of necromancy and demon control to achieve his desired romantic encounter. The accompanying illustrations contain magical lunettes and necromantic symbols that also appear in the *Ghāyat Al-Ḥakīm (Picatrix)*—an Arabic grimoire translated (and renamed) in the same court in which the *Cantiga* was written. This incorporation shows the melding of multiple cultures and attempted dominance of this knowledge by a Castilian and Christian king. The magic represented in these *Cantigas* therefore embodies domination of others and subversion from orthodox practices. Chapter Two addresses two supernatural moments in the early fourteenth-century romance *El libro del caballero Zifar* (The Book of the Knight Zifar) presumably written by a Toledan cleric by the name of Ferrand Martinez—when the Bold Knight (a mirrored reflection of Zifar) descends into the Sulfuric lake and when Roboán (Zifar’s son) enters the Enchanted Isles. Both moments demonstrate Andalusian appropriations and attempted dominance of a sovereign space through the marriage of supernatural women rulers and the Christian male intruders—whether they, the original rulers, are portrayed as deceptively demonic or fairy-esque. The effect of this representation once again allows magic to maintain a dual role for its designated readership within the Christian sphere of Castile. The following two chapters look at the old, cunning magic-wielding mediators Trotaconventos and Celestina in Juan Ruiz’s fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* (The Book of

Good Love) and Fernando de Rojas's fifteenth-century *La Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (The Tragic-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea) more commonly known as *La Celestina*. By looking at these two mediators of love magic this chapter exposes magic's force of domination of women's bodies and minds and its function as a gateway to unorthodox knowledge and methods breaching accepted practices—particularly of chivalry and courtly love, as discussed below. The last chapter focuses on seventeenth-century Maria de Zayas's *La Inocencia castigada* (Innocence Punished). Here we have a Moorish necromancer, commissioned by a rich nobleman, using his magical knowledge to make a married woman commit adultery with his client. The foreignness of our male practitioner opens discussion of necromantic love magic practiced by Moriscos, like those found in the *Libro de dichos maravillosos* (Book of Marvelous Sayings)—a magical spell book written in Aljamiado, that is Arabic script but in large part phonetically Romance.

Amorous interactions, like the ones found in the above-mentioned examples, in western medieval and early modern literature are often studied, and taught, in relationship to the Christianized concept of courtly love. Like magic, the term courtly love, an English translation of the Occitan *fin'amors* (refined love), has been a topic of debate among scholars since French philologist Gaston Paris first coined it as a term in the late nineteenth century.¹¹ The use of courtly love

¹¹ See also Talbot Donaldson's "The Myth of Courtly Love", Larry Benson's *Contradictions: From Beowulf to Chaucer*, and Jennifer Wollock's *Rethinking Chivalry and Courtly Love*, among others, for more on the

first began in the courts of Aquitaine, Provence, and Champagne close to the end of the eleventh century and appears in many of the troubadour poetry and other courtly texts, like those written by Chretien de Troyes for instance. Courtly love was seen as an idolization closely connected to the understanding of chivalry—a code of behavior sanctioned by Christian Church authorities as extended means of devotion.¹² In courtly love, the lover subjects himself to multiple trials in order to prove his worth, much like he would do to prove his faith in the Virgin Mary. More importantly, particularly in regard to how this term effects this dissertation, sexual union between the lover and his mistress was not necessarily the end goal. In the twelfth century, the rules of courtly love were collected in Andreas Capellanus's *De Amore* (Concerning Love), which draws from Ovid's second-century *Ars amatoria* (Art of Love). Within Capellanus's text we see rules such as: the importance of secrecy as public loves rarely survived, the importance of good character in order to make one a good lover, the need for jealousy, and how marriage was not an excuse to not engage in (subsequently, often extramarital) love, among many other rules. It should be noted that some of the concepts of courtly love also derive from Arabic literature and the contact Occitan troubadours had with the Andalusian courts in the south of the Iberian

development of the concept of Courtly Love, particularly in medieval French and English literature.

¹² See Rachel Fulton's *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary*, Daniel O'Sullivan's *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric*, Richard Kaeuper's *Medieval Chivalry*, Maurice Keen's *Chivalry*, and Amy Remensnyder's *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds*, among others, for more on the development of chivalry and its connections to Christianity and Marian devotion.

Peninsula. Take for instance, Ibn Sina (Avicenna)'s *Risala fi'l-Ishq* (Treatise on Love) in addition to the concept of lovesickness that appears both in the premodern Islamic world and Western Europe.¹³

Courtly love, therefore, serves as a codified method of understanding the representation of amorous relationships in medieval literature (and particularly those developed and circulated in Western Europe). I propose that love magic is an alternative approach. By this I do not mean that wherever courtly love was found, we, as scholars, should see the same scenes through a magical lens, but rather that devotional admiration from afar does not have to be the only way these relationships are understood. In contrast to courtly love, love magic almost explicitly has sexual culmination as a goal (with or without the need for the legal bond of marriage). In our examples we see time after time a character turning to their own knowledge, or the knowledge of a neighbor or hired help, to ensure a union. With love magic, the upper hand shifts from the idolized and sought-after would-be lover to that of the pursuer. As such, the dynamics between the duo (or trio, when Marian devotion or mediation are mixed in) changes. Love magic, particularly in regard to control and subversion, becomes an alternative method of understanding not only this shift but also these bonds.

This dissertation not only provides an alternative approach to analyzing these interactions in Iberian texts but also challenges our epistemology of

¹³ See Mary Wack's *The Measure of Pleasure: Peter of Spain on Men, Women, and Lovesickness* and Rebekah Fowler's *Mourning, Melancholia and Masculinity in Medieval Literature*, among others, for more on lovesickness in the Middle Ages and its development as a medical disease.

canonical mono-lingual/mono-cultural premodern Castilian literature in addition to its anxieties and influences. I aim to break down previously constructed categorizations and borders highlighting the fluidity of magic and by extension the ability of continual appropriations. This dissertation works in conjunction with two existing books on magic in Iberian literature—namely Jennifer Corry's *Perceptions of Magic In Medieval Spanish Literature* (2005) and Ryan Giles's *Inscribed Power: Amulets and Magic in Early Spanish Literature* (2017). Corry's work, in part, conveniently catalogues, summarizes, and discusses many representations of magic in Spanish literature chronologically—with two of my five chosen literary examples included, *Libro de buen amor* and *Celestina*. She is one of the first to highlight the roughly equal distribution of men and women practitioners in the literary representations and the Iberian literature's tendency to humanize the practitioners as opposed to demonizing them which "removes the mystery from the figure of the witch but also the fear that accompanied it" (Corry 205). This humanization can therefore serve as an "asset in political matters, as well as in didactic lessons, religion, and entertainment" (Corry 204). My dissertation, in a sense, builds off her concluding points as I explore the varied representations of magical performance and what those authorial choices say about gender and sociopolitical dynamics. Giles's most recent work focuses on the power of written amulets in Premodern Spain. Like this dissertation, and in accordance to interdisciplinary trends in academic fields, his book chapters consider both literary representations of magical amulets alongside

contemporaneous amulets and magical treatises describing the creation of certain protective inscriptions. While his work, like mine, at first glance seems to focus more exclusively on Castilian, and by extension Christian, representations, he argues to fully understand these manifestations of magic one must necessarily turn to the preserved practices of the Peninsula's Muslim and Jewish populations. My dissertation follows this methodology but while Giles gives a stronger focus to the Jewish and Converso texts, my dissertation gives more focus to the Muslim and Morisco documents. These pages also dialogue with scholars of the history of magic, with an aim to bridge some of the divides between Christian and Islamic (and Jewish) traditions of occult practices.¹⁴

In order to look at the appropriation and attempted dominance I have mentioned, one must necessarily turn to issues of translation and the politics of language, especially because this dissertation focuses on the translated knowledge (and its afterlife) primarily under Alfonso X's reign. As many contemporary literary scholars have found, Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault can bring some insight into the study of premodern Iberia and the many instances of appropriation and control. For example, Derrida tells us that "all culture is originally colonial...Mastery begins, as we know, through the power of naming, of imposing and legitimating appellations" (39). There is a power that is

¹⁴ See the edited journals of *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 12.1 (2017) and *Arabica* 64.3-4 (2017) particularly the introductions by Shandra Lamaute and Elizabeth Sartell, and Matthew Melvin-Koushki respectively as they address the latest trends in the study of medieval occult practices and traditions, particularly in the Islamic world.

gained by transferring knowledge from one register to another, from the other to one's-own. In light of Alfonso's imperialistic desires to establish Spanish as an elite language alongside Latin, the many Arabic translations he commissioned necessarily served as a way of gaining power over the knowledge he was appropriating and acquiring.¹⁵ Language for Derrida however, while providing the "master" power, at the same time fails him, as something is always missing from language. He tells us that "each time I open my mouth, each time I speak or write, I promise" (67). There is something missing in each language, in each translation, something that we cannot have access to as the slipperiness of language and its meaning can slip through the cracks—an idea I pick up throughout the dissertation in relation to magic. This slipperiness reappears in Foucault's considerations on power:

Power must be analyzed as something, which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (98).

¹⁵ For more on the politics involved in translation see Lawrence Venuti.

Power, like magic is fluid and never static. The power of magic shifts depending on who was using that power and how it was framed and presented.¹⁶ Therefore, building off what Derrida and Foucault have articulated, this dissertation looks at not only the literal translation of magical knowledge but also its subsequent re-appropriation into Castilian-produced literature. I view magic, in part how Derrida saw language and Foucault power, as attempts at control and dominance—control over elements, situations, and people. Magic is not merely a literary device; the magic that came out of the Toledan translations represents the adaptation and appropriation of knowledge. Magic itself transformed and adapted from antiquity through the premodern and beyond. What then does magic do when it is used as a grounded-in-reality literary device? How was it reimagined and reconstructed to play often-crucial roles within the narratives?

Earlier in this Introduction I addressed Corry and Giles contributions and specific focus on Castilian literary texts representing magic. Castilian texts however are not the only source of interest, as a large portion of the scholarship regarding magic's literary presence has been dedicated to England and France as evident with Corrine Saunders and Michelle Sweeney. While focusing on English Arthurian sources and Chaucer, Saunders also addresses classical and biblical precedents dividing her attention of English sources through the lens of prohibitions, white magic, black magic, otherworldly enchantments, and miraculous/demonic interventions. Despite her Anglo-focus, her considerations of

¹⁶ See Pierre Bourdieu's notion of symbolic power and the relation of ritual and power in his work *Language and Symbolic Power*.

magic's function within literature resonate in this project. Saunders's claims that "magic and the supernatural create rich possibilities for writers to explore the limits of the human will, the relation of body and mind, and the place of the individual within the cosmos" (7). This dissertation expands on this, considering how magic allows the writers to explore sociopolitical aspects of agency as well.

Like Saunders, Sweeney explores the overlap and change between representations of magic in English and French literary sources, particularly the medieval romance. Both particularly focus on the Christian overlap regarding magical representation and practice. Sweeney views literary magic as a means of exploring:

human motivation...to create or expose complex scenarios that could not be readily resolved by any one set of established moral guidelines. This technique enabled a broader discussion of social issues that would have been allowed in situations constrained, for example, by the boundaries of Christian dogmatism. (13)

Sweeney also highlights how "magic does not require rational explanation and thereby provides the author with a great deal of freedom" (23). While I agree with her position regarding a sense of freedom and authorial release from cause and effect, why then did the magical practices represented in the literature mirror documented contemporaneous examples of magical usage? Perhaps not verbatim, as a magical practitioner would not turn to a *Cantiga* or Arthurian romance for detailed instructions on how to summon or control a demon for

personal gain, but, one could find similar details in both the fictionalized act and the presumed historic one.¹⁷ Though magic, within literature, did not aim to answer the why or the exact specifics of how certain events came to be, it did help in establishing said situations to allow its audience to have uncensored debates on pressing topics such as the morality of adultery and human cruelty without feeling as though the situation they heard was a re-telling of their neighbor's woes. This is to say, as a literary device, it granted the author the right amount of distance and freedom to explore societal concerns reflective of the interactions, tensions, and interests of Iberian society. So, what qualifies as magic?

Defining Magic:

Magic is fluid, ethereal, transcending religions, cultures and time. Magic is a "kind of crossroads" (*Magic* 1) and can be viewed as Richard Kieckhefer describes as "a crossing-point where religion converges with science, popular beliefs intersect with those of educated classes, conventions of fiction meet with the realities of daily life" (*Magic* 1-2). It is for this reason that my use of the term magic is not constrained to one all-encompassing definition but rather is nuanced in each of the forthcoming chapters and the use and understanding of magical

¹⁷ Note Ruth Bottingheimer's argument that: "in both romances and tales derived from them, authors typically present the results of enchantment, rather than writing in the detailed processes that medieval grimoires prescribed to achieve those results [...] the magic simply happens" (66-68).

practices travels from thirteenth century Iberia to the seventeenth century. I take magic, in Iberia, to be an exchange of knowledge, a claim to power and a deviation from or subversion of the licit practices permitted by authoritative decrees. While it may seem that magic when performed to heal illness or grant fortune would cause no harm, it can easily turn illicit and dangerous depending on who is involved and for what purposes.

This dissertation explores these shifts. With many of the works addressed in this project, their categorization is blurry and fluid, and, as such, its distinction between occult and religious for example ultimately speaks to the scholar's choice of siding "with the theologian who condemns the work or the operator who upholds it" (Fanger ix). In doing this I provide an alternative to the way contemporary scholars can study and teach amorous interactions in western medieval and early modern literature, an approach that does not rely on exclusively on the Christianized concept of courtly love.

Before delving into my selected Castilian literary case studies to further demonstrate this, let us first define what scholars mean by magic and how I am using the term in this dissertation. Magic, as contemporary scholars have pointed out, is an increasingly difficult term to define, as no global definition can encompass every act, understanding, practice, or accusation. Following the path of many scholars, I see magic, much like that of science and religion, as terms that are not universal concepts with definitions that apply for all time periods or places (Láng 19). Depending on how it is used, the term magic in regard to

practices in the medieval and early modern period by contemporary scholars can be considered as anachronistic, however, when properly nuanced, it is a term that should remain in use and when understood in its broadest sense (Klassen 10). As Benedik Láng states, “giving up the hope of finding one common constituent in every instance of magic, we can recognize a complicated network of various resemblances” which, with the removal of strict boundaries, provides scholars with varied understandings of the term magic (19). Nowadays, one might be tempted to equate magic to a fictitious reasoning for an action, a bunch of hocus pocus, or even fake news, if you will. However, this is not what I mean by magic in this dissertation, nor what many scholars of magic and premodern occult sciences meant. As Frank Klassen prefaces, “the magical processes they [people in the premodern world] described were assumed to be real...[and] *they did work*” (11). If an action did not work, it was more likely the practitioner’s fault rather than the illegitimacy of the source material. This was true of those relying on the documented magical practices, and those who wished to advise and prohibit certain practices.¹⁸

There have been examples of magic, in its broad sense, from antiquity to contemporary times and while this dissertation focuses more so on the literary, a substantial amount of magical practices are preserved in archaeological findings, illustrations and treatises. Some examples left unexplored in this dissertation are

¹⁸ For instance, among many other examples, which will be explored throughout this dissertation, consider seventh-century Isidore of Seville who accepted the existence and competence of demons to support his prohibition of demonic magic.

the Greek and Roman charms, the miraculous drugs in Homer's *The Odyssey*, as well as discussions of love and divinations in Plato's *Symposium* and Cicero's *On Divination* among others.¹⁹ In the Bible and Torah we have the witch of Ender in Sam 28, Lilith and the Goat-demons in Isa. 34:8-16, the battle between Moses and the magi of Pharaoh Exod. 7:1-8:15 and many more examples in the new testament as well such as the acts of Jesus himself in Acts 8:4-25.²⁰ The Qur'an has multiple mentions of king Solomon, Djinn and the use of *sihir*—magic—as well.²¹ The medieval and early modern periods have many examples from the Christian, Jewish, Islamic and Pagan traditions—like Albertus Magnus's *On Minerals*, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Against the Heathens*, and more condemnatory texts like Marsilio Ficino's *On life* in addition to the many other examples mentioned throughout this dissertation.²² Lastly, the idea of magic also

¹⁹ See Matthew Dickie's *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*, Fritz Graf's *Magic in the Ancient World* and Vivian Nutton's *Ancient Medicine* for more insight on Greco-Roman understandings and instances of magic-type practices.

²⁰ See Brian Copenhaver's *Magic in Western Culture from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, E.E. Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande*, Joseph Blenkinsopp's *A History of Prophecy in Ancient Israel* and Morton Smith's *Jesus the Magician* for more on magic in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.

²¹ See Marvin Meyer and Paul Allan Mirecki's *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* and Brian Arthur Brown's *Three Testaments: Torah, Gospel, and Quran* for more.

²² See Robert Bartlett's *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages*, Valerie Flint's *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, Richard Kieckheffer's *Magic in the Middle Ages* and DP Walker's *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* among others for more. Note that this period is the focus of this dissertation and as such will be explored in great detail throughout the forthcoming pages, particularly those relating to Iberia, Southern France and North Africa.

occurs in the contemporary area in popular media such as *Harry Potter*, *Lord of the Rings* and other supernatural themed books, movies and TV shows.

Throughout these periods, there have been shifts in how magic was understood, accepted/rejected and ultimately incorporated in societal practices and memories.

This project, focusing on Iberia, begins at one of these shifts or transitions: at the start of thirteenth-century royal interest and commission of Castilian translations of earlier Arabic sources on science, medicine and magic—among other topics. It ends with a closer look at the peak of the Muslim expulsion from early modern Spain and its remaining consequences shortly after. The reason for limiting my focus to these time periods and selected examples is to best illustrate the permeability of magical interest regardless of the source, character, or intended audience. This, in my opinion, complicates the texts perceived monolingual and mono-cultural canonical status within the Castilian-produced imaginary.

Returning to the understanding of magic, traditionally, scholarship on magic has either focused on magic's relation to science (like Lynn Thorndike's substantial volume of *History of Magic and Experimental Science* and Frances Yates who expanded on this research) or magic's relation to religion (like Edward Peters and Keith Thomas). As alluded to above, this triad of definitions is not necessarily the most fruitful approach as all three categories—magic, religion, and science—shift with the times and places. It is important to understand

magic's place in regard to religion and science, however one must keep in mind the fluidity of all three categorizations. This is especially true for the premodern world. One of the earliest contemporary scholars on magic, anthropologist Marcel Mauss, divides magic from other practices—religion or science—as “primitive” and private as opposed to public and elite. He states “where religious rites are performed openly, in full public view, magical rites are carried out in secret. Even when magic is licit, it is done in secret, as if performing some maleficent deed” (23). If we were to follow in Mauss's observations however, it would lead us to conclude that while magic, religion and science were similar, only magic remains in the shadows and only practiced among the marginalized, as well as solely a condemned practice. It is for this reason that, while in his time he was groundbreaking, I diverge slightly from his findings. Following slightly from his framework, in the contemporary understanding of magic, ritual, and religion, a lot of focus is given to the idea of disenchantment as the salient difference between modernity and the premodern.²³

This dissertation aims to complicate this tendency and highlight how magic permeated sociopolitical, cultural and gender barriers. It would be easier if such practices remained in a defined and controlled setting, however, defining magic is not that simple. Magical practices were not exclusively practiced by

²³ Among others, see Peter Pels's “Magic and Modernity”, Randall Styers's *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World*, Catherine Bell's *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, and Talal Asad's *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* for more on this concept of disenchantment and the demarcation between the premodern and the modern.

those in the margins—be they women, minorities or the poor—but rather functioned as a desirable knowledge in all levels of society—and among Christianity, Judaism and Islam (as well as other religions less explored in this dissertation). Magic is more than a preliminary form of science or a mutated divine practice, and, defining it in such terms is problematic, as this project will demonstrate. What is considered as magic, as science, as religion, as love, are all fluid notions that not only are culturally bound but also change with both times and circumstances. These categories share some aspects, which I will show throughout this dissertation, as love motivated both characters and historical people to turn to the shared, and often intertwined, methodologies of magic, science, and religion. These distinctions between licit and illicit, and further ambiguity connected to magic as a whole, was not limited to contemporary scholars. Medieval twelfth-century English scholar John of Salisbury explores the occult's complicated position in courtly culture in his 1159 eight-book manual, *Policraticus*. Though a small part of his entire work, the topic of magic is brought up several times in the first book—in chapters 10, 11 and 12—and a more detailed focus on courtly magical practices in his second book—particularly in chapter 28. While John of Salisbury highlights how magicians may perform tricks and illusions that mess with the mind, he also states that some divinatory interpretations, that is to say omens, should be heeded with care. Even for him, magical practices remained liminal, though clearly more condemned than by other contemporaneous scholars. Thirteenth-century friar Roger Bacon for

example saw, at least astrology, as a discipline worthy of kings as evident in his *Opus Magnus*, though many theological medieval critics did not share his views. The same can be said of Iberian thinkers like twelfth-century Maimonides, who in the eleventh chapter of his *Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* speaks of the effects magic had on Judaism despite his denial of any legitimacy it could have in the society.

In regard to our contemporary understanding of premodern magic, some scholars focused in the Early Modern period, while not relegating magic to more simple practices, mark a clean break for what is and is not magic between the historical periods.²⁴ For instance, some scholars view magic and its trajectory from ancient to the medieval to the early modern as one of high and low spheres. This is to say that where once magic was allowed, a shift occurs where it is then limited to the margins. While this would be a clean easy break placing instances of magical practices and documentation in clearly designated boxes. That is, suggesting that at first magic was allowed and with time it became more and more illicit while simultaneously shifting from a practice of men to women. The reality however is that it was not that simple. Women always had an interest in what scholars would now consider magic, as did men. And these men and women were not always lower class, poor, and marginalized as magical topics were also taught in universities, collected, copied and preserved in monasteries

²⁴ See Jeffrey Burton Russell's *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* and Jason Josephson-Storm's *The Myth of Disenchantment: Magic, Modernity, and the Birth of Human Sciences*, among others.

(and perhaps even practiced by clerics and other liturgical entities), as well as translated, and commissioned upon the command of nobility and kings.²⁵

As common in many fields, scholarly study on magic has shifted from cataloguing the many instances of magic to a more focused and nuanced concentration on a specific collection or set of examples demonstrating a common purpose. Rather than naming every manifestation of magic, a few core examples are chosen in order to demonstrate a concrete purpose, usage, or goal that speak to a specific collection but also can be extrapolated more globally. I, alongside scholars like Sophie Page, Láng, Frank Klassen and others have focused on specific texts or concrete collections in order to reach broader claims.²⁶ Magic knows no boundary, or limit, and in fact it is because of this permeability that a study of magic is so fruitful. By this I do not mean that it was widely accepted, nor that it was not rigorously regulated or suppressed---which it was---but rather that its use is not limited to any one societal group nor relegated to any one religious practice. Recently, scholars study this concept of magic's boundaries, and its permeability into different strands of knowledge. Following the recent scholarly trend (an example of which can be found in the series of articles in *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 12.1 2017) I plan to continue looking at

²⁵ See Sophie Page's *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe* for more on the monastery preservation and collection of magical thoughts and how monks and nuns negotiated its presumed illegality.

²⁶ For more on the breakdown of the history of scholarship on magic see the introductions of Frank Klassen, Benedek Láng, Richard Kieckhefer and Owen Davies which all address the scholarly trends in the study of medieval magic.

boundary-work through a “focused, narrow lens” (8). Similar to the goal of the articles in that journal volume, the aim of this dissertation is to “highlight the fluid lines of connection among the various religions, cultures, and actors involved in the exchange of knowledge that depart from the original categories set up for them” (Lamaute and Sartell 9).

What actions or practices qualify as magic then? There has been the tendency, even in the Middle Ages, to divide what contemporary scholars would consider magic between light and dark magical practices. While this dissertation focuses on love magic—and its related practices—other subcategories of magic are worth defining. Roughly speaking, most of the practices can be divided into accepted five categories: natural, image, ritual (including angelic and demonic magic), divination and alchemy. These categories are not restrictive as even certain instances of love magic could be categorized in more than one of these subdivisions.

Láng’s definitions for natural magic come from the Greco-Roman and Hellenistic traditions meant to understand the “occult powers and processes in the natural order” and have connections with medicine and natural philosophy across cultures and religions (36). Image magic, which can be considered as a halfway point between light and dark magic refers to use of talismans, “magical characters, small statues, seals, numbers, combinations of letters, strange circular and quadrangular figures that were to be engraved on rings, metals, and gems under well-defined astrological circumstances” once again drawing from

Hermetic literature (Láng 36).²⁷ Alongside natural magic there is also the category of “common magic” and “learned magic,” which oftentimes overlap depending on the detail of the ritual or practice necessary. A main approach when studying magic is to look at it through the lens of continuity and change—an approach taken by this dissertation as I start in the thirteenth century and go through the seventeenth century. Catherine Rider explores these concerns in her study on “common magic” through shifts in culture, which reveal “what was done, what was feared, what was seen as magic and how magic was regarded” (328). She concludes that we cannot understand magic, particularly “common magic,” without understanding the shifts in history and consequently, the shifts in history cannot be properly understood without first understanding magic.

Many of the practices that would fall under the previously mentioned subcategories required previous learning in sciences to be properly executed. Ritual magic, while requiring a specific skillset, had variations. It can be further divided into angelic and demonic invocations.²⁸ Both rely on the intervention of spirits—whether benign or malignant—to obtain benefits whereas the angelic branch has an emphasis on religious actions such as fasting, meditation and prayers; demonic magic depends on invocations, magic circles and occasional sacrifices. Michael Bailey’s work on diabolic magic for instance addresses both

²⁷ For more on the medieval understanding of astrology see Thebit and Ptolemy who were considered authorities on the matter. See also the contemporary study of Michael Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazers: Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon*.

²⁸ See Claire Fanger’s *Conjuring Spirits* for more.

its rise and decline with the European witch trials and the role magic had in light of Christianity particularly in terms of demons and the Devil.²⁹ Some of the demonic magic was often referred to as necromancy/nigromancy—a term which into the thirteenth and fourteenth century took on multiple meanings oftentimes as a “rhetorical designation of something illicit, harmful, and rejected” (Láng 41).³⁰ Necromancy is a large category, much like magic in general, and is considered both a part of science and a subcategory of medicine, astrology, image magic alchemy and the liberal arts.³¹

Lastly, there is divination and alchemy, which often times are considered as a field apart from magic. I, like other scholars, still include it as its practices fit the broader understanding of magic. Under divination one can find the practices of geomancy (divination through sand, stones or soil), palmistry (divination through palm reading), and name and numerical divination all used to foretell future events. Alchemy, with little associations with all the previous categories, is considered the art of transforming elements and creating elixirs. While there may be these subcategories, many surviving grimoires do not exclusively contain one

²⁹ For more on how magic worked in conjunction with Islamic thought see Travis Zadeh. He sees the categories of magic, marvel, and miracle as all playing a role in how one understood the world and how one shaped it, particularly in regard to Islamic philosophy and societal structure.

³⁰ See Jean-Patrice Boudet’s extensive study of nigromancy, *Entre Science et Nigromance* where he suggests that term should be used exclusively for black magic and necromancy used for the invocation of spirits.

³¹ For more of this see Edward Peters’s *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* and Charles Burnett’s *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages*. Also note that in the fifteenth-century Marquez de Villena listed *necromancia* as a subdivision of *maleficio*.

type of magic but rather have a mixture of many.³² Even the examples chosen for this dissertation cannot be separated into just one subdivision. Furthermore, as an archive, occasionally manuscripts are labeled as magical, but often times some examples of magical spells or recipes are found in primarily medicinal and surgical texts as well as foodstuff collections like fourteenth-century Lope de Barrientos's *Tractado de Adivinança* and fifteenth-century Guido de Calico's *Tratado de Cirguia*. The focus of this dissertation, love magic, manifests itself, in part, in all five categories of magical practices. The way I am understanding love magic is as any practice meant to bind or separate two people, which as we will see, could (or could not) involve demons, divine intervention, images, objects and more.

Teaching, Translation, and Shifting Landscapes:

How were these varied skills taught? The modern-day eager-to-learn doe-eyed freshmen do not find themselves learning magic, as described above, in their university classes today—unless of course they are in a history of witchcraft or a course of this nature. In the Middle Ages however, some branches of magical learning were in fact taught in universities—for instance astrology a practice that intersects with many of the subcategories in regard to when a particular incantation should be performed. Parisian instructors such as Jean de

³² Among others see Al-Buni's thirteenth-century *Shems al-Maarif*, the fifteenth-century *Clavicula Salomonis* and many more which will be explored in greater detail in the chapters to come.

Murs, Jean de Lignères and Jean de Saxes, with the Latin version of the Alfonsine tables, taught this content in thirteenth-century classrooms (Boudet 283). Such teachings also expanded beyond Paris and into universities in Oxford, Erfurt, Vienna, Italy and more. In the Peninsula, the earliest universities started appearing in the twelfth century, with the first being the University of Salamanca where astrology was also taught.³³

With this rise in interest of advanced education came the natural curiosity as to the mechanics of nature, the sciences, and by extension, magic, as they were all a means of understanding the world behind the mere acceptance of their existence as often happened with religions.³⁴ For instance, in the Islamic tradition, the *Rasā'il ilkhwān aṣ-ṣafā* (The Epistles of the Sincere Brethren) created a hierarchy of the sciences in the *numusiyyah* (sciences of the law) category high ranking—“above psychology and philosophy and surpassed only by theology”—with medicine being the most high ranking of these (Bürgel 30). Following this was alchemy, then astrology, and concluding with the science of talismans. Another text attributed to the Islamic Brethren, states “medicine is also a sort of sorcery” and continues to explain that vague notion of *siḥr*—or magic (Bürgel 30). Within the context of Islam, *siḥr* refers to anything that “entrances

³³ Note that while not the focus of this dissertation there are many Iberian literary examples of astrology like Anselm Turmeda’s 1417 *La Disputa de l’Asne* (The Dispute of the Ass) and Calderon de la Barca’s 1635 *La vida es sueño* (Life is a Dream) among many others.

³⁴ See William Palmer’s *Images of Knowledge: The Seven Liberal Arts*, Paul Abelson’s *The Seven Liberal Arts: A Study in Mediaeval Culture* and more on the discussion of the Seven Liberal Arts and astrology and other magical acts role within them.

the eye”, a trickery or a “falsification of reality,” and has many subdivisions like those discussed previously in this chapter—natural magic, divination, science of names and numbers, demonic conjuring and more (Fahd). The term itself appears in the *Qur’an* 51 times. Ibn al-Nadim, a tenth-century Baghdadi also discusses the understanding of magic and medicine, equating magic with “superstition and fairytales” in his famous *Fihrist* (Index). Ibn Khaldun also addresses his understanding of magic in his *Muqaddimah* (Introduction to History) with a more negative approach.³⁵ For him, those who practiced many aspects of *sīhr* were aiming to deceive, to trick, and to undermine the power of the prophet or of God. The Islamic Brethren define magic as “everything which entrances the intellect and everything which bewitches the soul, word, or action, in the sense of amazement, attachment, inclination, submission, appreciation, obedience, acceptance” (qtd in Fahd). Like we saw earlier within the context of Christianity and the laws of Castile, magical practice was permitted “insofar as it causes no harm to others” (Fahd).³⁶

How did magical knowledge then reach the hands of so many? In Iberia, in addition to Salamanca, Toledo became known as one of the more important cities of magical learning, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. This is primarily due to the translation efforts of scientific texts from Arabic into Castilian and Latin

³⁵ See Melvin-Koushki’s article in *Arabica* 64.3-4 (2017) where he explores in depth the debate over magic (specifically geomancy) as defined by Ibn Khaldun and the Islamic Brethren.

³⁶ See also the Encyclopedia of Islam entries on *Rukya* (enchantment), *Kilhāna* (divination), *tīlsam* (talisman) and *nīrandj* (white magic and creation of illusions) for more on the complex place magic had within Islam.

starting in the late twelfth-century and in part continuing through the fifteenth— with a large portion of them occurring in the thirteenth-century under the commission of Alfonso X of Castile, the wise.³⁷ One of the more notable translations, particularly in regard to medicine, is Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* translated by Gerard Cremona, the "single most influential medical text of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance" (Solomon 24). There was a curiosity for the knowledge preserved in the Arabic texts: "Arabic maintained its role as a language of scholarly communication and as the vehicle which allowed continued access to medical sources of unquestionable theoretical and practical value" (Garcia-Ballester 353).

With these translations, Alfonso hoped "to replace both Arabic and Latin as the language of learning and prestige for scholars across Europe, not just Iberia" (Hamilton 113).³⁸ His interests only added to Toledo reputation as being "unido a la practica magica a unos niveles que situan a la ciudad en un lugar privilegiado" (González Sánchez 27). Alfonso's interest and collection of occult texts have been linked to common and less hidden interests, like "a pious exploration of angelology, scientific curiosity in the hidden workings of the

³⁷ Iberia was not the only location where Arabic translation occurred as there was a large movement in Italy and Byzantium as well. See Monica Green's *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*.

³⁸ It should also be noted that with all of these translations from Arabic into Latin and Castilian allowed for the connection of angelic and demonic involvement in talismanic magic. See Nicolas Weill-Parot's article "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel? Les anges dans la magie astrale, XIIe-XIVe siècles" and Charles Burnett's article "Remarques paleographiques et philologiques sur le nom d'anges et d'esprits dans le traits de magie traduits de l'arabe en latin."

celestial and terrestrial world, a pragmatic desire to harness siroccos of power, and simply pleasure in texts which aroused wonder through their extraordinary mixtures and transgression of boundaries” (Page 55).

This interest in knowledge however did not mean that Alfonso X, or other kings, welcomed magical practitioners with open arms as certain manifestations of magic (particularly dependent on its intended purpose) were outlawed.³⁹ While this dissertation focuses more on the ever-growing region of Castile-Leon in Iberia, Alfonso X was not the only Iberian monarch with interest in the occult sciences. As Michael Ryan’s study indicates, through a lens of Foucauldian power dynamics in part continued in this project, Aragonese monarchs (Pere, Joan and Marti) from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had continued interest in astrology and divinatory practices acted in direct opposition to some theological doctrines that restricted “people’s access to the reservoirs of power and knowledge that the occult, by nature, promised” (6). Ryan highlights that “in their eyes, however, they were monarchs, the supreme representation of medieval secular authority outside of emperor, and thus they had the right to engage in such activities regardless of the Church’s view on the matter” (6).⁴⁰ As explored in more detail in Ryan’s study, king Pere of Aragon, similar to Alfonso, encouraged his royal physician, Bartomeu de Tresbén to learn astrology, and gave his daughter an astrolabe (Ryan 111, 112). Such examples continue with

³⁹ See the *Index of Prohibited Books* composed by the Roman Catholic Church with editions starting in the ninth century.

⁴⁰ See Edward Peters’s *The Magician, the Witch and the Law* for more on magic’s tenuous position in the eyes of medieval and early modern law.

the later monarchs through their own personal interests, book collections and encouragements as well. King Martí I's reign however marked a shift in Aragon, as unlike his father and brother his views on the occult "aligned with those principles that took a more hostile view of the disciplines" (156).

A few centuries prior to this in Castile, Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, mentions marginalized members such as diviners, soothsayers and wizards within the seventh part pertaining to criminal law. This same text also explicitly prohibited Christian society members from seeking out medical help prepared by Jewish physicians.⁴¹ This can be seen as contradictory considering the interest in the Arabic (and Jewish) knowledge—occult and otherwise—that was being translated, but in part, demonstrates the complexities of what was permissible and what was not.⁴² While it is true that kings, royalty and even clergy showed interest in this knowledge, how do we then explain the burning of books—both medicinal as well as texts dealing with alchemy and necromancy—belonging to fifteenth-century Aragonese author Enrique de Villena by order of Lope de

⁴¹ See Giles's *Inscribed Power*, Francisco Prado-Vilar's article in *Judaism and Christian Art* and Dwayne Carpenter's *Alfonso X and the Jews* for more on the place and suspicion placed upon Jewish physicians in medieval Castile and other Christian societies.

⁴² Laws under Alfonso X were not the only laws which addressed concerns of magic like those written in the name of Juan I, Juan II and Felipe II which distinguish between good and bad magic as well as prohibited divination and sorcery.

Barrientos? Once again, it comes down to the purpose of the action and the circumstances.⁴³

This intersection of knowledge existed before the Christian “reconquest” of Iberian lands as scholars like Michael Ebstein have explored. There was a lot of movement between medieval merchants and scholars from Iberia to other areas along the Mediterranean, like Egypt for example (6). For instance, the previously mentioned *Rasā'il ikhwān al-safā'* (Epistles of the Islamic Brethren) reach al-Andalus in the early stages of the Andalusī mystical thought and influenced both Muslim and Jewish scholars (7). Even in regards to religious thought there has been interfaith translations among Christianity, Judaism and Islam as evident with Mark of Toledo's Latin translation of the Qu'ran for example.⁴⁴

Deviance from authorized norms in part plays a role in defining which types of magic were and were not accepted. For instance:

it is difficult to separate the medical miracle from magic because many religious rites depended upon magical acts and every religious group had its own particular magic. The Church insisted that its magic was different

⁴³ One should note that just as not all magic is same, nor is all scholarship on magic as this itself has been subdivided in Christian magic (as explored by many of the scholars previously mentioned in this Introduction); Islamic magic (as explored by Charles Burnett, Lloyd Graham, Michael Muhammad Knight and others previously mentioned in this Introduction); Jewish magic (as explored by Joshua Trachtenberg, Dov Schwartz and Yuval Harari among others); and more exclusively *Morisco* magic (as explored by Luce López-Baralt, Esther Fernandez Medina, and others). This present dissertation, combines in part research from all of these subdivisions.

⁴⁴ See Thomas Burman's essay on medieval Christian thoughts on Islam in the edited volume by Ryan Szpiech *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference* for more on this particular translation.

and superior and it spend a great deal of time defining and separating it from the rest (Corry 18).⁴⁵

The intent and purpose of what was being done, and more importantly who was doing it, fundamentally determined its level of deviance. To control such deviance, members of the Christian hierarchy were trained in a variety of skillsets that permeate the broad medical and magical categorizations, like exorcism for example.

With the *al-Tibb al-Nabawi* (Medicine of the Prophet), discussed later in this dissertation, imams would have had the skillset to alleviate the damage of bad magic and sorcery.⁴⁶ Like Christianity's belief in the real dangers of demons, Islam also held the belief of the dangers of djinn and other evil spirits that could inflict pain on the living.⁴⁷ Ja'far al-Sadiq (765 CE) is an example of a Muslim imams relation with the occult as he is linked to number science, alchemy and divination among others.⁴⁸ Regarding al-Andalus specifically, two mystics, Ibn Masarra (883-931) and Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240) are worth mentioning. Andalusī style mysticism was a "unique blend of Neoplatonic mystical philosophy, cosmogonic-cosmological speculations, occult sciences such as the science of

⁴⁵ See Michael Solomon for more discussion of magic's intersection with medicine.

⁴⁶ Note that like in Christianity, the line between licit and illicit magical practices in the realm of Islam, and in Judaism, depended on the end result of said magical practice.

⁴⁷ See Moiz Ansari's *Islam and the Paranormal: What does Islam Say About the Supernatural in the Light of Qur'an* for more on Islam and the supernatural.

⁴⁸ See Arzina R. Lalani's in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* edited by Josef W. Meri form ore on this specific imam (410).

letters and astrology, and more” (Ebstein 3).⁴⁹ As Sarah Stroumsa explores Ibn Massara’s mystical thoughts are influenced by the Jewish mystical traditions like those of Maimonides, and Maimonides likewise was influenced by Muslim traditions (39). Medieval scriptural commentary also demonstrates interreligious influence and interaction, which, as Ryan Szpiech summarizes is a “gesture bound up with the definition of community identity and the limits of orthodoxy, and that commentary on the scriptures of other, rival communities was inherently a means of limning the contours of difference between faiths” (26).⁵⁰

Clerics, for instance, were often well trained in both medicinal and magical practices. According to Michael Solomon, clerics trained in Spain were encouraged to also know how to “care for the body” as “early medieval medicine was rooted in a monastic tradition that had required certain members of the community to learn the manual skills and theoretical underpinnings of caring for the ill” (24). This supports, in part, the tendency to speak of “two medicines and two corresponding medical practices,” an earthly one bound to the concerns of the corporeal body and a spiritual one focused on the preservation of the soul (Solomon 25). Along similar, yet different lines, despite certain types of magic, like necromancy, labeled as dangerous by the Church, many clerics were familiar

⁴⁹ For more on the two Andalusí mystics mentioned, see Ebstein’s full study, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus* for a nuanced and well researched look at the development of Muslim mystical thought in Iberia and its influences on and from Jewish Kabbalistic practices that developed further north in the Peninsula.

⁵⁰ See also Camilla Adang’s study, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* for the interaction between Muslim and Jewish religious thought.

with the technicalities of demon summoning to be better skilled in exorcisms and other practices—this point is explored further in the first chapter.⁵¹

The rise of the Inquisition gave Christian authorities executing control over behavioral deviance. While not the focus of this project, some mention should be given in this Introduction as it plays into role I ascribe to magic as representative of Christianity's relationship with non-Christian cultures and what was deemed heretical. As many scholars have noted, the notion of a witch and witchcraft itself are notions that were created by institutions like the Catholic Church.⁵² Much of the known witch craze and burnings occurred in England and more central Europe. This gave rise to books like Dominican inquisitor Heinrich Kramer's 1486 *Malleus Maleficarum* (Hammer of the Witches). Furthermore, many of the concepts of witchcraft and witches sabbats are inversions of Christianity as was the veneration of the Devil and demons—entities few theologians denied existing. In essence, many of the supposed witch burnings boil down to heresy—and heresy, like conceptions of the devil himself, can take many forms.⁵³ In the Peninsula however, the witch-craze and the hysteria over magical acts was not as prominent, as there was higher concern with their recent converts to

⁵¹ See Escobar, Kieckhefer and Hamilton among others for more on the training and skills Christian clerics, specifically exorcisms.

⁵² See Kieckhefer's *European Witch Trials*, Jeffrey Russell's *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* and Catherine Rider's *Magic and Religion in Medieval England* among others for more.

⁵³ See Montague Summer's *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, Wolfgang Behringer's *Witches and Witch Hunts*, Charles Zika's *The Appearance of Witchcraft* and Gustav Henningsen and Bengt Ankarloo's *Early Modern European Witchcraft* among others for more on notions of witchcraft in the premodern world.

Christianity—the Moriscos and Conversos. The heresy Iberian Christians focused on, like the accusations of witchcraft in other parts of Europe, was one that played into real beliefs, fears, and concerns of identity.

As we move into the Early Modern period throughout this dissertation, distinctions between male and female practices developed through the predominantly male-dominated faculties of medicine in Castilian universities. This meant “not only that female healers were described as untutored practitioners, but also that university-educated physicians could link their methods with magic, superstition and heresy” (Moral de Calatrava 204) since any knowledge they gained was through folk and oral traditions and personal experiences. However, according to Moral de Calatrava some of the talents these women healers possessed were sought after since little was known of medical issues pertaining to women in the formalized medical practices. This explains the inclusion of magical rituals in medical texts like *Libro del arte de las comadres o madrinas y del regimiento de las preñadas y paridas de los niños* a text from 1541 containing information on amulets and charms presumably helpful in childbirth (Moral de Calatrava 220). Beyond the practicing midwife, there was also the concern regarding go-betweens or *alcahuetas* whose healing practices often were labeled by inquisitors as witchcraft. It is possible that such accusations were meant to distinguish between practices, between the male-dominated medicine and the female-dominated folkloric cures in the early modern period.

As has been previously alluded to, women were not the only ones whose practices were scrupulously observed, restricted, and critiqued. Once we enter the later periods of this dissertation, Morisco practices also received much attention and distrust.⁵⁴ Iberia in the sixteenth century, despite being already formally united as Christian after the Conquest of Granada in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, was still home to much remaining Arabized and Islamized characteristics such as societal practices, architecture, clothes and even language usage. Despite some Muslim inhabitants having left Iberia after the fall, many chose to stay, after all the Iberian Peninsula had been their home since the arrival of Islam in 711.⁵⁵ Those that stayed under Christian rule, the Mudejares, were eventually forced to convert to Christianity, becoming Moriscos in 1501 (in Castile) and 1526 (in Aragon) when religious tolerance ceased through forced conversions as well as clothing and practice restrictions. Though in theory this baptism would make Old and New Christians equal, the Moriscos still suffered from excessive discrimination as Luis Bernabé Pons points out (46). However, despite the forced conversions and strict laws banning both the ritual observance of Islam and the observance of those customs the Christians deemed as Islamic in nature—including reading or speaking Arabic,

⁵⁴ See my articles on Morisco magic in regard to their multilingual tendencies and use of food within the clandestinely preserved folios of occult knowledge.

⁵⁵ Al-Andalus of course has a more complex history like Abd al-Rahman III's break from central Muslim control as the new Caliph in 929 and the breaking off the Caliphate and division into 23 Taifa kingdoms in 1031 as well as the Almoravid conquest of said Taifas in 1092 as explored by scholars like LP Harvey.

dressing in “Muslim attire” and eating in “Muslim ways”—the Moriscos still managed to preserve their culture through various means, including the use of texts secretly written in Arabic script. In Francisco Nuñez Muley’s *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada* he explicitly states the prohibition of the use of the Arabic language, any Muslim celebrations, use of bathhouses and from “producing Morisco clothing and other cloth items” among other restrictions. However, although this community faced forced conversion and eventual expulsion throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the fifteenth century (and parts of the sixteenth century) there was a flourishing of sorts within Mudejar/Morisco culture. As Vincent Barletta states, “the end of Muslim rule in Spain did not mean the end of Muslim life and culture there” (xxiv), despite what Katherine Miller characterizes as the “increasing Christian attempts to control their activity” (12). One of the ways Moriscos were able to preserve their culture and religion is through “the production and use of traditional narratives handwritten and actively recopied despite their illegality after 1566” (Barletta xxix). Although the use of Romance was common in everyday life for most communities in the Peninsula, the Moriscos had many texts written in Aljamiado, which preserved the combination of both cultures and traditions. These texts range from fictitious narratives, religious texts to magical source books all produced in this Aljamiado language which in short is a combination of Arabic and Romance—as well as occasionally other languages such as Latin or

Hebrew—mostly represented in Arabic script produced by Moriscos for Moriscos. Luce Lopez-Baralt also clarifies that Aljamiado literature is both Islamic and Romance at the same time since it is one language written in the traditional script of the other reflecting realities of both cultures Spanish and Islamic (28).⁵⁶

While the education of Moriscos in Christian schools is documented, there is less information on the teaching of Arabic and Islamic thought in Morisco communities. Anwar Chejne claims that Morisco “education was limited mostly to clerics and the nobility, who were responsible for literary standards and intellectual perspectives” (33). In regard to more clandestine teaching, Chejne states Classical Arabic required extensive schooling and “there is no evidence that such study was ever pursued on a large scale among the Moriscos” (34). It is also worth noting that since there was an absence of religious and educational institutions in the Morisco communities, “the task of educating fell on individuals who had reasonable familiarity with religious tenets and zeal for preserving and disseminating them” (36). However, after the 1499-1502 forced conversions Moriscos were educated as Christians by religious orders (Chejne 115). The archbishop and confessor to Queen Isabel, Hernando de Talavera, had composed instructional manuals, which guided priests in the necessary steps to bridge the divide between the new and old Christians. He believed that “Baptism alone did not suffice for this; rather a strategy had to be set out that would enable the newly converted to fit into Christian society, and to live as far as possible like

⁵⁶ All translations into English are my own unless otherwise listed and are so indicated by brackets.

“old” Christians (*Cristianos viejos*)” (Thomas 64). Some of his suggestions for proper integration were the abandonment of *Morisco* customs, the attendance of mass, the presence of Christian symbols in the home and the seemingly contradictory initial issuing of Christian practices and psalms in Arabic script for quicker absorption while also being urged to “forget their language as soon as possible” (65). Therefore the restrictions by the Catholic Church and laws imposed by the ruling kings led many Moriscos to become increasingly uneducated informal settings within the standard Muslim thought (Chejne 115). According to scholars like Louis Cardillac and Benjamin Ehlers, Moriscos attended a variety of schools in which catechism was taught, with a notable school being taught by Juan de Ribera, an archbishop in Valencia in the very late sixteenth century, though unfortunately not many of these schools were successful in their full conversion attempts (Cardillac 47).⁵⁷

Chapter Five further discusses their preserved magical practices in conjunction with a fictional necromancer. Before doing so however Chapter One will address love magic and its overlap with religious practices, training, and interactions; Chapter Two a Christianized didactic rendering of adventurous romances with enchantments; and lastly chapters three and four with two significant literary go-betweens and their magical dabblings. As these examples roughly span the Reconquest to the expulsion of the Moriscos, the dual nature of

⁵⁷ For more on Juan de Ribera see Jesús Framiñán de Miguel and Francisco Pons Fuster.

magic as both asserting and subverting power consequently reflects the complex relationship Christianity had with non-Christian cultures.

Chapter One

Magic by Order of the King

“Find a way to put this maiden in my power tonight; otherwise I shall shut all of you up in a flask.” In the Iberian thirteenth-century imaginary, this is how a Christian cleric threatens a group of demons he summoned using his pre-existing magical knowledge as he deviates from the Virgin Mary’s wishes in pursuing a devout Christian, and uninterested, woman. This statement puts into question the role magic had not only in literary works, like the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* where this excerpt comes from but also within premodern Iberian society. This chapter explores the metaphoric function of dominance and control of an Other through magical knowledge and practice alongside religion vis-a-vis the use of religious objects, clerics, and the Virgin’s miraculous interventions in the thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, an Iberian collection of 420 poems attributed to and commissioned by Alfonso X the Wise who was King of Castile. While the Christian practices, overall belief, and trust in the Virgin triumph in the end of these miracle tales, like the rest of this dissertation, the deviating magical practices present are not described as fruitless or ineffective but rather simply less effective and less desirable in light of Christianity, and in this case, the power of the Virgin. Specifically, this chapter looks at two of these *Cantigas*—*Cantiga 125* and *Cantiga 104*. I focus on the first’s unique incorporation of talismanic Arabic lunettes into the accompanying illustrations of

a vernacular translation of a previously circulated miracle. I then address the second's use of consecrated host magic and historical connection to a documented Marian miracle. Both *Cantigas* depend on love magic as the means to unite a heterosexual union—regardless of their societal or marital status. This attempted control of the desired other—one performed by a cleric and the other by a mistress—shed light on dynamics between not only gender and also transgressive actions against Christianity. Both fictional practitioners of magic transform historical Christian practices—be it clerical training in exorcisms and demonic summoning or Eucharistic usage—into deviate ones to accomplish their more selfish amorous goals. By doing this, the seemingly contradictory relationship between orthodoxy and unorthodoxy in regard to Christian and non-Christian cultures in Iberia is exposed.

In each *Cantiga*, all accompanied by musical notation and illuminations in the manuscript, we find the Virgin Mary depicted in a humanized way in various festivities or miracles. Though many consider this collection as a songbook, due to the variety of metrical forms and rhyme schemes, this is not its only categorization. It is also a collection of stories depicting both fictionalized accounts of important contemporary events of Alfonso's life, as well as a source on daily-life in the Middle Ages drawing from original material, as well as previous Marian miracles from English, French, and Latin collections.⁵⁸ Scholarship has

⁵⁸ See Joseph Snow, *The Poetry of Alfonso X, El Sabio: A Critical Bibliography*, Stephen Parkinson, *Alfonso X, the Learned, 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': an Anthology*, and *El Scriptorium Alfonsí: de los Libros de Astrología a las Cantigas de Santa Maria*,

focused on such stylistic representations as well as the function of marginalized society members, like women, as Connie Scarborough's study shows. This chapter aims to build on the previous scholarship and give added focus to the representation of magic, or demonic presence, in conjunction with the Christian miracles, or interventions, in two narratives. It is these interventions that mark the magical acts described as deviant and undesirable. They are undesirable because they subvert accepted practices. While the practices are not altered from their original use in Islamic contexts, their use in Christian contexts, in part challenging Marian devotion, give it this deviant undertone.

The *Cantigas* now survive in four manuscript codices, two of which are in the Escorial (MS E, MS T), one in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MS To), and one in Florence, Italy (MS F). All surviving manuscripts are from the second half of the thirteenth century with MS E and MS T, also known as the "Códice Rico" being the largest—with 256 folios—and containing the most illuminations, 1,257 miniatures on 210 folios, to be exact. María Dolores Bollo-Pandero notes that these *Cantigas* became "understood as an ideological instrument of cultural codification that reaffirms the established Christian social order in relation to three principal groups: heretics, Muslims and Jews" (163). The use of magic in the *Cantigas*, though, does not always reflect this codification, as members at different social and economic levels, including even a Christian cleric, perform magic in these tales. The miracles performed in each tale by the Virgin Mary

ed. Jesús Montoya Martínez and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez among others for their work on the many surviving Marian miracle tales.

serve to restore “the social and religious order, disrupted by the sinner” but in *Cantiga 125* we witness a priest performing magic not only disrupting the social and religious order, but defying the cosmological order as well (Bollo-Pandero 164). Yet his punishment shows implicit bias and speaks to the ambiguity that characterizes medieval Iberian attempts to police both thoughts and actions.

Bollo-Pandera observes that:

The *Cantigas* reveal a globalizing discourse: every single poem exists to reinforce the relationship between the sender—the monarch and the author—and the recipient of the message, preserving the established order through cultural codification. The *Cantigas* are mainly designed for Christians, a community that must be kept homogeneously united, thereby annihilating differences and eliminating all possibilities for the existence of alterity. Thus, the Other is only portrayed in a positive light if it is suitable for conversion, becoming, then, the Same. (169)

I would argue it is more complicated, considering the commissioned nature of these *Cantigas* by the King, but also the tension revolved around the portrayal of magic—especially by a cleric as in *Cantiga 125*. While Alfonso X was not the sole author, nor necessarily consulted for every alteration and incorporation, his stamp of approval, as it were, ultimately sanctioned all of the content produced in his workshops. While the overall message of Christian superiority in this *Cantiga* plays into what Bollo-Pandero sees as the “globalizing discourse” of the *Cantigas* the representation of Muslims, Jews, and heretics in this collection is more

complex, as oftentimes, Muslim characters, for instance, can be one of the good characters, worthy of praise and emulation.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the bad characters, as it were, one needs the Virgin's protection from, can be members of the clergy. A similar argument can be made in relation to *Cantiga 104*, considering the intended use of a consecrated host as the main ingredient of a love spell, which was an ingredient already listed in thirteenth-century inquisitorial guides regarding suspicious actions (Kieckhefer *Magic* 190).

Throughout the *Cantigas* there are at least some 50 of the 420 containing references to magic or demonic presence, whether it be as a secondary character as in the case *Cantiga 17* where a devil disguises himself as a diviner, as a scapegoat of a arguably heretical action like *Cantiga 104*, or central to the narrative, as in the case of *Cantiga 125*, which I have addressed in my article "Miracles and Magic: Necromantic Practices Found in *Cantiga 125*."⁶⁰ *Cantiga 125* narrates the story of two devout Christians who honor and venerate the Virgin Mary—a cleric and a pious woman. He "ena loar punnava / polos muitos bees que faz" (67) / ["praised Her devoutly for the blessings She bestows"] (154) and she "a Virgen, de Deus Madre, / muy de coraçon servia" (67) / ["served the Virgin, Mother of God, with all her heart,"] (154). After much devoted prayer, the

⁵⁹ However, one should note that by having the *Cantigas* written in Galician-Portuguese despite being produced in Castile-Leon, the audience in part is limited which complicates the globalizing nature of its content.

⁶⁰ For more on the use of magical intervention of devils and illusions or deceptions see Sylvia Barnay's chapter "Du Diable a la Vierge: Magie et Mariophonie a la fin du Moyen-Age" in Isael de Barros Dias's ed. *Magie et illusion au Moyen Age*.

Virgin instructs the woman to recite a prayer to the Virgin, whenever she need protection from evil: “Di ‘Ave Maria’ e ten / sempr’ ne mi a vontade, e guarda-te de folia” (67) / [“Say ‘Ave Maria’ and direct your volition toward me and avoid foolish acts,”] (154). One day, the priest notices the woman and her beauty entrances him as she was “fremosa a maravilla” (Mettmann 67) / [“marvelously beautiful,”] (154) and attempts to initiate a relationship. This cleric, who “quis tal ben de coraçon, / que en toda-las maneiras provou de a vencer; mais non / podo y acabar nada, ca oyr nono queria” (68) / [“loved her so deeply that he tried all the ways he could to win her, but he accomplished nothing, for she would not listen to him,”] (154).

Once she rejects him, he summons demons through knowledge he had already acquired “seu saber” (68) / [“his . . . knowledge,”] (154) and threatens to trap them in a jar forever if they do not do as he instructs. Though not in the narration, the accompanying illustrations for this *Cantiga* depict the cleric seated in the center of a pentagram with talismanic symbols. He tells them to go to the woman and enchant her so that she will accept the cleric’s advances, specifically to “ide fazer / com’ eu a donzela aja log’ esta noit’ en meu poder; senon, en hua redoma todos vos enserraria” (68) / [“find a way to put this maiden in my power tonight; otherwise I shall shut all of you up in a flask,”] (154). Upon their first attempt the demons fail and return to the displeased cleric who demands that they return and try again. This second time they succeed in making the woman forget about the Virgin’s prayer, which had been protecting her, and she goes

crazy, sick and “d’amor dele logo sse non enssandeceu” (69) / [“mad with love for him,”] (155). Due to her lovesickness her parents are on the verge of losing their daughter as she threatened to kill herself if she did not marry the cleric.⁶¹ The next day they summoned the cleric and they wed. The parents accept him as the man who will inherit their wealth upon their death. Moments after this marriage has taken place the Virgin appears to both of them separately chastising them for having entered a carnal marriage when they, as she reminds them, are already committed to their faith. Since this marriage was “pelo demo fora, a Madre do muit’ alto Rei / do Ceo mui grorioso logo ile-lo desfazia” (69) / [“the devil’s work, the Mother of the exalted King of Glorious Heaven at once undid it for him,”] (155). They then ask for forgiveness and the cleric becomes a monk and the woman enters a convent with the help of the bishop, thus ending the *Cantiga* as “ambos los meteu en orden por prazer da Emperatriz / do Ceo mui groriosa, e foron y todavia” (71) / [“[he] placed them both in an order according to the wishes of the Glorious Empress of Heaven, and there they spent their lives,”] (156).

Cantiga 104 narrates the story of a jealous and pained concubine who “tan gran pesar ouv’ enton, / que con gran coita ouvera o sis end’a perder” (8) /

⁶¹ This magically induced lovesickness could open discussion to *philocaptio* magic, which arguably can be seen represented in later Iberian literature, however as chapter 4 of this dissertation explores this type of magic in greater detail in relation to Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor* and Fernando de Rojas’s *La Celestina* I will not expand further on this magic here. For more on this see Dorothy Severin, “The Relationship between the Libro De Buen Amor and Celestina: Does Trotaconventos Perform a Philocaptio Spell on Doña Endrina?” *A Companion to the Libro De Buen Amor*.

["she was so aggrieved that she almost went out of her mind with sorrow"] (129).

⁶²Because of this she asks her neighbors, elder and un-married women, for help on how she can have her married-lover all to herself, "foi seu consello buscar / Enas outras sas vezias" (8) / ["she sought counsel from some neighbors of hers"] (129). The neighboring women tell her to go to church and take a consecrated host and bring it back to her home to use as a love talisman, which will make her lover desire unconditionally for only her. They said "que sol que ela podesse húa ostia furtar / Das da eigreja, que logo o pderiaa aver" (8) / ["if she could steal a host from the church, she could have him at once"] (129) and they would this host to make "virr / log'a ela seu amigo, e ja mias nunca partir / dela, se ja poderia, e de con ela viver" (9) / ["her lover come back to her and never more leave her and live with her always"] (130).

Upon acquiring the host, she carefully removes it from her mouth and places it in her headpiece until the mass is over and she begins her journey back home to complete the love spell. She starts noticing more and more people staring at her until she is asked what has happened and she noticed that blood is dripping from her headpiece originating from the host. There was "pelas toucas sangue vermello correr" (9) / ["red blood began to run down from her headdress"] (130). She cries out that this is a holy sign from the Virgin that the act she intended to commit was wrong and therefore returns to the church, confesses her sins, recounts what had occurred and joins a convent. Upon touching the blood,

⁶² See image 2 in appendix for all of the accompanying illuminations of Cantiga 104 from the facsimile of the Codice Rico manuscript.

she says “a mi non me feriu outré senon queno mundo ten / en seu poder, por grand’ erro que me il’ eu fui merecer” (9) / [The one who wounded me was none other than He who holds the world in His power. Because of my great error, I richly deserve His punishment”] (130). After telling the miracle they all “deron poren loor/ Todos a Santa Maria, Madre de Nostro Sennor / e a seu fillo beeyto, chorando con gran prazer” (10) / [“They all gave praise to Holy Mary, Mother of Our Lord, and to Her blessed Son” (130). After this she returns to the church and “deitou-ss’ ant’a omagen e disse: ‘ Sennor de prz, / Non cates a meu pecado que mi o demo fazer fez’ / e log’a un mōesteiro se tournou monja meter” (10) / [“prostrated herself before the statue and said: ‘Worthy lady, blame me not for my sin, for the devil made me do it.’ Straightway she went to a convent to become a nun”] (130). This story takes place in Galicia, a city that borders current day Spain and Portugal in the North, and has no documented earlier literary versions—which some *Cantigas*, like *Cantiga 125*, have as identified by the Oxford Database of the *Cantigas*.

In both *Cantigas* the Virgin’s superior powers or effectiveness is made clear—while her subjects can turn to magical practices and likely find success in their endeavor, the consequences of such action distances them from her and by extension Christianity. This distance is what serves as a distinguishing marker between the acceptable Christian practices and the unacceptable magical practices. The literary representation of attempted dominations of an unfaithfully married man and a devout woman through amorous interactions complicates our

understandings of power and control. This is especially true because Alfonsine commissioned translations potentially fueled the inspiring divergent knowledge used to create the magical representations. Once again we see the dualized nature of destruction and acceptance, of imitation, appropriation and control. Magical behavior is not transgressive because it does not work, but rather the opposite, because it was believed to be an effective way of achieving goals a way to control it was to dominate it and place it as a less effective alternative to devout Christian behavior. Specifically, *Cantiga 125* does not negate the existence or effectiveness of the described magic, but rather places the Virgin Mary's magic or miraculous interventions as being more powerful than the conjured demons or their conjurer—as the refrain suggests:

muit é mayor o ben-fazer
 da Virgen Santa Maria que é do demo o poder
 nen d'ome mao perfia. (67)

/[The benevolence of Holy Virgin Mary is much greater than the devil's
 power or man's perversity]. (154)

Here we clearly see the presumed superiority of the acts of the Virgin to those of the cleric or the demons, which would consist of any practice that does offense to the Catholic faith since, as the refrain tells us, the Virgin's power was superior.⁶³

⁶³ As an aside, while the published translation has “demo” as “devil” I see it more as “demon” or “demons,” which is the literal translation from the

Therefore, like the attempted ensorcellment of the cleric's amorous target, Christianity asserts its power over magical (which, for its intended Christian audience, is seen as disobedient) actions. Escobar sees this *Cantiga* as one that "not only aptly depicts the actual practice of summoning demons, but also provides a stern warning to clerks engaged in necromancy that the demons they had conjured up actually had them under coercion and that the demons appeared of their own free will in order to ensnare the soul of the one who had summoned them" (Escobar 40). For the most part, I agree with this interpretation except for the fact that the cleric from this *Cantiga* seems to know what he is doing and only when he is going to be punished by the Virgin does he blame the demons for any wrongdoing he was supposedly forced to do. His sin therefore is not demon summoning but rather that he got married. Furthermore, only after the Virgin speaks with both the cleric and the newly married woman, and they both agree to devote themselves entirely to God, the cleric tells the bishop that he was: "Fol / son de que casar quige, mai-lo demo, que sempre sol / fazer mal aos que ama, m'enganou" (71) / ["Mad to have wished to marry, but the devil, who always harms those he befriends, deceived [him],"] (156). I see this confession as a strategic statement meant to protect the cleric from a harsher punishment. His true sin ultimately is not his demon summoning, but rather that with their help he entered a carnal marriage thus breaking his vow to the Virgin. By attempting to remove his own agency in this act he further protects himself. By conforming

Portuguese. Furthermore, this understanding is supported by the accompanying illustrations featuring many demons as opposed to the Devil.

to the Virgin's wishes and blaming his actions on demonic forces, despite having caused the complications of this *Cantiga* through his own volition, the cleric is able to avoid a more serious punishment and the *Cantiga* is able to demonstrate the lesson of the Virgin's "powers" being more powerful than those of the devil or the demons he summons.

Cantiga 104's refrain also highlights the Virgin's, and by extension Christianity's, control or attempted control over deviating practices. The magic that can result from using the Eucharist once again is not denied nor painted as a fruitless endeavor but rather it is framed as something offensive to Jesus, Mary's son, and therefore displeasing to the Virgin.

Nunca ja pod' aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer,
 como quen ao seu Fillo, Deus, coida escarnecer.
 E o que o fazer coida, creed' aqesto por mi,
 que aquel, escarno todo á de tornar sobre si. (8)

/[No one can displease the Virgin as the one who tries to offend her Son, God. And if anyone tries to do so, mark my word, the offense will turn against him.] (129)

The desired goal of the mistress was to "fazer amadoiras a seu amigo con el corpo de Jhesu-Cristo" (8) / [make love potions for her paramour with the Body of Jesus Christ"] (129). Here the Eucharist wafer is clearly associated with its metaphoric representation of the actual body of a holy figure making the magic

conducted with it heretical causing the Virgin's intervention.⁶⁴ Though in this story the magical act is hindered prior to its performance, we have no reason to believe it would not work—further supporting the Virgin's need to intervene.⁶⁵

These messages against particular deviations achieved through magic are not limited to the Iberian variations of Marian miracles, as some of the previously circulated Latin miracles contain similar messages. *Cantiga 125* for instance was adapted and translated from a pre-existing Marian miracle “Love gained by Black Arts” that had been circulating in Latin from at least the tenth century.⁶⁶ These earlier versions show that this *Cantiga* draws from a tradition from North of the Pyrenees. The Alfonsine version of the tale in the *Cantigas* though manifests elements that locate it in the Iberian context, particularly in the period of intense interest in and translation of Arabic scientific knowledge (including works on the

⁶⁴ The use of the Eucharist as a magical object was not novel to this *Cantiga* and is something this chapter explores further below.

⁶⁵ The act of stealing a blessed Christian object—and its subsequent bleeding—also invokes the accusations of blood libel and, among other locations, French crimes of Jews accused of stealing consecrated hosts. See Matt Goldish's *Jewish Questions: Responsa on Sephardic Life in the Early Modern Period*; Alan Dundes's *The Blood Libel Legend: A casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*, and Gavin Langmuir's *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* among others.

⁶⁶ In total there are twelve surviving earlier versions of this Marian miracle found in the following collections: Bernard Pez published in Vienna in 1732, now at Cornell University; Thott in Copenhagen's Royal Library, ms. Thott 128; Gil de Zamora in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 9503; BL Mariale 3 in London's British Library, ms. 35112; Lisbon Mariale in Lisbon's Biblioteca Nacional, ms. Alcobacense 149; William of Malmesbury; Adgar in London's British Library, Egerton 612; British Library Mariale 2 in London's British Library, Arundel 346; Nigel of Canterbury in London's British Library, ms. Cotton Vespasian D; Bartholomew of Trent in the University of Bologna, codice 1794; Jean Mielot Miracles of Nostre Dame in Oxford's Bodleian, Douce ms. 374; and Anglo-Normal Miracles of the Virgin in London's British Library, royal 20 B XIV.

occult sciences such as geomancy, astrology, and alchemy). In all the twelve earlier versions of the story, the protagonist is depicted as the lustful cleric from Auvergne. Most of these were in Latin, like the *Liber Mariae* by Juan Gil de Zamora who was also a member of Alfonso X's court, and who contributed with his narratives about Marian miracles to the *Cantigas*. Though most of the stories mirror the one found in the later vernacular version of the *Cantiga*, the *Liber Mariae* specifies that the devil himself inspired the cleric to lust for the woman. The *Cantiga*, however, gives the cleric full responsibility regarding this desire, omitting the devil's role. This omission in *Cantiga 125*, I would argue, is likely due to the translations of the magical texts in Alfonso's court, and an acceptance of the possibility of someone drawing on their own knowledge for personal gain despite its implied illegality—as evident in the legal treatise produced in the Alfonsine workshops, the *Siete Partidas*. I do not wish to imply that magic entered Iberia exclusively through Arabic texts, but rather, considering their recent reincorporation into the scholastic understanding of Christian Castile through the commissioned translations, innovative ideas and alterations to perceived conceptions of societal relationships were challenged. Another possibility is that the devil's involvement—whether he assisted in planting these desires in the cleric or not—is irrelevant once the cleric repents and blames his actions on the devil or demons thus sparing his life as he enters a religious order.

Though not originating from an earlier Latin text, *Cantiga 104* does have precedence in a very similar thirteenth-century documented story of a jealous

woman who wanted a man for herself in a Portuguese village relatively close to the Galician setting of the *Cantiga*. Specifically, in Santarém, Portugal there was a woman who had an unfaithful husband, and, wanting to save her marriage, she met with a magical practitioner who told her if she brought back a consecrated host she would cure her husband's infidelity. The woman accepted the terms and the next time she went to mass at the Church of St. Stephen she, like the woman in the *Cantiga*, took the host in her mouth only to later remove it and place it in her headpiece as she left the church. On her way home the host started to bleed which drew the attention of passers-by who thought the woman's head was bleeding, as in our *Cantiga*. Unlike our *Cantiga* however, then the woman returned home and placed this bleeding host in a trunk and went to bed before her husband returned home, as had become her custom. They both awoke that night by an unusually bright light coming from the trunk. After seeing this the woman confessed what she had done to her husband and they both knelt in adoration of the miracle before heading towards the church the next morning to inform the priest of what happened. He took the supposedly still bleeding host and placed it inside a reliquary with the blood still in its liquid form to this day, or so it is said (Cruz 53). The Catholic Church approved the recognition of the miracle and St. Stephen is now known as the Church of the Holy Miracle and is one of Portugal's most visited pilgrimage sites, (Sacred Destinations). Furthermore, Joan Carroll Cruz adds that this "Eucharistic miracle of Santarem is unique in that it did not occur in a church, but nearby, and was not occasioned by

a doubting priest ... but by a woman who was fully aware of the sacrilege involved" (*Relics* 13). The fact that this documented miracle occurred to a woman further connects this historic event with the fictionalized depiction within the *Cantiga* collection despite some creative alterations, which I would argue, were made in order to more clearly describe the action as illicit. After all, the protagonist in the *Cantiga* is not the wife, hoping to save her marriage—which was sanctioned by the Church—but rather by a mistress hoping to break a holy-aligned marriage.

This parallel between the fictitious narration found in the *Cantiga* and a documented miracle precipitated by a woman carrying out the demands of a witch in order to complete a love spell would suggest Alfonso X, and his authors and compilers, had familiarity with this or similar practices—both the magical intent and the miraculous reaction. They never negate the existence, nor the effectiveness, of magic (though in both cases we do not know if the spell using the consecrated host would have made the unfaithful lover faithful) but rather demonstrate the superior power of the Virgin's "magic" through miracles. This in part shows The Christian Church in Castile's attempted dominance over occult practices that had been revived in the Peninsula through Arabic translations in the Castilian Alfonsine courts. Furthermore, at the end of this *Cantiga*, before entering the convent, the woman, like the cleric in *Cantiga* 125, blames her actions not on her foolishness but rather on a devil or demon, claiming that "mi o demo fazer fez" (10) / "[the devil made me do it]" (Kulp-Hill 130). This not only

suggests that the devil was believed as a real figure, but rather that any practice, magical or otherwise, that was offensive to the Catholic faith would be seen in a negative light and easily associated with God's counterpart, the devil or his demonic minions.⁶⁷ Once again, it should be noted, that like *Cantiga 125*, the Galician-Portuguese term used is "demo" which while could be referring to the Devil himself could also be a lower-class demon or lesser devil.

Though each of these *Cantigas* has its backstory, be it a previously circulated Latin version or a documented and preserved Eucharistic miracle in Portugal, they were both produced within the workshops of Alfonso X. The literature produced in these workshops is a fusion of cultures where Alfonso, to an extent, "employed collaborators from all three religions" (Martínez 4). By this I mean Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, with many of the "intellectual activities fostered by Alfonso require[ing] the presence of Jewish collaborators" (Carpenter 69). In addition to the scientific treatises, these Alfonsine workshops produced in vernacular Castilian two historical texts and a legal treatise namely: the *Estoria de Espanna* [History of Spain], the *General Estoria* [General History], and the *Siete Partidas*. Ana González Sánchez and others have recognized Alfonso's desire to use Castilian as the new official language and his strategy to create translation schools like the School of Translators in Toledo, in addition to those in Murcia and Seville (González Sánchez 20). The translations completed under the

⁶⁷ For more on evil and the perception of the devil in medieval Christian thought see Jeffrey Burton Russell's study. *The Devil, Perception of Evil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*.

archbishop Raymundo of Toledo in the late twelfth century, and under Alfonso in the mid thirteenth century after him, contributed to Toledo being “está tradicionalmente unido a la practica mágica” [widely related with the practice of magic]” as well as establishing it as a city of intellectual privilege due to the vast variety of translations (González Sánchez 27).⁶⁸ The translations that were carried out in Toledo are in part responsible for Iberia’s literary production. As David Wacks states:

while Alfonso’s translation activities are proof of literary activity bringing Castilian into contact with Hebrew and Arabic, such activity also occurred in Latin as well as a number of other Romance dialects. Producers and consumers of Castilian texts were also producers and consumers of Hebrew and Arabic texts. (88)

Many of these texts were of scientific and philosophic thought, and, as such, on occasion provided insight into knowledge and learning of magic. Samuel Waxman adds, oftentimes when a medieval European scholar traveled to the Peninsula, it was in hopes of acquiring more learning, oftentimes of magic, which helped establish Castile as a complex space in which the knowledge and practices of magic were simultaneously valued and punished.

In the twelfth-century Toledo School of Translators, prior to Alfonso X’s reign, John of Seville stood out as one of the more famous translators. He,

⁶⁸ The translation is my own. For more information on the attraction Toledo had for magical knowledge seekers like allegedly Pope Gregory VII and others, see Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, “La escuela de nigromancia de Toledo,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 13 (208).

among other texts, translated the Arabic text of Tabit Ibn Qurra, a ninth-century scholar, of *De Imaginibus*.⁶⁹ John of Seville also translated the tenth-century Arabic *Kitāb Sirr al-Asir*, or the more widely recognized Latin-translation, *Secreta Secretorum*. The latter was attributed to Aristotle and contains “teachings on political matters, medicine, physiognomy, astrology, magical gems, the virtues of herbs, amulets, and recipe” (Láng 59).⁷⁰ It circulated widely throughout Europe in its Latin version. Another set of knowledge that was translated was the use of magic squares—many of which were found in Azarquel’s treatise as studied by Mercè and Rosa Comes. Subsequently Alfonso X commissioned the translation of other various Arabic and Hebrew texts into Castilian such as the *Libro de los juegos* (Book of Games), texts by Avicenna, Abu al-Qasim and others. He also was responsible for commissioning the translation of the *Lapidario* [Lapidary], which contained a detailed account of the properties of certain stones in relation to the Zodiac signs.⁷¹ Another example is what came to commonly known as the

⁶⁹ There is also an Andalusí produced *De Imaginibus Caelestibus* by Ibn Al-Hātim see Marc Oliveras’s article “El *de Imaginibus Caelestibus* de Ibn al-Hātim” which addresses possible sources for this Andalusí original as well as provides an Arabic edition and Spanish translation of the text with its details on Lunar Mansions. See also David Pingree and K Lippincott’s article “Ibn al-Hātim on the Talismans of the Lunar Mansions” for more.

⁷⁰ For more information on Arabic astrology see Josep Casulleras’s article “métodos para determinar las casas del horóscopo en la astrología medieval árabe.”

⁷¹ Note that the mathematical inputs of a certain date determined medieval astrology, usually natal or of other major significance, in addition to the calculation of the planetary (excluding Earth and including the Sun and Moon) alignments of that particular moment and its intersection with the 12 Zodiacal Houses each separated by 30 degrees. Each house corresponds to different aspects of life and how they are affected, negatively or positively, by the

Picatrix, which was translated by a Jewish scholar and personal physician to the King, Yehuda ben Moshe ha-Kohen, based on an earlier Arabic source *Ghayāt al-Hakīm* or the *Aim of the Wise*. Both contemporary scholars and medieval scholars like Ibn Khaldun falsely attributed the original to the eleventh-century astrologer/mathematician Maslama Ibn Ahmad al-Majrit. Maribel Fierro later identified the author as tenth-century Maslama I-Qurtubi.⁷² This text was also translated shortly afterwards into Latin based on the Castilian (Hartner 438). The Castilian version now only exists in fragments, but the Latin translation survives in some seventeen manuscript copies, including those housed in the British Library, the Welch Library, and the Warburg Institute, among others. The work, which also contains a section on the magical properties of stones, is considered a mixture of many beliefs and magical traditions focused mainly on astrological magic.⁷³

planets—which have their own properties and associations with the Zodiacs. Interest in astrology ranges from the ancient world to our day in age. The interpretations of the planets as they enter the 12 Houses however remains consistent throughout. For more see Robin Barnes's *Astrology and Reformation*, Sophie Page's *Astrology in Medieval Manuscripts*, Fred Gettings's *The Secret Zodiac: The Hidden Art in Medieval Astrology*, Theodore Otto Wedel's *Astrology in the Middle Ages* and Darin Hayton's *The Crown and the Cosmos: Astrology and Politics of Maximilian I*.

⁷² For more on this see David Pingree, Maribel Fierro, Godefroid de Callatay, Sebastien Moureau and Liana Saif's articles among others who address the true identity of *Ghāyat Al-Ḥakīm*'s author.

⁷³ Lapidaries were found in Islamic, Jewish and Christian sources throughout the Middle Ages. They intersect with astrological texts as many stones are more potent when specific planetary alignments occur in conjunction the proper Zodiacal house. For more see Thomas Glick's *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, Francis Young's *A Medieval Book of Magical Stones: The Peterborough Lapidary*, Claude Lecounteux's *A Lapidary*

It also contains references to demons and the malicious manipulation of others—implying that whoever used this text believed in the existence of demons, a commonly held medieval Christian, Islamic and Jewish belief.⁷⁴ This establishes the belief in demonic presence—as seen with Thomas Aquinas’s comparison between demons and angels—and by extension an acknowledgement of their powers and influences, like those seen in *Cantiga 125*.

Alfonso X’s role in commissioning a variety of magical texts does not mean he practiced this magic, as Horance Nunemaker points out. In fact, the major law codes Alfonso had compiled, the *Siete Partidas*, particularly Partida VII, Title XXIII, which concerns diviners, fortune-tellers, soothsayers, wizards and buffoons outlines what divination is, who uses these practices and makes clear what acts should be prosecuted as illicit. This of course does not necessarily imply that Alfonso did not use these practices as he, as king, was above the law. The text describes necromancy as:

Nigromancia dicen en latin á un saber estraño que es para escantar los espíritus malos. Et porque de los homes que se trabajan á facer esto viene muy grant daño á la tierra et se señaladamente á los que los creen et les demandan alguna cosa en esta razon, acaesciéndoles muchas

of Sacred Stones: Their Magical and Medicinal Powers, and Hartey Lachter’s *Kabbalistic Revolution: Reimagining Judaism in Medieval Spain* among others.

⁷⁴ An example of this is Thomas Aquinas and his repeated mention of demons and their various functions in his thirteenth-century theological guide, *Summa Theologica* written between 1265 and 1274. Belief in angels and demons was not relegated to superstitious and fantastical beliefs but rather a reality for theologians and laymen alike.

ocasiones por el espanto que reciben andando de noche buscando estas cosas atales en los lugares extraños, de manera que algunos dellos mueren, ó fincan locos ó demuniados; por ende defendemos que ninguno non sea osado de trabajarse de usar tal nemiga como eta, porque es cosa que pesa á Dios et viene ende muy grant daño á los homes. (*Las Siete Partidas del Rey* 668)

/[What is called *necromantia* in Latin is the strange art of calling up evil spirits, and for the reason that great injury happens to the [land] from the acts of men who engage in it, and especially because those who believe in them and ask for information on this subject suffer many accidents through fear caused by their going about at night looking for things of this kind in strange places, so that some of them die or become insane, or lose their minds; we therefore forbid that anyone shall dare to practice or make use of such wickedness as this, because it is something by which God is grieved, and great harm results from it to men].⁷⁵ (Parsons 1431)

Here we see that Alfonso's condemnation of the use of magic for his Spanish/Castilian subjects is not universal, but rather depends on the type of magic used. If "evil spirits" are summoned to cause death, fear, and madness, said magic should be condemned because such consequences "grieve" God;

⁷⁵ The translation has what I changed to "land" as "country" which is anachronistic in this text. The original Spanish is "tierra."

however, if it is used with “good intentions” or to “cast out devils,” then said magic should be “rewarded,” as is clarified in the subsequent part of the law:

Pero los que ficiesen encantamientos ó otras cosas con buena entencion, asi como para sacar demonios de los cuerpos de los homes, ó para deslegar á los que fuesen marido et muger que non pudiesen convenir en uno, ó para desatar nube que echase granizo ó niebla porque non corrompiese los frutos de la tierra, ó para matar langosta ó pulgon que daña el pan ó las viñas, ó para alguna otra cosa provechosa semejante destas, non debe haber pena, ante decimos que deben rescebir gualardon por ello. (668-669)

/[However, those who practice enchantments or anything else with good intentions, as for instance, to cast out devils from the bodies of men; or to dissolve the spell cast over husband and wife so that they are unable to perform their marital duties; or to turn aside a cloud from which hail or a fog is descending, that it may not injure the crops; or to kill locusts or insects which destroy grain or vines; or for any other beneficial purpose similar to these, cannot be punished, but we decree that they shall be rewarded for it]. (1432)

In fact, the *Siete Partidas* reveals that the king and his lawmakers accepted several forms of magic as licit and do not deny their existence or power, only the effects of said magic as the determining factor of its praise or condemnation.

This act of necromancy and calling on evil spirits appears not only in the legal treatise produced in the Alfonsine workshops but also within the *Cantigas* studied here, which was also produced in the royal court.⁷⁶ Recall, as Connie Scarborough highlights “while the *Cantigas* most probably reflect sincere devotion to Mary, the king was certainly aware that any document emanating from his court would form part of his cultural and political legacy” (30). I take this to suggest that the King’s interest in occult practices in the legal treatises, translations, and uniquely Iberian literary productions are no coincidence and demonstrate his interest and curiosity. By extension the vast amount of production from his courts addressing magic and demons makes for further support on the connections between the *Cantiga*’s narration and documented practices.

As mentioned earlier, *Cantiga 125* was not the only *Cantiga* to contain magic or demonic characters. Specifically, demonic characters appear in roughly 10% of the *Cantigas*; however *Cantiga 125* is the only one to narrate the process of necromancy.⁷⁷ Necromancy in thirteenth-century Iberia could provoke a state

⁷⁶ This topic is also discussed in earlier Church texts like Gratian’s *Decretum*, Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* as well as other magic in relation to marital issues. See Catherine Ryder, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). For more on Isidore of Seville see John Henderson’s *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words*, Wolfram Drewis’s *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville*, and Jamie Wood’s *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville*.

⁷⁷ According to the Oxford *Cantiga* Database, these forty-seven *Cantigas* are the following numbers: 11, 14, 17, 26, 38, 41, 45, 47, 58, 67, 72, 74, 75, 82, 85, 96, 109, 111, 115, 119, 123, 125, 154, 157, 182, 192, 197, 201, 213, 216,

of mental disorder in people, create a “*locura*,” help obtain high positions in court, create illusions or to obtain the love of a woman (Corti 294). By extension, oftentimes clerics had associations with these necromantic practices since they had some basic training in exorcism. While exorcisms involved the removal of demonic possession and presence, in order to properly remove a demon one necessarily had to know how to control it. Most clerics had little training and rarely received an extensive theological education but regardless would have basic knowledge and as such would often receive a book of exorcism “as a symbol of his theoretical function, [even though he] might never perform a real exorcism in his life but if he went astray he might indeed have occasion to command demons” (Kieckhefer *Magic* 153). Furthermore, “motivations for necromantic practice included curiosity about the nature of demons and a desire for contact with the numinous; its practitioners could therefore still view it as a religious activity” (Page 21). In order to perform the magic described in this *Cantiga*, it presupposed a certain skill set on behalf of the cleric. As evident through the scientific aspects of occult practices, much of the practices I consider as magic from the Middle Ages required the practitioner to knowledgeable in astrological, astronomical, and scientific details. While neither of the *Cantigas* explored in this chapter use image magic, Ibn Qurra’s *De Imaginibus*, which was also translated in Alfonso’s court, requires specific skills as well. Chapter VII of this text details the images and symbols, created under specific astrological

alignments, needed to create love (or discord) between two people (30). This image magic therefore provided another alternative for advancing similar goals in the *Cantigas*.

This clerical association with the practice of magic, and necromancy in particular, in part supports the fictitious representation of a cleric drawing on his existing necromantic knowledge as in our *Cantiga*. However, this was not so cut and dry and the ownership of magical texts, especially by pious men, either “enhance[ed] the appearance of licitness in a text or the illicitness of the text tarnishing the reputation of the monk” (Page 3). In *Cantiga 125* “the details revealed in the miracle show how this art was supposedly practiced and why perhaps King Alfonso X and his collaborators decided to include it in the collection as a [potential] warning to Christians and in praise of Holy Mary” (Page 36). Though of course, there is no way to know if the King was directly involved in this *Cantiga* but ultimately, its publication suggests the support of the King.

This fictitious cleric is depicted as drawing on his necromantic knowledge to gain the physical affections of a woman. According to Michelle Armstrong-Partida, it was not uncommon for Iberian clerics—particularly in Cataluña—to have relationships with women, often maintaining them as their concubines therefore rendering our fictitious cleric’s desires as parallel to recognized practices. This custom was not limited to Cataluña exclusively as it “was also common in France, Spain and Norway” (Brundage 404). The women in

relationships with clerics in Cataluña mirrored the lives of married peasant women as the:

clerics not only relied on their women to manage the home, land, and their side businesses, but also needed their help to maintain the parish church.

. . . These women performed the same duties as a wife and their unions with clerics were accepted in large part because they resembled lay marriage. (Armstrong-Partida 168)

This extended to the behavior of clerics in Leon and Castile since “secular law not only permitted concubinage, but in some cases settlement charters (*fueros*) treated concubines (*barranganas*) as wives” (Armstrong-Partida 178).

Furthermore, once a woman entered in a relationship with a cleric, her family would often assume or expect that it “would be more than a brief affair” (183).

The *Cantiga*, with the woman’s parents’ willingness to accept the cleric as their new son-in-law, reflects this aspect of Iberian society. This is not to say that concubinage was encouraged as the church attempted to “enforce clerical celibacy and punish clerics for their sexual transgressions,” and provided the woman was not married, parishioners would condemn the cleric as opposed to the woman (167, 195). Regarding the women, “sexual encounters outside of marriage were not unusual in late medieval Catalunya, in these rural villages there may have been some tolerance for women’s sexual activities if they were limited to serial monogamy” (Armstrong-Partida 213). Furthermore, “unlike the portrayals of clerics’ concubines found in the polemical works of reformers, these

women were not contemptible figure who lived on the margins of community life” (212). Having this in mind, the reality of a cleric wanting to be with a woman, as reflected in the *Cantiga*, is not unexpected nor excessively condemnable.

As established earlier, clerics were familiar with necromancy through their training and needed familiarity with exorcism. The performance of necromancy, “consisted of the invocation of the names of evil spirits and the drawing of magic circles,” which is something we see illustrated in the accompanying visuals of this *Cantiga* (Escobar 38). Such talismanic symbols were present in many grimoires. The *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* and its subsequent translation as the *Picatrix*—both testimonies of magic before and during the production of this narration—serve as a contemporary testimony to the same talismanic symbols found within the illustrations of *Cantiga 125*.⁷⁸ Curiously, the magical circle needed to perform the necromantic act is not mentioned in the narration but rather depicted in the accompanying illustrations. Tewfik Canaan explains that “the twists and flourishes which often finish the strokes are called ‘lunetts’ or ‘crowns’ [and] are

⁷⁸ Beyond the *Ghāyat/Picatrix*, other important Sufi occultist works are those written by thirteenth-century Ahmad al-Būnī, a figure mentioned previously in this dissertation. For example his *Lata if al-ishārāt fī al-hurūf al-‘ulwīyāt* (*The Subtleties of the Allusions Regarding the Superior Letters*) or his *Shems al-Ma’ārif*. See Noah Gardiner’s article in addition to those of Fierro, Callatay and A. Dietrich’s *Encyclopaedia of Islam* entry on al-Būnī. Many of his concepts bear similarities with those in the *Ghāyat* while certain aspects of the *Lata if al-ishārāt* are more focused on *‘ilm al-ḥurūf*, or the science of letters. An Andalusī contemporary of al-Būnī was Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī and Ibn Masarra’s *Kitāb khawāṣṣ al-ḥurūf* (*The Book of the Properties of Letters*) among others. All of this scholarship has been marked with esoteric tendencies. For more on esotericism see Antoine Faivre’s *Access to Western Esotericism*, and Kocku von Stuckrad’s *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* among others.

found in Arabic talismans and originate in Jewish magic” (141). Such symbols can appear in various arrangements and oftentimes considered “seals of different prophets” (Canaan 143). Claude Lecounteux adds that “each angel and each demon possessed its own signature, its own symbol, but such signatures were not necessarily unique and each angel or demon could have several” (27).⁷⁹ It is these lunettes, angelic and demonic symbols that appear in the necromantic pentagram in the fourth and sixth illustration of the cleric on folio 177v following the narration preserved on folios 176v and 177r. The talismanic symbols in this *Cantiga* are nearly the same, in varying sequences, as those found throughout the *Ghayāt al-Hakīm* or *Picatrix*—both its original Arabic version and its later Latin translation—which, as mentioned earlier, is based on the Spanish translation from the Arabic by order of our Alfonso X.

Though similar symbols appear throughout the *Picatrix* for spells ranging from insect repellent or compulsion for someone to vacate a space, the most relevant is a love spell. Similar to what the cleric hoped to accomplish in our *Cantiga*, this spell draws the intended person to the spell caster immediately and renders the victim ready to do as the spell-caster wishes. This spell reads:

lqā āradtu ān yātīka man taḥubbihi masri’ān firsim / haḍīhi aṣṣūratu fī

ḥarqati ḡadīdati bīyawmi azzahrati wasā’atihā waṭṭāl’i alwaḡah attāni min /

⁷⁹ For more on angels and demons intersection with medieval magical practices see Cedrick Pettigrove’s *The Esoteric Codex: Supernatural Legends*, Florentino Martinez Garcia’s *Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Metamorphosis of Magic From Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* and Judika Illes’s *Encyclopedia of Spirits: The Ultimate Guide to the Magic of Fairies, Genies, Demons, Ghosts, Gods and Goddesses* among others.

attaūr wazzahrati fīhi wāawqad ṭārafahā biannār wiḍkur ism man turīdu
 finnahu yātīka / masri'ān ilā mūd'i āl'amal wahaḍahi aṣṣūratu tatawwalad
 'ind quwwati dilālati azzahrati wahīa fī haḍa / alwaḡih wahaḍihi aṣṣūratu:
 <symbols> (104-5)⁸⁰

/[If you want to have a person whom you love to come to you in a hurry,
 draw the following symbol on a new piece of cloth on the day of <Venus>
 and in its hour, and while the ascendant is the second phase of <Taurus>
 with <Venus> in it. Burn the piece of cloth from one end and mention the
 name of the person in question. As a result, he will come quickly to the
 place of the talisman. This symbol emerges when <Venus> is at its peak
 strength and in this phase. This symbol is: <symbols>]. (120)

There is more detail in the original Arabic in regards to what the practitioner
 should do such as calling out the target's name while burning the piece of cloth.
 However, whether we use the spell in its original Arabic or in the Latin
 translation—a translation from the Castilian translation produced in Alfonso X's
 court—the end goal is the same: the practitioner acquires their target's affection
 and their immediate presence. With slight variations, the later Latin version of this
 same spell reads:

Ut homo quem voleuris currendo veniat ad te vel ad locum quem volueris.

Facias istas figuras in panno lineo, quas in die Veneris et hora eius facias,

⁸⁰ Transliterations are my own based off of a printed Arabic edition of the text with the proofreading help from Robert Hultgren.

secunda facie Tauri ascendente, Venere ibidem existente; ipsaque hora scribas nomen illius quem volueris ad te venire. Deinde accendas caput ipsius panni linei igne. Et statim veniet ad te quem proposuisti. Et he sunt figure (63-4).

/[For any man which you wish to quickly come to you or to any place you wish. Make these figures in linen cloth, in the day and hour of Venus, with Venus rising in the second phase of Taurus, and in that hour write the name of he whom you wish to come. Then set the top of the linen cloth on fire. At once he whom you said will come. Here is the figure: <symbols>].

(100)

Regardless of the version, the practitioner's target has no choice but to return their affection and go to them often, just as the devout woman in the *Cantiga*, "que a poucas d'amor dele logo sse non enssandeceu" (Mettmann 69) / ["went mad with love for him"] (Kulp-Hill 155) by hands of the devils who "en tal guise a encendeu" (Mettmann 69) ["impassioned her so much,"] (Kulp-Hill 155) and "torna-t' alá," (Mettmann 68) / ["[got] her for [him]"] (Kulp-Hill 154) given the cleric practitioner's own "saber/ fez ajuntar os diablos" (Mettmann 68) / ["occult knowledge [with which] he called the devils together"] (Kulp-Hill 154). Though the *Ghayāt al-Hakīm/Picatrix* do not require the assistance of demons or devils, the above-mentioned spell does render its target lovesick and at the mercy of the practitioner. Additionally, the symbols required in both translations of the spell

mirror the symbols found in the necromantic circle of our cleric in this *Cantiga*. This similarity in both symbolic tools—namely talismanic lunettes—and end-result—the acquisition of the beloved’s desire—suggest that the scholars/translators/transcribers/illustrators involved in creating the *Cantigas* were familiar with the *Ghayāt al-Hakīm/Picatrix*, since it was a work that was being translated in/for the same Alfonsine workshops around the same time.

All of the *Cantigas* of course were not influenced by previously written Arabic texts that were being translated in the court. For instance, though containing magic, *Cantiga 104* took its magical inclination from popular practices and a documented miracle in the Peninsula. This particular *Cantiga* has been studied by Jesus Montoya Martínez who finds parallels between the desire for a consecrated host and the practice of witches, enchantresses or go-betweens that dedicated themselves to telling their clients what items they needed to acquire for their desired ends: “se dedicaban a sugerir que deberían hacer sus clientes para obtener los fines que pretendían” (Martínez 193). Furthermore, the use of the host is one of the more powerful sources as it is considered to be superior to anything else other reliquaries could offer. This is especially true considering it was meant to be the body of Christ: “superior al que podría ofrecernos cualquier reliquia por grande que fuese, ya que era el propio cristo el que se hacia presten” (Martínez 191). Additionally, according to Po-chia Hsia:

one of the most popular uses of the Eucharist was in love magic:

according to popular legends, if a woman kissed a man with a Host in her

mouth, he would always be true to her; prostitutes would apply the Eucharist as a sexual device to seduce men; the Host, ground into powder, served as an essential ingredient in love potions (10).

Along with this popular usage came the increased “complaints that the host was being stolen for low-level magical uses” (Hsia 183) in the twelfth century as studied by Thomas Izbicki and Kieckhefer as well. Furthermore, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was an increased interest in the Eucharist or consecrated host making it “as much as saints’ relics to use as a magical amulet” (*Magic* 79). He adds that this:

was the age when the theological doctrine of transubstantiation was being refined: no longer content with the vague assurance that Christ was somehow present in the consecrated host, theologians now proposed that the “substance” of bread was miraculously replaced with that of Christ each time the priest pronounced the words of consecration, despite the remaining “accidents” or appearances of bread” (*Magic* 79)

This heightened interest in the “body” of Christ naturally led to its potential magical effects. Oftentimes to “ease conversion to Christianity” (Walte 4) missionaries incorporated earlier beliefs into Catholic practices. For instance, “result was a fusion of beliefs in which it was no contradiction to use priests or the sacramentals—the blessed objects of Catholic ritual such as holy oil, holy water, or the consecrated Host—in magical effects to protect or heal” (Walte 4). This connection between the consecrated Hosts and magical properties led to

some “condemnation of priests as magicians” (Parish 69). But as Helen Parish explores, on a “popular level, the miraculous powers of the consecrated Host were called upon in the context of the judicial ordeal and for medicinal and prophylactic purposes, in practices which were often tolerated, if not approved, by churchmen” (69). This popularity and interest in the consecrated Hosts parallels our *Cantiga* as the magical object needed to complete the spell was the Eucharist, however though such practices might have been approved in some contexts, it also could have been a heretical act justifying Mary’s intervention as such usage was an offense to her son as seen in the *Cantiga*’s refrain.

Therefore, in conclusion, the creators of this *Cantiga* recognize the existence of certain magical practices and use them to as a tool to reinforce the power of the Catholic Church in comparison to the powers of a competing belief system. Beyond mere recognition, this *Cantiga* demonstrates the extent to which the translated knowledge of Alfonso’s court was transmitted, specifically with the inclusion of magical symbolic letters and talismans. Their inclusion in the illuminations of *Cantiga 125* reflects the knowledge of magical texts translated in the same royal workshops. This incorporation to the Iberian translation of a previously circulated miracle shows the melding of multiple cultures and the augmentation of accessible knowledge in Iberia as commissioned by a Castilian king. In a sense, the continued presence of magic in Iberian society and its literature was by order of the King. His interest in magical content however did

not shield him, or his commissioned translations, from conflict. Once again we seemingly contradictory dynamics of power and subversion when magic is concerned. Thus, Alfonso X's role in re-introducing magic to Christian Castile plays into our understanding of premodern Iberian magic as countercultural and dominating. This can also be seen in the adaptation of a documented Eucharistic miracle that took place within the Peninsula offering a unique Iberian touch to the transmission of a pre-existing narrative addressing not only alterations of translation but also adaptations considering newly translated knowledge. With these two examples dynamics between gender and socio-political classes are manifested through the cleric and the mistress's engagement with love magic.

Chapter Two

Enchanting Spaces in Religious Narratives

The unknown and different have a way of seducing curious minds. They can be seen as something needing to be conquered, altered or admired—and sometimes a combination of these options. The first chapter demonstrated two *Cantigas* containing magical practices in a collection commissioned by a Castilian king. This chapter explores the function and presence of magical knowledge and enchanted spaces in the early fourteenth-century *Libro de Caballero Zifar*, presumably by a Toledan cleric, Ferrand Martínez—as named in the prologue of the text. The *Zifar* was presumably written with overarching evangelical goals on the part of the clerical author. Here we find a combination of various literary elements and quotidian aspects emblematic of the multi-cultural society of the Peninsula. Many scenes, and in particular the two scenes I analyze, I, alongside other scholars, interpret as a reflection of the complicated nature of Andalusí and Christian cultures in Iberia.⁸¹ My exploration into the magical realms reveals one aspect of this cultural context addressed the dominance over an Other. In both of the examples explored here, the magic originates from sovereign women. Unlike the women we saw depicted in the *Cantigas* earlier, these women are not lower ranked in society nor marginal, but rather rulers of secluded and enchanting realms.

⁸¹ See David Wacks's work on appropriation in *Zifar* specifically focused on the text's prologue.

The *Zifar* provides a modified response to the popular courtly romances such as those of the twelfth-century Chretien de Troyes or other Arthurian Vulgate cycles that crossed the Pyrenees into the Peninsula featuring knightly heroes traveling in search of adventure and distressed damsels.⁸² This text can also be put in dialogue with thirteenth-century Andalusí romances that circulated the Kingdom of Granada within the Peninsula itself. In this chapter, I add to this discussion by focusing on *Zifar's* enchanted spaces, primarily that of the subterranean world under the Sulfuric Lake and the Fortunate Isles high in the mountains. Specifically, I build off David Wacks' conclusions of the *Zifar* text: that the knight's "mission is a metaphor for the translation of Andalusí learning to Castilla-Leon" (118). I interpret the magically inclined scenes within the *Zifar* as a more concrete demonstration of the advantages and dangers of appropriating Andalusí knowledge, many of which addressed occult practices. These issues of appropriation are the literary manifestation of dynamics not only between gender—as the sovereigns of the enchanted worlds are women—but also between epistemologies and sociopolitical statuses. While scholars have addressed these two supernatural scenes, specifically focusing on their biblical, Franco-Celtic or Arabic influences, this chapter goes beyond their work and sees the two women—Lady of the Lake/Mistress of Treachery and Empress Nobility—as personifications of al-Andalus and its knowledge, in particular its knowledge

⁸² See Roger Loomis's *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* and William Entwistle's *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula* for more on the specifically Arthurian tradition both in Spain and the rest of Europe in the Premodern world.

regarding magic.⁸³ These women and their extra-natural realms serve as an isolated and distanced place highlighting the author's likely goal of normalizing Christian values by means of appropriation and control of past practices.

This text now survives in two manuscripts, both from the fifteenth century, as the codex M, MS 11.309 in the National Library of Spain, in Madrid, and the second, codex P, Spanish MS 36 in the National Library of France, in Paris. The second is often referred as the Paris manuscript and has many well-illustrated and illuminated miniatures that accompany the adventures of Zifar, his knights and his sons.⁸⁴ There are also two print editions from Seville dating back to 1512, one found in each previously mentioned library. The story itself is didactic in nature and is divided into five recognizable sections, the prologue, and the following four parts or books. They are subsequently titled, "El caballero de Dios," "El rey de Mentón," "Castigos del rey de Mentón," and "Los hechos de Roboán."⁸⁵ The prologue introduces the presumed author, Ferrand Martinez, and provides an *exemplum*. Zifar is separated and reunited with his family—his wife Grima and

⁸³ See Verónica Díaz Pereyro, James Burke and Alexander Krappe for previous study on these two supernatural scenes in *Zifar*. Respectively they address the biblical, analogical, allegorical and metaphorical functions these two scenes present.

⁸⁴ These miniatures are available online through the digitalization efforts of the BNF.

⁸⁵ This division is a point of contention among scholars as scholars like Walker and Ronald Keightley prescribes to the four parts whereas Hernández and Burke divide the text into three separate sections where the two sections of Zifar's adventures are combined. See Burke's *History and Vision: The Figural Structure of the 'Libro del Cavallero Zifar'* for more.

his two sons Garfín and Roboán—in the first two parts of the text, as he becomes the King of Mentón. The third part continues with the advice Zifar, the king, gives to his sons. In a sense, it serves as a how-to for princes. The last section narrates the story of Roboán, who leaves the land of Mentón, repeating his father’s path with his sage advice in heart, and ultimately becomes emperor of Tigrida. The two scenes this chapter focuses on are found in the end of Zifar’s adventures in the first half of the text (once he is already made King) and near the end of Roboán’s adventures in the last book (before he becomes the emperor of Tigrida) therefore serving as singular moments of supernatural occurrences in the adventures of the father and of his son.

Some of *Zifar’s* major scholars include those who have approached the text with a focus on its Celtic or Arabic influences in regard to motifs, characters, names and presumed translations. This has been done from an overall structural perspective, from a historiographical or hagiographical focus in regards to the prologue; and even with a focus on the two supernatural scenes in question within this chapter.⁸⁶ The earliest critiques of this text revolve around its unity and division.⁸⁷ The first and last sections—that is the adventures involving Zifar and

⁸⁶ See Cristina Gonzalez, Roger Walker, Charles Wagner and Jules Piccus respectively for these specific scholarly focuses. See also M Luzdivina Cuesta Torre regarding the chivalric genre of the text and the function of war within the narrative. See also Jordi Redondo regarding the parallels between *Zifar* and classical texts such as stories of Dido the adventures narrated by Homer. See also Justina Ruiz de Conde regarding the function of love and marriage in the *Zifar* particularly that of Zifar and Grima.

⁸⁷ For instance, Kenneth Scholberg, who prescribes to three divisions, states that “while the first and last parts, although they have moralizing elements,

the ones involving his son Roboán—can be seen as mirror images of each other: both struggle to rise from their previous stature (though, of course, Roboán, as son of a king, starts at a higher advantage than Zifar did at the beginning).⁸⁸ This text is unified and “constructed around the central idea that God rewards those who follow his will” despite the “fusion of such varied material, together with the frequent didactic digressions” (Alvar 205).

This fusion exists throughout the text, and I agree that there is more than one influence drawing from borrowed material, as I do not contest the Celtic influences.⁸⁹ Scholars have accepted that the Arthurian cycle has a definite presence in the *Zifar* and provides a frame in which *Zifar* can reflect certain realities of Castile.⁹⁰ Specifically, this text’s:

performance of Andalusí learning legitimizes the conquest of al-Andalus and the constant exploitation of Andalusí information, technology, and material science. Finally, the performance of Arabic (and specifically of Christian Arabic, since this is not a romance of conversion) legitimizes the Mozarabic legacy in the face of centuries-long domination by both Christian and ultra-Pyreanean actors. (Wacks 119)

are essentially tales of adventure, the second is an outright didactic treatise, a catechism for the education of princes” (117).

⁸⁸ See Francisco Hernández’s articles for further scholarship on the meaning and structure of the *Zifar* text.

⁸⁹ Throughout this chapter, when I refer to Celtic influences, I am mainly referring to the literary motifs present in Franco-Norman regions as they reached the Peninsula through Arthurian French romances.

⁹⁰ See Wacks and Wagner for the parallel representations found in Castilian society and the medieval literature produced within.

Wacks's focus here is on the prologue and the transportation of relics, however as I said, this framework can be expanded to more than just one specific object. This allows a new understanding to the enchanted realms and their rulers the reader is introduced to later as the story develops. Crossing the Pyrenees once again, literature that addressed the "adventures and lifestyle of knights", particularly in France, emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and "towards the end of the thirteenth century, chivalric literature in the Peninsula begins with translations of French romances" like in part is the case of *Zifar* (Harney *Kinship* 6).⁹¹ The *Zifar*, builds off of its "readership's abiding love for Arthurian knights errant onto his ecclesiastical mission, and at the same time infusing the Tale of Zifar's chivalric deeds with hagiographical material and a liberal dose of Christian sermonizing" (Wacks 118). This is to say; there are many layers to this text, with multiple influences, all presented through a Christianized lens, which aid in the goal of establishing normalized practices in light to diverging ones. This further speaks to attempted control and appropriation.

Arabic literary traditions (and even words or expressions) aid Arthur and his knights in regard to *Zifar's* influences. For example, many of the proper names used in *Zifar* suggest Arabic origins, such as Zifar himself with his name being similar to the Arabic word for travel (*safar*; from the roots س ف ر, read from

⁹¹ Harvey also has addressing concepts of race and monstrosity as portrayed in texts like the *Zifar*. Also see Edwin Williamson on Spanish Arthurian texts as an understudied lost genre.

right to left). Continuing with this name, Zifar has been argued to reflect “el contenido que tiene en la mística medieval arabe, en donde sirve para designar el camino de perfección que de seguir el asceta haya alcanzar la vision beatificada” (Hernández 14). In addition to the names, there are many proverbs used throughout the text which have Hindu, Persian and Arab origins adapted into the Christian culture as well as the idea of frame-tale narratives.⁹² This adaptation of proverbs can be seen not only in *Zifar* but also in the *Libro de buen amor*, *La Celestina*, *Don Quijote*, and the frame-tales in many other texts as well like *El Conde Lucanor*. Juan Manuel, the author of *Conde Lucanor*, like the author of *Zifar*, makes “sausage from the choice cuts of the Andalusí tradition” (Wacks 133).⁹³ Regarding the *Libro de buen amor*, which I will address in further detail in Chapter Four, there is a parallel between one of the Christianized messages portrayed in *Zifar* and that of the *Libro*.⁹⁴

There is some debate as to the true authorship of the text, Fernand Martinez is the named author in the prologue and a documented cleric who

⁹² In regard to the proverbs and varied advice and advisors see Piccus. See Wacks’s book on frame-tale narratives for more on the many examples of frame-tales within the Iberian literature in not only the Castilian but also earlier Arabic and Hebrew traditions as well.

⁹³ See my in-progress article on the necromancer Don Yllan in the *Conde Lucanor* for another example of a frame-tale story representing magical practices.

⁹⁴ For instance, “the *Zifar* author, in an effort to underline the sinfulness and danger of sexual love, argues strongly that man cannot justly use biological, theological, or astrological arguments to explain his inability to lead a chaste life. The fact that Juan Ruiz, who was almost certainly familiar with the *Zifar*, uses these same arguments in defense of sexual love, persuades Walker that here we see the archpriest in jocular mood” (Williams 59).

“quería adoctrinar a su publico” (Piccus 7). If we accept this then, “we can also read the semitized knight protagonist as an allegorization of Mozarabic identity in the face of increasing French and Italian domination of the Church of Toledo” (Wacks 118). The author’s apparent goal then was to paint Christianity in the best light possible, despite competing beliefs, making Christianity the idealized and desired lens through which to gain and process knowledge. Furthermore, in concurrence with this goal, though the text itself claims to be a translation from Chaldean, it is more widely accepted among scholars that it is in fact not an Arabic translation but rather a purely Castilian creation (Wacks 116).⁹⁵ The reason behind this claim, is complicated and like previous scholars have stated, likely due to the neighboring al-Andalus and the ever-increasing incorporation of Arabic knowledge into Castilian and Christian courts in addition to their constant contact with Arabic through the Mozarabs living in Christian territory. Wacks states that:

Zifar is mostly not actually a product of Andalusí learning translated from Arabic into Castilian, although parts of it are certainly adapted from Arabic texts. It is symbolic of and suggestive of that corpus of learning, and likewise of the military, political, and material benefits such learning can catalyze. *Zifar* is not the Alfonsine Astronomical Tables or the Averroist commentaries on Aristotle’s *Physics*. It does not contain information from

⁹⁵ Though at the same time, as done with many occult texts explored in this dissertation, this tendency to credit non-existent earlier versions was used as a method of fabricated credibility.

those texts. It is a text that performs the Castilian appropriation of these scholarly traditions, in a drama of legitimation meant to celebrate and reinforce the value of the Andalusí intellectual legacy in the context of a Christian Castile. It is a performance of symbolic cultural capital. (121)

Therefore, though not a direct translation from Arabic, *Zifar* does have many “Arabized” features which gives value to this Andalusí knowledge and its influence on Castile. Alluding to this knowledge is strategic and therefore, “the performance of Arabic learning the book is meant to signal the prestige of Andalusí learning, and Castile’s political domination of al-Andalusí, while at the same time asserting the cultural prestige of the Mozarab elites of the Church of Toledo” (Wacks 136). This text serves many purposes and demonstrates political and cultural realities. This text:

en tanto que heramienta ideológica, supone la expresión de unos intereses locales que se relacionan en términos de tensiones, conflicto y cooperación con los intereses de otros centros o fuentes de producción ideológica que lo rodean. (Rodríguez Argente del Castillo 143)

It can be seen as one of the few voices produced from a Mozarabic context, which was a milieu “bastante silencioso, acostumbrado a actuar desde una segunda línea” (162).⁹⁶ Therefore, though meant for a Christian audience, it was

⁹⁶ Argente del Castillo also addresses the power conflicts between Toledo and Rome. See also Henry Huffman and Vincent Barletta for more on the influences of Arabic syntax on Castilian texts and the agency of Arabic philosophy on *Zifar* respectively.

likely one familiar with their Mozarabic neighbors and thus reflecting certain coexistences present in the Peninsula during its production.

Naturally, neighboring areas influence each other; even fourteenth-century theorist Ibn Khaldun has observed this in his *Muqaddimah*:

a nation dominated by another, neighboring nation will show a great deal of assimilation and imitation. At this time, this is the case in Spain [Al-Andalus]. The Spaniards [Andalusis] are found to assimilate themselves to the Galician nations [Galicia, Asturias, Castile, Navarra] in their dress, their emblems, and most of their customs and conditions. (116)

This highlights the fluidity between the Christian and the Muslim areas of the Peninsula. Additionally, one can reconcile the various influences in our *Zifar*. Consider the thirteenth-century Andalusí romance from Granada, *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* (currently housed in the Escorial Library under MS Arabes 1876).⁹⁷ This text includes Arthurian material predating the Castilian translations of Arthurian romances therefore forcing contemporary scholars to “rethink both the sources of *Zifar* as well as the Iberian adaptation of Arthurian material in general” (311 *Popular Wacks*). Considering this work, the Arthurian motifs could have passed from the French to *Ziyad* and then to *Zifar* or from the French to both or “the Arthurian material entered Iberian oral narrative practice, where both *Ziyad* and

⁹⁷ This romance has a Spanish translation available by Francisco Fernández y González.

Zifar collected it” (334). Regardless, this text serves as a justification to varied influences and Andalusí appropriations of both practices and literary motifs.⁹⁸

Having contextualized the *Zifar* text more globally, let us now zoom in on the two supernatural scenes this chapter focuses on—the Enchanted/Sulfuric Lake and the Fortunate Isles.⁹⁹ Parallels can be seen between the two as, in short, they recount how a Christian knight enters an enchanted realm, is amazed by the strange and dazzling occupants, and occurrences of this place, subsequently breaks a promise made to the realm’s ruler (and their lover), ultimately resulting in their expulsion from this world after having produced an heir. Given this symmetry, these two scenes speak to the narrative’s overall unity despite both having “borrowed material, woven into the novel” and seen by some scholars as a “sharp break in the narrative thread” (Scholberg 123). For instance, the reader only meets the Bold Knight in the Enchanted Lake scene of the text and never again, whereas with the Fortunate Isles it is Roboán himself who enters the enchanted space. I however, do not see either as a rupture or break as even though both occur in foreign and magical lands, when both characters return, their experiences are not written off as fiction. Rather, they are accepted and serve their own didactic method allowing one to learn from the mistakes made in those realms. These distanced places add a safety net to the lessons

⁹⁸ See other Andalusí romances like *101 Nights* and *Hadith Bayad wa-Riyad* as well as Cynthia Robinson’s work on the matter in her study *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean*.

⁹⁹ This is of course excludes the Virgin’s miraculous intervention on Grima’s behalf in the first major section of the text which I will not be addressing in this chapter.

illustrated in the adventures. Unlike the other scenarios, and in particular Zifar when he first starts his quest, what transpires in these lands does not completely taint the characters. They are free to sin and learn from their transgressions and mistakes—as is the reader alongside these characters. This is to say, they can properly ascertain what they must not do in this world and then apply it to their original and terrestrial spaces. This is exemplified with Roboán, having learned from his experience, becoming a greater emperor in Trigida.

My focus on the two supernatural scenes is not novel however and my argument has its foundation in previous work.¹⁰⁰ Unlike other chapters in this project, the magic that occurs within the confines of this narrative are less explicit and more so associated with the space of the actions. This space does not however detract from the tension present between forms of knowledge, genders and, in a way, races—as one of the women turns out to a demon and the other most-likely a fairy. The original lady rulers of the realms are the ones who have full control of their environments and their magic is more than one singular action like we saw in Chapter One with the *Cantigas*. It is their whole environment that is magical as opposed to anyone performed spell.

Regarding the first scene, the Lady leads the Bold Knight "por la mano e dio con l dentro. e fuelo levar a una tierra estraéa, e segunt a "l semejava, muy fermosa e muy viçiosaé (215) / "through the water to the depths below. She took him to a strange land, and it appeared to him very beautiful and delightful" (139).

¹⁰⁰ See Diaz Pereyro, Burke and Krappe as well as Edward Mullen for previous scholarship on these two supernatural scenes in *Zifar*.

Through this travel the Knight and the reader are transported into a new realm, a realm where unexpected things can happen—a completely different space distanced from the realities both the Knight and the reader are used to. This Lady/demon has the power to bring anyone in to her world, as well as expel them. This suggests that not only does she have control of this subterranean space but also access to the area in between the two worlds and can even cause disturbances in the area that is not in her full control. This can speak to the porous liminality of borders and frontiers as ideas and understandings permeate their restrictive domains. If we see her and her realm as a personification of Andalusí knowledge, the Lady's ability to access some of the surrounding area beyond her own speaks to how the exchanges of ideas can reach past borders.

Occasionally, these border-crossings can be more abrupt than originally intended. The Bold Knight's exit from the underwater realm, alongside his son, for instance, is more violent and abrupt than his entrance:

e fue luego fecho un terremotus, que semejó que todos los palacios e la çibdat venía a tierra. E tomó un viento torbellino tan fuerte al cavallero e a su fijo, que tan bien por allí los subió muy de rezo e dio con ellos fuera del lago cerca de la su tienda. E este terremotus sentieron dos jornadas en derredor del lago, de guisa que cayeron muchas torres e muchas casas en la çibdades e en los castiellos. (223)

/[and then an earthquake shook so that it seemed all the palaces and the city would fall to the earth, and a tremendous whirlwind took the knight and his son and rapidly carried them up and cast them out of the lake near his tent. and this quake shook the earth for a distance of two day's journey all around the lake, so that many house in the city, and towers on castles, came crashing down]/ (145-6)

Their expulsion affects the areas surrounding the water entrance, which demonstrates the Lady's inherent control over the space from the very beginning to the end—allowing entrance and exiling the Knight.

With the Lady, the enchanted world is as fluid as the water itself allowing the Lady to control who enters and leaves her terrain. She is also able to affect surrounding areas—which is evident with her summoning of earthquakes and whirlwinds crossing between her magical land and neutral area on the shore. She has full control of her underwater realm, as well as flow between the more earthly land, inviting and disinviting outsiders while maintaining some control of their land that remains in proximity to the entrance of her kingdom. The Lady is the link between a mystical and natural realm thus establishing her ability to move between them. Like Edward Hall suggests “man and his extensions constitute one interrelated system. It is a mistake of the greatest magnitude to act as though man were one thing and his house or his cities, his technology or his language were something else” (188). Therefore, the extension of control of the Lady to her surrounding areas is not only logical, but necessary as she is the

creator and controller of this underwater realm and to an extent, its inhabitants as well. This enchanted space also serves as a location in which her true form can later be revealed since her devilish appearance is only known within this underwater world. Without the existence of this other space, I argue that it is likely she would never have revealed her demonic form. Though of course, her disguise is strategic as well, as no knight would accept her invitation to rule alongside her were she to first appear in her true form. This relationship thus can speak to possible treachery and deceptiveness of unknown knowledge or ideas, which the Lady represents. It should also be noted that she only emerges from the lake once the ashes of Nason are thrown into the water. This could be considered as a necromantic ritual where the remains of the dead are used to raise a demonic force. Therefore, in a way, a different type of necromancy from the one we saw in Chapter One summons the Mistress of Treachery allowing her the opportunity to enchant her Christian lover.

The second scene also exemplifies a spatial domination, with Zifar's son, Roboán. Interestingly enough, another body of water facilitates the transition into this new other realm as Roboán enters a boat that leads him into this second sphere of existence:

e así iva raze aquel batel como viento. E otro día en la mañana quango el sol sale, llegó a la costar de la mara a la otra parte, a unas peñas tan altas que semejava que con el çielo llegavan. E non avía salida bin entrada ninguna, simon por un postigo solo que teníe las puertas del

fierro. E así como fue llegado en derecho del postigo, tan aína fueron las puertas abiertas, e non paresçió ninguno que las abriese nin la çerrase. E el infante salió del batel e entró por el postigo, e luego fueron las puertas çerradas. E en la peña avíe un caño fecho a mano por do pudiese entrar un cavalier armado en su cavil, e estaban lánparas colgadas de la peña, que ardíen e alunbravan todo el caño (384-5).

/ [the boat traveled as fast as the wind. And the next morning when the sun was rising, he arrived at the coast on the far side of the sea at some mountain peaks so high it seemed they touched the sky. There was no exit or entrance, except for a single postern that had iron gates. And as quickly as he arrived in front of the postern gates, the doors were open just as quickly, but no one appeared to open or to close them. The prince stopped from the boat and entered through the postern, and then the gates were closed. And in the rocks there was a tunnel dug by hand, through which an armed knight on horseback could enter, and there were lighted lamps hanging from the ceiling, which illuminated all the tunnel] (275-6).

Though not entering an underwater realm, Roboán, in the second scene, only gains access to this magical land, once again, via a body of water. The fluid nature of the water acts as a translatorial area allowing the transition from an enchant-less to an enchant-full land. In a sense, I postulate, the two enchanted

realms of this text are a representation of Iberia's previous Andalusí knowledge, which entered the Peninsula by means of water—that is from North Africa. Let us recall Chapter One and its discussion of Alfonso X's fervor for translating Arabic and Andalusí knowledge in his courts. In the context of the *Zifar* text, this desire for previously inaccessible knowledge can be parallel to the Bold Knight and Roboán's rise to sovereignty in a foreign land and their merger with its leadership and land. This merger is accomplished through the children they produce with the original sovereign of the land, one of which is even baptized (the Bold Knight's son, Alfonso Diablo).

These Christian men enter these new, exotic spaces, through the intermediary of water, observe all the differences and merge with it to produce an heir—a son with qualities of both the land's female power authority and the incoming Christian male. This son is then a personification, if you will, of the translations in Iberia, which take from the Andalusí and Arabic past and transform them into something new, not only in Castilian but sometimes with Christian touches and therefore shifting the projected identity of the Iberian cultural productions. These children in *Zifar*, who are described in both cases as noble and brave knights, I see as attempts to perfecting of previous systems of belief. This speaks to the tensions between epistemologies and the domination, appropriation and in part admiration over one body of knowledge by another. They are the merger of old beliefs and subsequently corrected and improved upon with the mixture of the implicitly superior Christian beliefs without a

complete erasure of past practices. The use of water in both the scenes can speak further to the concept of appropriation made evident through this text; it is the connection between the two worlds. Furthermore, it is this imagery of water that strategically plays with the notion of borders touched on above. Water, as a fluid and moldable entity has the ability to sneak through small, enclosed or isolated places with ease straddling both sides of the presumed frontier. I, therefore, do not see the presence and use of water in both transitional scenes from the terrestrial to extraterrestrial areas as mere coincidence but rather as a purposeful illusion to the fluidity of exchanging ideas across borders. Additionally, water can be used to purify and clean, further aligning with my argument of attempted perfection and control of knowledge.

Indeed, this may not have been the author's intention, but it adds a layer of complexity to his adaptation of earlier Celtic and Arthurian material considering their use of water as the intermediary space between realms as well. The most obvious example of this is the figure of a beautiful lady emerging from a lake, who in this earlier tradition was a fairy empress and ruler of Avalon, a mystical and enchanted space of Arthurian lore. Furthermore, "we can read Zifar as an allegory of Christian Iberia's project of translating and adapting both Andalusí models of genomic and exemplary literature and Arthurian chivalric fiction to the more specific project of Christian knighthood in Iberia" (Wacks 128). This therefore connects the text with the Iberian adaptations of Arthurian traditions like that of fifteenth/sixteenth century *El balardo del sabio Merlín con sus profecías*

where the Lady of the Lake/Vivian tricks the wizard Merlin into teaching her magic by seducing him, later resulting in his entrapment and death.¹⁰¹ Of course, in the *Zifar*, this parallel character only starts off as a beautiful woman in control of this underwater realm and later reveals her true form as a devil differing slightly from the more original Celtic and French tradition where she is merely a temptress with no clear demonic representation. This transformation of course aligns with Wacks view of appropriation upon which this chapter builds from—transforming a previously pagan figure into a Christian devil or demon. When placed in their new Christianized context, these women represent an earlier knowledge—Pagan or Islamicate—and with *Zifar*, the merger between the woman and the man add to the author's intended message of superiority of Christianity and the Christian doctrine over those of previous models.

This motif of a magical land with access via water occurs in other texts as well that do not necessarily have this mischievous Lady of the Lake character. This connection between water and magical properties is common, particularly in Arthurian romances of both the French and Spanish varieties like in Chretien de Troyes's twelfth-century *Yvian, le chevalier au leon* or the unknown author's Occitan and Spanish translation of *Jaufre*, dated between the twelfth and thirteenth-century, among others, where a fountain appears in the magical forest of Broceliande where Yvian finds a magical stone or where Jaufre, in attempt to

¹⁰¹ For more information on the characters and figures of Morgan le Fay, the Lady of the Lake or Vivian in medieval literature (and their respective overlaps) see Jill Herbert and Kristina Pérez.

save a supposed drowning girl in a fountain, enters the water and is transported to magical underwater realm. There are also other motifs of Franco-Celtic origin found within this second *Zifar* scene like that of the never laughing emperor and the rudderless boat.¹⁰² This motif of the lady of the lake also appears in our previously mentioned Andalusí *Ziyad*. In this story, said knight marries the Princess Alchahia who rules the castle of al-Lauualib, which each night submerges into a lake.

Additionally, it is important to remember that the Empress Nobility in this text is described as the daughter of another beautiful and powerful woman who is described to have married a knight who claimed she was more beautiful than the Lady Guinevere, something that did not sit well with the Queen. This, of course, brings to mind Marie de France's twelfth/thirteenth century *Lanval*, which tells of the knight who fell in love with a fairy, with whom he leaves to another land—Avalon—after surviving the trial sparked by Guinevere's anger where she demanded he reveal his beautiful lover whom he claimed was fairer than she. Considering the similarity of Nobility's back story, it is possible that she is daughter of a fairy, further connecting both her and her realm with magical properties. This can help explain why she has the ability to know the past of anyone, particularly Roboán's past, a skill the fairy in *Lanval* also possessed. Though these earlier French texts are not the focus of this chapter, they serve to highlight the motif of magical elements being associated with bodies of water like

¹⁰² See Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel for more on the Franco-Celtic connections in some Iberian romances.

is evident in the two scenes from *Zifar*. This spatial extension also connects the enchantment of the kingdom to the land itself thus establishing a link between past practices and nature as we also saw in the first scene. Building off previous interpretations of Fortunate Isles scene serving as a demonstration of Christianity's struggle and ultimate victory over and appropriation of pagan beliefs, this scene and that of the Sulfuric Lake can demonstrate the attempted appropriation of Andalusí knowledge as well. All that is appropriated into this text is Christianized, like with the pagan element of fortune, which is the "Christianized concept of the earlier Pagan deity" (Burke 61). We see this again with the, arguably, Andalusí magic.

The whole text in a sense has a didactic purpose where magic and marvelous aspects aid in this.¹⁰³ For instance, anything that is "foreign, strange and remote" gives a sense of distance that is "out of our reach, out of our experience" (Stevens 99). It provides a safer distanced space to play with reality, in the selected scenes, to attempt to appropriate the magic. However, the reception of texts was something authors had to consider and "only things assimilable are assimilated" (Harney *Kinship* 13). Furthermore, "the alien setting of the tale allows Zifar to be the perfect Christian knight, the 'caballero de dios,' uncontaminated by the status symbolism of European Christendom" (Harney 61) and even more so with these supernatural realms. This is to say, that small

¹⁰³ Gonzalez adds that "en mi opinion, el *Zifar* no es una enseñanza verdadera ilustrada por unas historias falsas, sino que es una historia falsa aderezada por unas enseñanzas verdaderas, no es una obra didactica mas o menos entretendias, sino que es un libro de aventuras" (38).

magical moments in *Zifar* are purposefully included and, while unique to the tale, still contribute to its overarching mission. Additionally, building off Barletta's interpretation of the Fortunate Isles scene, both these supernatural moments can function as a "cautionary tale" (Barletta 26). These scenes can therefore serve as a reminder that "everything can be lost through the machinations of the devil" (26). With the supernatural scenes, they allow the main character to learn from his mistakes and learn from them in "what is perhaps an argument for the power of Christian redemption, both men are given a second chance to apply what they have learned" (Barletta 26). Let us not forget that:

fantastic episodes lend themselves to didacticism without allegory. By putting forth the moral lesson in an alien environment, unrecognizable as the readers' own, the marvelous discourse opens up the narrative to teach at a safe distance in another place and time and does not force the lesson upon the readers' world. The protagonist's example in the fantastic context lets the readers use their intuition to extract the lesson from the foreign environment and apply it to their own circumstance and to the adventures surrounding the marvelous exemplum (Corfis 78).

The use of magical scenes is strategic as it aids with the conveying of certain lessons or messages. This justifies the conclusion that "even a man of God must err, but he can be expected to learn and benefit from his error" (Burke 68). These episodes, the Fortunate Isles in particular, can serve as an "exemplum which demonstrates the error and the experience derived from it" (Burke 68). Beyond

this didactic nature, scholars have seen these scenes as allegory and a way to “illustrate certain facets of Christian doctrine” (Burke 56) while at the same time, in the Roboán episode, demonstrating a tension between varying beliefs—that of Christianity and the “pagan reliance upon fortune” (Burke 56). In concurrence with previous scholarship, Burke sees the purpose being “to demonstrate what the actions of a true Christian knight would be and to inspire others to follow the example set by this virtuous warrior” (57). In regard to the influence of these scenes, he states that either the author “used a folktale as a base for the episode and blended in elements of diverse origin or he simply wrote an original story using motifs common to his era” (59). Considering all the existing scholarship on the text, this chapter's approach is to recognize the multiple influences within the context of Andalusí appropriation in two connected scenes. Therefore, while the enchanted-ness of both scenes aids the didactic purposes, these two scenes do more than the other scenes in the text, which also teach a lesson. The magic that is present here in these two scenes speaks to the multilayered culture of Iberia and its familiarity with its own past in order to construct its desired Christianized identity.¹⁰⁴

Another aspect that connects the two supernatural scenes is the presence of a devil figure. In the first scene a devil is also the ruler of the realm whereas in the second a devil is the one who tempts Roboán to not only be unfaithful but also ultimately leads to his expulsion from the realm. In both cases, at least

¹⁰⁴ See also Ricardo Capoferro theory on magic serving an ethical function to make a lesson evident to society

initially, the devil appears to be a beautiful woman. In the first scene, her true form is only revealed once the Knight is unfaithful. She reveals her real identity as “un diablo muy feo e mucho espantable, que tenía los braços sobre los condes...les sacava los coraçones e los comía” (223) / “an ugly frightening devil...with her arms around the two counts...tearing out their hearts and eating them” (145). What was once beautiful and alluring is now a hideous devil figure.¹⁰⁵

The use of the devil and demonic figures in literature is flexible as “el Diabolo varia según las necesidades del escritor” (Cardenas-Rotunno 202). This of course seems obvious but accounts for its varied presence, especially in Iberian texts. What purpose does it serve in this text? How does one tempt a knight who already has a beautiful woman, power, and skill? Offer him an even more beautiful woman, even more power, and more advanced tools to give him even more skill. This is common as:

¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, this woman turned devil figure can be connected to the legend of Melusine as pointed out by Krappe (121). The association of the devil with feminine figures is not uncommon considering the slowly increasing fear and need to distance ‘magic’ from Christianity which is evident with the 1486 *Malleus Maleficarum* which was a manual on the beliefs of witchcraft and magic that circulated throughout Europe—which of course is later than our *Zifar* text but shows the gradual transformation of witchcraft as opposing Christian teachings. The text is presumably cited to support this paranoia up through the seventeenth century (Kors 180) and especially later during the Spanish Inquisition to support the continued tortures in order to obtain the desired confessions and particularly with its relation to women (Monter 73). Therefore, though this circulated years after the *Zifar* the growing correlation with witchcraft, the devil and women’s involvement was starting to develop and could help explain why twice a devil character appears in the form of a temptress. The devil figure is then used as a way to make the knight stray his course and challenge his quest to be a proper Christian knight.

when the devil wishes to tempt a man in the flesh he approaches him in the form of a beautiful girl. The belief prevailed in the Middle Ages that the devil is often manifest on earth clothed in all the natural perfections of man, inciting men to sin until their souls are by this means snatched from their bodies and carried off to hell (Rudwin 52-3).

The image of a devil woman can also be explained as a translation of the Islamic *Efrit*, or jinn who often take the female form.¹⁰⁶ Curiously, this supernatural motif of a devilish woman figure is also found in the Andalusí *Ziyad* where the knight marries a “dama genio” or an enchanted female *jinn* after he goes hunting for a gazelle (Fernández y González 30-1). As a highly understudied text, in concurrence with Wacks, “it certainly is curious that the same two motifs, the only fantastic motifs in all of *Zifar*, whose source is contested by critics and still an open question, should appear in an Arabic manuscript from the same region written some 70 years prior to the composition of *Zifar*” (Wacks *Popular* 330).

Returning to the *Zifar*, the Lady of the Lake’s true nature, her ugly and vile demonesque appearance, is meant to be seen, without a doubt according to some scholars, as a reflection of her moral self, that she is “así feo como su estado moral demandaría” (Cardenas-Rotunno 206). However, in the Fortunate Isles scene, the devil there functions differently, never revealing a vile appearance but rather an increasingly beautiful one in this case with the purpose of seducing as the devil “normalmente utiliza la forma de mujer bella para tentar

¹⁰⁶ See the Encyclopedia of Islam. For more on texts influenced by Arabic traditions, like *Sendebat* see Maria Jesus Lacarra.

a los pobres anacoretas del desierto” (207). Therefore, devil-like figures can appear in many forms, depending on its need or function, and said form can even change throughout the narrative to “aterrorizar” (209) or “atraer” (209). There is also an undeniable connection to religion in regard to the devil as he can provoke “religious feelings of awe, dread, fear, and horror” (Russell 34). This play on emotion is key as the “emotion evoked by the experience of the devil are at least as great as those evoked by the experience of a good god” (34). Therefore, the devil’s presence in a text meant to highlight the virtues of a good Christian knight only adds to this narrative. Furthermore, the underworld, the realm in which the devil is usually described to exist, has two contradictory associations, that of fertility and that of death.¹⁰⁷ These two associations resulted in the devil’s association with sexuality as well, which lines up with his function as seductress in both supernatural scenes in *Zifar* as their initial appearances were with the same goal: seduce the outsider (172).

The devil also plays a role in the second scene this chapter addresses—once again disguised as a beautiful woman though this time not the realm’s ruler. This devilish-figure tempts and makes Roboán stray from his empress, thus

¹⁰⁷ See Ryan Szpiech’s 51 International Congress on Medieval Studies (2016) presentation, entitled “Of Second Sons and Forgotten Bastards: Language and Anxiety in the Libro del Caballero Zifar” where, among other details, he analyses the devilish figure in *Zifar* as symbolic the the entire text’s goal of emerging from a generational family curse. His focus is on the anxiety between the Arabic and the Castilian and the contact and translation between the two. In the case of *Zifar*, he sees that *Zifar* plays out “tensions not only of a Toledan or Mozarabic idea of cultural transfer, but of a wider anxiety at the heart of the Alfonsine cultural concept” (11).

making him break his time-sensitive pact whereupon the completion of a year as faithful emperor to the empress he will not lose domain over this land, like the devil did. The devil then comes to him three times, each time as a dazzling woman—subsequently more beautiful than the next—both seducing him and enticing him with valuable hunting animals. Through these temptations the devil/woman is able to slowly remove Roboán from this blissful enchanted space and return him to the more challenging reality outside of the kingdom. Like the devil's first appearance as the underwater kingdom's ruler in the first scene, the figure is once again associated with the feminine temptress.

The use of the devil as a tempting figure aligns with the texts overall goal as a Christian text. Considering this audience, and its didactic nature, the devil can function as a strategic image recognizable to its Christian audience. While we can see the similarities with the earlier French material, as discussed above, it does not mean they were the only source of inspiration. Diaz Pereyro sees both of these scenes as a means to communicate to its readers "las posibles manifestaciones del mal" (1). She continues this by suggesting that they are reflections of the biblical subterranean hell and the celestial heaven. I cannot deny there are similarities, as those biblical locations could have been part of the author's inspiration for these locations, which can be found in the "profundidades y las Alturas" (Diaz Pereyro 8). However, I do not necessarily prescribe to this absolutist comparison as such an analysis denies the importance of appropriation—the key concept of my own analysis—it does account for its

Christian audience. Diaz Pereyro does make an interesting comparison between the Bold Knight and Roboán, as both of them lose what they have gained by following poor advice and thus, sin “por seguir malos consejos” (6). The purpose of these events, she claims, are rooted in morality as “se instruye al héroe y la los lectores para que se prevengan en el mundo exterior contra los malos consejeros y la traición. El pecado cometido en el mundo lejano no trae consecuencias en el mundo real. La culpa es expiada mediante el castigo: la expulsión y la pérdida de todas las riquezas y la dama” (Diaz Pereyro 12).

In line with this chapter's argument, both characters, and subsequently its readers, do not question their newfound circumstances, “no dudan de su existencia ni piensan que es un engaño de los sentidos. Ambos se acostumbran rápidamente al hecho de ser los señores del lugar” (Diaz Pereyro 14). The biblical connections in the enchanted lake scene, particularly at the end when the devil-woman tears the hearts out of the two traitors, can parallel when “Lucifer de Dante tourmente dans sa triple gueule les trois traitres par excellence, Judas, Brutus et Cassius” (Krappe 109). Beyond this possible allusion to Dante, these scenes can also evoke earlier Arabic and oriental works. For instance, the silence motif of the underwater inhabitants can be found in *alif Layla wa layla* or *A thousand and one nights* (Krappe 113).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ This Eastern text of course serves as the source of the Andalusí version of *101 Nights* mentioned earlier in this chapter. *Sendebār* is another example where a devil is disguised as a woman.

The magic of these enchanted spaces can also be seen beyond the environment but in the inhabitants themselves and the recurrence of certain figures or actions like the repeated use of seven in the first subterranean realm and the three temptations in the celestial one. Everything that occurs in the underwater realm that strikes the knight as different, the Lady subsequently explains is due to that fact that they “saben sus escantamentos para fazer estas cosas atales” (217) / “know magic incantations in order to do such things as those” (140) giving no doubt to this realm’s magical properties. One of these magical properties is the recurrence of the number seven—the inhabitants cannot speak for seven weeks; all animals give birth in seven days; and all living things grow to mature size in seven days as well. Considering the multiple references to this number in the Bible—like *Gen* 41, 26-32 regarding the seven years of abundance and seven years of hunger, *Ap* 14, 15 regarding the seven plagues, or the multiple references to Christ’s seven words on the cross in *Lc* 23, 34, 43, *Jn* 19, 26-27, 28, 30 and *Mt* 27, 46 among others—Diaz Pereyro sees this further confirmation of the biblical resonances en both the supernatural scenes of *Zifar* (8). However, this number goes beyond its biblical references such as its associations with the seven liberal arts and the seven virtues and even references to Andalusí usage.¹⁰⁹ For instance, twelfth-century Andalusí born physician and philosopher, Ibn Tufayl wrote a famous philosophical novel *Hay Ibn Yaqhdhan* (literally translating to “Alive, son of Awake”) or *Philosophus*

¹⁰⁹ These seven liberal arts and seven virtues Burke directly connects with the banner mentioned in the second supernatural scene of *Zifar*.

Autodidactus, as it was known by its (much later) Latin translation. The story, among other things, expresses the human development in stages of seven years. Seven itself has many associations, some positive and some negative and that is why seven is considered to "contain everything" (132). The number seven also has a particular importance in Islam and Christianity. Regarding, Islam there is the profession of faith which contains seven Arabic words—*la ilaha illa allah muhammand rasul allah* (Varley 135)—and the seven cries of "*allahu akbar*" during pilgrimage (147), not to mention the seven letters of the Arabic alphabet often used in magical squares (147) as well as the seven seals of Solomon and the repetition of certain phrases or alchemical procedures in seven or three times (152). In regard to Christianity, the Gnostic tradition built off of previous pre-Christian traditions transforming the lower seven planetary spheres and associating them with demonic powers (142).¹¹⁰ Another important influence, particularly in regard to Iberia, is Alfonso X's *Setenario*, an encyclopedia on astronomy, literature and law.

In the second scene, there is a recurrence of the number three as the devil woman tempts Roboán three times. The three, much like the seven have powerful associations as a unifying force "does not negate the duality preceding

¹¹⁰ The number seven was also prominent in John of Salisbury's twelfth-century *De Septem Septenis* which discusses the various groups that manifest themselves in sevens such as the liberal arts, gifts of the holy spirit, degrees of contemplation and principles of philosophy. See also Hopper, Christian Butler, Susan Clark, R. F. Allendy, and William Westcott's studies on medieval number symbolism as well as J Curtis and Desmond Varley's studies regarding the meaning and symbolism of seven in particular.

it" aligning with Pythagorean theories that the "unqualified unity was divided into two opposing powers to create the world and then into tri-unity to produce life" (58 and 60).¹¹¹ This trinity therefore becomes more than dually following Aristotle's association of three with "all" (69). Regarding the Christian tradition, "triangles and the number 3 always have a certain relation to the Trinity. But 3 can also become a demonic number, for at times Satan tries to imitate the trinity" (74-5). This we see clearly in our *Zifar* text as the devil disguised as the beautiful woman appears and tempts Roboán three times.

Additionally, there is also the notion that Roboán was tempted three times, which holds further biblical parallels. The temptations themselves have interesting symbolism as well, "the dog and the falcon, representing pleasure, something not harmful in moderation, make the young knight impatient for the horse which the author has conceived as a symbol for sin. Nobleza warns Roboán that he is nearing excess in coveting the animal" (Burke 65). These symbolisms aid in the didactic nature as a possible lesson is on the taming of greed and excessive desires.¹¹²

Beyond these numerical connections to magical practices and understandings, Lady Nobility later implores a type of magic in this scene right before Roboán leaves the kingdom, arguably due to his greed:

¹¹¹ For more on the importance of the number three see A.E. Abott, Thea Amanda Strand, and E Tavamer.

¹¹² Following Krappe's research on the oriental influences, the "cheval diabolique" (103) reoccurs in other oriental texts as he expands on in his article.

rogaré a los vientos que vos enbarguen la ida; e rogaré a Dios del mar que vos non resçiba en él. E rogaré a Venus, deesa de amor, que vos faga menbrar del amor que en un posiemos e de las verdades que nos prometimos, que vos nunca consientan faller en el amor nin las promesas que me fezistes (402).

[I shall beg the winds to impede your leaving, and I will pray to the god of the same not to sustain you on it, and I will pray to Venus, the goddess of love, to make you remember the love that we had as one and the vows we promised one another and that they may never permit you to/ fail the love and the promises you made me.] (287-8)

We see here the invocation of winds and Venus, which once again gives magical properties to natural elements. This would suggest she has some sway or control on these elements in order to call on them for assistance. The invocation of the goddess Venus, especially in issues revolving romance—like the empress wishing for her lover to stay—was a common practice in earlier pagan practices and continued even in medieval magic grimoires pertaining to monolithic religions such as Islam, Judaism and Christianity. Such invocation is, for example, found like in Andalusian-composed and Iberian translated tenth-century *Ghāyat Al-Ḥakīm* and thirteenth-century *Picatrix*, which has been mentioned already in this dissertation (see Introduction and Chapter One). Within the *Picatrix* there are various invocations of this goddess describing how one should dress, what one

should say and what one should prepare—and at times consume—in order for the spell to properly work as can be seen in the two invocations of her in book three chapter seven of the grimoire. For instance, this section states that one should:

Petas a Venere eidem pertinencia, ut sunt petitiones mulierum, puerorum et puellarum, filiorum, et universaliter ad amorem mulierum pertinencium et eisdem carnaliter coniungencium, illustrancium, cantatorum tam vocum quam instrumentorum, iocalia faciencium et mundaris deliciis deditorum, viciorum, servorum et servarum, maritorum, matrum, amicorum, sororum et omnium istis similium, in quibus petitionibus cum Marte te iuvabis. (113)

[/seek from Venus all things that pertain to her, such as petitions of women, boys, and girls, daughters, and generally everything pertaining to the love of women and carnal copulation with them, art, vocal and instrumental music, telling jokes, and all those who give themselves over to worldly pleasures, those who engage in vices, male and female servants, brides and grooms, mothers, friends, sisters, and all those similar to them, and in these petitions you may also help yourself with Mars.] (155)

In this short description we see the use of Venus in affairs of the love, carnal desires, worldly pleasures, vices and spouses—all of which have relation to

Roboán and his Empress. This places the practice of calling on Venus for issues with love as something presumably done outside of literature as well, which could have undoubtedly influenced the magical presence within literature. Therefore, considering that this figure is invoked within a purely Andalusí magical context further supports the *Zifar* as reflective of the Andalusí culture and past. I suggest this potential invocation could only occur in this text within this enchanted place, giving this realm, like the underwater realm, power as the site of marvelous occurrences. However, it is important to note that this invocation on the part of the Empress ultimately fails as Roboán still leaves the Fortunate Isles. This aligns with the author's possible goal of prioritizing Christian practices when placed in conjunction to earlier ones.

In this chapter we have seen two scenes in *Zifar* that have, through enchantment, magical kingdoms which echo previous Franco-Celtic Arthurian traditions as well as magical and supernatural aspects that share similarities with Andalusí and Arabic practices and traditions. In both scenes we saw the function of water as a fluid veil between the worlds allowing access as well as the image of a devil in conjunction with beautiful woman leading the knights astray from their supposed rightful path and thus contributing to the overall evangelical role of the text in its entirety. This removed space, building off previous traditions, becomes the space in which the marvelous and magical can occur thus giving a place for these demonic temptations to serve as moralizing tools. Therefore, this

text builds on previous traditions and customs reflecting the complex interwoven nature of Iberian culture and demonstrates the appropriation and control of the Iberian past into the creation of a Christianized Iberian lesson book of adventures. These two magical scenes demonstrate the attempted mergers and alterations of Christianity with previous traditions—pagan or Arabic—reflecting the commissioned translations of Arabic and Andalusí knowledge a century prior. In so doing, these scenes shed further light on the dynamics between traditions, cultures and genders. Since I see magic as a form of cultural contact, how it is used within literature reveals how this contact, in its premodern Iberian and Christian context, was manifested. It does this by further demonstrating how Christian culture intertwined with non-Christian culture simultaneously accepting and rejecting—something the rulers of these enchanted realms did with their newfound lovers. The original rulers of these enchanted realms were women. These women practiced traditions foreign to the Christian knights who entered their realms. Their merger and heirs symbolize a combination of the two practices, where ideally the best of both traditions coexist allowing for both appropriation and adoration of certain past practices.

Chapter Three

Clerical Seductions Through Mediators

While today lovers can turn to electronic mediators like *OkCupid*, *Tinder*, and other similar dating services, in medieval Iberia, their mediators were less systematic or mathematical. The success of the encounters was much more reliant on the mediators themselves as opposed to the in-person merits of the potential match. This chapter addresses the mediated magic by Trotaconventos in Juan Ruiz's fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*. Some scholars study this *mensajera* as a mediator between a would-be lover and his or her object of desire or as a means of representation of the "other," particularly in the richly variant Iberian context, I focus on the magical aspects of their representation, specifically the magical actions and words Trotaconventos uses to secure our cleric narrator's desires.¹¹³ The subsequent chapter will be similar with a focus on Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina*. This chapter, and the one following, will therefore analyze the magical practices of both these elder, marginalized, and desexualized mediating women, and their subsequent connections to contemporaneous magical and medicinal practices. This chapter focuses on Trotaconventos and her magical practices as a reflection of practices persevered in magical compendia like the *Picatrix* and the *Clavicula Solomanis*. Placing this real practice in the literary world allows the author to better address human

¹¹³ See Leyla Rouhi, Jill Ross, Michelle Hamilton and Olivier Biaggini, among others, for their scholarship on the *mensajera* go-between figure.

desires despite the ever-changing shifts in society regarding the appropriate medium to solve those concerns.

Juan Ruiz's text, *Libro de buen amor*, presumably tells the amorous escapades of the archpriest of Hita, the author, and is part of the *mester de clerecia* tradition.¹¹⁴ It contains 1728 stanzas and the text now survives in three manuscript copies: two from the fourteenth century (Toledo and Gayoso) and one from the start of the fifteenth century (Salamanca). No manuscript is complete thus preventing a full reading of the text with each manuscript diverging from the others. These three manuscripts have sparked scholarship on manuscript studies. As no one manuscript is complete, modern scholars have sewed together the three to create a version of the text that is not preserved in any one extant source. John Dagenais has done a comprehensive study focusing on the manuscript culture and has reached scholars beyond the Iberian world.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ See Julian Weiss, among others for a comprehensive understanding this genre and what other texts fall into its category—like *Libro de Apolonio* and *Libro de Alessandre* among others.

¹¹⁵ Beyond the manuscript itself, as a canonical text, a large amount of scholarship dedicated to the *Libro*. Beyond the magical focus on this project, scholars study scenes such as the *serranas*, or mountain women, the various parables, the Greeks and the Romans, the dispute between *Don Amor*, or Love, and the battle of *Don Carnival*, Carnival and *Doña Cuaresma*, Lent. See Erik Ekman, Vincent Barletta, Maria Teresa Miaja de la Peña, Maria Cristina Trincado Sabin and Maria Mendez Orense among others. Concretely this leads to studies on orality, metric and rime on the *LBA* text as well as the literary “I” narrator; in addition to a more concrete look food and other representations. See Florence Curtis, Omar Sanz Burgos, Holly Sims, Armando López Castro, Daniel Rodrigo Benito Sanz, Graciela Cándano Fierro, Martha Maas, Luis Alberto Blecua

While many other aspects of the *Libro de buen amor* can be explored, I am limiting the discussion in this chapter to the Arabic influences of the structure—as has been done in the preceding chapters of this dissertation. James Monroe, in addition to Francisco Fernández y González and María Rosa Lisa de Malkiel, have found, in their comparative approaches, influences of Arabic and Islamic structure on the Castilian text, the *frametale* narrative expanded upon in previous chapters. The content of the *Libro* is “largely of Western origin” but with Arabic structure as seen in the *maqāma* and *zajal* (Monroe 307). However, in the *Libro*, this is taken further:

in the classical *maqāma* a victim narrates how a trickster successfully deceived him, whereas in the *LBA*, a would-be trickster narrates how he was unsuccessful in his attempts at deceiving a potential victim, exactly as occurs, all too often in the Quzmani *zajal*. The structure of the *LBA* is, therefore a hybrid of the *maqāma*, the *frametale*, and the *zajal* genres, the first two of which came to the Iberian Peninsula from the Arab east, whereas the third, namely the *zajal* was adopted from the local, Ibero-Romance tradition, and developed, on Andalusian soil, by Arab East (Monroe 330).

This is to say, the *Libro* and the *zajal* are parallel in that “their structure derives from a foreign, dominated culture, whereas their materials derive from a native, dominant culture” (Monroe 331). Jean Dangler has studied *zajal 84* by Ibn

Perdices, Anthony J Cárdenas-Rotunno, Jessica Cáliz Montes, Denise K Filios, Simón Andres Villegas, and Kenneth Brown among other studies of the *LBA*.

Quzman and found connections between the neighborly go-between procuress from this Andalusí text and those represented in the Castilian *Libro de buen amor*, *Celestina*, and *La lozana andaluza*.¹¹⁶ These similar structures can also be seen in the prologue of our text, and earlier Arabic and Andalusí ones. For instance, the *Libro*'s prologue distinguishes:

in one way or another, between the intelligent reader, who is capable of penetrating beyond the surface of the text in order to get at its true, esoteric sense, and the ignorant reader, who is unable to do so, and is, therefore, doomed to derive a false message from the text. (Monroe 310)

This is similar to the prologues of other Arabic and Andalusí texts like *Calila wa-Dimna* and texts from Al-Hariri. This distinction of the reader as one who is intelligent and one who is ignorant, of course, comes from Ibn Rushd's philosophy, the Andalusí philosopher known in the Western world as Averroes. Michelle Hamilton has also studied the influence of the early thirteenth-century Jewish *maqamat* like Ibn al-Harizi's *maqama of marriage* and Ibn Shabbetai's *The Offering of Yehuda*. Both of these *maqamat* have "crafty old go-betweens manipulate their audience with sharpened rhetorical skills and arrange meetings between lovers just as Trotaconventos does in the *Libro*" (*Rereading the Window* 102).

¹¹⁶ Note that Ibn Harizi's *Tawq al-hamama* (El collar de la Paloma) also describes in detail the many professions a go-between can hold—something that is repeated in the Castilian texts studied in this dissertation.

The author of the *Libro*, Juan Ruiz, also known as the Archpriest of Hita, was born in 1283 and died in 1350. Not much is known about the author and if his *Libro* is accepted as autobiographical—or at least semi-biographical—then he was also imprisoned under the order of Gil Albornoz, an archbishop of Toledo, (as described in stanza 1690) for unknown reasons. According to Carmen Juan Lovera and María Teresa Murcia Cano, Juan Ruiz de Cisneros was born Andalusí with a Christian father taken captive, and was one of four children who all became clerics. According to Lovera and Murcia Cano's findings, our author's grandfather and uncle on his father's side, also named Juan Ruiz, both fought and died against the Muslim soldiers of Granada in 1280 (182). Even within the *Libro* itself during the exchange of the archpriest and the sneaky go-between Fernán García (stanzas 115 to 120) he even refers to himself "como andaluz." In many editions this is modified to say "como faz el andaluz" / [how it is done by an Andalusí] rather than preserving the possible self-proclamation of his own Andalusí origins. Though there are still others that view Juan Ruiz as a John Smith stand in for any man.¹¹⁷ Regardless, this author gave life to Trotaconventos, a character that fits a pre-existing trope.

As the primarily magical characters focused on in this and the following chapters inherit many of their characteristics from the go-between trope, before

¹¹⁷ His identity has fascinated scholars throughout the past two centuries with more left to uncover. See the online conference proceedings by Francisco Rico, Francisco Márquez Vilanueva, Ramón González Ruiz among others from the Congreso Internacional de Juan Ruiz (2002) https://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/arcipreste_hita/01/default.htm

delving into this chapter's discussion of Trotaconventos focus, let us establish this tradition.¹¹⁸ By exploring this heritage and connection to the Arab literary world, we can extend this heritage to the magical sources it potentially draws from. This go-between category ranges from Romance to Arabic. Leyla Rouhi defines the go-between of the Romance, Arabic and Persian traditions as a character who shows:

a predilection for chatter and wine, make[s] no secret of their financial greed, boast[s] familiarity with male and female sexual behavior, assume[s] the guise of another profession (such as seamstress or midwife) to gain access to unsuspecting parties, and hint[s] at their knowledge of the occult. (3)¹¹⁹

Both Trotaconventos, and Celestina as we will see in the next chapter, complicate this definition, however. While their multiple professions grant them access to “unsuspecting parties,” it does not mean that they are not skilled in the professions they navigate. Understanding these characters' milieu allows the reader to define “where tolerance appears low and where it indicates great flexibility towards illicit behavior, and to whom or what do legal and moral authorities attribute the principal agency for such behavior” (Rouhi 10). This

¹¹⁸ Note that as chapter four also addresses the go-between figure I will not repeat what is said here but rather directly enter the discussion of Celestina, the focus of the upcoming chapter.

¹¹⁹ See also Rachel Schmidt, Ivette Marti Caloca, Preeti Pant, Cécile Bertin-Elisabeth, F. Javier Docampo Capilla, Albert Lloret, Marta López Izquierdo and Maja Sabec for their work on the literary go-between within Iberian and other European texts.

establishes the lines between licit and illicit that the go-between characters cross. In their respective texts, Trotaconventos and Celestina are skillful old ladies who attempt to set up sexual encounters and who have knowledge of magical practices known in the Peninsula.

While this figure was prominent in both the literature prior to and after these two canonical texts, it is also a figure known historically within the society.¹²⁰ Our characters may have also been influenced by historical go-betweens—those outside of literature, the men and women of documented history who facilitated sexual liaisons and held many of the same described positions as their literary counterparts, like hairdressers, barbers, jewelry sellers and others (Benito Julia 16). Trotaconventos and Celestina’s characterization as an *alchaueta*, a go-between, mirrors town-dwellers of medieval Barcelona, for instance. Much like their characterization in the literature, these people also historically played key roles in prostitution and often resided in the outskirts of towns (Benito Julia 15). Such *alcahuetas/es* appear in title XXII of the seventh *Partida* as people who bring:

mucho mal a la tierra; ca por sus palabras engañan a los que los creen et los traen a pecado de luxurias ... engaña las mujeres sosacando, e fachendolas fazer maldad de sus cuerpos. (477)

¹²⁰ See also Harriet M Sonne de Torrens and Margarita Torremocha Hernández for their work on the historical go-between and their associations with sex and other provocative behavior.

/ [much evil to a country, for by their words they harm those who believe them, and lead them into the sin of licentiousness...deceives women by enticing them and causing them to commit wickedness with their bodies.]
(1429)

The *Partidas* goes on to describe them as falling into various categories, one of which is public involvement in whorehouses as alluded to above as well as various positions that allow them easy access in and out of homes. Considering their negative characterization in this text, many of the go-betweens who went to trial were exiled, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Barcelona, Valencia, Castile, Aragon, Mallorca and other regions (Benito Julia 16). In Barcelona alone between 1401 and 1460, 642 go-betweens were expelled, including both men and women (16).¹²¹

While possibly drawn from these prosecuted go-betweens both Trotaconventos, and Celestina from the next chapter, are fictional creations. They may inherit from both literary go-betweens of the past and those who worked and were punished in the Peninsula's past. However, every aspect of their characterization is intentional. Not all historic go-betweens knew magic, so the depiction of Trotaconventos and Celestina's use of magic is intentional on the part of the Juan Ruiz and Fernando de Rojas. Why then would these authors

¹²¹ See Benito Julia's study for more details on the registers and categorization, based on gender and listed profession, of these go-betweens. As many of the accusations of witchcraft in relation to go-betweens in the sixteenth century, see chapter four for more discussion on this. Also recall that in the Introduction there is discussion of the connections between medical learning in Castile with magic and women.

choose to portray their old lady go-betweens in this way? Why describe certain details that potentially imbue these women with magical talents? While there are some allusions to their more practical skills—like medicine or herbology and folkloric traditions—the end results of some of their actions mirror documented magical practices. While many societal traditions are parodied in our fictional texts, magic is not.¹²² This highlights the prevailing role magic had while highlighting the shift of its role in more elite circles to one prescribed to the margins—still as an effective yet now more secretive practice. It should be noted however, that despite this shift in who performed the magic, interest in its effects remained present on all levels. Additionally, choosing to describe these marginalized women in this manner not only serves to establish their breath of knowledge but also revealing a familiarity with the multiple linguistic and faith traditions in the Peninsula.¹²³

Trotaconventos's use of magic, specifically in the Don Melon and Doña Endrina episode, I postulate is primarily found with the use of the verb *escantar* or what scholars now accept as *encantar*—as seen in stanzas like 438, 709, 711,

¹²² Note that while not discussed in this dissertation, the *Libro*, like many other Iberian literary texts, also represents astrological and divinatory practices. See Folke Gernert for his work on the astrology specifically in the *Lozana Andaluza* and the *Libro* as well as Nicolas Álvarez's work on the connections between the astrology in the *Libro* and those described in Alfonso's *Siete Partidas* and James Crawford with his work on the divination horoscope in the *Libro* among other studies.

¹²³ Some scholars like Malcolm Read, see both Trotaconventos' and Celestina's 'magic' as more of a rhetorical device as opposed to a literal skill. See *The Birth and Death of Language Spanish Literature and Linguistics, 1300-1700*.

756, 916, and 918.¹²⁴ Joan Corominas equates this verb, as Ruiz uses it in these six examples, to *hechizar* with clear connections to spells, magic, and other tools that are briefly described as charms, potions and talismans (590).¹²⁵ The author's semantic choices therefore convey to the reader that the character's actions could be interpreted as performing magic or enchantments.

In the narrator's dialogue with Don Amor and in the Melón-Endrina episode, stanzas 653 to 765, the verb *escantar* is used to describe the work of go-betweens and is paired with actions easily associated with magic or manipulation. For instance, this word, in the form of a noun, is in stanza 756:

començó su escanto la vieja coitral:

“Quando el que buen siglo

aya seía en este portal,

dava sonbra a las casas e reluzié la cal;

mas do non mora omne, la casa poco val. (187)

/[The decrepit old crone began to weave her magic.

'When he who now rests in paradise stood in this doorway,

he shaded the houses, and the whitewash was bright.

But where there is no man, the house is worth little.] (189)

¹²⁴ For more on this magic through verb choice, see my forthcoming article.

¹²⁵ Colón Germán clarifies though that use of *encantar* was limited in Castilian, having possibly come to Castilian from another language (302).

This stanza implies that Trotaconventos's power to enchant also lies in her ability to bend the truth and manipulate others into coming to her desired conclusions—like accepting the "love" of Don Melon. This connection between magic and language builds on the mediator's abilities and the subsequent performativity of magic:

the limits of the typology of the Spanish go-between expand to include language as the driving force behind an intricate strategy of seduction. Those components associated with the go-between—magic, past experience, and financial greed—act in Trotaconventos as elementary qualities which, when subordinated to a lively and powerful discourse, turn the broad into more than the sum of her parts (Rouhi 253).

Therefore, when the narrator associates Trotaconventos ability to enchant with magical objects and language manipulation, this further links her with possible supernatural forces suggesting her actions are in fact magical.

The verb *escantar* is also found in Stanza 438, a stanza that is the subject of much scholarly debate. In it Don Amor advises the forlorn narrator, who has had no luck in finding a mate, to seek someone to act on his behalf. If he does not have a female relative to help him, he should find an old woman:

si parienta non tienes atal, toma viejas,
que andan las iglesias e saben las callejas,
grandes cuentas al cielo, saben muchas consejas,
con lagrimas de moysen escantan las orejas. (117)

/[If you don't have such a relative, use one of those old women
 who frequent churches and know all the alleyways,
 who wear long rosaries round their necks. They are full
 of good advice, and weave a spell on ladies' ears with Moses' tear beads.]
 (
 115)

Here the author describes such old woman and how they have this enchanting skill of bewitching anyone who will hear them. Scholars have debated the meaning behind the “lagrimas de moysen” which appears moments before an example of the verb *escantar* in the text. Julio Cejador first suggested that the first term, *lagrima*, was in fact two words, a noun and article, *la grima*. This is to say a grimoire of magic associated with Moses, but later *lagrimas*, as seen in this passage, meant beads, pearls or a rosary of sorts. However, increasingly “the infant Moses was believed to inspire love” and its accompaniment with verb “to enchant” in the context of love magic points us to Trotaconventos’s magical practices (Giles 129). Marcos Alvarez adds that the use of the word *cuentas* was connected with counting prayer beads, which date back to the thirteenth century (Giles 124). Therefore these two objects, in conjunction with *escantar* could, as I argue, connect back to magical practices since, “the Archpriest evokes both ‘cuentas’ and ‘lagrimas de Moysen’ as part of a synthetic love spell that [...] suggest [...] the old bawd might be drawing on the power of a material object as

well as the efficacy of prayer when she ‘betwiches the ears’ with her beads” (Giles 124).

Beyond the use of this verb when describing the characteristics of a good go-between in stanzas 709, 711, 916 and 918 the verb *escantar* appears alongside certain ingredients like wax or string, which are common materials in the magical practices found in grimoires. For instance, in stanza 709 when the verb *encantar* appears with Trotaconventos declaring that she will do the enchantment and give to Doña Endrina a love potion:

dixo: “yo iré a su casa de esa vuestra vezina,
e le fare tal escanto, e le dare tal atalvina,
por que esa vuestra llaga sane por mi melezina.

Dezidme quién es la dueña.” Yo le dixé: “ay, Doña Endrina!” (176)

/[She replied: ‘I will go to your neighbour’s house
and cast such a spell and give her such a love potion
that your wound will be healed by my medicine.

Tell me who the lady is.’ I said: ‘Her name is Endrina.’] (177).

This *atalvina* is a type of beverage made of flour and almond milk or flour, garlic, water, garlic, bread and bacon (Severin 124). This concoction, or potion, could easily have been a variant on typical mixes found in other surviving texts like

cookbooks or alchemical experiments.¹²⁶ While Ruiz does not indicate that any stones were used by Trotaconventos to achieve her manipulations, both the second book of the *Picatrix* and the second book of the *Liber secretorum*, among other lapidaries, detail that when used as a talisman plunged into liquid, Lapis Lazuli can inspire love and inseparability in two people who drink it (Lecouteux 196).¹²⁷

Following Severin's claims, literary magic can be a variation of actual spells, preserving some elements and the end-result while altering enough details to keep some distance from societal realities and the fictional worlds. The *Picatrix* for example, contains a variety of spells with similar mixing requirements, albeit with different ingredients, like a spell that requires the mixture of a few ounces of cat and bear bile, bat blood, lettuce seed, black poppy seed and mandrake root placed in with old wine resulting in the drinker to lose their power of speech (214). Interestingly, the cure for such affliction is filling the victim's mouth with oil or butter—both of which are arguably more common ingredients like those in the fictional potion of the *Libro*. This process of mixing ingredients to create philters, potions and cures also appear in the thirteen-century Iberian Sephardi text the *Sefer 'ahavat Nashim* (Book of Women's Love) which

¹²⁶ While not explicitly explored in this dissertation, medieval French romances also relied on go-betweens to distribute potions meant either to induce love or to feign death in order for love to flourish without restrictions as can see been in the Tristan romances and well as Chretien de Troyes's *Cliges*.

¹²⁷ Note that while not in this literary example, magical stones do appear in romances like *Floris et Blancheflor*, the *Romance de Alexander* and the German version of *Lanzalot*.

containing sections on magic, cosmetics/obstetrics and sexuality. While not a love potion, bread—like the bread used in the *Libro's* potion—is a key ingredient for rendering a woman lovesick. All one has to do is:

'Inyan aḥer: qaḥ shiyyurei pat shenish'ar beshem ha'isha shetirtze le'aḥar akhilata uqeshor oto beveded tekhelet veyabesh oto le'ashan veyivash kol gufa aḥarei ahavatkha (111)¹²⁸

[/take in the name of the woman you want the leftovers of bread that have remained after her meal; bind them in a pale blue cloth and dry them in smoke. Her body will dry in the quest for your love.] (110)

The potion supposedly given to Doña Endrina contained bits of bread, the main ingredient for the spell previously explored. We also see the use of a cloth as a binding component, a detail that also occurs in the *Libro*, and *Celestina* explored in our next chapter.¹²⁹ The twelfth-century medicinal treatise of Ibn Baklarish's *Kitāb al-Musta'inī* (Book of Simples) that circulated through Iberia, which combines elements from the three major religions and cultures in the Peninsula, has similar concoctions. And while not exclusively Iberian, fourteenth-century theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Islamic prophetic medicine contains both cures against magic performed by women as well as a cure for passions of the

¹²⁸ Transliterations are my own based on the original provided by the Caballero-Navas's edition. Vowelization of this transliteration was done with the generous help of Noam Sienna.

¹²⁹ I will discuss this text again in chapter four especially considering Fernando Rojas's presumed Converso origins. See Carmen Caballero-Navas edited edition.

heart. While this last treatise has a stronger emphasis on *Hadith* and certain actions like communication or repetition, the same treaty also includes a list of ingredients and their prophetic properties—an aspect that will be explored further in Chapter Four along with other Iberian medicinal treaties like eleventh-century texts by Ibn Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Yāmi'fī L-ašriba wa-l-ma'āyin* (Book that Unites Syrups and Electuaries) and by Ibn Bassal, *Kitāb al-qasd wa'l-bayān* (The Book of Concision and Clarity).¹³⁰

Furthermore, despite the use of exotic ingredients like bile and blood, *Picatrix* spells require common items as well like lettuce seed and mandrake root as flour and milk in the example from the *Libro*. Though these *Picatrix* spells do not result in the acquisition of love, just as in the potion described in the *Libro*, multiple ingredients must be mixed together as part of the preparation. Though the *Libro* does not mention this potion of flour and milk again, later in stanza 941 we find other potions used to enact a spell:

si la enfichizó o si le dio atincar,
 o si le dio rainela o si le dio mohalinar,
 o si le dio ponçoña o algu[n]d adamar,
 mucho aína la sopo de su seso sacar. (228)

/[Perhaps she bewitched her or gave her an aphrodisiac,

¹³⁰ See Esmeralda de Luis's edition and Spanish translation and the Filāha Texts Project website, < http://www.filaha.org/author_ibn_bassal.html> for the second.

or some other love potions and filters,
 or perhaps poison, maybe a love token,
 she knew how to alter her state of mind.] (231)

Francisco Márquez-Villanueva and James Monroe have shown that the terms—*atincar*, *rainela* and *mohalinar*—have come to Castilian from Arabic, and, as Hamilton states, "refer to herb wine and a kind of marmalade" (134). This once again demonstrates that the "tools the old go-between uses and the vocabulary used to describe them again reveal Andalusí origins" (Hamilton 134-5). Though the ingredients in this stanza and the one explored before could arguably be part of contemporary culinary or medicinal practices, they could also very easily be part of this magical tradition, especially considering some of the ingredients' Arabic origins as some of the magic popular in the Peninsula was either translated from the Arab world or influenced by the translations of Arabic texts. For example, in the *Picatrix*, wine is also used within some of its recipes suggesting the *Libro's* mixture of herbal wine and marmalade was, in part, like those found in circulating magical books.

Of course, Trotaconventos, and Celestina as we will see in Chapter Four, could do their primary job of matchmaking without the need of magic. Why then, are they described in this way? By describing these characters as magical and prescribing to the assumption that they were as familiar in magic as they were in other traditions establishes magic as a form of uncontainable knowledge. Yes, it was slowly being associated with heresy and witchcraft; yes, it is no longer

described as a knowledge that was in the hands of kings or churchmen; however its permanence is what matters. By maintaining these magical connections within the literary trope of the *vetula* go-between, magic not only aids these characters to achieve their missions. It also critiques attempts of dominance as well as sociopolitical and gender divides as Trotaconventos, unlike the magically-inclined characters of the previous chapters, is not a high ranked royal sovereign nor a cleric. However, this marginalized woman is, presumably, the creation of a cleric, thus further complicating these dynamics.

What magic does she use exactly? Building off Dorothy Severin's work, I continue the idea that both Trotaconventos (and Celestina) perform a *philocaptio* spell to achieve the unions. While oftentimes affiliated with darker magic, at its core a *philocaptio* spell is a spell that induces a burning passion for another person, but that can be wrought without necessarily having to enter the realm of dark magic (Severin 123). They often required the use of "charms, love philtres, wax figures and the usual paraphernalia of white magic" (Severin 124). Many of the details our authors chose to associate with our go-betweens highly suggest not only our character's use of this spell but also the author and likely the audience's familiarity with this type of love spell.

With Trotaconventos, the answer once again lies in the stanzas 711, 916 and 918 where the verb *escantar* is paired with mention of wax and string. Similarly, in the *Libro*, Trotaconventos describes how women, like wax, can be manipulated, molded, and "enchanted":

la çera que es mucho dura e mucho brozna e elada,
 desque ya entre las manos una vez está maznada,
 después con el poco fuego çient vezes será doblada:
 doblarse ha toda dueña que sea bien escantada. (176)

/[Wax which is very hard, brittle and cold,
 once softened and kneaded in the hands will bend a hundredfold with
 slight heat,
 and any well-enchanted woman will do so too.] (177)

Here the metaphor, comparing the manipulation of wax to the manipulation of young women's desires/wills, turns upon the term *escantada*, exploiting both the belief and praxis of magic as subsequently in the *Celestina*. Trotaconventos comparison of women to wax further supports her use of a *philocatio*, as this spell requires human figures made of wax:

A basic part of most *philocatio* spells was dolls made by warming wax and making a human form which could then be used for enchantment, often with a piece of clothing from the victim attached. The metaphor [...] would call up an image of the magical use of wax. [And the] drink of *atalvina* [would conjure the image of] the love potions which were frequently administered in *philocatio* spells. (Severin 124-5)

Severin demonstrates that concocted drinks—including the *atalvina* mentioned in stanza 709 of the *Libro* as discussed above—and figures of wax, like those

described by Trotaconventos, are needed for this type of spell. This supports the theory that Trotaconventos uses magic to make this union between Don Melon and Doña Endrina possible. Such details cannot merely be coincidental as the parallels speak to this science's persistent presence within society. This is not to say that the audience, or even the author of *Libro* for that matter, was directly familiar with the grimoires mentioned in this chapter. The end result of the spells found, however were end results that are also found repeatedly in varied magical compilations in Iberia, and the rest of Europe, the Mediterranean and Arab world, spanning linguistic and cultural traditions that merged within the Peninsula. Magic remained through the centuries because of its ability to tame the anxieties of the human psyche. Whether this was truly effective or not was irrelevant, as what mattered was the client's (or spell-caster's) trust that it would bring about their intention.

Furthermore, in the previously mentioned *Picatrix*, there is a spell that reflects Trotaconventos's actions in the *Libro* through the use of a mixed potion and a wax figure to "acquire the love of a woman." The same can be said for *Celestina*, especially considering her chambers filled with animal parts like the rabbit brain used in this description of a spell:

Ad amorem mulierum acquirendum. Hanc confectionem nominabat
 Deytuz, cuius compositio talis est. Recipe medulle algazel, sepi percoris
 ana 3β. Liquefiant ambo insimul, quibus camphor, cerebri leopris ana 3β
 adiungantur. Et predita omnia in vase ferreo ponantur ad ignem usque ad

liquefactionem predictorum; quibus postea addas camphoram pulverizatam. Et dum omnia erunt insimul mixta, auferantur ab igne. Deinde facias ymaginem ex cera nova compositam, que numquam fuit usui tradita, et habeas in tui voluntate illam mulierem quam cupis. Et in ore ipsius ymaginis facias foramen usque ad ventrem ymaginis penetrans, per quod medicina superius liquefacta in ipsius ymaginis ventrem proiciatur, in qua infusion dicas: Dahyeliz, Hanimidiz, Naffayz, Dabraylez. Deinde ponatur in eius ore zuccari albi 3 ii. Et accipe acum argenteam subtilem, et affigas ipsam in pectore ymaginis quousque a spatulis egrediatur. Et cum acum posueris isto modo, dicas: Hedurz, Tameruz, Hetaytoz, Fermurez. Hoc facto, involves ymaginem in panno albo, et desuper ipsum alium pannum sericum et colore album, ipsumque serico filo aptabis; et ipsum bene sub pectore stringe, et duo capita fili ad invicem iungantur, que septem nodis innodabis. Et super unumquemque nodum dicas hec verba: Hayranuz, Hedefiuz, Faytamurez, Arminez. Postea ponas ymaginem in ollam terream parvam, quam cum terra aurifabrorum obturabis. Et facias foramen unum in domo in qua habitat ille a quo vel pro quo hoc opus construitur—videlicet in quacumque domo vel loco libuerit. Ibi que enim ymaginem sepelias, capite superius, et ipsam terra cooperies. Postea recipe incense, galbani ana 3 ii, et proiciantur in igne. T dum fumus elevator, dicas: Beheymerez, Aumauliz, Menemeyduz, Caynaurez. Moveo spiritum talis mulieris N. et eius voluntatem erga talem virum per virtutem

istorum spirituum predictorum et per virtutem et pontenciam spirituum Beheydras, Metlurez, Auleyuz, Nanitaynuz. Et dum predicta feceris, redeas domum. Scias enim quod huiusmodi mulieris pro qua predictum opus fuerit factum omnes spiritus et voluntates versus illum hominem causa cuius factum fuit hoc opus movebuntur, nec quietare poterit nec dormire nec aliquid facere usque quo homini pro quo tale opus effundetur erit obediens; et hoc virtute spirituum ymaginis predicte. Et ipsa mulier ad domum ymaginis sepulte virtute predictorum deducetur. (150-1)

/[For acquiring the love of a woman.

This confection he called Deytuz, and its composition is as follows. Take 1/2 ounce each of gazelle marrow and beef fat. Melt them together, and add 1/2 ounce each of camphor and rabbit brain. Let all these be put into an iron vessel for the aforesaid melting, and add the powdered camphor last. When it is all mixed together, take it off the fire. Then make an image out of virgin wax, which has not been used for any other purpose, and have in mind the woman whom you desire.

In the mouth of that image make an opening that penetrates to the belly of the image, by which the melted medicine above may be poured into the belly of the image. While pouring it, say:

Dahyeliz, Hanimidiz, Naffayz, Dabraylez." Then put into its mouth two ounces of fine sugar.

Next, take a fine silver needle and insert it into the chest of that image until it comes out the back. While you place the needle in this manner, say "Hedurez, Tameruz, Hetaytoz, Femurez." When this is finished, wrap the image in a white cloth, and over this put another silk cloth, white in color, and prepare a silk thread, and tie this tightly under the chest of the image, and let the two ends of the thread be joined together and knotted with seven knots. Over each of the knots say these words: "Hayranuz, Hedefiuz, Faytamurez, Arminez." Then put the image in a little clay pot, which you should seal up with alchemist's luting. Make a pit in the house where the person lives against who, or at the request of whom, this working is performed--that is, in whichever house or place is suitable. Bury the image there, head up, and cover it with earth. Then take two ounces each of incense and galbanum, and cast it on the fire. While the smoke rises, say: "Beheymerez, Aumauliz, Menemeyduz, Caynaurez. I move the spirit of this woman N, and her will toward this man N. by virtue of the spirits I have named, and by the virtue and power of the spirits Beheydras, Methurez, Auleyez, Nanitaynuz." When you have done the foregoing, return to the house. You should know that all the spirit and will of the woman against whom this working is done will be moved toward the man for whose sake the work is done, nor will she be able to rest or sleep or do anything else until she obeys the man for whom such a working has been done, and this is by virtue of the spirits of the foregoing image. This

woman will be led to the house where the image is buried by the aforesaid virtue.] (197-8)

Wax appears in this spell as well as a mixture of ingredients, which can connect to the love-passion inducing *philocaptio* spell discussed earlier. Furthermore, this spell requires cloth and thread as the binding agent, something Trotaconventos is also described using.

Her spell requires an object to which to bind the victim's will, and in the *Libro* the object needed for this spell could be interpreted as the *çinta* mentioned twice in the text with connection to the verb *encantar* as seen here in stanzas 916 and 918:

Començó a encantalla, díxole: “Señora fija,
 Catad aquí que vos trayo esta preçiosa sortija;
 Da[t]m[e] vós esta [çinta]”, poco a poco la aguija,
 “si me non mesturades, dirévos una pastija”.

...

Encantóla de guise que la enveleñó,
 Dióle aquestas cantigas, la çinta le çinió,
 En dándole la sortija del ojo le guiñó:
 Somovióla yaquanto e bien lo adeliñó. (223)

/[She began to bewitch the girl, saying: ‘My dear,
 look at this beautiful ring I have brought you.

Give me your [hand].’ Little by little she urged her,

‘If you don’t spill the beans, I’ll tell you a story.

...

She bewitched her, gave her love’s poison,

She gave her those songs, put a girdle round her waist

And winked as she gave her the ring.

She tempted her a Little, guided her thoughts.] (225, 227)

Regarding stanza 918, the use of *enveleñó* on the first line is significant since the word can “mean poisoning or the inducement of a craze” and either meaning can imply that “the lady has been compelled, at least in part by magic, to a lower level” (Corry 159). She was so enchanted that her state of being was altered and this change further indicates that Trotaconventos’ activities as described in the text as magical. Severin adds:

the expectation would be that once Trotaconventos had given Endrina the enchanted ring and extracted some item from her (she does in fact seem to touch her on the hand), she would complete the spell with a wax doll and incantation. Even Celestina is not explicit on this point; she warns Calisto that he must give back the *cordón* because she needs to do more with it, but we do not hear what this might be. Unlike the Celestina story, Melon/Endrina will have a happy ending. Trotaconventos has not indulged in black magic, and despite the (missing) rape scene, all is reconciled in the end and Melon and Endrina are married. But the text, even in its

fragmentary state, provides us with ample evidence that, like her literary heir Celestina, Trotaconventos was an *hechicera* well versed in the white arts of *philocaptio* (127).¹³¹

Therefore, by establishing a connection between the actions of Trotaconventos, Celestina and contemporary *philocaptio* spells, their association with magic and occult knowledge is strengthened thus reflecting documented contemporary practices within a fictional literary context. I stipulate that, though one could choose to see their actions as void of magical influence, it is by assuming they are magical that we can understand the persistent role magic had on Iberian society despite the increasing regulations and attempts to suppress magical practices—even if the results may have been desirable.

Though the literary representation of certain magical practices within the *Libro* do not detail the magical processes, as would contemporaneous grimoires. The purpose of the grimoires was different as they did not merely demonstrate the results of magic but provide detail to its readers to replicate the results. The connection with magic further enriches the understanding of the fictional text. While I do not mean to suggest that Juan Ruiz took directly from the mentioned grimoires, reality informed literature and vice versa. Exploring the depictions of

¹³¹ Severin's conclusions about Trotaconventos' use of a *philocaptio* spell as part of her seduction of Endrina are further explored by Jaime Leños, Robert Folger and Olga Lucia Valbuena. For instance, Folger clarifies that "*Philocaptio* is frequently taken to refer exclusively to love magic. However, Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum*, for instance, illustrates that it is a technical term for the *enamoramiento* in general" (8).

Trotaconventos and go-betweenes as “enchanting” their victims/clients, reveals that there are several similarities between the fictional representation and love potions and spells recorded in contemporaneous grimoires with the *Picatrix* serving as the showcasing example. I am not arguing that *Libro de buen amor* took spell details from this, and similar, spellbooks per say, I do propose that such grimoires and the similarly themed spells found within them—namely *philocaptio* love spells—are reflected in the literature and used as a means of pairing the two lovers within the text. Therefore, having a fictional character characterized as magical not only functions as a literary device but also reflects the practices found within surviving contemporaneous grimoires, and, therefore, are suggestive of the practices that may have been performed outside the fictional world. In the context of this overall dissertation, our author’s choice, as a member of the Christian religious hierarchy, of portraying magical knowledge in the old *vetula* character further complicates the dynamics not only between gender but also sociopolitical status. Trotaconventos, as a marginalized woman arranges the amorous encounter of a cleric and a widower not only helping the cleric, as Don Melon, obtain his control of his, at first unwilling, target but also Trotaconventos place in society as the only choice for acquiring such services and ensuring their success. Like in the *Cantigas* and *Zifar*, magic here functions as a point of contact and transference of knowledge. Unlike our previous examples however, here this is accomplished through mediation. While Trotaconventos mediates between two people of the same culture (and

presumably religion), the skills she uses for this mediation give her unique power. She facilitates access to the unorthodox knowledge in order to subvert societal conventions of amorous behavior removing distanced devotion with immediate proximity for sexual pleasure. The next chapter continues this theme with another go-between, in many ways the inheritor of Trotaconventos, Celestina.

Chapter Four

Learned Women and their Tricks

This chapter follows closely on its predecessor in that once again our core literary example portrays a prominent magical character who is a skillful old mediating woman of many talents. A century and a half after the *Libro's* production and circulation we have Fernando de Rojas's text, *la Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. This text is entirely dialogue and first published in Burgos in 1499. Rojas represents Celestina, a highly skilled elder woman, and our character of interest, performing a *philocaptio* love spell to arrange an amorous entanglement. Rojas gives the reader even more details regarding Celestina's practices and the ingredients/materials she had at her disposal to carry out her many functions. The ingredients and end results of her dabbles in the lives of her clients, like we saw in the previous chapter with Trotaconventos, parallel the preserved practices of magical, medicinal, bestiary and agronomical compendia of al-Andalus and its later translations.

The reason for including Rojas's text as an archetypal example of multi-cultural magical representation in Iberian texts despite already having Chapter Three dedicated to a mediating old woman as well is due to Rojas's identity. Throughout the previous chapters we saw texts commissioned by Castilian royalty and written by Christian clerics and archpriests. This chapter highlights a presumed converso author and the following final chapter a woman author. The

dual nature of magic addressed throughout this dissertation—one that both claims power and subverts it—is demonstrated not only through the characters represented using magic but also by the authors who created them. With Rojas in particular, many of the technical vocabulary he uses to describe the magical skillset of *Celestina* speak to potential familiarities with contemporaneous compendia and influences. Once again, I do not wish to claim that Rojas was familiar with the exact treatises described in this chapter—after all there is no way to know for certain—but rather that he was familiar with similar material and allowed said material to influence his literary masterpiece. Furthermore, we cannot forget that shortly after *La Celestina*'s publication, Joseph ben Samuel Sarfati, an Italian author and physician, translated the text into Hebrew. His translation unfortunately is lost, however his rendering of the text included an introductory poem, which is extant.¹³²

Celestina has two versions, one that is considered the Comedy and has 16 acts and the other the Tragic Comedy containing 21 acts. The story tells of a man, Calisto, and how he uses the skills of the old go-between, Celestina, to arrange his affair with the unmarried girl, Melibea—much like *Trotaconventos* with Don Melón and Doña Endrina. However, in this text the end result is not

¹³² This poem is now available in English and Spanish translations. See Michelle Hamilton's article, "a Sephardi Jew's Reading of the *Celestina* in Light of the Medieval Judeo-Spanish Go-Between Tradition" for more on how Rojas's *Celestina* was not only "interpreted by a contemporary, but also how [it] fits within the context of medieval Judeo-Spanish literature" (330). Note that this dissertation, while mentioning moments of Judeo influence, does not develop this as much as the Arabic.

marriage but rather an accidental death and subsequent suicide. As with the *Libro, La Celestina*, as another canonical Iberian text, there is a plethora of scholarship on the text. Many address the use of proverbs, concepts of pleasure and voyeurism, the printed text itself, as well as specific acts of the work.¹³³ Some scholars have also addressed the magical presence of Celestina's actions and have explored the continuation of Trotaconventos's figure in *Celestina*.¹³⁴ *Celestina*, both the text itself and the protagonist, influenced future works like the *Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano* and *El caballero Olmedo* in the baroque and Early Modern period.

Fernando Rojas was a Toledan lawyer and author born in between 1465 and 1473 and passed away in 1541 with the *Celestina* as his only surviving work. He completed the work as a law student at the University of Salamanca and though it is considered a drama, it was never staged, in Spain, during Rojas's lifetime.¹³⁵ He was also presumably a *converso* and a *hidalgo*.¹³⁶ Following Green's findings, Rojas and his family "lived like *crístianos viejos*, in spite of his marriage to Leonor Alvarez, daughter of the *converso* Alvaro de Montalbán"

¹³³ See Peter Bush, José Antonio Bernaldo de Quirós Mateo, Anna Casas Aquilar, Luis F López González, Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, John T Cull, Enrique Fernández Rivera and Rosa Navarro Durán among others for their varied scholarship on *La Celestina*.

¹³⁴ See Alberto Montaner Frutos and Lidio Nieto Jiménez work for instance in addition to those discussed below.

¹³⁵ See David Paolini's article on the possible staging of *Celestina* in Rome 1501.

¹³⁶ See Otis Green's article for more on Fernando Rojas as both as *converso* and an *hidalgo* and Jose Antonio Maravall on the societal context during the production of *Celestina*.

(386). The term *converso* could mean both someone who was born from conversos or was a converso themselves.¹³⁷ His father-in-law was later accused in 1525 of returning to the Jewish faith and mentioned his son-in-law, Rojas, as both *converso* and author in hopes to better his case (Green 387). While his family faced interrogation by the Inquisition, there is no record of the Inquisition targeting him.¹³⁸ Since he has only one surviving work, scholars like Severin have described Rojas's *Celestina* as either the last Castilian work of the Middle Ages or the first Castilian work of the Renaissance/Baroque/Early Modern. While still often considered part of the medieval corpus, the *Celestina*, like the later Cervantes's *Don Quijote* both in a way, "destroy the world of the medieval romance by showing it is impossible to live like an idealized knight-errant or a courtly lover in a picaresque milieu" (Severin 23-24).¹³⁹

In Chapter Three we saw some context for the historical go-between. Building off this, like their literary counterparts, these *alcahuetes* and *alcahuetas* most contemporaneous with *Celestina*, faced accusations of witchcraft (*brujeria* and *hechiceria*).¹⁴⁰ In fact, there are several documented accusations in the Real

¹³⁷ See Fermín Caballero for more on the mention of Rojas family lineage (250-1).

¹³⁸ Also note that the *Celestina* itself was untouched by the inquisition or censorship until 1640 so Rojas himself would not have been in fear of this.

¹³⁹ See Francisco Marcos Marin, Maria Teresa Miaja de la Pena and Oscar Perez Rodriguez's articles on *Celestina*, her go-between nature and the continued representations of characters in later works inspired by *Celestina*.

¹⁴⁰ As mentioned in chapter three, *Celestina*, like other historically documented go-betweens had, according to Alejandro Garcia Aviles: "ciertas practicas que tienden a ser consideradas como populares o supersticiosas, en realidad formaban parte del conocimiento recogido en los manuals medicos de la

Audiencia y Chancillería de Valladolid's *Registro de Ejecutorias* from the sixteenth century which reflect this, as recently explored by Juan Antonio Lopez Cordero. For example, we have Juana Rodriguez and Maria Diosdado. The licensed Corregidor Gaspar Gonzales denounced Juana in 1573 for being an *hechicera* who: "andaba en la dicha ciudad publicando e diciendo que sanaba a todos cuantos enfermos que a ella quisiera...e que andaba haciendo ynbbenciones sin tener por ello licencia de su majestad ny de los inquisidores del santo oficio" (Lopez Cordero 12). Similarly, a neighbor denounced Maria accusing her of publically being an "alcahueta y encubridora de hombres y mujeres casados y solteros porque a su casa tuviesen acceso y copula carnal y daba echiços y bebidos" (Lopez Cordero 13). While these two women existed in the Peninsula, many of the accusations associated with them, and go-betweens like them, hold resemblance to the Trotaconventos from the previous chapter and this chapter's Celestina. For instance, both are also known as curers of sorts who created concoctions but like the "ynbbenciones" "echiços" and "bebidos" these women were accused of creating.

Additionally, both Celestina and Trotaconventos dealt with "hombres y mujeres casados y solteros" to achieve their matchmaking. While in our literary

epoca, y Fernando de Rojas retrato a Celestina no tanto como una bruja, sino como una 'vieja sabia' (vetula) cuyo saber era el de las comadres de la época, entendida en las enfermedades y los secretos de las mujeres (11). This helps explain where women healers acquired their knowledge, a place I consider to be part of the realm of magic despite its connections with medicine—a realm which slowly gained more credibility and respect within mainstream society in comparison to the marginal practices go-betweens would have been skilled in knowing.

texts, we do not have explicit descriptions of the punishments these go-betweens would suffer if caught, the historical documents, which preserve the stories of Juana and Maria, do. In many of these cases, the punishment included many lashings, exile, and public shaming usually accomplished with a naked walk through the village. This last punishment produces an all too familiar image to *Game of Thrones* fans as evident with Cersei's walk of shame punishment from the High Council in Season Five. Lopez Cordero concludes his findings by highlighting the popularity of the *alcahuetas* in the societies they lived in with their various occupations, like those listed in the literature—which strategically put them in contact with many other women.

In the case of *Celestina*, we even see an allusion by Rojas of similar punishments, such as burning. When our go-between first enters Melibea's home and when she mentions Calisto's name, she becomes enraged shouting:

No se dize en vano que el más empecible miembro del mal hombre o muer es la lengua. Quemada seas, alcahueta falsa, hechizera, enemiga de honestidad, causadora de secretos yerros. Jesu, Jesu, quitamela, Lucrecia, de delante, que me fino, que no me ha dexado gota de sangre en el cuerpo! (Rojas 161)

/ [People are right: the tongue is a miscreant's most treacherous member. I hope you burn, you lying go-between, dabbler in magic, enemy of my good name, prompter of secret sinning. Jesus, Jesus! Get her away from

me, Lucrecia. She'll be the death of me. She's drained every drop of blood from my veins.] (53)

As Hererro points out, “Melibea’s family is rich, powerful and influential, and could have her burnt” and therefore Celestina takes a risk in pursuing the union of her client to this, at first, undesiring and uninterested woman (346).¹⁴¹

Celestina is tactful and uses her skills in exchange for a price. She was aware that what she could do—or at the very least what she could convince others she could do—could have lucrative benefits for her and therefore she knew how to exploit them for her own means. As scholars have pointed out, Celestina strategically works with servants and by performing their requests is given access to their homes and therefore their rich ladies. (Herrero 344). Above all her other services, she saw love, or better yet lust, as a “negocio de mucho lucro” (Pant 520). It was one of course that requires special care from our go-between for its successful execution. By necessity, a go-between—and Celestina, and Trotaconventos for that matter, are no exception—is a person with “much experiencia practica de la vida, y sabe que sola no puede trabajar. Ella tiene su red de personas y su sistema de contactos” (Pant 521). The goal is always for her interactions to benefit her in some way, and her understanding of the superiority money plays in conjunction with morals and rules.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ See also scholarship on women in the inquisition by scholars like Susan Deeds, Francisco Martin Hernández and Ricardo Muñoz Solla among others.

¹⁴² It is worth noting that throughout our descriptions of Celestina and her actions, Rojas does not interweave too much commentary or judgement, but

Unlike in the case of Juan Ruiz's *Trotaconventos*, Rojas gives the reader a lot more detail regarding Celestina's objects and even the description of her supposed conjuring.¹⁴³ Celestina, as a go-between, is a jack of all trades with explicit knowledge of enchantments as an *hechizera* in addition to other professions like perfume maker, re-virginizer and healer. She is also described as a *lapidaria* and as such an expert on magical stones.¹⁴⁴ This skillset, as seen in previous chapters, connects the fictional characters with documented practices as many stones in medieval lapidaries specifically addressed concerns of the heart.¹⁴⁵ A good example of this carnelian stone is found in the *Picatrix* book IX, the *Lapidario* under *alaaquic*, and other Latin and European lapidaries as particularly useful for women interested in being loved, and, when properly engraved, can inspire love in whoever is touched by the stone (Lecouteux 15).

rather presents her as she is. Of course, as Pant points out, it is only at the end that any moralizing message comes through: "solo al final se ve que todo lo que nos ha sorprendido en la historia de hecho tiene un final trágico y de esta manera de una vez por todo se establece que uno que no respeta las reglas y las normas socio morales no puede tener éxito en sus planes y a su vez, por lo tanto, pueden ser denunciados como malos." (519)

¹⁴³ However, this lack of detail does not make its presence any less magical. As in many fictionalized uses of magic in romances, "the magic simply happens, and in this respect readers are left to wonder about agency" (Bottigheimer 68). This approach to understanding magic allows for the possibility of the presence of occult practices within literature and which characters were imploring its usage.

¹⁴⁴ See Patrizia Botta's article on "Magic in *Celestina*" for a recent survey of the main scholarship to date on Celestina and her magical ways. Her work is particularly useful in understanding the divide amongst scholars as to whether or not Celestina does or does know perform magic—as evident in this dissertation I am on the side that she does.

¹⁴⁵ See Eva-Maria Güida's article, "El *Lapidario* de Alfonso X: observaciones acerca del léxico" for an analysis of the terms used in this text derived from earlier Arabic sources.

Returning to her other skills, in order to make such perfumes, potions, and creams—“perfumes, falsava estoraques, menjuy, animes, ambar, algalia, polvillos, almizcles, mosquetes,” (Rojas 111)—she would need an array of ingredients. Parmeno, while speaking to his master Calisto about Celestina in the first act, describes her chambers in detail. It was filled with:

alambiques, de redomillas, de barrilejos de barro, de vidrio, de arambre, de estraño, hechos de mil faciones; hazía solimán, afeyte cosido, argentadas, bujelladas, cerillas, llanillas, unturillas, lustres, lucentores, clarimientes, alvalines y otras aguas de rostro, de rassuras de gamones, de coretza, de spantalobos, de taraguntia, de hieles, de agraz, de mostro, destillados y açurcados. Adalgassava los cueros con çumos de limones, con turvino, con tuetano de corço y de garça, y otras confaciones. Sacaba agua[s] para oler, de rosas, de azaar, de jasmine, de trébol, de madreSelvia y clavellinas, mosquatadas y almizcladas, polvorizadas con vino. Hazía lexías para enruviar, de sarmientos, de carrasca, de centeno, de manurrubios, con salitre, con alumbre y millifolia y otras diversas cosas. Y los untes y mantecas que tenía, es fastío de dezir: de vaca, de osso, de cavallos y de camellos, de culebra y de conejo, de vallena, de garça, y de alcaraván, y de gamo, y de gato montés, y de texón, de harda, de herizo, de nutria. Aparejos para baños, esto es una maravilla; de las yervas y rayzes que tenía en el techo de su casa colgadas; mançanilla y romero, malvaviscos, culantrillo, coronillas, flor de saúco y de mostaza,

spliego y laurel blanco, tortarosa y gramonilla, flor salvaje y higuera, pico de oro y hojatinta. Los azeytes que sacava para el rostro no es cosa de creer: de storaque, y de jazmín, de limon, de pepitas, de violetas, de benjuy, de alfócigos, de piñones, de granillo, de açufayfes, de neguilla, de altramuces, de arvejas, y de carillas, y de yerva paarera: y un poquillo de balsam tenía ella en una redomilla que guardava para aquel rascuño que tiene por las narizes. Esto de los virgos, unos hazía de bexiga y otros curava de punto. Tenía en un tabladillo, en una caxuela pintada, unas agujas delgadas y peligrosos, y hilos de seda encerados, y colgadas allí raíces de hojaplasma y fuste sanguine, cebolla albarrana y cepacavallo. Hazia con esto maravillas. (Rojas 111-112)

/[Wire coils, narrow-necked vessels, glass, copper, earthen and tin pots of a thousand kinds. She made mercury, concocted creams, silver paint, vials, wax dabs, wool swabs, ointments, brilliantine, pomades, lighteners, clearers, alkalis and other face make-up, distilled from oleander essences, liquorice and dragon-tea bark, bile, unripe grape juice and must, all with sugar added. She smoothed skin with lemon juice, marrow from deer and heron bone and other such extracts. She manufactured water scented with roses, orange blossom, jasmine, clover, honeysuckle and miniature carnation, mixed and macerated with muscatel, frankincense, benjoin and wine. She made rinses to turn hair golden from ash of vine-shoots, dwarf

oak, barley, horehound, saltpeter, yarrow and motley ingredients. Not to mention a huge stock of creams and unguents to turn your stomach: from cow and bear, horse and camel, snake and rabbit, whale and stone curlew, deer and wild cat, badger and squirrel, hedgehog and otter. Hers too was a wonderful array of herbs, roots and tools, all hanging from the ceiling of her house ready to spice baths: chamomile and rosemary, marshmallow and southern maidenhair, crown vetch, flower of willow and mustard plant, lavender and white laurel, pink bistort and gramonilla, lady's mantle and Arabian pea. Her selection of face paints beggared belief: gentian and jasmine, melon seeds, violets, pistachio, pine-nuts, almonds, curly caterpillar, corn cockle, lupine, tare, string bean and white hearted cherry, and a little balsam she kept in a narrow-topped flask for cuts to the nose. To mend maidenheads she used small bladders or sewed them with a needle and thread. To that end, she kept a painted box of thin furriers' needles and waxed silk thread on a shelf from which she hung all manner of roots and bark for plugging wounds, like squill bulbs and prickly burweed. She worked miracles.] (16-17)

Clearly our Celestina was very well equipped with a variety of ingredients, some of which one may expect in a kitchen and others in toolsheds. Many of the objects and foodstuff preserved in her lair are those also found in various circulating spellbooks as seen throughout this dissertation, from lapidaries, medicinal treatises and miscellaneous collections. In addition to these herbs,

seeds and objects occurring in grimoires, many of the listed animals not only appear in various bestiaries but also manuals that indicate the various uses of certain creatures. Housed in the Escorial Library is a mid fourteenth-century illustrated copy, presumably done by a Spanish Muslim, Iraqi-born Ibn Al-Durayhim al-Mawsili's *Kitāb Manafi al-Hayawan/Book of the Uses of Animals*. The Colophon of the text states that this manuscript is a compilation implying its "dependence on our relationship to earlier ones which it summarizes or reorganizes" (Ruiz Bravo 88).¹⁴⁶ Scholars have suggested this manuscript was part of sixteenth-century Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's library collection.¹⁴⁷ This manual lists many of the animals referenced in Celestina's supply room—namely bear, horse, camel, snake, rabbit and hedgehog. As Celestina is a character associated with many trades, considering her specialization in perfumes and other forms of beautification, some of the descriptions of animal uses found in the above-mentioned manual may shed light on why Rojas chose to include them. For example, on folio 60r and 60v of the manual, the reader is told how to make a depilatory paste from a hedgehog:

the hedgehog is taken and placed inside an earthenware marmite. Oil is poured over it until it is covered and it is cooked. Then, in the month of

¹⁴⁶ The Biblioteca AECID in Madrid digitized this manuscript and is available through this link: <http://bibliotecadigital.aecid.es/bibliodig/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1209> See also Anna Contadini's work on other illustrated Arabic texts on animals.

¹⁴⁷ See Gregorio de Andres for more on this manuscript. Furthermore, it should be noted that this manuscript copy has various marginal annotations in both Arabic and Latin with the Latin translations aligning with the Latin names used to describe the depicted animals (86).

July, it is placed in the sun for forty days and what remains inside is strained through a linen cloth. If this is spread daily on the body and lightly rubbed in, then washed off in a lukewarm bath (for seven days), it removes the hair. Care must be taken not to touch the lashes and eyebrows, for what is removed does not grow again. (Ruiz Bravo 111)

While this exact practice is never mentioned in *La Celestina*, we are told of her various trades and many of the objects found within her supplies, which can further connect our fictional character to documented practices of the time. Of course, in this case are not necessarily magical as no incantation is written or recited but, regardless, there is a level of astronomical understanding and skill required to properly execute this, albeit stomach turning—to borrow from Rojas’s description—do-it-yourself beauty remedy. Among her listed objects, Celestina had access to licorice, sugar, and clover, and while not listed, surely had access to other herbs and fruits including mint and grapefruit as well. Ibn Zuhr’s *Kitāb al-Yamī*, previously mentioned in Chapter Three, has a syrup-filled candy recipe to ease anxiety and heart palpitations requiring these ingredients (42-3). While this cure does not mention its applicability to amorous entanglements, it could easily be the condition of go-between’s client upon requesting their services. Many of Celestina’s supplies like silk, barley, perfume and others appear in the last section of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya’s *Altib al-nabī* (Prophetic Medicine) where many foodstuff and objects are listed, along with their value in prophetic healing and practices. Other objects like poppyseeds, grapes, hazelnut and pine are also

frequently mentioned in Ibn Bassāl's work. This is not to say that Rojas would have been a practitioner of Prophetic medicine nor that he had read Ibn Zuhr or Ibn al-Bassāl's works, but rather the knowledge contained within their pages would have spread throughout the Peninsula and reached both Rojas and his readers. This transference of knowledge serves as possible inspiration for the many objects Rojas described Celestina to possess.

Among the objects mentioned in this description, we already see the wax silk thread, which will reoccur as we discuss the *philocaptio* spell both she and Trotaconventos perform to ensure the union of their client and their target.¹⁴⁸ Her collection and uses of said ingredients does not stop there however, as this following description reveals a few other ingredients as well as her knowledge of what would be appear to be geomancy—drawing figures in the earth:

y en otro apartado tenía para remediar amores y para se querer bien: tenía huessos de croacon de ciervo, lengua de bivora, cabeças de codornizes, sesos de asno, tela de cavallo, mantilla de niño, hava morsica, guija marina, sogá de ahorcado, flor de yedra, spina de erizo, pie de texón, granos de helecho; la piedra del nido del águila, y otras mil cosas. Venían a ella muchos hombres y mujeres, y a unos demandava el pan do mordían, a otros, de su ropa; a otros, de sus cabellos, a otros, pintava en la palma letras con açafrán; a otros, con bermellón, a otros dva unos coraçones de cera, llenos de agujas quebradas, y a otras cosas en

¹⁴⁸ See also Florencio Sevilla Arroyo's article, "Amor, magia y tiempo en La Celestina" for more on the interplay of love and magic in this text.

brarro y en plomo fechas, muy espantables a ver. Pintava figuras, dezía palabras en tierra. (112-113)

/ [and in another cupboard she had stuff for curing love and making love work: gut from a stag's heart, snake's tongues, quails' heads, asses' brains, horses' foetal scrapings, babies' crown, Moorish beans, lodestone, hangman's rope, ivy berries, hedgehog prickles, badger's foot, fern spore, stone from an eagle's nest and a thousand other items. Many men and women visited her: from some she demanded the very crust they ate; from others, their clothes; others, their hair. She painted letters in saffron on some hands, in vermilion on others, gave others hearts of wax spiked with broken needles, and others baubles made of clay or lead that were frightening to behold. She painted faces, drew magic words in the earth.]

(17)

While the writing on the earth was likely meant to invoke geomancy imagery, it is also possible that it was a reference to the many spells that required the placement of writings or drawings on the earth—i.e. buried for the success of the spell. In the previously mentioned *Picatrix* in the Book one Chapter Five, on magical images, we have a description of a love spell that, in addition to astrological knowledge regarding the Moon and ascendant houses of Jupiter, requires the placement of the drawing within the earth (42-3). Many other of the ingredients listed above, like incense, herbs and pieces of wood, in addition to

various body parts of animals like wolves, rabbits, mice and dogs, are used in a variety of spells in the *Picatrix* for everything from acquiring love—the main description of both Celestina’s and Trotaconventos’s uses of magic—to restoring eyesight, repelling animal attacks and even creating impotence (200). These parallels between popular treatises of magic and the listed objects in Celestina’s arsenal further support the theory that Celestina is meant to be represented as someone who has familiarity with occult sciences.

In Chapter Three of this dissertation, I briefly mentioned the *Sefer Ahavat Nashim* (Book of Women’s Love) composed by an anonymous Sephardi author. The only surviving manuscript of this text, dated at the end of the fifteenth century, exists within a codex entitled *Book of Practical Kaballah* by the same hand suggesting that the *Sefer* is a copy as opposed to the original from previous centuries (Caballero-Navas 7).¹⁴⁹ The text itself explicitly cites Arabic scholars Ibn Sīnā, al-Razī and al-Zahrāwī, It also references Jewish scholars like Falaquera and Yishaq, who were likely either Jewish thirteenth-century physician Natan ben Yo’el Falaquerah or Shem Tov ben Yosef ibn Falaquerah as well as Yishaq ben Shelomoh Yisraeli.¹⁵⁰ Caballero-Navas has also found similar wordings in the *Sefer* as those in the twelfth-century Catalan treatise *Tròtula* and

¹⁴⁹ For more on Jewish development of cultural and scientific thought see David Romano Ventura’s *la ciencia hispanojudía*, Luís García-Ballester, Lola Ferre and Eduard Feliu’s article on Jewish appreciation of medicine and Joseph Shatzmiller’s *Jews, Medicine and Medieval Society* among others.

¹⁵⁰ For more on possible sources of this text see Caballero-Navas edition (35).

the French *Des aides de la maire*.¹⁵¹ This text cannot be summarized as one sole characteristic; while it has many magical recipes, it is not exclusively magical. Nor is it exclusively medicinal, cosmetic, or gynecological. It is: “a compendium that collects in one single work all these types of knowledge, and which considers the care and preservation of the health and beauty of the whole body, the female body.” (Caballero-Navas 42).

While there is no evidence that Rojas, or any of the literary authors explored in this dissertation, read or had access to the contemporaneous compendia discussed in these pages, the *Sefer*'s Hebrew origins and Rojas presumed background allow for the possibility of further links and potential inspiration on the part of the author. However, it is true that the technical terms and end-results Rojas uses had to come from somewhere. Rojas describes Celestina as more than just a magic practitioner; she is also skilled in many aspects of women's health—the majority of which are outlined in the *Sefer*, and similar texts, itself. One of the many relevant recipes to provoke love, or rather, lovesickness, involves blood and writing. The *Sefer* texts states that one should:

‘Od: qah dam tarnegol shaḥor vetarnegolet sheḥora o levana vetikhtov mehadamim shimkha ushema ‘al qelaf betula vega’ bivesara mize haqelaf veye’avevkha b[aduq] u[menuse]. Ve’im lekha yesh shum sone’ tikhtov shemo veshimkha ‘al qelaf hanizkar mehadamim hanizkarim sheyihyu

¹⁵¹ See Monica Green for more on these texts.

me'oravim yaḥad vegam son'ekha min haqelaf yishtaḥave lekha veyā'ase
kol retzonekha. (111)¹⁵²

[Take the blood of a black cock and of a black or white hen and write with the blood both your name and hers on a virgin parchment. Touch her flesh with the parchment and she will love you; it has been tried and tested. If you have an enemy, write his name and yours on the above-mentioned parchment with both the bloods mixed together and your enemy also, because of the parchment, will bow before you and do as you wish] (110).

The main takeaway from this particular spell is the importance of writing names with blood and how this action, when done correctly, will render one's target under one's control.

If we return to the fictional world Rojas created, shortly after he introduces the reader to Celestina's arsenal, he presents us with a longer description of her preparation to unify these lovers. She calls upon Pluto, or the devil, to magically assist her in the union of the lovers, upon request of Calisto. She, much like the cleric in Chapter One of this dissertation, is very confident in her abilities and even goes so far as to threaten the master of darkness vowing to be his mortal enemy if he does not help her achieve the union with the unwilling Melibea. In this very summoning we see parallels between the previously explored spell:

¹⁵² Once again, the transliterations are my own based on the original provided by the Caballero-Navas's edition. Vowelization of this transliteration was done with the generous help of Noam Sienna.

Celestina wrote words in blood of a winged-creature on a writing surface.

Specifically, her invocation starts:

conjúrote, triste Plutón, señor de la profundidad infernal, emperador de la corte dañada, capitán sobervio de los condenados ángeles, señor de los sulfuros fuegos que los hervientes étnicos montes manan, gobernador y veedor de los tormentos y atormentadores de las pecadoras animas, *regidor de las tres furias, Tesifone, Megera, y Aleto, administrador de todas las cosas negras del regno de Stige y Dite, con todas sus lagunas y sombras infernales y litigioso caos, mantendor de las bolantes harpías, con toda la otra companya de espantables y pavorosas ydras.* Yo, Celestina, tu más conocida cliéntula, te conjuro por la virtud y fuerça destas bermejas letras, por la sangre de aquella noturna ave con que están scritas, por la gravedad de aquestos nombres y signos que en este papel se se contienen, por la áspera ponçona de las bívoras de que este azeYTE fue hecho, con el qual unto este hilado; vengas sin tardança a obedecer mi voluntad y en ello te embolvas, y con ello estas sin un momento te partir, hasta que Melibea con aparejada oportunidad que haya lo compre, y con ello de tal manera quede enredada que quanto más lo mirare, tanto más su coraçon se ablande a conceder mi petición. Y se les abras y lastimes del crudo y fuerte amor de Calisto, tanto que despedida toda honestidad, se descubra a mí y me galardone mis passos y mensaje; y esto hecho pide y demanda de mí a tu voluntad. Si no los

hazes con presto movimiento, ternásme por capital enemiga; heriré con luz tus cárceres tristes y oscuras; acusaré cruelmente tus continuas mentiras; apremiaré con mis ásperas palabras tu horrible nombre, y otra y otra vez te conjuro y, assí confiando en mi mucho poder, me parto para allá con mi hilado, donde creo te llevo ya embuelto. (147-8)

/[I invoke you, dark Pluto, lord of the gloomy depths of hell, emperor of the damned, proud captain of fallen angels, master of the sulphurous fires spewing from Mount Etna's hot slopes, governor and overseer of tortures and scourge of sinful souls, ruler of the three Furies, Tisiphone, Megaera and Alecto, lord of all things black in the reign of Styx and Dis, with the infernal lagoons, shadows and discordant chaos, champion of flying harpies and that other band of hideous gorgons. I, Celestina, your most renowned servant, summon you by the strength and virtue of these vermilion letters, by the blood of that nocturnal bird in which they are written, by the weight of the names and signs marked on this paper, by the bitter vipers' poison in this oil I now smear on this ball of thread. Enter here without delay, do as I will wholeheartedly and never relent until you find the moment to inhabit Melibea. She will be so ensnared that the more she looks at the thread, the more her heart will soften and yield to my requests. Then you will open her up and inflict on her a passionate pitiless love for Calisto that is so strong she'll cast off all restraints of reputation,

reveal all to me and reward my moves and messages. When you have done this, you can bind me to your will. If you don't do this, and quickly, I shall be your most mortal enemy and shall beam a wounding light into your dismal dark prisons. I shall betray your constant deceit. I shall pour my foulest words on your name. Time and again I shall invoke you, and, sure of my enormous powers, I now take her this ball of thread where I believe your spirit now resides.] (42-3)

While this invocation of the devil some scholars have seen as proof of its parody and even *Celestina's* lack of trust in her own practices by scholars like Echevarría or as a parody on Christianity as Castro has claimed. For instance, Echevarría says that “*Celestina's* belief in the powers of the Devil is like Calisto's mad adherence to the rules of courtly love: it is a false doctrine and system of behavior that purports to channel, organize, and give meaning to action” (14). However, I do not adhere to this interpretation as the invocation of Pluto aligns with Hellenistic conjurings, and in part Hermetic as well.¹⁵³

Of course, this conjuring is only the first step as she needs to acquire another string from Melibea to complete the union, but here we do see how through the wax string, the magical words written in blood and the snake poison—an ingredient mentioned in a variety of grimoires. While here the venom is combined with blood to write the magical words—a practice that continues into later grimoires like the Morisco spellbook I will explore in further detail in the last

¹⁵³ For more on this conjuring in relation to *Celestina* see Calvo Martínez and Arentieva's article.

chapter of this dissertation—other parts of the snakes can be used to create deadly poisons as well as create poison repellent stones. For instance, the *Picatrix* describes in detail how one can create a stone using the dried and pulverized combination eyes of deer and vipers and toad heads combined with cedar, turnip juice, spider-webs and empty egg shells among other things. These ingredients must be roasted and combined in specific ways resulting in a stone that, when the wearer is presented with anything poisonous, “the stone would be moved with a great motion and would sweat with a great sweat” (217). Let us recall the use of stones in necromancy and other magical uses as described in the *Lapidario* and other stone manuals discussed in the Introduction and Chapter One of this project. In contrast to a poison repellent, just before this description the *Picatrix* details a deadly poison made with a viper’s gall in addition to soapwort, ariole and eyebright (215). Of course these described spells were not designed to induce lust and create love unions, but do demonstrate the varied uses of snakes in documented spells. Returning to Celestina’s spell. Her summoning of the devil is not necessarily part of the *philocaptio* but is often employed to ensure its success and in part echoes the demonic summoning we saw with our cleric in Chapter One. The waxed string, a key part of the spell, as we saw earlier and will see again below, is taken a step further as functions as the medium through which the devil can enhance the spell.¹⁵⁴ It should also be

¹⁵⁴ See the studies of Peter Russell, Albert Llorent and Sebastian Cirac Estopañán for more discussion on her demonic invocation. See also Javier Hererro’s study comparing Celestina with the descriptions in the *Maleus*

noted that this is not the only time she calls on the devil, as when she is attempting to sweet-talk Melibea, she calls upon the devil again in a threatening tone to assure her attempts are successful.

It is after this that Celestina is able to acquire Melibea's *cordón*, or string, and it is this object that, among other things, has been a frequent topic of scholarly debate.¹⁵⁵ Most relevant to this chapter is Enrique Fernández's analysis of Melibea's string, and Celestina's use of it, as a parody of popular medical manuals.¹⁵⁶ Like other scholars have done before, Fernández finds parallels between Celestina's behavior with the string and the medical instructions in both the original Latin *Lilio de medicina*, composed in thirteenth-century Montpellier by Bernard de Gordon and the later fifteenth-century Castilian version by Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polono in Seville on how one could cure lovesickness and enamorment.¹⁵⁷ Even more pertinent to my argument, Godron himself was a *converso* and his *Lilio de medicina* was

Malificarum. While his argument is strong, more relevant connections can be made, as attempted in this dissertation.

¹⁵⁵ See Alan Deyermond, as well as Ángel Gomez Moreno, Teresa Jiménez Calvente and Herrero for their take on the string as representative of Melibea's virginity and Santiago López Ríos's analysis of the string as a parody of use religious relics.

¹⁵⁶ Keep in mind both *La Celestina* and in parts *Libro de buen amor* are considered to parody courtly love manuals as many of the described behaviors in our text do not match the instructions laid out in proper courtly etiquette (Fernandez 85).

¹⁵⁷ See also work by Dennis Seniff and Marcelino V Amasuno on other connections of Celestina with this medical text.

translated multiple times into Hebrew.¹⁵⁸ All versions describe the necessity of a *vetula* of “aspecto desagradable” (Fernández 89)—a term scholars have connected to both *Celestina* and *Trotaconventos*—to present a cloth of a woman’s menstrual blood to the lovesick client to cure him of his infatuation. As Fernández states, “por un lado está *Celestina* que encaja perfectamente con la *vetula* recomendada para administrar esta cura. Por otro lado está el cordon, que, sin ser propiamente un paño menstrual, es una prenda íntima femenina con connotaciones ginecológico-mensutrales” (90). While I do not deny the connections to medical treatises, nor the importance of parody in this canonical text, I would like to take this connection a step further. What I consider to be magical acts, in both *Celestina* and *Libro*, do not perfectly detail what appear to be similar spells in extant magical treatises. However, the aspects explored in this chapter, the results are similar enough to suggest a correlation—without necessarily neglecting other medicinal connections.¹⁵⁹ It should be noted that while menstrual blood may have been described as the key ingredient to cure lovesickness in the above-mentioned medical treaty, blood, and menstrual blood specifically, were frequent ingredients in medieval magical manuals as well.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ For more on the Hebrew translations of this and other medical texts see Lola’s Ferre’s article “Hebrew Translations from Medical Treatises of Montpellier.”

¹⁵⁹ See the Introduction’s discussion of the overlap between magical practices and medicinal ones.

¹⁶⁰ Note that these ingredients also appear in *Sefer* and other grimoires from the medieval and early modern periods and is still used in contemporary pagan and Wiccan practices. See Ruth Karras *Sexuality in Medieval Europe doing Unto Others* and Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb’s *Blood Magic: The*

Beyond blood, many grimoires rely on similar binding components of string or wax.¹⁶¹ The *Clavicula Salomonis* is another example as an arguably fourteenth-century grimoire falsely attributed to King Solomon surviving now in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, among other languages from varying centuries as it continued to be translated and circulated in Iberia and elsewhere. A love spell found within this grimoire also requires the use of string, and some ingredients like those found in Celestina's chamber:

Of the experiment of seeking favor and love:¹⁶²

If thou wishes to perform the experiment of seeking favor and love, observe in what manner the experiment is to be carried out, and if it be dependent upon the day and the hour, perform it in the day and the hour required, as thou wilt find it in the chapter concerning the hours; and if the experiment be one that requireth writing, thou shalt write as it is said in the chapter concerning the same; and if it be with penal bonds, pacts and fumigations, then thou shalt cense with a fit perfume as is said in the chapter concerning suffumigations; and if it be necessary to sprinkle it with water and hyssop, then let it be as in the chapter concurring the same; similarly if such Experiment require characters names, or the like, let such names be written as the chapter concerning the writing of characters and

Anthropology of Menstruation for more on the use of blood in non-religious practices.

¹⁶¹ Refer back to the Introduction for a discussion on other prominent grimoires that circulated in Spain.

¹⁶² To my knowledge no Latin edition of this grimoire exists and the extant manuscripts are not digitized.

place the same in a clean place as hath been said. then thou shalt repeat over it the following oration:

The oration:

o Adonai, most Holy, most righteous, and most mighty god, who hast me all things through thy mercy and righteousness where with thou art filled, grant unto us that we may be found worthy that this experiment may be found consecrated and perfect, so that the light may issues from thy most holy seat, o Adonai, which may obtain for us favor and love. Amen.

This being said, thou shalt place it in clean silk, and bury it for a day and a night at the junction of four cross-roads; and whensoever thou wishest to obtain any grace or favor from any, take it, having first properly consecrated it according to the rule, and place it in thy right hand, and seek thou what thou wilt it shall not be denied thee. But if thou doest not the experiment carefully and rightly, absurdly thou shalt not succeed in any many. /for obtaining grace and love write down the following words: Sator, arepo, tenet, opera, rotas, iah, iah, iah, enam, iah, iah, iah, keher, chokmat, binah, gedulah, geburah, tiphereth, netzah, hod, yesod, malkuth, abraham, isaac, jacob, shadrach, meshach, abednego, be ye all present in my aid and for whatsoever I shall desire to obtain.

With these words being properly written as above, thou shalt also find thy desire brought to pass. (59-60)

Though much lengthier than the few descriptions given in both *Celestina* and the *Libro*, here there is mention of liquid ingredients, water, hyssop and perfume, as well as an object that could function as a string, clean silk, all relating to a similar goal—acquiring love. Despite its many added nuances and details, such as the duration of the spell’s preparation—several days—and the possible temporal constraints—that is, the performance of the spell on a specific day or hour—necessary for its success, the fact that the person enacting it is instructed to mix together ingredients and to bring together a piece of cloth with the talisman in which the magic has been “placed” connects this spell with other *philocaptio* spells. Both love spells from the *Clavicula* and the *Picatrix* are particularly salient, given they similar ingredients and objects just as the use of string or wax in *Celestina*.¹⁶³ While this goal of acquiring love was incredibly common, evident in numerous other examples in these and other grimoires, both examples, though requiring a different set of ingredients and the chanting certain names, arguably render the same result as found within the *Libro de buen amor* and *La Celestina*.

Though I am claiming that Celestina’s skills (and those of Trotaconventos as we saw in the previous chapter) are magical in nature, there are some scholars like Jean Dangler who argue that go-between skills are more medicinal in nature. While I agree that when the magical practices are demonized, as

¹⁶³ Sophie Page continues to say that both kings are “presented as collectors material from diverse occult traditions for the purpose of creating a coherent and valuable body of knowledge and in spite of the emphasis on a secret transmission of precious knowledge through an elite of wise men, there was a role for prophetic revelation to the masses” (44).

Dangler says was the case with all contemporary women who practice magic, “the reader’s perception of traditional women healers and their practices [...are altered] in order to correlate their methods with those of the devil” (Dangler 89). However, I do not think this excludes their knowledge of occult practices as instrumental or integral to their healing talents. Danger states that though many consider Celestina to be a witch or use real witchcraft she considers Celestina to be “empowered” not by the devil nor even solely by her ability to manipulate language, but by her skill in effectively employing traditional healing methods. Her “magical” practice is often quite the same as that which would have been exercised by licit physicians, priests, midwives, or apothecaries of the day” (91). Furthermore, in the text, Celestina makes comments referring to her own medical/surgical skills. During the process of capturing Melibea’s love/attention for Calisto in the 10th act, she refers to herself a doctor who can cure pain and sickness with her medicine.¹⁶⁴

Celestina’s success continues in other early modern plays like Juan del Encina’s 1513 *Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano* and Lucas Fernández’s sixteenth-century *Égloga o farsa del nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucrito* as well as Lope de Vegas’s 1620 *El caballero de Olmedo* among others.¹⁶⁵ The first has the character, Eritrea, who, similarly to Celestina, creates philters, procures supplies

¹⁶⁴ See Hererro’s analysis of this, as a metaphor interweaved throughout the text further highlighting Celestina’s skills (348).

¹⁶⁵ *La Lazona andaluza* also has a Celestina inspired go-between. See Jérôme François and Floke Gernert’s work on the connections between these two texts among others.

and can restore virginites. She however has a smaller role than *Celestina* as she is only a side character. The second work mentioned has an older woman character “peor es que *Celestina*” / (she is worse than *Celestina*) (Fernández 322). The last example mentioned also has an *alcahueta* character named Fabia who like *Celestina* procures some materials from cemeteries and helps arrange amorous encounters. Natalia Arsentieva highlights that Lope de Vega, in contrast to Rojas, “intensifica las críticas de la creencia en el diablo como Fuente de maldad a la hora ridiculizar el miedo de Tello, convencido de que Fabia ‘está enseñada a hablar al diablo’, cuando asiste a Fabia en su búsqueda del material mágico en el cementerio” (32).¹⁶⁶

All of this is to say, like both the *Libro de buen amor* and *Celestina*’s antecedents, *Celestina* in particular has been the source of inspiration and continued references in Iberian Early Modern texts and more contemporary Latin American works. In addition to all of these influences from *Celestina* there is also the continuations, or better known as the *ciclo celestinesco* (Celestinsque cycle). Gaspar Gómez’s 1536 *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina*, Sancho de

¹⁶⁶ See also Francisco Marcos Marín, María Teresa Miaja de la Peña and María José Rodilla León among others in addition to Enrique Fernández’s edited volume of *A Companion to Celestina* for more on the connections between *Celestina* and later texts. *Celestina*’s influence also reaches Latin America with more contemporary texts like Carlos Fuentes’s 1962 *Aura* who has an old woman named Consuelo as the main character who is described as a witch arranging the entanglements of young couples with the help of her medicinal and herbal supplies—much like *Celestina*. For more Latin American dramas influenced by *Celestina* see Echeverría. See also Wendy Faris, Fernando García Nuñez and Emir Rodríguez Monegal for more on these continuations and adaptations.

Muñón's 1542 *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia llamada Elicia y por otro nombre cuarta obra y tercera Celestina*, Sebastián Fernández's 1547 and 48's *Tragedia Policiano*, Alonso de Villegas's 1554 *Comedia Selvagia* and the never printed 1570 *Tragicomedia de Poliodoro y Casandrino*. All of these continuations either built off Rojas's *Celestina* as continuations or prequels, and, as the continuations kept occurring, also built off themselves as Consolación Baranda has studied. Some of these continuations keep with the idea of the go-between magical procuress (either as *Celestina* herself, or her prodigy *Elicia* or her mentor *Claudina*) (328). These continuations either kept with the tragic or comedic aspects set forth in Rojas's original demonstrating audience interest in the adventures of the characters first created by Rojas further establishing his work as canonical.

Much like in the case of the *Libro* in the previous chapter, literary representations of magic can mirror contemporaneous grimoires. With *Celestina*, Rojas gives the reader a plethora detail regarding her supplies, her skills and even some of her magical performances. Once again I am not arguing that *Celestina* took spell details from the magical compendia like the *Picatrix*, *Clavicula* nor from medicinal sources like *Lilio de medicina* or the *Sefer Ahavat Nashim*, nor even from surviving bestiaries like the *Kitāb Manafi al-Hayawan*. I do claim that Rojas's fictional creation reflects some of the content of such compendia. As such, this chapter focused on the clever, witty and at times

satirical societal commentary of a presumed *Converso* and his choice to use an *alcahueta* character—a character that like her antecedents inspired Early Modern Iberian dramas as well—complicating tensions and relations between gender and sociopolitical status once again. Celestina’s representation as someone skilled in magic made her a catalyst of cultural contact and transference—what I claim magic in Iberian literature does. Like with *Trotaconventos*, Celestina is described as someone who not only mediates between two noble higher-class families but simultaneously allows these lovers to subvert orthodox behavior as sanctioned through courtly love. Calisto has no interest in solely admiring Melibea from a distance but rather turns to Celestina, and her magic, to ensure their physical union. As such, the magic represented in this text dually both embraces and destroys accepted behaviors—after all, while Celestina at first succeeds in establishing the bond between Calisto and Melibea she was hired to achieve (by using magical skills representative of varied cultural contact and transference), she and the lovers end up dead. Their deaths, I argue, serve as an example of the consequences of trying to subvert established Christian cultural norms. This next and last chapter moves away from the go-between and showcases a fictionalized foreign magic practitioner as brought to life by a woman author opening the discussion of magical practices of Iberian minorities like Moriscos.

Chapter Five

Moorish Magic Through a Woman's Voice

This chapter addresses the complications of Islamicated magical practices and the manifestation of varying levels of control over an "Other". While many of the other representations of magical practitioners in the previous chapters subtly alluded to Arabic and Hebrew materials that entered the Christian Castilian intellectual sphere, our last fictional practitioner is directly described as Moorish. He is Othered not only by being a marginalized character (like our go-betweens in the previous two chapters or the neighbors in the first chapter) or somehow deviant from the perceived norm (like our lustful clerics and archpriests in our first and third chapters or ruling otherworldly women in the second chapter) but also is directly identified as a *moro*. Here the magic performed not only functions as a cultural transference but explicitly links one of the cultural practices being transferred and put into contact as one derived from the Islamicate world. Here I use Maria de Zayas's seventeenth-century Iberian novella *La inocencia castigada* as the vehicle to understanding the hybrid societal significance of magical practices in the Peninsula and of its Moorish practitioners.¹⁶⁷ While Zayas's Moorish necromancer is by no means the only foreign magical practitioner represented in literature of the period, he serves as an example of how authors employ magic as the necessary tool in their societal commentary of

¹⁶⁷ This term often time is used in a derogatory manner. That is not what is meant by this but rather as a translation of *moro*.

morality and abuse to women.¹⁶⁸ The necromancy for amorous relations represented in this novella illustrates the (attempted and temporary) control over two “Others”—the Moorish practitioner and the unwilling married woman. This manifestation of conquest of gender and ethnicity subsequently serves as additional demarcation of societal deviation. Specifically, in this literary example we have a marginalized ethnic minority, a *moro*, who is hired (and subsequently answers to a Christian nobleman) in order to make an uninterested married woman submit. A woman’s body is controlled through magic performed by a Moorish necromancer directly representing the dualized nature I ascribe to Iberian magic—one of domination and infiltration. While a lot of Arabic (and by extension Islamicate) knowledge entered into the Castilian, Latin, and Christian sphere, some aspects did not. By this point, in the seventeenth century, the knowledge the nobleman sought would have been accessible by using Christian sources, and so his choice to employ a Moorish necromancer further exoticizes the increasingly unaccepted practices and actions.

Zayas’s text portrays the consequences of adultery and other punishable actions that go against Christian morality. This portrayal is also strategic as all of Zayas’s writings would have been under the watchful eye of the Inquisition. While

¹⁶⁸ Other contemporaneous examples of foreign necromancers in Iberian literature include the circulating sixteenth-century Castilian *pliegos* which I explore in an in-progress article. In addition to that literary corpus, this archetype in both Iberian and the larger pan-Mediterranean tradition is often described as Turkish like the foreign characters of Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quijote* and *El baño de Argel* as well as Joanot Martorell’s *Tirant lo Blanc* as studied by Barbara Fuchs, Seth Kimmel and Catherine MacMillan among others for their studies on these and similar texts.

the magic described in her text reflect realities of Iberian and Mediterranean magical practices, in its fictional representation, it also serves as a metaphor of control over deviant behaviors and divergent people—that is, adultery and Moors in this case. Magic itself, as articulated various times throughout this dissertation, both controls behaviors and subverts normalized practices. Here the magic our Moorish necromancer performs is a metaphor for control more broadly while simultaneously serving as a metaphor for the control of knowledge achieved through censorship. The Inquisition, in its role as the enforcer of Christian orthodoxy, determined and attempted to control deviant and heretical actions. The use of magic in this text therefore continues to demonstrate the complex and often paradoxical relationship Christian authorities had with neighboring non-Christian culture, knowledge and content. In the work, a Moorish necromancer, commissioned by a rich noble, uses his magical knowledge to make a married woman unknowingly commit adultery with his client. This text thus opens the discussion of the magic practiced by minority communities (and/or how magic is ascribed to them as a means to make them abject). The description of the necromancer as Moorish invites us to consider and address the practices preserved by Moriscos, those last Iberian inhabitants of the period detonated with the Arabized and Moorish markers. As the necromancer of Zayas's text uses his skills to arrange for an amorous entanglement, I limit myself to the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Aljamiado love magic. This connection is important as it shows that Moriscos not only believed but also possibly practiced the type of

magic our fictional necromancer uses, demonstrating that it is not just a Christian author marginalizing a Morisco by associating him with imaginary practices.

In *La Inocencia castigada* we have a Moorish necromancer, commissioned by a rich noble, who uses his magical knowledge—like so many of the characters in the texts throughout this study have done such as the cleric, the mistress, the lady of the Lake, Empress Nobility, Trotaconventos, and Celestina—to make a married woman commit adultery with his client. This, of course, can connect to the Golden Age idea of female honor making this situation a political and social issue.¹⁶⁹ Both these texts thus open the discussion of the magic practiced by these minorities, like those found in the *Libro de dichos maravillosos* and other clandestine Morisco documents on magical practices.

The uniqueness of this chapter is the comparison of this fictitious foreign magic practitioner to the Moriscos. While some scholars have looked at the theme of the supernatural within Zayas's works for example, to my knowledge no work has been done comparing her literary Moorish necromancer, nor the foreign necromancer of other narratives to the documented Morisco magic being practiced in the Peninsula. These are figures that bring the greater Arabic Mediterranean world of travel, exchange of ideas, and of people (such as the itinerant scholar, preacher or healer/magician) into the more narrow worlds of Castilian society. This comparison is beneficial as, despite the religious

¹⁶⁹ See Scott Taylor and Denise DiPuccio's work on this issue of female honor in the Middle Ages.

community necromancers formed part of, it reveals the complexity of the Iberian identity and their familiarity with magical practices.

As a more studied text, usually the approach taken on Zayas by scholars is that of a more feminist prospective with little focus given to the magical component. I would argue that the magical provides us with an important element that should not be ignored, but rather should be studied in conjunction with the existing theories to provide an even richer understanding of the social commentary within these and Zayas's other novellas. While critics such as Marina Brownlee and Margaret Greer have studied Zayas's incorporation of magic in this and other of her novellas, they do so through the lens of gender studies.¹⁷⁰ In my analysis, I show how she uses magic as a vehicle for societal commentary on notions of free will and control. The married woman has no say in what happens to her, rendering her into an object manipulated and controlled by both men and necromantic magic. Regarding the Moorish necromancer, while he may be the one controlling the demons and employing the magic itself, he too is in a sense controlled by a, albeit corrupted, Christian noble. As a character marked indifference, for a Christian Castilian audience, the Moorish necromancer in this text is particularly useful in understanding the function of now marginalized magical practices such as those practiced by the Moriscos. While Moriscos were

¹⁷⁰ See also Lisa Vollendorf, Ingrid Matos-Nin, Yvette Cardillac-Hermosilla and David Castillo among others who have worked with Zayas and her novellas. Additionally, addressing witchcraft and magic in Golden Age Spanish texts is not limited to Zayas's texts either. See María Luisa Lobato, Javier San José and Germán Vega's edited volume of *Brujería, magia y otros prodigios en la literatura española del Siglo de Oro*.

not the only ones to practice magic, or at least have surviving documents preserving magical practices, by creating a necromancer distinctively as a Moor, the text invokes the practices of these Moriscos, despite the fact that their own practices mirrored in many ways that of their former Christian neighbors.

Maria de Zayas published her novellas in two separate collections, *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* and *Desengaños amorosos* in 1637 and 1647 respectively with her novella, *La inocencia castigada*, the focus of this chapter, published within the second collection. Zayas was an author who knew how to incorporate magic to her advantage—both within the texts and as the element that would entice profitability in her sales. She herself states in her prologue: “Illos de sutilezas se venden, pero no se compran, porque la materia no es importante o es desabrida” (23). This highlights her awareness of what the audience would have interest in. Furthermore, if put into context of today’s society, the stories she tells in her two published texts serve as early modern examples of the #metoo movement where various women share instances of their pain and suffering under the hand of men. For her to make a commentary on the tension and hardship women faced in her contemporary society, she needed to create a world that would encourage readership, and perhaps for her women readers, a sense of solidarity.¹⁷¹ Zayas knew which elements to incorporate to make her texts sell and invoked baroque trends of bodily

¹⁷¹ See Brownlee’s introduction to Zayas and her works for more on this author.

disfigurement which, paired with her representation of magic, make her literature more unique.

In this novella and others, Zayas works “against cultural prejudice that figured woman as corruptible and corrupting” (Vollendorf 17). I would like to add to Vollendorf’s interpretations by suggesting that magic provided Zayas with the necessary shock value to mask her possible social critique in a fictional space while at the same time representing certain realities of the times. She does this by using magical characters that cross gender, racial and even moral barriers—with both men and women, regardless of their religious or ethnic backgrounds, using magic for both good and bad purposes. Note that while my focus is *La Inocencia castigada*, this is not the only novella of Zayas to represent magic. The use of these magically skilled characters is purposeful by Zayas as, “these figures are prime concern to the imaginary universe she constructs for a number of reasons, offering yet another level of complication within her intricate work” (Brownlee 85). She thus avoids the inquisitional censors while at the same time creating “a kind of baroque tension and unresolved polysemy” and taking advantage of what she knows will sell (Brownlee 85).

Specifically, *La Inocencia castigada* is the fifth of ten narratives within the larger narrative collection of *Desengaños amorosos*. Much like previous frame-tale narratives explored in the proceeding chapters of this dissertation, the novellas of this collection, Zayas’s second collection of short novellas, are strung together by an overarching narrative continuing the pattern of the first. In

Desengaños, we have group of women gather together at a soiree to share stories of presumably true misfortunes women have suffered at the hands of men. These stories are meant to entertain one of their sick friends and provide a safe outlet for the women to share their collective sufferings. The novella of interest here, *La inocencia castigada*, tells the story of the womanizing Don Diego who lusts after a married woman, Doña Inés, who denies his advances. Don Diego later spots a look-alike in Doña Inés's dress and for a while they have a secret relationship. Once it ends, Don Diego confronts the real Doña Inés to ask why she terminated the relationship only to discover that he had never been with her. They both realize the trick that took place. This new discovery did not hinder Don Diego's desires towards Doña Inés and he turns for help to a Moorish necromancer. Through some dark magic involving the lighting of a candle and demonic possession, Don Diego can summon Doña Inés to come to him at night in her sleep—with Doña Inés waking the next morning to think it was all a vivid nightmare of sorts. One evening they are caught and Doña Inés's brother and husband kill Don Diego. However, instead of being viewed as the victim, Doña Inés is considered guilty of adultery and is kidnapped by her family, taken to Seville and stuffed inside a chimney where she is fed minimal food and slowly starts withering away for six years surrounded by her own excrement without any light—resulting in inevitable blindness. She however, maintains faith in God and prays constantly. One day a new neighbor hears her laments through the walls and upon hearing her story goes in search of help. Doña Inés, now blind, is freed

by the archbishop who sends her relatives to prison—who are later condemned to death—and Inés is restored to her former beauty, but never regaining her sight, and finally enters a convent for the remainder of her life.

In this literary example, despite being written by a woman and presumably recounted by a woman to a group of women, a woman neither uses magic nor is it used for a woman's gain, which places this particular instance of magic within the sphere of male social domination. The other being controlled by the man with power is twofold: the married woman and the Moorish necromancer. Don Diego controls one through requested magic and the other through financial benefits. While yes, the necromancer has more agency in his own fate by choosing to accept or deny the nobleman's request, his knowledge and expertise are controlled by the Christian nobleman all the same. Don Diego knew where to turn for his divergent desire. This interaction then, can serve as another demonstration of attempted dominance over Moorish knowledge. While our necromancer is presumably paid for his services thus gaining from his transaction with the eager nobleman, as a marginalized figure he depends on similar business arrangements in order to financially support himself in a Christian dominated society. While the necromancer had to agree to deal with the nobleman, the moment he agreed—and even the possible financial pressures that lead to his acceptance of the proposal—he became subject to the nobleman's control as his tool for control of someone else. We should recall, however, the magic is only momentarily successful for the requester since,

though he gets what he wants for a while, it ultimately ends with nobleman's death and the woman's punishment. Our necromancer, however, as the mediator (unlike Celestina), is able to disappear and preserve his life. I argue that this is suggestive of how Zayas, through magic, can almost exaggeratedly point out the flaws of society and how male desire and male manipulations of women lead to the literal incarceration and deterioration of the woman's self. All of this begins with the scene where Don Diego has the help of the Moorish necromancer to enamor and bewitch his target, taking away her free will:

Hallado el moro, y traído, se encerró con él, dándole larga cuenta de sus amores tan desdichados como atrevidos, pidiéndole remedio contra el desamor y desprecio que hacía de él su dama, tan hermosa como ingrata. El nigromántico agareno le prometió que dentro de tres días le daría con que la misma dama se le viniese a su poder, como lo hizo, que como ajenos de nuestra católica fe, no les es dificultoso, como lo hizo, que como apremios que hacen al demonio, aun en cosa de más calidad; porque, pasados los tres días, vino y le trajo una imagen de la misma figura y rostro de doña Inés, que por sus artes la había copiado al natural, como si la tuviera presente. Tenía en el remante del tocado una vela, de la medida y proporción de una bujía de un cuarterón de cera verde. La figura de doña Inés estaba desnuda, y las manos puestas sobre el corazón, que tenía al descubierto, clavado por él un alfiler grande, dorado, a modo de saeta, porque en lugar de la cabeza tenía una forma de

plumas del mismo metal, y parecía que la dama quería sacarle con las manos, que tenía encaminadas a él. (Zayas 556-7)

/[The moment the Moor was found and brought to don Diego, he closeted himself with him and gave him a lengthy account of his audacious but ill-fated love. He begged the Moor for a remedy for his lady's disaffection and scorn toward him, so beautiful and so thankless was she. The Muslim necromancer promised him that within three days he would bring that lady into don Diego's power, which, in fact, he did. These things aren't hard for people who aren't Catholic and who, in difficult cases, don't hesitate to press the devil into service. Three days later the Moor appeared bearing an image identical to doña Inés in face and in figure. Through his magical arts he'd copied her exactly, as if she had modeled for it. This status of doña Inés was nude. Her hands were placed over her heart, which was exposed and stuck through with a large gold pin that looked like an arrow because in place of a head it had feathers made of gold. The way her hands were enclosing it, it looked as if the lady were trying to pull it out. At the top of her tongue there was a green wax candle]. (186)

In this passage, the foreign magic user is described as a "moro", "necromanico", as someone who does things that are "ajenos de nuestra católica fe" and someone who gives gifts to demons to invoke their powers. These foreign, Othering attributes assist in creating the image and role of magic as a distant,

negative, and shocking distraction to the reader thus aiding in cleverly highlighting the injustices of society. This part of the text goes beyond this function and explains why this magic is so effective with specific invocations like the mention of candles and images. This not only adds to the similarities between the fiction and the magical practices but also alludes to many known references to wax figures such as in the *Celestina*, as explored in the previous chapter, as well as *Cantiga XII* and Berceo with the wax figures created by the Jews presumably as acts of heresy against Christianity. Therefore, this type of love magic reminds its readers of a non-Christian other or at the very least, of the practices appropriated from non-Christian traditions as the use of wax remains present in grimoires meant for more Christian audiences in Latin as well. The reason behind this, I suggest, is to place blame to non-Christians for participating in unorthodox behavior during a time where any deviant action was under scrutiny.

Zayas as the author has full control of the nationality of her magic practitioners and as Stackhouse states “magic occurs more abroad than in Spain due to the influence of the Church and the Inquisition,” which would explain her choice of making *La inocencia castigada*’s necromancer Moorish (104). His foreign qualities justify, in a sense, the use of magic since in Spain there was a growing fear of the Morisco community and their less-than-Christian practices—often paired with witchcraft to the unknowing eye. Even though the *Moriscos* were expelled by the time of this novella’s publication, like in the second *Quijote*,

Moriscos remained a point of tension and concern within Castile. In a sense, the necromancer's foreignness justifies their use of magic within Spain and allows for the growing influence of the Christian faith to seep through the novellas permeated with magical elements.

This fictional Iberian magic-practicing foreigner necromancer then can provide a loophole for the magic practitioner to be an Other as well as having roots in the lesser-known *Morisco* magic for instance preserved in *Aljamiado*.¹⁷² In such texts, examples of linguistic variance are found which help paint a complex picture of this community's stance in society—one that is complicated even further once combined with the foreign magical characters in literary texts like the ones mentioned above. One such *Aljamiado* manuscript is the collection of three texts, Manuscript CCHS (Centro de Ciencia Humanas y Sociales) RESC 22, an anonymous sixteenth-century manuscript, and is currently housed in the Institute of Philosophy of CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) in Madrid.¹⁷³ MS RESC 22, was found among many other manuscripts in

¹⁷² For more on *Morisco* magic see Pablo Roza, Alberto Alonso Guardo, Esther Fernández Medina. For the *Moriscos* interaction with the Inquisition see Ronald Surtz among others.

¹⁷³ In addition to the collection of magical spells discussed in this chapter, others have survived, such as *Alkitab de suwertes* currently housed in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid and the MS Reserve 59 called *Recetas medicinales; talismans* housed at the CSIC in Madrid, like MS Reserve 22.¹⁷³ Such works of *Morisco* magic have been studied by López-Baralt as literary texts and part of the larger corpus of *Morisco* cultural production; Labarta, as mentioned, has published a critical edition of the *Morisco* MS Reserve 22; Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla has studied them from an historical perspective, through inquisitional texts, as has Charles Burnett, who specifically focuses on Arabic magic from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Almonacid de la Sierra in Zaragoza in 1884.¹⁷⁴ The anonymous works included in MS RESC 22 are entitled: *Libro de dichos maravillosos*, *Libro de suertes* and *Libro de amuletos*. Scholars refer to this collection by the name of its first section despite there being more than one. According to Luce Lopéz-Baralt the *Libro de dichos maravillosos*—the collection as a whole—is one of the more valued codices on magic in *Morisco* literature in part due to its preservation and quantity of folios. All three of the texts included in this MS are available in Ana Labarta's modern Castilian translation in her 1993 study and edition, *Libro de dichos maravillosos: misceláneo morisco de magia y adivinación*.¹⁷⁵ The *Libro de los dichos maravillosos* and the other *libros* included in the manuscript collection were meant to teach its reader to use and understand magic symbols to deal with many common day concerns such as headache cures, protection, invisibility and affairs of the heart, like we see in Zayas's novella.¹⁷⁶

As this necromancer is concerned with entrancing his client's desired partner to become unknowingly lovesick and bending to the client's nightly

¹⁷⁴The manuscript has been digitized and is available online through CSIC.

http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Exposiciones/MemoriaMoriscos/Exposicion/Seccion3/Obra32_1.html?origen=galeria

¹⁷⁵ Within this collection, and similar *Aljamiado* manuscripts various languages used in the spells range from Arabic mixed with Romance as well as some Hebrew and Latin used for proper names and expressions. All of these non-Arabic terms and phrases are transliterated in Arabic-*Aljamiado*, that is, they are visually represented in Arabic script but phonetically the previously mentioned languages.

¹⁷⁶ Ana Labarta, *Libro de dichos maravillosos: misceláneo morisco de magia y adivinación* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993), 0.9.

wishes, Morisco practitioners were also concerned with not only causing but also curing such ailments. On folio 172r of the *Libro de dichos maravillosos* we find a spell that uses several Qur'anic Surahs to cure the lovesick or bewitched relying on both Romance and Arabic intermittently¹⁷⁷:

(172r) Kabitulu / *anušra* bara al ǧulīanta ballara / al ǧulur dal krasun āi dal / fiǧaǧu u da fuša šamaǧanta / ǧalu y aš *anušra* bandita ka la / dabalu *ǧibril 'alayhi elsalam / al-nabi šala allahu 'alayhi wa salam*¹⁷⁸ / la nuḥḥa *a'rafa*.y eš bara dašatar al a / taǧu āi bara šanar al landiyabalaǧu / āi yal tufaǧu ǧa ayra malu āi bara laš anfar— / —maǧaǧašakallaš ka nu buwaǧan luš ǧutura— / —š furar y aš ašta *alhamdulilla* tuda / (172v) āi alam *nsrh* tuǧa / āi-l-suwra ǧa: *āinna anzalnahu* (Surah 97) / āil *suwra ǧa: āiǧa zulzilati āila—/—rǧu* (Surah 99) āil *suwra ǧa: atafari—/—'atu āil suwra ǧa ful huwa / Allahu adad* (Surah 112). āil *suwra: ǧa: ful / a'uw ǧuš āi la lhamdulilahi* (Surah 113/114) / *Tamt*¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ See appendix for an image of the folio.

¹⁷⁸ Here I have expanded the common abbreviation of *sa'um* in the folio to *šala allahu 'alayhi wa salam*.

¹⁷⁹ Spell starts on line 1 of folio 172r and ends on line and ends on line 8 of folio 172v. All transliterations are my own based on the corresponding folios. Indication of the Surahs has been added in parenthesis as reference for further clarification. Italics indicates the use of Arabic as opposed to Romance. I have indicated words that continue on to the next line by adding a dash at the end beginning of the disjointed word. Folios are indicated as they are identified on the manuscript. My transliterations follow the Brill's simple Arabic transliteration system.

/ [(172r) Chapter. Filter for one in pain, for a heartache and liver pains, or any similar condition. And it is a blessed filter, for Gabriel, peace be upon him, revealed it to the prophet, the night of Arafa. And it is meant to untie he who is tied, and to cure the possessed or he who is in contact with bad air, and for the illnesses that doctors cannot cure; and it is this: “Praise be to Allah” all, (172v) and “Have not we opened your chest?” (Surah 97) “All, and this Surah of “We have made ourselves descend” (Surah 99)” and the Surah of “when the earth trembles (Surah 112)” and the two “say: I refuge myself (Surah 113/114)” and “Praised be to Allah” End.]¹⁸⁰

This spell, though accomplishing the opposite of what the necromancer, and his client, hoped to achieve, still reflects the concerns of societal members with a more Moorish description. Once Don Diego goes ahead and uses the wax symbol his hired necromancer created for him, we see further use of demonic references. The use of those references, or even demonic characters is common in Zayas’s novellas as “sometimes demons might seem to be more threatening when dealing with anxieties about the future, sometimes when tampering with human love and sexual potency” (Flint 146). Specifically, this can be seen in *La inocencia castigada* when Don Diego turns to a third-party person to invoke demonic magic to satisfy his sexual desires. Once again Don Diego’s willing involvement with the necromancer and his subsequent demonic possession of Doña Ines reflect this. Necromantic practices necessarily invoke and involve

¹⁸⁰ All spell translations into English are mine. Since some translations are not verbatim I did not maintain the line separations as I did in the transliteration.

demons, but in literature these evil creatures do more than execute a specific type of spell. Why use these demons then? Demons prey on emotions and persuasion like hope or fear and desire or terror (Remy 324). It is arguably using these representations of demons that Zayas can appeal to so many real human emotions and societal concerns. This is not to say that demons were not believed to be a real threat for the audience, but rather that their use in literature allows for the necessary distancing to critique the society. The demons employed by Zayas have the function of capturing, “la atención del lector y prevenirlos contra los peligros que puede acarrear el amor en la vida del ser humano” (Matos-Nin 103).¹⁸¹

While the plot of this novella is complex, including, like multiple instances of patriarchal oppression and violations of a woman’s body. I want to focus on the employment of another diminished entity, our second nameless necromancer. Don Diego uses this marginalized Moorish necromancer to enamor and bewitch his target, another marginalized character, taking away her free will. This necromancer fashions a very unique candle for his client. Doña Ines’s own likeness is duplicated, manipulated, and transformed into a sculpted figurine of her naked body being pierced by a needle in the heart. Attached to the

¹⁸¹ As an aside, when the devil appears in her texts, Zayas does so with a unique twist, taking the classical image of the devil and using him to further advance her story plots. Matos-Nin echoes the idea I’ve been suggesting through this chapter—of Zayas drawing on the conceived realities of her readers with some of the details in her novellas. (106) For more, see the rest of Matos-Nin’s work. He is also not necessarily the Devil but more so a devil, or demonic entity, based on the original Spanish.

top of this model is a special candle made of green wax. This replica of sorts is the very tool with which Doña Ines is controlled. Thanks to this custom-made candle, all the nobleman has to do is leave his bedroom door ajar as his hired necromancer instructed him and light the candle. Once it is lit:

privada con la fuerza del encanto y de la vela que ardía de su juicio, y en fin, forzada de algún espíritu diabólico que gobernaba aquello, se levantó de su cama, y poniéndose unos zapatos que tenía junto a ella... (Zayas 557-8)

/[The power of the spell and the candle put her out of her right mind.

Driven by some diabolic spirit that controlled her behavior, she rose from her bed and put on the shoes...] (186-7)

In short, the work of demons summoned through the lighting of the specially crafted candle compel her to enter Don Diego's bed night after night unaware of her actions. As such, the necromancer then kept his part of the employ in creating the tool that would bend the target to his client's desires. Let us also notice how by undressing himself and simply waiting, Don Diego is framing the patriarchal society under which the women are forced to live—a society in which the women are expected to do as the men desire regardless if it is what they want or not. In this case, Doña Inés initially denies Don Diego his advances, but through magic he can make her submit to his will with the mere illumination of a candle and a half-opened bedroom door as he waits in anticipation. Doña Inés

has no free will here. Zayas's use of magic in this interaction between these two characters reflects a distorted reality highlighting the violation of accepted behaviors. With this scene, with or without magic, this interpretation would be possible however it is through the presence of magic, this "espíritu diabólico" that his crime is unmasked so clearly, as he violates social Christian values—engaging in sexual relations with a married woman.

This employment of diabolic spirits and magic does not end with this revelation but continues with graphic Baroque imagery of death or bodily decay and incarceration in Zayas's texts. Regarding its presence in the novellas, "magic is real and efficacious, those who employ magic pay an extreme penalty...when magic occurs, it does so only temporarily" (Stackhouse 68). The magic employed in this novella ultimately backfires with mortal and unplanned consequences—as evident with Don Diego's murder. His death is not a direct result of the magic his employed necromancer used nor is it because he turned to magic to seduce the married Doña Inés. Rather his death is a consequence of the resulting action that was facilitated by magic—the adulterous affair. The later punishments of Doña Inés—both her unwilling participation in the adultery and her grotesque incarceration—speak to the control men held over women, regardless of their societal rank or their intentions.

The representation of a brutalized female body "signifies the power of men over women, just as bodies mutilated and punished by the Inquisition signified the power of the Church over the individual" (Vollendorf 58). Ines's abuse leads

to the dualized nature of magic in Iberia as symbolic of the relationship between Christian and non-Christian cultures, practices, and knowledge. Just as we saw magic continually used to insert control over an unwilling other while simultaneously subverting the attempted Inquisitorial control, its representation in Iberian literature serves as a point of cultural contact between orthodox and unorthodox practices.¹⁸²

In conclusion, Zayas's novella is reflective of earlier practices and beliefs of the minority *Morisco* community by including a Moorish character as the cultural broker between Christian orthodoxy and non-Christian deviancy. With Zayas's *Inocencia castigada* we saw how her representation of magical use, performed by a knowledgeable Moorish necromancer, serves her societal critique on moralistic values followed and broken by her Christian audiences. The employment of Moorish magic manifests the conquest of not only men over women but also the anxieties revolving the incorporation of the knowledge from the Arab world and the remaining concern of their now-expelled neighbors. As the final prevailing force in this text is the Virgin Mary's intervention, and by extension the Christian faith, the magical knowledge specifically described as stemming from an Islamicate source—that is to say, the Moorish necromancer,

¹⁸² Furthermore, necromancer's magic provides "an exotic alternative to the predictable domestic honor-revenge comedies, and even more to reveal the *bosque de espesura* (dense, i.e. dark forest) that is human nature itself—irrespective of gender" (Brownlee 115).

the magic he produced, and his employment by a Christian nobleman— continues to represent the dualized behavior of Christian authorities. Once again we see the embracement of non-Christian knowledge, as the Christian nobleman did after all turn to the Moorish necromancer to achieve his goals, with the simultaneous destruction of the knowledge, with Don Diego's death and Doña Ines's imprisonment. Zayas, as a woman author, condemns male desire and power through her representation of magic which concurrently controls and resists control.

Conclusion

In the proceeding chapters I have explored how love magic's continued fluidity and presence in Iberian literature symbolizes the often-paradoxical relationship Christian orthodoxy had with non-Christian culture and knowledge. Magic is force of control and dominance of the will of others, of their bodies, and of their minds while simultaneously a force of countercultural resistance. Magic is the porous gateway through which Islamicate and other unorthodox skillsets, knowledge, and sources enter Castilian Christian society. Each literary example from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century was strategically chosen to highlight the various dynamics possible not only through the use and administration of magic but who were the authors/commissioners of the works representing this magic. In the first chapter we saw to *Cantigas* from the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria* that were commissioned by the ruling king of Castile and Leon, Alfonso X, who was also responsible for the commissioned translation of various treatises on magic and occult practices. Within the selected *Cantigas* themselves we saw clerical control over demons and the perversion of presumably holy objects of the Christian faith in attempts to control another, uninterested and unwilling, person for amorous reasons. These royal and religious entanglements lead us to the second chapter where we explored two supernatural scenes in the *Libro del caballero Zifar*, an evangelical knightly romance presumably composed by a Toledan cleric. We saw how two powerful and sovereign women amorously joined forces with foreign Christian

knights each producing an heir and ultimately being forced to leave the realms they had entered. This shows the appropriation and combination of past practices with presumably more Christian ones. Chapters three and four focused on old lady mediators, *Trotaconventos* and *Celestina*, created by a cleric and converso author respectively. We saw how the characters' knowledge and training in magic, medicine and other disciplines lead to, at least momentarily, fruitful encounters with their clients—be they a cleric or nobility and their female targets. Despite their fictional nature, these characters provide insight into not only historical mediators but also the practices they were well versed in originating in previously translated Arabic material. Lastly, in Chapter Five, we saw one of the novellas written by a proto-feminist author, Maria de Zayas, as she detailed the suffering of women at the hand of men. The focus for this dissertation was her strategic use of a nameless Moorish necromancer as the hired mediator by a rich noble and his demonic conjurings, like those of the cleric in our first example. This necromancer however, by being described as a *moro*, allows us to explore the magic clandestinely preserved by *Moriscos*, the last Muslims of Iberia prior to their expulsion in 1609. While Zayas text was written after their expulsion, the representation of the magic practitioner as Moorish speaks to the continued concern towards the remaining presence and influence of Andalusí/Arab/Moorish practices.

All of the literary examples of amorous interactions explored in these chapters depend on the employment of love magic. What motivated the

characters to either turn to magic on their own or through a mediator was, in a sense, love, and as such the described ensorcellments are done out of love. Or were they? Perhaps this use of magic, while part of amorous end results, is lacking and therefore out of love—for none of the described meddling was done to benefit the receiving party. It is for this reason that I chose the title, *Out of Love*, as the magic represented in these literary examples were made both in the name of, and completely lacking in, love. Therefore, while the magic used in these literary texts was love magic, the lack of agency on the part of their targets and the attempted control of them through magic, further exemplifies how our scholarly focus on love magic can provide alternatives to concepts of courtly love and other amorous interactions in the premodern period. Once again, courtly love, being so closely related to chivalry, was a code of conduct, approved by Christian authorities, meant to standardize and control how romantic relationships (and Marian devotion) initiated and developed. Love magic not only gave would be lovers an alternative, and potentially less exhaustive means to establish carnal relations, but also symbolizes the complex relationship Christianity had when engaging with the non-Christian cultures in Iberia.

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