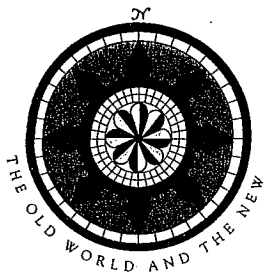


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Featuring:

Sombras del Antiguo Régimen en el proceso emancipador de América del Sur: planes franceses de influencia y dominio, 1818-1824,
Francisco Javier González Errázuriz

A Cartography of Sorcery: Mapping the First Auto de Fe in Cartagena de Indias, 1614,
Ana Díaz Burgos

Las dificultades de funcionamiento del Asiento de Negros británico en el imperio español, 1713-1739: la misión de Tomás Geraldino en Londres,
Lía de Luxán Hernández y
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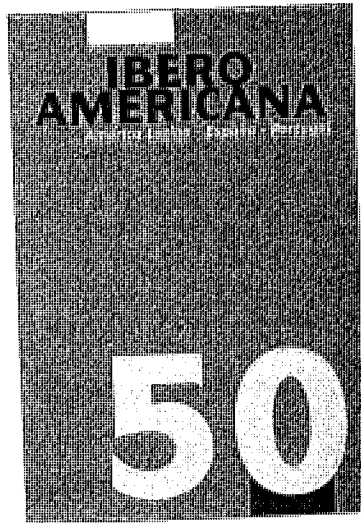
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A Cartography of Sorcery: Mapping the First *Auto de Fe* in Cartagena de Indias, 1614

ANA DÍAZ BURGOS

In 1614, Doña Lorenzana de Acereto was condemned for sorcery in the first *auto de fe* held in the port city of Cartagena de Indias. At the age of twenty-seven, she was already the wife of the city's royal scribe and mother of four children. Despite her social rank, Acereto was accused of casting spells, practicing love magic, entertaining two younger lovers, and attempting numerous times to kill her much older husband. Her initial sentence involved a fine of 4000 ducats, banishment from the city for two years, and dressing as a repentant while attending mass at the church of the Holy Office. While Acereto's deeds challenged the social order, her ancestry, and her assigned roles as mother and wife, her case also reveals that the prosecution of sorcery during the first years of the tribunal's founding in Cartagena de Indias aimed to redefine female codes of conduct in this colonial context.

Of the six cases of female sorcery prosecuted in the first *auto de fe* held in the port city, the documentation on Acereto's case is the most complete.¹ By fate or fortune, the records have survived serendipitous misplacement, adverse weather conditions, and the destruction of the city in 1697. In comparison, only the *relaciones de causa* (case summaries) remain of the other five cases.² These summaries are limited to the compilation of accusations, names of witnesses, and sentences, and usually present quick profiles of the condemned that demonstrate metropolitan patterns of deviance. In contrast, Acereto's case provides a fascinating cache of detailed

¹ Although Doña Lorenzana de Acereto's case has been preserved, a few folios are missing. The archival quotations come from Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, vecino de esta ciudad de Cartagena, Cartagena, año de 1612, Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (hereinafter cited as AHN), Inquisición, leg. 1620, exp. 1.

² Anna María Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias, 1610-1660* (Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1997), 2:93.

accusations, confessions, and preliminary incriminatory charges. The voluminous documentation of the proceedings of her case, consisting of over one hundred folios, exposes how a woman like Acereto circumvented hegemonic restrictions expressed through canon law, orthodoxy, socioeconomic and racial stratification, and gender codes to achieve her goals. The written records of her confessions and witnesses' testimonies, moreover, permits the identification of some of the rhetorical strategies of self-defense employed to mitigate inquisitorial accusations.³ These official transcriptions function as a textual space where female voices become audible, testifying to how women managed to comply with the official religious doctrine while carrying out unorthodox practices at the same time that the Holy Office was solidifying its jurisdiction in Cartagena de Indias.⁴

The inquisitorial records of Acereto's case evince the extent to which colonial subjects employed a discourse that understood the language of geography and architecture, and used this vocabulary to create and describe the spaces where they exerted and experienced power. Moreover, this case reveals how the practice of sorcery transformed the nature of certain spaces into thresholds, both in Cartagena and its environs. Thresholds are conceived as liminal spaces where occupants interact with the inside and the outside at once, thus altering geographic and architectural limits and contesting univocal meanings of space established by political and religious powers.⁵

In the context of sorcery, rituals and spell-casting provide practitioners with accessibility to the outside from the inside, while establishing a connection with supernatural forces (the outside) that transcends materiality and orthodoxy (the inside). Spaces become situational thresholds, withstanding the intervention of sorcery without modifying their primary appearance or retaining traces of the spells practiced within. It is only through confession, as Acereto's case shows,

³ Carlo Ginzburg and Natalie Davis discuss the tensions between dominant and resistant discourses in the description of condemned practices found in the texts of sixteenth-century inquisitorial trials in Italy and France, respectively. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1976; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); and Natalie Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

⁴ In 22 August 1610, La Suprema (the Spanish Council of the Inquisition) created the Holy Office in Cartagena. Splendiani, *Cinquenta años de Inquisición*, 1:108.

⁵ This concept of "threshold" is greatly indebted to Giorgio Agamben. Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michel Hardt (1990; reprint, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 67-68.

that traces of the thresholds become visible and locatable.⁶ When Acereto and her witnesses evoked sorcerous practices in their confessions and repeatedly named and described these spaces as essential locations to procure ingredients or to perform sorcery, these thresholds entered the Inquisition's purview. The testimonies provide an account of how colonial subjects employed and amended the spatial and architectural discourse of seventeenth-century Cartagena.

Geographic and architectural descriptions of the thresholds mentioned in this case produce a cartography of sorcery that contrasts with the official geography of social hierarchy and religious orthodoxy enforced by the Inquisition. This cartography maps two kinds of thresholds in Cartagena: geographic surroundings such as countryside towns and domestic architectural spaces. The continuous reference to these thresholds in the confessions highlights the existence of spaces and social ties that went unnoticed by inquisitorial authorities. Practitioners of sorcery created these spaces in order to learn and perform prayers and spells and to carry out their practices.⁷ These spaces also allowed practitioners to interact with various people and foster relations with individuals who could help them, for example, to procure materials for their spells. These affiliations were based on knowledge, mobility, and economic exchanges that altered official uses of space and modified the practice associated with religious orthodoxy. Mapping these thresholds allows for a close examination of the ways in which practitioners appropriated geography and architecture in their sorcerous practices and brings to light the multiplicity of strategies that practitioners produced to avoid inquisitorial surveillance.

For the metropolis, maps functioned not only as representations of colonial territories, but also as a means of possession.⁸ The inclusion of new cities, towns, and geographic features in official cartographies visually increased imperial power. The more detailed the map, the more

⁶ For a discussion of the dynamics of confession, see Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: la naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Corinne Kratz, "Amusement and Absolution: Transforming Narratives during Confession of Social Debts," *American Anthropologist* 93:4 (1991):826-51; and Peter Brooks, *Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in Law & Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

⁷ James Scott has examined the value of hidden transcripts in the analysis of power relations. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 4-5.

⁸ Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez, eds., *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 19.

explored and controlled the territory. Likewise, blank portions in official cartographies emphasized the authorities' disregard for peripheral regions, therefore restricting their field of influence.

The nuances of the cartography recorded in Acereto's inquisitorial trial can be brought to the fore by taking into consideration the recent scholarship on Spanish American cartographies, which has examined the relationship between the Spanish project of expansion and mapmaking. Spaniards mapped colonial territories in order to control them. The increased attention paid to space in the scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s serves as grounding for more recent studies on Spanish American cartographies. According to Barney Warf, the earlier scholarship focused on the relationships between space and aspects of subjectivity, daily life, and identity.⁹ More recently, Barbara Mundy and Ricardo Padrón have analyzed issues of accessibility and production in the official cartographies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as how these cartographies influenced ideas about space in everyday life on both sides of the Atlantic.¹⁰ Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez, on the other hand, have focused on how the nature of colonial spaces shaped the lives of their occupants, and what kinds of relationships and discourses colonial and imperial subjects produced in those spaces regarding gender, identity, and representations of power in the New World.¹¹ Taken together, both approaches address major concerns regarding the production of official and alternative cartographies throughout the colonial period and raise questions about the extent to which local power relationships shaped the administration of colonial territories.

⁹ Barney Warf refers to the foundational works of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault, which establish the basis of modern discussions regarding space and its relationship to history, society, and everyday life. Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 43; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991); and Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16:1 (1986):22-27.

¹⁰ Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹¹ Arias and Meléndez, *Mapping Colonial Spanish America*; Santa Arias, "The Geopolitics of Historiography from Europe to the Americas," in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf (New York: Routledge, 2008), 122-36; and Mariselle Meléndez, "The Cultural Production of Space in Colonial Latin America: From Visualizing Difference to the Circulation of Knowledge," in Warf, *The Spatial Turn*, 173-91.

Christopher Columbus' arrival in the New World serves as a point of departure for untangling Spaniards' interest in mapmaking and their spatial concerns. His expeditions inserted Spain into the cartographic impulse of the early modern period and furthered the spatial representations that made these territories visible to Europe. Even though concepts of spatiality had not yet taken root in the sixteenth-century Hispanic world, colonists nonetheless articulated ideas related to the representation of new spaces.¹² The journeys of navigation, exploration, and conquest revealed how small Europe was in comparison to the size of the world, which required that Europeans reimagine their place within it. Subsequently, European empires also developed a multiplicity of mapping techniques that made their dominions visible and displayed their increasing power. Cosmographic knowledge, geographic questionnaires, and chorographic reports were intended to make the Americas a perceptible reality for people from the Old World and thus increase Iberian fame.¹³

The larger goals of the imperial mapmaking project had notable limitations. For one, mapmakers often did not have access to all existing information due to the secrecy involved in the process of navigation and colonization of new territories coordinated by the House of Trade. Early cartographic expeditions into new territories relied heavily on the written accounts of explorers, conquistadors, and clergy men, who described their personal experiences and tacitly incorporated indigenous knowledge of the new territories in official reports. Even though eyewitnesses insisted on the veracity of their accounts, they also recorded selective information that distorted what happened in front of their eyes. Depending on the purpose of the account, exaggeration, omission, addition, and alteration tailored the information that was reported. In addition, the cartographic knowledge and innovations of the time were only available to a restricted number of travelers arriving in the New World.¹⁴ These gaps in travelers' knowledge limited the

¹² David Woodward explains the change from Medieval to Renaissance cartographies and the effects on the conception of the world after 1492; and Ricardo Padrón discusses the spatial imagination of sixteenth-century Hispanic daily life. David Woodward, "Maps and the Rationalization of Geographic Space," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 83-87; and Ricardo Padrón, "Mapping Plus Ultra: Cartography, Space, and Hispanic Modernity," *Representations* 79 (2002):28-60.

¹³ Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 11-12; and Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, 2-9.

¹⁴ Antony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Richard Kagan with Fernando Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New

range of their cartographic activity and impaired their access to peripheral territories, as is evident in the vast regions of the New World that remained unknown to Spanish authorities throughout the seventeenth century.

The discrepancy between official colonial cartographies and the actual colonial territory was evident in the mapmaking process of the Caribbean region of New Granada, where Cartagena was located.¹⁵ Sixteenth-century maps included main urban centers, prominent topographic markers, and major populations. Not until the 1630s did mapmakers locate small towns, rural areas, and remote populations. Upon receipt of Columbus' news about the New World, the Spanish Crown commissioned different European cartographers to produce maps and descriptions of the new territories. For instance, the maps by Abraham Ortelius (1581) and Antonio de Herrera (1622) presented a broad panorama of the Caribbean zone of New Granada that included urban settlements such as Santa Marta and Cartagena. Similarly, the map by the Dutch cartographer Willem Blaeu (1630) incorporated towns like Tolú, which were distant from the already established urban centers.¹⁶ The shift from panoramic maps to more detailed representations reflected the pace of official incorporation into imperial cartographies of peripheral areas long known to the local inhabitants.

The ways in which people on the ground visualized their lived space played an essential role in practices such as sorcery and witchcraft. Knowledge of local flora, fauna, geography, and architecture allowed practitioners to procure materials for their varied spells and to find spaces to perform sorcery, which inquisitorial authorities classified as heterodox activity. This kind of knowledge provided urban dwellers with access to a variety of products such as herbs, animal parts, or tree bark from Cartagena's environs. The trade between main urban centers and less settled territories made materials available to upper-class women that would otherwise be beyond their reach. Women who practiced sorcery skirted prescribed models of

Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); and J. Brian Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82:3 (1992):522-36.

¹⁵ Efraín Sánchez, *Gobierno y geografía: Agustín Codazzi y la Comisión Corográfica de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá: Banco de la República, El Áncora Editores, 1999).

¹⁶ Kit S. Kapp, *The Early Maps of Colombia up to 1850* (London: Map Collector's Circle, 1971), 8:77; and Eduardo Acevedo Latorre, *Atlas de mapas antiguos de Colombia, siglos XVI a XIX* (Bogotá: Litografía Arco, 1971).

mobility based on gender and race and, in doing so, produced an alternative cartography of Spanish America.

The inquisitorial mechanisms of control deployed in Cartagena derived from Europeans' experience with sorcery and witchcraft in previous centuries but did not take into account the particularities of the colonial context during those early years. The foundation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 and the Counter-Reformation increased the number of regulatory measures targeted at women and launched a zealous campaign of condemnation of sorcery and witchcraft directly linked to female deviant behavior.¹⁷ In order to prevent deviancy, the Catholic Church reinforced female instruction regarding moral codes and virtuous behavior by fostering women's religiosity through the printing of manuals of conduct. These books delimited a socio-spatial normativity, distributing and mapping spaces according to gender roles and social status, which limited women's domain to the domestic sphere.¹⁸ Early modern authors such as Juan Luis Vives, Fray Luis de León, and Gaspar de Astete advised women to be obedient, moderate, and prudent in order to safeguard their female virtue.¹⁹

The reinforcement of religious orthodoxy and virtuous behavior went hand in hand with the proliferation of treatises on demonology and penology produced in the sixteenth century, as deviant practices such as divination, superstition, sorcery, and witchcraft flourished. The *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Hammer of Witches*) by Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, printed at the end of the fifteenth century, served as a foundation for the prosecution and punishment of sorcery and

¹⁷ For an analysis of inquisitorial efforts and devices to contain and control deviance and heresy in Spain and the Americas, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); John Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 1999); Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); and Richard Kagan, *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

¹⁸ Emilia Navarro underlines the prolific production of conduct books during the European Renaissance as a response to new economic practices. Emilia Navarro, "Manual Control: 'Regulatory Fictions' and their Discontents," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 13:2 (1993):17-35.

¹⁹ Juan Luis Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae: formación de la mujer cristiana*, trans. Joaquín Beltrán Serra (1542; reprint, Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1994); Fray Luis de León, *La perfecta casada* (1583; reprint, Barcelona: Biblioteca Clásica Española, 1884); and Gaspar de Astete, *Tratado del gobierno de la familia y estado de las viudas y donzellas* (1597; reprint, Burgos: Varesio, 1603).

witchcraft.²⁰ Subsequent Spanish, German, and French treatises on demonology and penology written during the following century built on this work by accentuating the differences between sorcery and witchcraft.²¹ According to these writers, sorcery and witchcraft were different in both their mechanisms of control and their goals. Sorcery was identified by the use of spells, incantations, potions, pagan prayers, and superstitious practices, whereas witchcraft implied the use of psychic powers to cause physical injury, emotional impairment, or even murder.

Such treatises insisted that witchcraft was a far graver offense because it required an explicit pact with the devil, while sorcery did not.²² These different conceptions of sorcery and witchcraft traveled across the Atlantic, taking on different cultural meanings and local associations as they became rooted in Spanish America.²³ Local practices resulted in the amalgamation of unorthodox knowledge from both sides of the Atlantic and the reappropriation of spaces outside the inquisitorial scope.

As part of the imperial project of expansion to the Americas, the Inquisition was responsible for policing moral codes of conduct and the observance of the Catholic orthodoxy in the New World. Initially established in Mexico and Lima in 1571, New World inquisitorial branches had to handle cases that were contingent on the geographic, demographic, economic, and socio-political conditions of the new

²⁰ Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. Montague Summers (1487; reprint, London: Folio Society, 1968).

²¹ Treatises of demonology and penology in the sixteenth century include Pedro Ciruelo, *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechicerías* (1538; reprint, Madrid, [s.n.], 1952); Jean Bodin, *De la demonomanie des sorciers* (Paris: Chez Jaques du Puys, Librairie Juré, à la Amaritaine, 1580); Henry Boguet, *Discours des sorciers: avec six advis en fait de sorcellerie, et une instruction pour un juge en semblable matière* (Lyon: Chez Pierre Ricaud en rue Mercière, au coin de rue Ferrandière, à Horloge, 1610); and Nicolas Remi, *Daemonolatreiae* (1595; reprint, Lyon: L'imprimerie de Lyon, 1936).

²² José María García Marín, "Magia e inquisición: derecho penal y proceso inquisitorial en el siglo XVII," in *Perfiles jurídicos de la Inquisición española*, ed. José Antonio Escudero (Madrid: Instituto de Historia de la Inquisición, 1989), 205-78; and Jaime Humberto Borja Gómez, *Rostros y rastros del demonio en la Nueva Granada: indios, negros, judíos, mujeres y otras huestes de Satán* (Santafé de Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1998), 275.

²³ For an analysis of socio-economic, religious, and political dynamics produced by the Holy Office in Spain, see Angel Alcalá, ed., *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Escudero, *Perfiles jurídicos*; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*; and Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition*.

territories.²⁴ Due to the increasing economic relevance of Spain's Caribbean territories, a third inquisitorial outpost was created in 1610 in Cartagena de Indias, one of the main commercial enclaves of the area. The inquisitors in Cartagena, like those in Mexico City and Lima, handled cases with unique colonial subtexts.

In the case of Mexico City, Solange Alberro has analyzed the interrelations between the Inquisition, its functionaries, its repressive mechanisms of control, and the lives of the prosecuted subjects, providing an insightful study about the extent to which the Inquisition shaped, and was shaped by, social dynamics.²⁵ Ruth Behar has focused on witchcraft and explained its role as a source of power for women, showing that it produced an inversion of the gendered hierarchy.²⁶ In the case of Lima, race, gender, and socio-economic status also played a main role in inquisitorial prosecutions. For instance, María Emma Manarelli has studied how these variables, along with Andean geography and natural resources, influenced practices and prosecution of sorcery and witchcraft in the seventeenth century.²⁷ On the other hand, Irene Silverblatt has explored how race and bureaucracy intersected in order to show the ways mechanisms of fear oriented colonial control and determined interactions between local inhabitants and colonial authorities.²⁸ This scholarship on the Mexican and Peruvian jurisdictions evidences how the Inquisition, apart from

²⁴ For a study of behavioral changes due to inquisitorial settlements in the Americas, see Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Ann Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Daniella J. Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf, eds., *Women, Religion, and the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

²⁵ Solange Alberro, *La actividad del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Nueva España, 1571-1700* (México D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1981); and Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571-1700* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988).

²⁶ Ruth Behar, "Sexual Witchcraft, Colonialism, and Women's Powers: Views from the Mexican Inquisition," in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

²⁷ María Emma Manarelli, *Inquisición y mujeres: las hechiceras en el Perú durante el siglo XVII* (Lima: Centro de Documentación sobre la Mujer, 1987).

²⁸ Irene Silverblatt, "Colonial Conspiracies," *Ethnohistory* 53:2 (2006):259-80; and Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

maintaining religious orthodoxy and intensifying social control over the regions' residents, also forged unorthodox social relations that sought to avoid surveillance. Thus, both contexts advance the inquisitorial paradoxes, obstacles, and concessions that Cartagena would later experience upon the establishment of the Holy Office.

Cartagena's privileged location in the Caribbean functioned as a strategic point for inquisitorial control over territories of New Granada, the Windward Islands, and the regions dependent on Santo Domingo, all of which were too far from the scope of the tribunals in Mexico and Lima. As a port city, Cartagena served as a point of convergence for many distinct cultures, religions, languages, and goods, all of which influenced everyday life.²⁹ The constant inflow of people of African and indigenous descent complicated existing social interactions and provided local inhabitants with access to heterodox knowledge and practices. Anna María Splendiani, Jaime Borja Gómez, Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, Diana Luz Ceballos, and Martha Lux Martelo have examined how these contingencies played out in Cartagena by analyzing the role of race, gender, and social status, and examining how these factors shaped and conditioned the Inquisition's rulings to a greater extent than the actual behavior of accused individuals.³⁰

These scholars argue that Cartagena's demographic diversity created new dimensions and categories for both the practice and prosecution of sorcery, which diverged from the European demonology and penology treatises mentioned above. In particular, Borja, Maya Restrepo, and Ceballos have emphasized the racialized and gendered workings of the Holy Office in Cartagena, which differentiated between sorcery and witchcraft. Most of the women prosecuted for

²⁹ Since the 1540s, Cartagena de Indias functioned as one of the main commercial enclaves in the Caribbean. Ships carrying silver from Potosí, Nueva Remedios, Zaragoza, and Cáceres set sail for Spain from Cartagena de Indias. Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, "Los afrocolombianos," in *Geografía humana de Colombia: los afrocolombianos* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, 2000), 6:11-52; Antonino Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe, 1580-1640* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002); and Adolfo Meisel Roca, *Geografía física y poblamiento en la Costa Caribe colombiana* (Cartagena: Banco de la República, 2006).

³⁰ Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*; Borja Gómez, *Rostros y rastros*; Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, "Demografía histórica de la trata por Cartagena, 1533-1810," in *Geografía humana de Colombia*, 6:193-217; Diana Luz Ceballos, "Quyen tal haze que tal pague": *sociedad y prácticas mágicas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 2002); and Martha Elisa Lux Martelo, *Las mujeres de Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, 2006).

witchcraft were African or had African ancestry, while those prosecuted for sorcery were mostly of European descent or were *criollo*.³¹ This contrast shows the extent to which inquisitorial prosecution for sorcery and witchcraft was related to the need to control the population by enforcing gendered and racialized norms of behavior in order to safeguard the colonial order.

In the first *auto de fe* in 1614, inquisitors did not prosecute any women for witchcraft but did condemn six women for sorcery, five of them Spanish, one Portuguese, and one *criolla*, Doña Lorenzana de Acereto. Despite issuing a sentence for sorcery, the inquisitorial prosecutor, Don Francisco Bazán de Albornoz, did classify some of the actions of Acereto and her witnesses as witchcraft. By including these deeds while at the same time preserving the sentence within the limits of sorcery, inquisitorial authorities broadened the metropolitan patterns of deviance to ascertain their discursive, social, and geographic influence over a territory they barely knew. In order to control their jurisdiction, authorities had to adjust known models to the novelties of the territory, its populations, and everyday behaviors.

Although the main purpose of the inquisitorial process was to elicit a confession of heresy from the accused, in Acereto's case, answers to the judge's questions recorded an alternative account of officially unmapped regions and domestic architectural spaces and their transformation into thresholds through sorcery. Before the trials, the inquisitors could not identify these spaces because they were part of a new geography. However, the confessants' testimonies provided them with geographic pointers that served as legends to decipher alternative uses of space. It became evident, for example, that in Acereto's sorcery activities, the nearby towns of Tolú and San Agustín were as important as the architectural structure of a balcony of an elite family's manor in downtown Cartagena. Practices of sorcery thus disturbed the social hierarchy that separated the city from the countryside and altered traditional uses of urban edifices.

³¹ For a discussion on the statistics of the subjects prosecuted for sorcery and witchcraft, see José Enrique Sánchez Bohórquez, "La hechicería, la brujería y el reniego de la fe, delitos comunes entre blancos y negros," in Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, 1:209-31; Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, 4:121-39; Borja Gómez, *Rostros y rastros*, 281; Maya Restrepo, "Demografía histórica," 9-52; and Diana Luz Ceballos, *Hechicería, brujería e Inquisición en el Nuevo Reino de Granada: un duelo de imaginarios* (Medellín: Editorial Universidad Nacional, 1994), 59.

The three events in Acereto's case reveal the ways in which sorcery redefined the geography and architecture of Cartagena and its environs. First, Acereto's attempts to hold on to her lover, Sergeant Santander, through magic required botanical ingredients native to Tolú. Second, the bewitching (*aderezo*) of the sacred image of Santa Marta in the town of San Agustín was necessary in order to perform a pagan prayer meant to resolve Acereto's marital problems. Finally, the summoning of Sergeant Santander's presence and affection had to take place on Acereto's balcony in order for the incantation to be effective. These three sorcerous events offer detailed descriptions of the thresholds that brought them under the domain of the Holy Office, thus widening the official cartographic imaginary.

In order to accomplish her goals, Acereto sought affiliations from across the social spectrum—including mixed-race people, freedmen, slaves, and social equals—to skirt the geographic and architectural restrictions on mobility placed on women and thus obtain what she needed to practice sorcery. Juan Lorenzo, categorized as a mulatto, played a critical role in her practices, especially in the events pertaining to Tolú and San Agustín. Originally from Lima, Juan Lorenzo was the slave of the Augustinian friar Antonio Cisneros.³² Juan Lorenzo's master allowed him to move freely around Cartagena and its surroundings. Serving as Acereto's emissary, Juan Lorenzo provided her with prayers, spells, and the materials needed to carry them out. Acereto also employed the services of her trusted slave, Catalinica. Finally, she often included Doña Ana María de Olarreaga, a close friend, and Catalina de los Ángeles in the sorcery that transpired in her home. When practicing sorcery, Acereto and her affiliates inhabited, transited, and transformed the official meaning of certain spaces overlooked by colonial authorities.

The geographic locations of Tolú and San Agustín played a significant role in Acereto's sorcery because they existed outside the reach of inquisitorial surveillance and official cartographies and because of their natural resources. Even though indigenous people and Africans had inhabited these peripheral regions for a long time, colonial authorities did not officially recognize them as townships for almost twenty-five years after the *auto de fe*.³³ Tolú's and San Agustín's

³² Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, 2:65-66.

³³ Julián Bautista Ruiz Rivera has indicated that it was not until 1639 that colonial authorities approved the foundation of three townships to control the area extending between Tolú and Mompo. Julián Bautista Ruiz Rivera, *Cartagena de Indias y su provincia: una mirada a los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Bogotá: El Áncora Editores, 2005).

proximity to sources of drinking water determined their local economy. Tolú was close to swamps and streams that allowed for agricultural production, while San Agustín stood on the banks of the Magdalena River and participated in fluvial trade with indigenous settlements. In both cases, the local populations opted for locations that attested to their geographic and botanical knowledge of these territories. This information oscillated between the realms of the magical and the scientific, and therefore was condemned as heretical by the European demonology and penology manuals that guided the inquisitors' hands.

Urban dwellers like Acereto, interested in accessing this cache of knowledge, had to resort to go-betweens such as Juan Lorenzo, his friend Thomasina, a freedwoman, and Catalinica. These instances of delegation depended on hidden ties that served to avoid the vigilant eye of Inquisition officials, allowing Acereto to perform deeds that she hoped would enable her to manipulate her husband and her lovers, often without having to leave her house. By delegating the trips to Tolú and San Agustín, as well as other activities, Acereto modified official boundaries between the public and the private, virtue and deviance. In the words of the inquisitorial prosecutor, Don Francisco Bazán de Albornoz, "Doña Lorenzana did not only focus on offending God Our Lord by practicing such deviant actions [acts of sorcery], she also manages to make others practice them."³⁴ Thus, Acereto contravened the colonial order not only through her deviant actions, but also due to her ability to control others to do her bidding. In spite of her status as a *criolla*, Acereto navigated and broadened female codes of behavior by developing hidden relationships and social ties to achieve her goals.³⁵

The excursion to Tolú allowed Juan Lorenzo to provide Acereto with the materials to practice a spell to manipulate Sergeant Santander. On an overnight trip to San Agustín, Acereto sent Catalinica to accompany and supervise Juan Lorenzo's bewitchment of the sacred

³⁴ "La dicha Doña Lorenzana no se concentraba en cometer ella tan graves delicias contra Dios nuestro señor, sino que procuraba por todas vías que otros los cometiesen." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 47r. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Acereto's case are the author's.

³⁵ For an analysis of the development of the concept of *criollo*, see José Antonio Mazzotti, ed., *Agencias criollas: la ambigüedad "colonial" en las letras hispanoamericanas* (Pittsburg: Biblioteca de América, 2000); Enrique Gacto, "Aproximación al Derecho penal de la Inquisición," en Escudero, *Perfiles jurídicos*, 175-94; and Juan M. Vitulli and David Solodkow, eds., *Poéticas de lo criollo: la transformación del concepto criollo en las letras hispanoamericanas, siglos XVI-XIX* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 2009).

image of Santa Marta.³⁶ At this event, Juan Lorenzo and Catalinica met with Thomasina, who assisted Juan Lorenzo in his sorcerous practices.³⁷ From the perspective of the inquisitorial prosecutor, the expedition to Tolú and the overnight journey to San Agustín served as perfect examples of Acereto's influence and capacity to delegate certain responsibilities, and demonstrated how sorcery altered the spatiality of peripheral locations.

These events also shed light on the sorcery's reverberations in Cartagena. Serving as Acereto's facilitator, Juan Lorenzo established a clandestine economy based on trafficking goods and words to resolve Acereto's marital conflicts and love affairs. This exchange implied a negotiation in terms of services rendered and rewards that benefited both parties. Acereto paid Juan Lorenzo in jewels and money and, in turn, he provided her with the knowledge and ingredients to achieve her goals.³⁸ His journey to Tolú was intended to procure the root and juice of a local herb that would be used to prepare a love magic potion: "[Juan Lorenzo] told [Acereto] that he needed to extract the juice of an herb that can be found in Tolú; and that was pretty effective because as soon as the woman rubbed it on her body, the man would fall for her."³⁹ In his confession, Juan Lorenzo declared that, on two separate occasions, Acereto emphatically requested a potion that would make Sergeant Santander fall in love with her again.⁴⁰ In her defense, however, Acereto denied having made these requests, declaring that she did not know anything about this kind of potion.⁴¹ Whether or not she made these requests, Juan Lorenzo's advice about the uses of this potion, based on the extract of an herb from Tolú, included this town in a map of resources for sorcery only known to practitioners.

³⁶ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 67r.

³⁷ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 32r.

³⁸ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 6r.

³⁹ "Diciéndole [a Acereto] que tenía que sacar agua de una yerba que hay en la villa de Tolú muy buena que en tomándola en la mano y untándosele en el cuerpo con ella se moría el hombre por la mujer." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 47r.

⁴⁰ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fols. 6v, 47r, 62r.

⁴¹ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 67r.

Acereto recurred to Juan Lorenzo again in the overnight journey to San Agustín in order to gain entry to locations otherwise inaccessible to a virtuous, Catholic woman. In the previous excursion to Tolú, Acereto simply dispatched Juan Lorenzo to gather the necessary resources for her. The expedition to San Agustín, however, actually required him to cast spells. On this occasion, Juan Lorenzo's role involved helping Acereto pacify her husband and heal her marriage by means of the incantation of a pagan version of Santa Marta's prayer. The prayer consisted of two steps, the first of which could be executed by a proxy, but the second could only be performed by the main party. In the first step, Juan Lorenzo had to leave the purview of the Inquisition in order "to bewitch" (*aderezar*) an image of Santa Marta, the patron saint of overcoming difficulties, protector of housewives, servants, maidens, and travelers.⁴² Once in possession of the bewitched image of the saint, Acereto every day was required to pray five Our Fathers and Hail Marys to the altered image of Santa Marta. To complete the spell, she had to ask a priest to offer a mass in the saint's name, which would secretly be directed towards the bewitched image and not the Catholic saint.

For the San Agustín expedition, Acereto decided to send Catalinica, her own trusted slave, with Juan Lorenzo to ensure that he properly recited the prayer. The increased concern owed to the complexity of this sorcerous practice, moreover, reveals how personal interactions among practitioners of sorcery oscillated between trust and suspicion due to the fragility of the transactions, which involved mainly incantations, charms, or potions in exchange for money or goods.⁴³ According to plan, Juan Lorenzo and Catalinica abandoned the spatial precincts of the inquisitorial gaze and set out to San Agustín to alter the image of Santa Marta at the house of Thomasina. Juan Lorenzo was supposed to affix a patch made of conjured parchment to the back of Santa Marta's image and recite a prayer that included Acereto's intentions. Catalinica's sole purpose in the journey was to confirm that

⁴² Pedro Cátedra and Anastasio Rojo explain the relevance of prayerbooks in the daily lives of secular and religious women. These texts were intended to internalize the Catholic doctrine and promote female virtue. Pedro M. Cátedra and Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Bibliotecas y lecturas de mujeres, siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Instituto de la Historia y del Libro y la Lectura, 2004).

⁴³ In his case study that focuses on North American slavery, Walter Johnson highlights the relevance of dynamics of trust in everyday life that shape collective action despite their contingency to hegemonic surveillance. Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37:1 (2003):113-24, esp. 118.

indeed he had pronounced the incantation correctly. However, in her later confession she indicated that her involvement proved to be useless because she fell asleep.⁴⁴ Even if Catalinica's presence ultimately was inconsequential, she functioned as Acereto's representative on the trip and thus attested, if not to the prayer, at least to the inherent distrust that surrounded practices of sorcery.

In the end, Juan Lorenzo confessed that he performed "the prayer of the star" (*oración de la estrella*) instead of the prayer of Santa Marta, despite having assured Acereto that he had recited the correct prayer.⁴⁵ Juan Lorenzo's denial of reciting Santa Marta's prayer might have been a strategy of self-defense due to the implicit dangers of performing it. He seemed to be aware that the inquisitors considered the prayer of Santa Marta more hazardous because it desecrated the sacred image of the saint, whereas the prayer of the star mostly pertained to pagan figures, although it mentioned Barabbas and referred to the Mount of Olives, both relevant icons in the Catholic tradition. According to the inquisitorial records, this prayer reads:

I summon you the highest and most beautiful star—I summon you, once, twice, and thrice, and so on up till the ninth time. Through the *mount of Olivete*, come in. Through the Olivete, come in, and cut three black juniper branches; sharpen them in *Barabbas'* molars, and bring Mister So-and-so bound and tied to my dominion, my command, and shackled to my will, without the possibility of being unchained.⁴⁶

The punishment for conjuring pagan figures instead of sacred Catholic icons to influence someone's will was less severe than for performing the prayer to Santa Marta.

⁴⁴ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 7v.

⁴⁵ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 7v.

⁴⁶ "Conjúrote estrella la más alta y la más bella—conjúrote con la una, con las dos y con las tres y de esta suerte hasta llegar a las nueve, por el *monte Olivete* entra, por el monte Olivete entréis tres baras de enebro negro me cortéis, en las muelas de *Barrabás* las amoléis y traigáis a fulano atado y amarrado a mi querer y a mi mandar y atado a mi voluntad, sin que nadie se lo pueda estorbar." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 2v (emphasis added).

While Juan Lorenzo's confessions shed doubt on which of the two prayers he actually performed, his practices temporarily modified the primary function of the space which he occupied. Juan Lorenzo took advantage of his friendship with Thomasina, the distance between San Agustín and Cartagena, and Catalinica's somnolence to transform a rural domestic space into a locale for practicing sorcery. His friendship with Thomasina allowed him to spend a night in her house to alter the image of Santa Marta, as Acereto had stipulated. By staying at Thomasina's house, his practices could not leave any evidence: first, because it was located far from the Holy Office's field of influence and, second, because he would take the altered image with him and deliver it to Acereto. Moreover, Catalinica's somnolence guaranteed the transiency of the sorcerous event, given that her testimony regarding the performance of the prayer would be invalidated since she had not been a direct eyewitness. In his attempts to eliminate evidence and manipulate alibis, Juan Lorenzo minimized the risks of contention and punishment for himself.⁴⁷

Juan Lorenzo's knowledge of this region and its products, his racial status, and his connection to a respected clergyman at first placed him beyond suspicion. By the end of the trial, however, he too was accused of sorcery and punished in the same *auto de fe*. In his testament to the Inquisition, Juan Lorenzo insisted that his participation had been limited to assisting Acereto. According to him, Acereto was guilty of attempting to enthrall her husband and possess her lover. From Juan Lorenzo's perspective, running errands for her did not constitute actual involvement in sorcery. The inquisitors thought otherwise and sentenced him to two hundred lashes and banishment from the city.⁴⁸

This traffic between Cartagena, Tolú, and San Agustín transformed these towns into sources of raw material for sorcerous

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the multiple roles that the go-betweens played in the medieval and Renaissance traditions in Spain and Spanish America, see Charles Ralph Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815, Some Facts, Fancies, and Personalities* (London: Duckworth, 1975); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Leyla Rouhi, *Mediation and Love: A Study of the Medieval Go-Between in Key Romance and Near Eastern Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); and Kelly C. Reff, "Saints, Witches and Go-betweens: The Depiction of Women in Missionary Accounts from the Northern Frontier of New Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18:2 (2009):237-60.

⁴⁸ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 5v.

practices that were undetectable by inquisitorial authorities. The initial inquisitors, the canon lawyers Don Pedro Mateo de Salcedo and Don Juan de Mañozca, were unaware of this kind of traffic because at the time of the first *auto de fe* in Cartagena, the territory and population under their jurisdiction were mostly unknown to them.⁴⁹ During that early stage of their tenure, Salcedo and Mañozca misread the importance of neighboring regions. In the *auto de fe*, the inquisitors made the mistake of considering the deviant behavior and sorcerous practices they sought to eradicate as events connected only to the port city instead of as part of a complex and hidden network of people, knowledge, and spaces that included not only Cartagena but, more importantly, its environs. By the end of the trials and the confessions, however, the participants and witnesses of these events themselves had attested to their existence and importance.

Witnesses like Barbola Esquivel, a pious woman that used to visit Acereto's home, brought the focus of the case back to Cartagena and clarified the involvement of Acereto's friends. According to Barbola, Juan Lorenzo gave Acereto the image of Santa Marta along with the instructions to finish the prayer.⁵⁰ Acereto had to practice the pagan prayer while attending mass. Instead of following the liturgy and praying to Santa Marta, Acereto silently uttered a pagan version of the prayer in order to cast a spell. Reciting the pagan prayer during the service allowed Acereto to transform the church from a sacred location into a sorcerous threshold. In the process, she could accomplish her purpose while preserving a religious façade, without leaving any trace or raising suspicion. Although no one reported a completed version of the actual words of this prayer, Acereto mentioned in her confession that she wrote the prayer on a paper that she later discarded and that she could not recall it "due to her weak memory."⁵¹

Inquisitorial prosecutor Albornoz qualified Acereto's statement as evidence of her deviant behavior. According to his accusations, the prosecutor concluded that due to her proclivity to these sorts of

⁴⁹ Anna María Splendiani and Diana Luz Ceballos explain the consequences of the challenges faced by the first generations of inquisitors in Cartagena de Indias. Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, 1:125; and Ceballos, *Hechicería, brujería e inquisición*, 53.

⁵⁰ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fols. 47v, 49r-49v.

⁵¹ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fols. 32v, 33r.

superstitions, Acereto knew the words and practiced the prayer.⁵² Besides highlighting Acereto's deviance, the recitation of Santa Marta's prayer also speaks to how normative and alternative behaviors converged in her daily life. Acereto benefited from the manipulation of sacred icons such as Santa Marta's image, and both metonymically or in person participated in the reconfiguration of both secular and sacred spaces in sorcerous practices. Acereto managed all of this while still observing both codes of conduct of virtuous women and daily performance of public piousness.

By complying with socio-spatial normativity and inquisitorial codes while practicing sorcery, Acereto enacted her agency, which in this context refers to the ability to carry out actions that might deviate from orthodoxy within hegemonic structures in spite of coercive circumstances. This conception of agency necessarily moves beyond post-structuralist feminism scholarship that defines agency in response to hegemonic structures based on binary oppositions between resistance and subordination.⁵³ Rather, agency is a relational concept that includes everyday actions and interactions among practitioners of sorcery.⁵⁴ These practitioners circulated, occupied, and re-signified certain spaces in order to avoid inquisitorial surveillance. Paradoxically, it is only from inquisitorial records that an alternative account of Acereto's agency emerges.⁵⁵ By recording both her accusations and defense, the trial reveals Acereto's perspective on the different ways in which she, her collaborators, and her friends either practiced or avoided orthodoxy. The very act of confessing allowed her to defend herself and provided her with a textual space to give an account of her daily routines,

⁵² Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 49v.

⁵³ In her study on transformation in the transmission of Islamic knowledge led by an urban women's mosque movement in Cairo between 1995 and 1997, Saba Mahmood proposes a situational approach to the concept of agency that varies depending on the particular situation of the subject and which requires inhabiting, experiencing, and performing norms in a given context. Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁵⁴ As Walter Johnson explains, it is necessary to disentangle categories such as "agency" and "resistance" in order to avoid deceptive oppositions between every day forms of resistance and revolutionary forms of resistance which are mutually interrelated. Johnson proposes remapping everyday life to have a better understanding of daily interactions and their repercussions in collective action. Johnson, "On Agency," 115-19.

⁵⁵ Richard Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 13-16.

alliances, affects, and concerns, thereby inscribing her voice into an inquisitorial system that intended to isolate her from society.

Acereto and her witnesses' confessions offer different, yet complimentary, versions of the multiple roles she played in society.⁵⁶ These documents also provide evidence of her understanding of the religious and civil codes by which she had to live, and the ways she accommodated, manipulated, and negotiated them to achieve her goals.⁵⁷ In her confessions, Acereto portrayed herself as a virtuous woman whose enemies had attempted to discredit her. She claimed and localized her virtue by conforming to a discourse pertaining to the architecture of confinement in which her movements were limited to the residences of friends or her own as a way to avoid deviance and protect her honor. She based her defense on her good intentions to make peace with her husband while relying on rhetorical tactics such as claiming loss of memory, illness, and female weakness of character in order to defend her actions.

Witnesses, however, presented her in a completely different light. In their confessions, she was portrayed as a person who traded in knowledge and material goods throughout the geography of the port city and its peripheries by giving orders, making requests, and exerting influence. In both her own and the witnesses' testimonies, Acereto's agency and deviance were directly related to the spaces inhabited or accessed through delegation, such as Tolú and San Agustín. By means of her alliances and interactions with Juan Lorenzo, slaves, and friends, she extended the reach of her agency and brought these neighboring regions into the authorities' cartographies of sorcery.

In addition to the descriptions of Cartagena's environs, Acereto and her witnesses often referred to public and private architectural spaces in the city, such as streets, squares, and domestic houses that played a relevant role in their sorcerous practices and in exercising their agency. This division between the public and the private corresponded

⁵⁶ Rolena Adorno and George Mariscal have discussed the implications of performing multiple positions to construct identity in Spanish America and Spain. Rolena Adorno, "Reconsidering Colonial Discourse for Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish America," *Latin American Research Review* 28:3 (1993):135-45; and George Mariscal, *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 5-6.

⁵⁷ Anne Montenach and Deborah Simonton, eds., "Introduction: Gender, Agency and Economy: Shaping the Eighteenth-Century European Town," in *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1-14.

to segregated realms of activity and mobility that the dominant discourse either allowed or forbid inhabitation or transit.⁵⁸ In spite of these separations, slaves, mixed-blood people, and elite women managed to come together through the surreptitious alliances they generated to practice sorcery. By gathering and establishing a connection with supernatural forces through prayers, spells, and enchantments, participants of sorcery re-appropriated these dominant discourses and occupied certain urban spaces, converting them briefly into thresholds. When authorities summoned slaves, servants, relatives, and visitors seen coming in and out of Acereto's home, in spite of their alliances, none of them shied away from denouncing her deeds. Their confessions disclosed what happened inside Acereto's and her female friends' homes, as well as during the journeys to procure the ingredients for sorcerous practices, thus informing inquisitorial trials and public discussions about female deviant behavior.

Inside Acereto's house, domestic spaces such as the kitchen, attic, garden, and backstairs played a key role in the practice of love magic. When called as witnesses, visitors and relatives denounced the transit of unusual objects such as zoomorphic charms and rag dolls, unknown foreigners, and repulsive smells that suddenly appeared out of nowhere. Likewise, windows and balconies acquired relevance in certain practices because they provided those participating in acts of sorcery with the connection between inside and outside required to perform a spell. Of all of these, Acereto's balcony garnered the most scrutiny.

As the third sorcerous event in the case illustrates, the balcony became the sorcerous threshold *par excellence*. In this event, Acereto and her friends, Doña Ana María de Olariaga and Catalina de los Ángeles, gathered on the balcony to recite the prayer of the Lord of the Street in order to attract Sergeant Santander.⁵⁹ They convened after sunset in Acereto's house for dinner. Once it was dark, they meant to recite the prayer in the name of the "Lord of the Street," a diabolical messenger also known as the *diablo cojuelo* (lame devil) from Castillian tradition that functioned as a wicked go-between in love

⁵⁸ Ann Twinam has analyzed how social boundaries blur depending on particular circumstances (both textual and contextual) and how negotiations to cross borders and break laws functioned in colonial vigilant societies. Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁵⁹ The prayer is known in Spanish as "la oración del Señor de la calle."

magic, invocations, and spells.⁶⁰ This time, it would not be Juan Lorenzo who would do Acereto's biddings, but rather a wicked entity who also provided the mobility that she did not possess. The dark helper in the form of the Lord of the Street and the privacy proffered by domestic spaces assured the clandestine form of this practice. Although confessants did not report a homogeneous version of this prayer, a collation of their confessions suggests that this invocation consisted of throwing shredded paper off of the balcony while praying and making a wish to attract someone or to will them to come close. Acereto's exterior balcony served a twofold function: first, in architectural terms, it allowed for the communication of the street with the interior of the house and, second, it provided access from the inside to the street and to the supernatural world.⁶¹

According to colonial urban planning, a balcony served to reinforce Acereto's socioeconomic status. As Ángel Rama asserts, colonial cities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries observed the "hierarchical design of urban space" that reproduced metropolitan urban organization.⁶² This architectural hierarchy also coincided with the urban design (*traza*) dictated by royal decree, in which cities were laid out in "a gridiron or checkerboard plan...with a series of straight streets emanating from a central plaza or square endowed with a church, a town hall, a prison, and the *picota* [pillory]."⁶³ This grid served as means of dividing the city into public and private spaces and along socioeconomic and racial lines. Two and three storied houses, or "casas altas" (tall houses), were located in the downtown area and belonged to wealthy Spanish and *criollo* families.⁶⁴ Ground level houses, or "casas bajas" (short houses), were built around the

⁶⁰ By the mid-seventeenth century, Luis Vélez de Guevara uses the figure of the lame devil to portray the vices of Madrid's inhabitants. Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo*, ed. Enrique Miralles (Barcelona: Planeta, 1986).

⁶¹ Gonzalo Correal Urrego, "Prospección arqueológica en la casa de la Inquisición, Cartagena," *Boletín de Arqueología de la FIAN* 9:2 (1994):3-51.

⁶² Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada* (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984), 3.

⁶³ Kagan, *Urban Images*, 31, 33.

⁶⁴ The Colombian architects Germán Téllez and Ernesto Moure have produced an architectural typology of Cartagena that explains its colonial architecture as a combination of historical Spanish legacies, the available materials of the region, the basic needs of the population, and weather conditions that diverged from the Mediterranean geography. Germán Téllez and Ernesto Moure, *Arquitectura doméstica, Cartagena de Indias* (Bogotá: Escala, 1995); and Tanya Concha, "Visión de la arquitectura colonial y opciones en la decoración de la construcción doméstica cartagenera" (monografía de grado, Universidad de los Andes, 1997).

neighborhoods of San Diego and Getsemani, the poorer regions of the city.

Along with the two-storied setup of the manors, stone portals, and decorated wooden grilles on the ground level, the balcony was characteristic of Cartagena's colonial architecture and served as an indicator of wealth and socioeconomic position. In addition, following Andalusian tradition, the design of balconies, doors, and windows allowed for greater visibility of the outside world, while preserving the privacy of the inhabitants of the building. Acereto lived in one of these manors, and her balcony surely was exquisitely decorated to conform to her husband's socio-economic status. By using the balcony to perform the prayer of the Lord of the Street, Acereto and her partners in sorcery altered its social and economic meaning while, at the same time, threatening Catholic orthodoxy.

The inquisitorial committee that evaluated the prayers, spells, and incarnations in which Acereto participated considered the performance of the prayer of the Lord of the Street more dangerous than the prayer of the star.⁶⁵ According to their evaluation, the former manifested evident heresy and blasphemy, whereas in the latter deviance was implicit.⁶⁶ Even though the inquisitorial committee focused on the words of the prayer, Acereto's balcony played a major role as it was the location where the prayer took place. As inquisitorial authorities disregarded the relevance of the location of certain practices and emphatically focused on the content of pagan prayers, practitioners of sorcery had more room to transform spaces such as Acereto's balcony into thresholds.

The spatial transformation of the balcony from its socio-architectural norm into a sorcerous threshold allowed for a departure from hegemonic gender hierarchies. In the events prosecuted by the Inquisition in this case, women sought to command their male counterparts in sexual matters, contravening the discourses of normative femininity. In the attempt to execute the prayer of the Lord of the Street in Acereto's house, the balcony became a space which momentarily suspended its social aspect of vertical enunciation of socioeconomic power and permitted women to gather to conjure men's presence and to guarantee their affection. Although Acereto and her

⁶⁵ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 27r.

⁶⁶ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fols. 28r, 27v.

friends produced divergent narratives of the prayer in their confessions, they agreed upon the relevance of the window and the balcony as a means to accomplish the prayer. Even if the confessants corroborated their presence close to the window or on the balcony, they made a point of distancing themselves from these spaces when they were about to transform into thresholds. The confessions regarding the prayer of the Lord of the Street thus wrote domestic spaces into the emerging cartography of sorcery.

In her testimony, Doña Ana María de Olarriaga presented herself as a witness to the prayer of the Lord of the Street, but insisted she was involved only at the beginning, telling inquisitors that she tried to prevent Acereto from throwing the shredded paper out of the window:

In order to prevent [Acereto] from approaching the *window* to perform the said prayer and spell, [Doña Ana María de Olarriaga] asked her not to do either one, but to repeat the last part of the prayer of the Lord of the Street, which she had already declared and it is written. It starts: "Mister So-and-so you are close to my house," and it ends "evident devils, do not allow him to rest until he comes to be under my will." Doña Lorenzana would repeat these words after this confessant [Doña Ana María de Olarriaga], and then the invoked man came to Doña Lorenzana's house looking for her. Then nothing else happened.⁶⁷

In this declaration, Olarriaga emphasized her low level of involvement and her attempts to delay and stop the heretical ceremony, while stressing the importance of the window as a significant space to complete the prayer. By asking Acereto to repeat after her the last part of the prayer, Olarriaga claimed that she had tried to distract and

⁶⁷ "[É]sta [Doña Ana María de Olarriaga] porque [Acereto] *no se pudiese a la ventana* a hacer la dicha oración y conjuro le dijo que no hiciere ni la una ni la otra, sino que dijese lo postrero de la oración del señor de la calle, que ésta tiene declarado y está escrito, que comienza 'fulano de las casas de mí estás' y acababa 'diablos patentes que no lo dejéis reposar hasta que a mi poder venga a parar' y que la dicha Doña Lorenzana dijo estas palabras, como esta confesante se las iba diciendo y que luego el hombre por quien se hacía el dicho conjuro vino a casa de ésta en busca de la dicha Doña Lorenzana y que no pasó otra cosa." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 4r (emphasis added).

obstruct her friend's performance. However, Olarriaga's testimony incriminated her as the principal orchestrator. Even though Olarriaga said that she did not remember the entire prayer, her fragmentary confession reveals that Sergeant Santander—the one invoked—did indeed arrive at Acereto's house. By coincidence or efficacy of the prayer, Sergeant Santander's arrival attests to Acereto's agency, as she successfully influenced someone else's will.

Like Doña Ana María de Olarriaga, Catalina de los Ángeles confessed only to witnessing the first part of the execution of the prayer, after which she insisted she had abandoned the balcony and gone back into the house:

One night [Acereto] called a priest who was her uncle from the maternal line, but whose name [Catalina de los Ángeles] does not remember; and took him to the balcony of her house; and in his presence [Acereto] casted spells invoking the devil; and once she finished, [Catalina de los Ángeles] saw a big black shape coming down the street who was a demon; and as soon as [Catalina de los Ángeles] saw it, she had not the courage to wait for him, so she went inside the house.⁶⁸

In her testimony, Ángeles described her fear and suggests that she was unable to reproduce a coherent account of the unfamiliar practice. Despite her partial attendance, she was able to point out two significant elements from the scene: the presence of Acereto's uncle, the priest Antonio Marcelo de Espinosa, and the ominous appearance of a black shape.

According to Ángeles, the priest, who had been Acereto's tutor since she was a child, advised her in the performance of the prayer of the Lord of the Street and also taught her several spells and prayers. Ángeles insisted that Espinosa counseled Acereto against keeping written evidence of her practices in order to avoid inquisitorial

⁶⁸ "[U]na noche [Acereto] había llamado a un clérigo tío suyo hermano de su madre que no se acuerda de su nombre y que le había llevado al balcón de su casa y que en su presencia había hecho conjuros llamando al demonio y que acabados había visto venir por la calle un bulto grande y negro que era demonio y que ella como lo vio no tuvo ánimo para esperarlo y así había entrado dentro." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 10r.

prosecution.⁶⁹ This advice was especially useful in the case of the prayer of the Lord of the Street: by dispensing with the written word through the shredding of the paper, the prayer erased any trace of extra-official orality, eliminating incriminatory proofs and altering the space of the balcony into a sorcerous threshold. Although Ángeles did not mention the paper, she did remark on the black shape and, more importantly for her own defense, that its demon-like appearance frightened her into abandoning the balcony. The inquisitorial authorities found enough evidence in Ángeles' demonic reference to accuse Acereto of having made a pact with the Devil. However, Ángeles could not ratify her own confession because she had passed away by the time the inquisitorial authorities summoned her on a second occasion to do so.⁷⁰ Despite the validity of her first confession, the absence of ratification allowed the authorities to manipulate her testimony.

In response to accusations regarding the performance of the prayer, Acereto changed the narrative of events and also claimed a lapse in memory. She insisted that it was she who dissuaded Doña Ana María de Olarriaga from believing in the effectiveness of the spell and that she had, in fact, invited her only to dine and not to say the prayer, which she claimed to have forgotten:

[Doña Ana María de Olarriaga] persuaded this deponent [Acereto] many times to learn the final part of the prayer of the Lord of the Street, and the latter did memorize those words [but] with the passing of time she has forgotten them, and as she has stated, since she had been ordered not to use [the prayer] she has never repeated it.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 10r.

⁷⁰ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 9v.

⁷¹ "[Doña Ana María de Olarriaga] persuadió a esta confesante [Acereto] muchas veces que aprendiese este postrero del conjuro del señor de la calle y ésta tomó de memoria aquellas palabras, que con el discurso del tiempo se le han olvidado y como lo manifestó y le mandaron que no usase de él nunca lo ha repetido." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 53r.

Acereto insisted that she only learned the final lines of the prayer at Olarriaga's insistence and forgot it soon after. Acereto combined this recurring strategy of a faulty memory, or forgetfulness, with obedience in order to inscribe herself within female codes of conduct which would, consequently, expiate her from the charges. Acereto's confession did not mention any detail of the prayer. Instead, she focused on denying and contradicting her witnesses' assertions, thereby showing the extent to which she wielded power by hosting the prayer and profiting from its results. Acereto exercised her agency without having to leave her house, transformed the primary function of her balcony in order to access the supernatural world, and, in her confessions, redefined the limits of her behavior by relying on the purported female weakness of character.

Although the confessants themselves did not clarify the content of the shredded paper, the inquisitorial documentation of this case included attempts on the part of the authorities to reconstruct it by means of comparing its different accounts. Olarriaga confirmed the efficacy of the prayer by convening Sergeant Santander's presence, and Ángeles revealed Acereto's deviant interactions with her uncle and insinuated the presence of the Lord of the Street. As a result of anxiety over obtaining the exact wording, the inquisitorial committee filled in the gaps. According to the committee's account, the prayer read:

Lord of the street, Lord of the street, conspiratorial Lord, lame Lord, may Mister or Miss so-and-so hug me and love me, and love me, and if it is true that s/he loves me, s/he has to either bark like a dog, bray like a donkey, or crow like a rooster.⁷²

In this version, the Inquisition sought to reduce the power of the prayer from a true position of influence over the mobility and proximity of another person, as enunciated in Doña Ana María de Olarriaga's account, to a ridiculous and empty exercise in bestialization.⁷³ The

⁷² "Señor de la calle, señor de la calle, señor compadre, señor cojuelo que hagáis a fulano o a fulana que se abraza por mí y que me quiera y que me quiera y que si es verdad que me ha de querer ladre como perro, rebuzne como asno o cante como gallo." Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 28r.

⁷³ According to demonology manuals, the convergence of animal and human characteristics corresponds to the strength and obedience required to practice sorcery

judges thus expressed a wider colonial anxiety about practices that undermined the Church's ability to guarantee social control. Ironically, it is only because of the bureaucratic and formalized nature of Church control that the archival record of this prayer survived. Moreover, this written documentation included the domestic space of the balcony in the inquisitorial map of suspicion due to its capacity of becoming a threshold upon recitation of the prayer of the Lord of the Street.

The detailed documentation in Acereto's case attests to the zeal with which the recently established tribunal undertook the task of its first *auto de fe*. These Inquisition records contain narratives that illuminate how women like Acereto manipulated colonial socio-spatial normativity, broadening the realm of their agency and wielding power over other people. Her case reveals the social interactions among colonial subjects and the ways they defined themselves along normative models in order to circumvent the reach of colonial officials into their everyday lives.

While the case also points to the rigorous surveillance of the newly appointed inquisitors, the records corroborate the Inquisition's faltering control over colonial geography, architecture, and discourse. At the end of the day, Acereto's prosecution figured as a display of power, more than an actual desire to discipline and punish.

Initially sentenced to public pecuniary and banishment, Acereto only served the first part of her punishment, attending mass at the Holy Office's church dressed as a repentant and carrying a candle that she had to give to the priest by the end of the mass.⁷⁴ This kind of fashion usually involved wearing a *sambenito* (sackcloth) with a *coroza* (dunce cap), which publicly signaled the convict's guilt and repentance.⁷⁵ However, in Acereto's case, she was allowed to dress as a repentant behind closed doors, minimizing her public ignominy. Later, the final ruling in this case reduced the original sentence and only mandated monetary restitution while exempting her from banishment.

An overview of the early modern cartographic impulse calls attention to the imperial limitations of mapmaking techniques and of the spatial knowledge produced in the representation of peripheral

territories in official colonial cartographies. Because these overlooked territories played a critical role in local practices of sorcery and witchcraft, colonial interpretations of European conceptions of such phenomena shed light on the relevance of these territories to the colonial population involved in such practices. As Acereto's case shows, practitioners of sorcery knew the limits of imperial cartographies and recognized that there were uncategorized regions they could access and transform into thresholds through their practices.

The three episodes of sorcery described in Acereto's case involved spaces overlooked by the authorities, illustrating how Cartagena's environs and architectural spaces became thresholds for practitioners of sorcery. As recorded in the inquisitorial documents, these spatial transformations established the coordinates of alternative cartographies. These alternative cartographies, in turn, were only possible through the practitioners' circumvention of socially normative mobility and by undermining inquisitorial authority. In their confessions, Acereto and her witnesses thus became unofficial mapmakers who chiseled out spaces unseen by the inquisitorial authorities but essential to their sorcerous practices.

Since Acereto's case was miscataloged or misplaced, the documentation of the proceedings escaped the fate of destruction suffered by the files of the other women condemned in the same *auto de fe*. This serendipitous mistake, which proscribed it to an erroneous archival docket, helped Acereto's case pass by unnoticed, erasing any trace of deviance and consequently preserving her virtue and honor as prescribed by social rank.⁷⁶ The material preservation of these documents makes it possible to reconstruct the geographical and architectural paths traveled by Acereto and her witnesses in their attempts to navigate the increasingly repressive atmosphere of seventeenth-century Cartagena. The cartography of sorcery that emerges, along with the thresholds that comprise it, speak of female strategies to avoid surveillance through the creation of hidden ties that fed unorthodox and deviant practices. A better understanding of these cartographies of sorcery, such as those from Acereto's case, sheds light on the interplay of people, objects, and institutions, as well as their

and witchcraft. In the prayer "Lord of the Street," this combination is related to the efficacy of the prayer.

⁷⁴ Doña Lorenza de Acereto, mujer de Andrés del Campo, Cartagena, año de 1612, AHN, leg. 1620, exp. 1, fol. 90r.

⁷⁵ Karla Luzmer Escobar Hernández, "Estructuras de sentimientos y experiencias de los sentidos": el manejo de los temores en el tribunal inquisitorial de Cartagena de Indias, 1610-1660 (Bogotá: Uniandes, 2006), 54.

⁷⁶ As Ana María Splendiani indicates, three main factors reveal that, in the end, Acereto's inquisitorial trial did not spoil her socio-economic prestige. First, a wealthy merchant, Agustín Mayoco, served as her guarantor throughout her inquisitorial trial. Second, the successful appeal of her initial sentence prevented her from banishment. Finally, after the trial she continued living in Cartagena as a wealthy property owner. Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, 2:95.

flows and relations to particular spaces. The confessions of Acereto and her witnesses provide access to a textual space where women's words, though produced under coercion, became legible and circumvented the stifling practice of orthodoxy.