

Roots in Stone and Slavery
Permanence, Mobility, and Empire in Seventeenth-Century Cartagena de Indias

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History)
in the University of Michigan
2018

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Dedication

Para Rubén, Elsa, Sebastián y Aura María

Acknowledgments

This work was made possible by the financial support of the Department of History, the Rackham Graduate School, the Institute for the Humanities, the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies, the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, and the Medieval and Early Modern Studies Program at the University of Michigan. The Casa de Velázquez in Madrid also provided funds and the support of a community of scholars during my research time in Spain.

I am especially grateful to Rebecca Scott, whose generous mentorship and feedback influenced this project profoundly. It was a pleasure to discuss ideas and chapters with Diane Owen Hughes, whose creativity was an inspiration for my work. I am thankful to both for their support and patience as my research interests shifted from the Portuguese to the Spanish empire. I have greatly benefited from conversations with my committee members, Daniel Nemser, Kenneth Mills, Jean Hébrard, and David Wheat.

At different stages of the long process of writing this dissertation, many people provided useful comments and asked difficult questions. For this I would like to thank the 2017-2018 cohort of fellows at the Institute for the Humanities and the members of the Premodern Colloquium at the University of Michigan. I am thankful to Ray McDaniel, whose rigorous reading of many chapter drafts was invaluable. Peggy McCracken, Christian DePee, Noah Blan, Paula Curtis, Ximena Gómez, and the members of the Medieval and Early Modern Studies dissertation seminar were careful and supportive readers of many of my chapters. At the *Nouvelles recherches sur les sociétés esclavagistes et post-esclavagistes des Amériques*

symposium at the Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, Pedro Cardim, Jean Frédéric Schaub, and Cécile Vidal provided invaluable feedback early in my writing process. The questions that Paul M. Cobb and Vincent Brown posed at two workshops organized by the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies helped me situate my work in a broader frame. Larissa Brewer-García and Michelle McKinley have served as long-term interlocutors and have both left an indelible mark on this work.

I would have not been able to make it through several Michigan winters without the friendship and support of Ángela Pérez-Villa, Marcela Reales, Diana Carolina Sierra Becerra, and Andrew Walker. During my last year in Ann Arbor, Evan Lebow-Wolf and Cheryl Wong shared music, long walks, and delicious food that made my last months of writing easier. I am grateful to Pedro Cantisano, Adriana Chira, Deleska Crockett, Augusto Espinoza, Dustin Gamza, Sophie Hunt, Sara Katz, Jacqueline Larios, Benedito Machava, Hiro Matsusaka, Kelsey Millerschin, Emma Park, Edgardo Pérez-Morales, Andrés Pletch, Elena Rosario, Andrew Rutledge, Alexander Stephens, Duygu Ula, and Cindy Walker.

In Bogotá, Marta Herrera, Claudia Leal and Mauricio Nieto at Universidad de Los Andes supported my early interest in becoming a historian. My friends Andrea Acevedo, Rodrigo Arrieta, Paula García, Diana Iregui, Patricia Rozo, and Camila Salame were eager to hear my Michigan stories every time we met in Bogotá. Finally, I am deeply grateful to my parents and siblings. Sin su apoyo, su amor, su sentido del humor y su paciente espera a pesar de mi ausencia nada de esto hubiera sido posible.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the strategies that institutions and individuals employed in order to establish themselves in the slave-trading port city of Cartagena de Indias. In doing so, it uncovers social, religious, economic, geographic, and increasingly racialized transformations that made Cartagena a sustainable and stable component of the Spanish empire during the seventeenth century.

In 1610, when church officials arrived in Cartagena with a mandate to establish a new tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition, a fragile political and economic balance already prevailed. The inquisitors needed to carve out space to integrate the new tribunal into the existing system without upsetting the local power groups. For this, the inquisitors employed a tactic that they described as “building authority day by day.” To avoid direct confrontation with existing power-holders the inquisitors applied confiscation of property gradually and selectively against people convicted of religious deviance. The first target for confiscation was a prosperous but socially vulnerable community of women of African descent whom inquisitors had declared guilty of “witchcraft.” By offering for sale confiscated real estate, which was located in a zone that was increasingly attractive to prosperous buyers, the Inquisition became integrated into the economic life of Cartagena and laid the foundations for the tribunal’s survival.

Selective confiscations allowed inquisitors to secure the ground for later prosecuting members of the elite, especially Portuguese traders in African captives, suspected of practicing Judaism. The local power that the Inquisition had gradually attained allowed inquisitors to

achieve some convictions and confiscations. However, the economic dynamics of the city--in which Portuguese traders had exclusive rights to trade in African captives through the *asiento* contracts--imposed limits to the Inquisition's tactic. The inquisitors eventually acquitted most of the Portuguese traders and allowed many of them to remain in Cartagena.

When the Portuguese *asientos* ended, Spanish migrants who had opened up space for themselves in Cartagena took control of the economic nodes that the Portuguese had previously dominated. Some Inquisition officials themselves profited from agricultural and commercial activities indispensable to the trade in African captives.

Constrained by the physical limitations of a port city surrounded by water, members of the new commercial elite expanded their economic activities into the neighboring island of Getsemaní. Getsemaní was home to free and enslaved people of African descent who lived and worked in artisanal workshops, including noxious industries. Many residents of Cartagena described Getsemaní as an *arrabal*, or slum. Spanish newcomers seeking to become permanent residents of Getsemaní employed legal strategies to have those industries removed. For local officials, however, the economic benefits of the *arrabal* prevailed over arguments about the impropriety of unsavory enterprises. The economic survival of Cartagena required that such industries remain at the edges of the city's physical boundaries. Against the colonial authorities' interests, this liminal location allowed the communities of African descent that remained in Getsemaní to maintain connections with runaways from enslavement who had settled in the hinterlands. Fugitives themselves were sometimes able to maintain fragile freedoms in Getsemaní, passing unnoticed by people who took them to be "blacks from the forest" rather than "fugitive slaves." The dynamics that made Cartagena a stable and self-sustaining city shaped the meanings of permanence for individuals of different backgrounds, including

merchants who avoided conviction, notaries who drew revenue from forging documents, and fugitives from slavery who settled the forests surrounding Cartagena.

Introduction

ARRAIGADO: Dícese por traslación del que se perpetua en alguna parte, comprando hazienda, y enparentando con los de aquella tierra.

Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana* (1611)

“Tanto vales cuanto tienes, decía una mi agüela:
y del hombre arraigado no te verás vengado.”

Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, tomo 2, cap. 43 (1605)

In 1585 the members of the ecclesiastical council (*cabildo eclesiástico*) of Cartagena de Indias wrote a letter to the King of Spain informing him of some serious reservations. At issue for these churchmen was the practice of permitting Spanish governors of the American province to rule for long periods of time. The authors of the letter considered that governors would not administer justice properly if their long tenure allowed them to involve themselves and develop friendships with the local residents. "They become rooted in the land," the letter continued, offering examples, "by sending out *negros* to fish for pearls and by becoming merchants, knowing that they will be there for a long time."¹

Like the authors of the letter, other Spanish writers employed the image and attributes of a plant's root to describe human actions. In the first dictionary of "the Castilian or Spanish

¹ "Arráiganse a la tierra echando negros en las perlas y haciéndose mercaderes sabiendo que tienen el tiempo largo." Carta del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Cartagena al Rey, November 15, 1582, f. 1, no. 10, leg. 232, Santa Fe, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI).

language,” the 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined several matters in relation to the Spanish word *raíz*, or root. But none of the entries--which include *raíz* (root), *raíces* (roots) and *arraigado* (rooted)--refer to plants. Instead, the definitions refer to human actions and creations. In his definition of *raíces*, for instance, Covarrubias states: "ROOTS. In inheritances and other possessions, as well as in houses, because such material goods, physical objects, are rooted and cannot be transported from one place to another like movable property (“RAYCES. En heredades y otras posesiones, y en casas, porque estos tales bienes están arraygados, y no se pueden llevar de una parte a otra, como los muebles”). He then goes on to explain that the origins of words, or etymologies, are also known as *raíces*. The entry concludes by saying: “to put down roots and become rooted is to purchase significant real estate in a given place” (“echar raíces y arraygarse es comprar uno mucha hazienda rayz en algún lugar”).²

As both the *cabildo*'s letter and Covarrubias's contemporary definitions suggest, the notion of rootedness current in the early modern Spanish world encompassed both an aspiration and a set of specific practices. Here were notions of how people came to “be,” and to belong, in the world. In the Americas, as the members of the *cabildo eclesiástico* of Cartagena recounted, an individual's strategies to acquire wealth sometimes contradicted the interests of the Crown. On the other hand, Spain's colonial project required new populations of voluntary migrants from Europe and involuntary African captives not only to occupy and exploit a space inhabited by indigenous communities, but also to create economic and political conditions for permanence within the boundaries of Catholic orthodoxy.

² Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611).

In 1610, when the first church officials arrived in Cartagena de Indias to establish a permanent Tribunal of the Inquisition, the city was an entrepôt and the principal slave trading port in Spanish South America. As policies aimed at ensuring religious orthodoxy tightened throughout the seventeenth century, Cartagena also became a vibrant commercial center at the crossroads of Atlantic, Pacific, and northern Andean routes, attracting voluntary migrants including Spanish officials, military engineers, missionaries, and Portuguese merchants of Jewish ancestry who made Cartagena their new home. During this period, the labor of enslaved people transformed Cartagena from a settlement of wooden huts into a city made of stone, increasingly both valuable and surrounded by walls and fortifications. As the point of intersection of a variety of colonial itineraries, the port city of Cartagena was shaped by multiple—and often competing—interests and aspirations for rootedness across the seventeenth century.

The image of the root is thus used as a tool for exploring the intertwined ideas, practices and strategies that individuals, communities, and colonial institutions employed as they sought to create conditions of permanence in Cartagena de Indias. This image raises a set of questions: What is the meaning and purpose of “home” in the colonial context of an early modern Iberian slave society? Permanence meant different things to different people, and often required the exclusion or even the eviction of others. How did individuals from different backgrounds construct their belonging to a colonial space? What were the legal and material structures that shaped newcomers’ possibilities to establish themselves in Cartagena? How did race, gender, and religion shape an individual’s options within those structures? This thesis explores these questions through the emergence of racial, religious, economic, and material geographies of a

city that made permanence possible for people of very different provenance, often at the expense of others.

This project began as an interest in the relationships between empire, colonialism, and people's understandings of their place in the world. During coursework at the University of Michigan, and research trips to archives in Latin America and Europe, I became interested in colonialism and migration and in questions that social geographers have explored to a certain extent: What is home? How do people come to identify a certain place as home? Inspired by works such as Emma Rothchild's *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History*, the question that I took with me to the archives was how colonial destinations became home for forced and voluntary migrants. I thus engaged the work of historians of empire and the dynamics of local power in the early modern Iberian-Atlantic world, especially the legal formation of colonial "homelands" through the influential work of Antonio Manuel Hespanha, Bartolomé Clavero and others.³

³ Geographer Doreen Massey's work on space and place was seminal in creating a theoretical framework for interrogating the notion of home, especially as its very meaning changes for those who have been colonized. See: Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). On the formation of Iberian local power in the Americas, see: António Manuel Hespanha, *As vésperas do leviathan: instituições e poder político : Portugal, séc. XVII*, Livraria Almedina, 1994; António Manuel Hespanha, "A constituição do Império português. Revisão de alguns enviesamentos correntes" in João Fragoso et al., ed., *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos. A dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001), p. 163 – 188. Joao Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Silva Gouvêa, "Monarquia pluricontinental y repúblicas: Algumas reflexões sobre a América lusa nos séculos XVI-XVIII," *Tempo* 14, no. 27 (2009): 36-50. On local power in the Spanish monarchy, particularly in the formation of cities, see: Bartolomé Clavero, *Tantas personas como Estados. Por una antropología política de la historia europea* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1986); Bartolomé Clavero, "Del Estado presente a la familia pasada," *Quaderni Fiorentini* 18 (1989): 583–605. For an overview of the historical study of local and provincial *derecho indiano*, see: Víctor Tau Anzoátegui, "Provincial and Local Law of the Indies: A Research Program," in *New Horizons in Spanish Colonial Law. Contributions to Transnational Early Modern Legal History*, volume 3,

The question of home, however, was elusive at the archives. Instead, I encountered references to the notion of *arraigo*, especially in correspondence between Spanish officials in Cartagena who described themselves as *arraigados* in order to avoid being reassigned to other places in the Americas. What did these officials mean when they said they had become rooted? The root thus became a useful metaphor to think about the other side of migration, or what happens after migration (two intertwined processes that Pamela Ballinger has described as “rhythms of displacement and emplacement”), and about rootedness and uprootedness as processes necessary for the continuity of colonial enterprises.⁴

Cartagena: The bay and the city

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, most cartographers drew maps of the bay of Cartagena that combined a bird’s-eye view of the area with the perspective of a ship approaching the bay from the ocean. Unlike current cartographic conventions, mapmakers generally depicted the Caribbean Sea at the bottom of the page and the port at the top, offering the viewer a representation in which North is to the left. This representation speaks to the significance of Cartagena’s relationship with water, sea routes, and people, objects, and ideas in motion. The image simultaneously represents the end of a sea voyage, the point of arrival and its most recognizable features, its landmarks.

eds. Thomas Duve and Stefan Vogenauer (Frankfurt: Max Planck Institute for Legal History, 2015) 235-256.

⁴ Pamela Ballinger, “Borders and the Rhythms of Displacement, Emplacement, and Mobility,” in *A Companion to Border Studies*, eds. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Malden, Oxford Chichester: Blackwell, 2012), 389-404.

Located on the northern coast of what is today Colombia, the bay of Cartagena de Indias was a natural harbor that could, as it still can, accommodate dozens of large ships. The Spanish founders of Cartagena found the natural features of the bay ideal for defensive purposes. The island known by the indigenous name Cares or Carex (today Tierra Bomba) stands in the middle of the wide opening of the bay, restricting access into the bay to two narrower passages: Bocagrande to the north of Carex and Bocachica to the south. During the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth, ships entered the bay through Bocagrande since it was wider and closer to the port of Cartagena. In the mid-seventeenth century, sandbanks started to form near two shipwrecks and blocked passage through Bocagrande, leaving Bocachica as the only navigable channel.⁵

Several additional channels link the bay with a network of estuaries and lakes that surround a series of small islands. Poet Juan de Castellanos described Cartagena as a "city placed on the sea." More than a celebration of Cartagena's natural beauty, his description served to demonstrate that access to land was secondary, and limited to a network of corridors, small islands, and peninsulas which the Sinú and Malibú, local indigenous groups, had inhabited before the arrival of and subsequent wars against the Spaniards.⁶ The first settlement that the Spaniards founded in 1533 near the indigenous town of Calamar or Calamari, was situated on the northern end of the bay, at the intersection of two strips of land. To the south, the peninsula of

⁵ Enrique Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias. Puerto y plaza fuerte* (Cartagena: Alfonso Amadó, 1960), 6; María del Carmen Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1983), 5-6.

⁶ The complete verse from Castellanos reads: "Añadid a la tela comenzada/Aquella ciudad sobre mar puesta/Y aquel emporio cuyo nombre suena, /Por la bondad del puerto, Cartagena." Juan de Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*, 3 ed (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1874). For a study of Cartagena de Indias in the epic poem, see Lise Segas, "Cartagena de Indias en la obra de Juan de Castellanos," *Revista Aguaita-Observatorio del Caribe Colombiano* 24 (2013): 28-48.

Bocagrande separated the bay from the open sea. To the northeast, a sandy corridor served as a barrier between the sea and a lake known today as El Cabrero. During the seventeenth century, the urban area gradually expanded towards the east, on to an island known as Getsemaní. Getsemaní itself sat between Cartagena and the mainland and was later connected to both by bridges.⁷

Before 1650, the bay of Cartagena had no direct communication with the Magdalena River, the main fluvial artery that connected the coast with the Andean regions of northern South America. Even though it was located more than sixty miles away from the mouth of the river, as the only large natural harbor near the mouth of the Magdalena, which was not navigable for large ships until the construction of canals in the 1930s, Cartagena remained the main connection between the oceanic and the riverine networks. Travel between Cartagena and the Magdalena was frequently undertaken by land in the period before 1650, when governor Pedro Zapata sponsored the construction of a series of canals to connect the bay of Cartagena with the river. People departing from Cartagena traveled during eight days in order to reach Mompox, the first important village upriver. Three days of the journey were overland and the remaining five by the river.⁸

By 1552, Cartagena had become one of the three mainland ports into which Spanish Atlantic fleets undertaking the annual Carrera de Indias (the “Indies run”) were authorized to sail, along with Veracruz in New Spain and Portobelo on the Caribbean coast of the Isthmus of Panama (on the return voyage, the fleets were authorized to stop over in Havana). All goods,

⁷ Julián Ruiz Rivera, *Los indios de Cartagena bajo la administración española en el siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, 1996), 10.

⁸ Letter of inquisitor Pedro de Medina Rico to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, Cartagena, April 12, 1653, ff. 403-403v, *libro* 1014, Inquisición, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereafter AHN).

people, and information entering the mainland legally were to be disembarked at the authorized ports. During the return sea voyage, the fleet departing from Cartagena transported silver from the mines of Potosí to Spain, guarded by a convoy of defensive vessels. After 1590, Cartagena also became one of three authorized ports for disembarking African captives, along with Veracruz and Buenos Aires. Although contraband flourished, the privilege of legal disembarkation in both the Carrera de Indias and the trade in African captives gave Cartagena an immense head start over rival ports.⁹

Cartagena in the administration of the Indies

When Pedro de Heredia's forces took over the indigenous settlement of Calamar in 1533, the village's *bohíos*—huts of wood and thatch where indigenous families lived—became the first local dwellings of the Spanish conquistadors and the two Dominican friars who came with them. Heredia named the Spanish town Cartagena de Indias, because he found the bay reminiscent of that of Cartagena de Levante in southeastern Spain. He consecrated the settlement to the famously-slain Saint Sebastian, hoping that the martyr would protect his soldiers from the arrows of the indigenous people. In the first decades following the city's colonial foundation, the first Spanish inhabitants of Cartagena used indigenous techniques, materials, and labor to build their homes and churches. They then gradually replaced these huts and houses made of materials such as palm leaves, bamboo, and wood with more permanent edifices made of stone.¹⁰

⁹ Linda Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale. The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 136. On the importance of Havana within the fleet system, see Alejandro de la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), especially chapters two and three.

¹⁰ Alonso de Zamora (1635-1717), *Historia de la provincia de San Antonino del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1980), 175. Monika Thérrien, "El espacio

The territories claimed by Pedro de Heredia fell under the jurisdiction of early institutions that the Spanish monarchs and their agents had created in the Peninsula for administering matters related to the Indies and regulating the power of *conquistadores*, and their followers, especially after chaos had descended upon Hispaniola during the first years of the conquest.¹¹ The Casa de la Contratación, or House of Trade, located in Seville, was the first executive institution in the administration of the Indies. The main functions of the Casa de la Contratación during its early years included inspecting and registering the goods destined for commerce to the Indies, collecting taxes and duties, and corresponding with crown officials at the ports of arrival in Spanish America.¹²

Once the Indies were incorporated in the Kingdom of Castile in 1506, responsibility for governance was granted to the Council of Castile. Some members of this council were knowledgeable on matters concerning the Indies (especially notable in this regard was Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos), and Charles V relied on them for crucial advice. This group of councilmen became known informally as the ‘Council of the Indies,’ even though this body was formalized as a distinctive council in the Spanish Monarchy only in 1523.¹³ The main functions of the Royal Council of the Indies were to formulate and implement policy in matters

urbano de Cartagena en la colonia," *Historia Crítica* 2:2 (1989): 112. Gabriel Martínez Reyes, *Cartas de los obispos de Cartagena de Indias durante el periodo hispánico* (Medellín: Editorial Zuluaga, 1986), 13.

¹¹ Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), especially chapters four and five.

¹² Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias. Su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria, vol. 1* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla; Centro de Estudios de Historia de América, 1935), 9-10.

¹³ J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 122.

of government, trade, defense, and administration of justice. Adventurers such as Hernán Cortés in México had initially acquired unprecedented individual power in the Americas. The creation of the Council was part of what J. H. Elliott has evocatively called “the second conquest of America,” or what one might characterize as the conquest of its conquerors by the Crown.¹⁴

The Casa de la Contratación and the Council of the Indies filled some of the institutional vacuum that a string of territorial conquests in and claims to portions the Indies had created in relatively short order. These two governing and regulating bodies, however, were an ocean away from Spanish America. The crown extended its reach in American territories more directly through the creation of the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, each with its own administrative structure, which joined what had been the heartlands of the northerly Aztec and more southwesterly Inka realms in the Indies to seven similar units already existing in the composite Spanish realms: Aragon, Catalonia, Naples, Navarre, Sardinia, Sicily, and Valencia.¹⁵

The viceregal authorities, however, proved unable to effectively rule districts and regions far removed from the viceregal capitals of Mexico and Lima. The crown thus created local judicial institutions to oversee the administrative activities of crown officials in smaller jurisdictions. These high courts, or *audiencias*, had both judicial and administrative powers, unlike their Iberian ancestors, the *audiencias* and chancelleries, which were exclusively judicial bodies. From 1511 to 1547, the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, based on the Caribbean island of

¹⁴ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 123; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: The New American Library, 1966), 171-172.

¹⁵ Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 172.

Hispaniola, held jurisdiction over Cartagena and the entire mainland region the Spanish had christened the New Kingdom of Granada.¹⁶

Yet as the importance of the port city grew, the king ordered the separation of the province of Cartagena from Santo Domingo and its incorporation within the mainland Audiencia of Santa Fe in 1554. Residents of Cartagena themselves had requested the separation, explaining that since Cartagena was closer to Santa Fe (Santa Fe de Bogotá in the highlands) than to Santo Domingo—and to avoid high costs and assorted other inconveniences—many people had stopped pursuing their lawsuits in the latter tribunal.¹⁷

The governors of the various provinces were subordinate to the audiencias of the viceroyalties in each capital. Governors usually enjoyed military, administrative, and judicial powers, and they ruled over areas that were far removed from the capitals of the audiencias and viceroyalties, and that were in need of particular defense. Governors typically had jurisdiction over provinces, which were themselves formed by an array of districts. Heads of these smaller districts were known as *alcaldes mayores* or *corregidores*.¹⁸

¹⁶ After the creation of the Audiencia of Santa Fe, its powers were shared between a President and a group of *oidores*, or judges. While the President had power to govern and make decisions about public offices and the *repartimiento de indios* (allocation of indigenous laborers), the *oidores* focused on the administration of justice. The Audiencia of Santa Fe had appellate jurisdiction over civil, fiscal, and criminal lawsuits that had been adjudicated in first instance by governors, *alcaldes mayores*, and other municipal and provincial authorities. When the decisions of the Audiencia were not favorable to the interested parties, they could, under certain circumstances, be submitted to the Council of the Indies for a “segunda suplicación.” Fernando Mayorga García, *Real Audiencia de Santafé en los siglos XVI-XVII. Historia, visitas, quejas y castigos del primer tribunal con sede en la ciudad* (Bogotá: Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2013), 25, 35 (and for the specific conditions for a second appeal and other intricacies of the Audiencia’s jurisdiction), 102-103.

¹⁷ Mayorga García, *Real Audiencia de Santafé*, 121. Other factors motivating the residents of Cartagena to solicit the integration of the province to the Audiencia of Santa Fe included complaints about the route Cartagena-Santa Fe.

¹⁸ Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 160.

At the local level, *corregidores* ruled over Spanish towns as heads of *cabildos*, or town councils. These councils were formed by local *regidores*, or aldermen, and two first-instance magistrates (*alcaldes ordinarios*). Since none of the *cabildo* members received wages from the crown, they were not considered bureaucratic officials. In general, they came from wealthy local families, and by the seventeenth century, they accessed this position and influence through purchase. The *cabildos* dealt with local affairs such as regulation of prices, waste management, food supply, and upkeep of local infrastructure. They were also the main body in charge of organizing public celebrations, both secular and religious, such as *Corpus Christi* processions. Their funds for such activities were limited, however, because their taxation power was highly regulated from above.¹⁹

The trade in African Captives: Cartagena's main source of income

After the Union of the Iberian Crowns in 1580, the bulk of Cartagena's wealth came from the legal and the contraband trade in African captives. In addition to its ideal geographic conditions, especially its location on the extensive bay, increasing developments in its infrastructure soon positioned Cartagena as the only authorized port of arrival for enslaved people, even those destined eventually for other ports in the southern part of the continent. Between 1595 and 1640, the trade in African captives in the Spanish domains was monopolized by Portuguese merchants through the *asiento*, a contract in which the Crown granted exclusive right in the trade to individual businessmen and their companies.²⁰ A few numbers begin to

¹⁹ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 126-127.

²⁰ Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014), 35-68; Antonino Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe, 1580 – 1640* (Sevilla: CSIC; Universidad de Sevilla; Diputación de Sevilla, 2002), 125.

encompass the scale of this activity. In Cartagena alone, traders in West African captives legally disembarked more than 29,000 men, women, and children between 1585 and 1600.²¹ Between 1570 and 1640, nearly five hundred ships legally disembarked captives in the city's port. Many were transshipped to the interior, but over time, through flight and manumission, other captives, as their free and enslaved descendants, formed communities in Cartagena and its environs.²²

The legal trade in captives also opened up possibilities for contraband, opportunities in which *asiento* and crown officials, as well as ship captains, sought to avoid taxes and sell directly to buyers at a larger profit. While the number of African captives introduced illegally in Cartagena is virtually impossible to gauge, tax and port records have allowed historians to estimate that contraband accounted for at least twice as many captives as those recorded in official port entry records.²³

By 1602 and 1603, the profits generated by the trade in African captives had become the most important source of income not only for the royal treasury in Cartagena via taxation but also for Portuguese merchants, their local allies, and officials of all ranks.²⁴ Just how vital the

²¹ David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 7. Wheat puts the calculated number at a minimum of 29,386.

²² David Wheat, "Global Transit Points and Travel in the Iberian Maritime World, 1580-1640," in *Governing the sea in the Early Modern Era*, eds. Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2015), 261. See also David Wheat, "The First Great Waves: African Provenance Zones for the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Cartagena de Indias, 1570-1640," *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 1 (2011): 1-22.

²³ Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica*, 159-180.

²⁴ Taxes related to the introduction of African captives in Cartagena were considerable: the royal exchequer collected a customs tax of 2.5 *pesos* in addition to an entry tax (*entrada*) of 55 *pesos* per captive. An additional local tax destined to the construction of an aqueduct (*derecho del agua de Turbaco*). This tax was 5 *pesos* per captive in 1622. Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 144.

trade and traders had become in the eyes of early seventeenth-century actors is best comprehended through their own words. When by a royal decree the king ordered the expulsion of foreigners who resided illegally in the indies, the governor and city council responded by requesting that foreign merchants be allowed to remain in Cartagena, “considering that the survival and growth of this city rest on trade and commerce,” which “is administered by the foreigners who are factors of others of their nation.” The expulsion would trigger economic decline, they argued, which in turn would cause the depopulation of the city.²⁵

The vast trade in African captives also generated opportunities for lucrative economic activities in other sectors. The transatlantic trade stimulated the demand for agricultural products such as maize, fruit, manioc, and plantains, typically cultivated in the hinterlands of the Cartagena province. These products were sought by ship captains stationed in Cartagena en route to Portobelo, as well as by local participants in the trade, who saw to the fates of the captives after they were landed in Cartagena.²⁶ In addition to supplying provisions, Cartagena also offered services tied to its port function. While specialized workshops such as shipyards, carpenter shops, tanneries, and sawmills provided enslaved labor, goods, and services indispensable to

²⁵ “considerando esta ciudad que su conservación y aumento consiste en el trato y comercio que de todas partes ocurren a ella y este por la mayor parte se administra por los estrangeros que son factores de otros de su nación [...] que si los echasen de la tierra sería faltar la grosedad della y decaer notablemente. Y la ciudad se despoblaría de mucha gente.” Carta del cabildo secular de Cartagena al Rey, Cartagena, August 14, 1602, ff. 1v-2, no. 83, *legajo* 62, Santa Fe, AGI. David Wheat, “The Afro-Portuguese Maritime World and the Foundations of Spanish Caribbean Society, 1570-1640,” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2009), 30-32. Many of the Portuguese merchants who settled in Cartagena were New Christians, or descendants of Jewish converts to Christianity. Some of them arrived in Spanish America hoping to escape the Portuguese Inquisition, which actively prosecuted Judaizers, New Christians who were suspect of continuing to practice Judaism in secret. For more on New Christians and the Inquisition in Cartagena, see Chapter 3. See also: Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes en América española (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2008), 33, 37. See also: Toby Green, *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (London: Macmillan, 2007), 18.

²⁶ Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 156-157.

maritime mobility, huts, taverns, *pulperías*, and warehouses offered accommodation, sustenance and diversion to sailors and merchants, whether or not they became rooted in Cartagena. This active economic life, and range of offices and opportunities, soon attracted all manner of individuals, families, and religious institutions wishing to remain in the port where many people, free and enslaved, were in transit.

From the earliest stages of the conquest, members of religious institutions, especially Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, had seen the newly acquired territories of the Americas as fertile ground for the expansion of Christianity. Many of them had founded branches of their orders throughout the Americas, tending to the spiritual needs of Spaniards and dedicating themselves to the larger project of evangelizing the diverse populations of cities like Cartagena. As in Europe, the members of New World ecclesiastical institutions theoretically maintained a symbiotic relationship with their host communities, providing spiritual services such as sacraments and praying for the souls of donors to the church. In exchange, the local populations provided the institutions with donations, dowries for their daughters who became nuns, endowments for church works known as *capellanías*, and other forms of sponsorship. As groups of first-generation settlers and captives gradually transformed into permanent communities in Cartagena, they shaped their attachment to the place by providing funds for erecting churches and other physical sites of worship. In the most extreme cases, wealthy and pious residents drew up testaments in which they donated portions of their fortunes to provide for the future longevity of the chapels and cemeteries that they intended to serve as their final resting places. By making provisions for their own individual afterlives, these testators helped to lay the physical foundations of the city's religious geography.

People and institutions seeking to make space for themselves in Cartagena in this tight geographic, economic, and institutional landscape faced the challenge of maintaining the precarious balance that the city had achieved by the end of the sixteenth century. In 1586, an infamous fire consumed most of the city's wooden constructions in the aftermath of the English buccaneer Francis Drake's attack and raid. Officials could not ignore the crucial need for walls, fortifications, buildings of stone, and a permanent garrison dedicated to defense. In precisely this same era, resources were limited and Crown institutions in need of funds competed with their religious counterparts, all of which also sought to establish and integrate themselves in Cartagena. In 1610 a tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition arrived in Cartagena, upsetting the prior fragile balance of powers in the city, and opening the seventeenth century with a reconfigured struggle for political and economic space, dominance, and survival.

Chapter One

“Building Authority Day by Day”: Religious Geography, Local Power, and Institutional Competition in Seventeenth-Century Cartagena

Introduction

The first inquisitors of Cartagena de Indias, *licenciado* Juan de Mañozca and *licenciado* Pedro Mateo Salcedo, arrived in the city on September 21, 1610. Their voyage had begun in Cádiz and continued to Santo Domingo. From there, the inquisitors had sailed in a frigate on the 4th of the month, expecting to arrive in Cartagena six days later. The ship, however, was delayed by several storms. When they finally arrived safely in port, there was, at least in the minds of these correspondents, a sense of Divine Providence having been fulfilled. They dispatched an emissary to the governor of the province, carrying a letter from the King. In response, the governor and the highest authorities of Cartagena boarded the ship to greet them. At sunset, the group disembarked in two large boats decorated “with rugs, velvet pillows and [accompanied by] music” that the governor had provided. The newly arrived officials of the Inquisition then marched amidst public celebrations of welcome—which included artillery salutes—from the harbor to the Franciscan convent. It was here that they planned to stay, accompanied by the

“servants” (*criados*) brought from Spain, until they had found their own place to reside and commence their work.¹

The inquisitors planned to rent two or three houses while they looked for a permanent residence and a suitable building for the tribunal’s operations. They aimed to buy and renovate a property in order to accommodate living quarters, jails, a courtroom (*sala de audiencias*), and enough space to store the tribunal’s all-important confidential papers.² To accomplish all this, they brought eight thousand *ducados* from the King himself, along with an arsenal of legal and bureaucratic weaponry that would allow them to try and when necessary punish people they considered to be in error or, in the more extreme cases, guilty of “heresy.”

The legal and bureaucratic tools that the Spanish Inquisition made available to all of its tribunals not only regulated matters of religious orthodoxy but also dictated the mechanisms that would allow the new tribunal to acquire the resources necessary to sustain its officials and operations locally. Initially, those resources came from the Crown itself. The King granted the newly established tribunal of Cartagena the substantial sum of 8,400 *ducados* annually in order to pay for the salaries of Inquisition officials. Rather than transferring the funds from coffers in the peninsula, the 8,400 *ducados* were to come from the taxes that officials collected locally and deposited in the Royal Treasury (Real Hacienda).³

¹ Carta al Consejo de Inquisición en Madrid, September 30, 1610, ff. 9-9v, *libro* 1008, Inquisición, AHN.

² “Para el adornato del tribunal y compostura de los papeles del secreto.” Carta al Consejo de Inquisición en Madrid, September 30, 1610, f. 11v, *libro* 1008, AHN.

³ The salary assigned for each inquisitor of Cartagena was 2,000 *ducados* annually. In the Peninsula, the annual production of a successful estate was around 2,000 *ducados*. This same sum constituted an appropriate dowry for a woman from a distinguished family during the first half of the seventeenth century. The inquisitors of Cartagena considered that given the high costs of living in the city, they would need at least twice their current salary. They paid 700 *ducados* (annually, presumably) for the three houses they rented in 1610: “El alquiler destas tres casas son

In its beginnings, the Inquisition's legal autonomy to operate in Cartagena contrasted with its economic dependence on the civil authorities who governed the Real Hacienda. This represented a challenge, as the Inquisition was a latecomer of sorts to the religious and administrative geographies of the city. A bishop already presided over Cartagena's secular clergy. Different religious orders had established convents in the city, sometimes entering into conflict with the bishop and with other orders. The governor, as the highest civil and military authority, had jurisdiction over Cartagena and its province. And the *cabildo* or city council was in charge of local administration. In a 1611 letter, inquisitor Mañozca conveyed a telling critique of all three entities: The Bishop had a good reputation, but he was so old that other people manipulated him; the governor was a good man, but some people took advantage of his kindness; and while some of the *cabildo* members were reputable and honest, the rest were foreigners, especially Portuguese. According to the forthright Mañozca, the only merit of the *cabildo* members was that they were wealthy.⁴

más de setecientos ducados y dicen que están alquiladas en muy moderado precio [...] y dicen que no se puede un inquisidor sustentar menos de con cuatro mil ducados.” Inquisitors of Cartagena to the Suprema, Cartagena, September 30, 1610, f. 10v, *libro* 1008, Inquisición, AHN. In 1612, the bishop of Cartagena received a salary of 1,300 *ducados* annually (500,000 *maravedís*). When he requested financial assistance to cover the cathedral's debts that same year, he considered 2,000 *ducados* a relatively small sum: “Suplico a V.M. se sirva de hacernos alguna merced, que por pequeña que sea, hasta dos mil ducados, saldrá de deuda esta iglesia.” Bishop Juan de Ladrada to the King, Cartagena, July 20, 1612, cited in Martínez Reyes, *Cartas de los obispos de Cartagena*, 193. For the equivalence between *ducados* and *maravedís* (one *ducado* was equivalent to 374 *maravedís*), see: José Martínez Millán, *La hacienda de la Inquisición (1478-1700)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984), 387. For the value of 2,000 *ducados* in the Peninsula, see: Kenneth Mills [forthcoming]. I thank Kenneth Mills for this reference.

⁴ About the bishop: “según fama de buena vida y costumbres pero por sus muchos años sujeto alguna vez al parecer de algunas personas a quienes les da más mano quizás de lo que se requería.” About the governor: “si bien es verdad que por su mucha bondad en lo demás hay algunos que abusan.” About the *cabildo*: “los que al presente lo son, son hombres de calidad, hidalgos honrados y conocidos por todos. Los demás unos son estrangeros y otros portugueses [...] todos los que en el *cabildo* entran son personas muy comunes porque no se requiere más

However, the arrangement in which income external to the Inquisition would allow the institution to function at its new location was intended to be only temporary, until it began to generate revenue. Unlike the other religious institutions in the city, however, the Inquisition was not legally allowed to receive donations, alms, or tithes from the local community. On the contrary, it was expected that the Inquisition would eventually be able to generate income by exercising its spiritual oversight and legal operations in Cartagena. The new tribunal would continue to receive Crown funds until the inquisitors had imposed “confiscations, fines, and penalties” as part of the punishment against individuals declared guilty of moral or religious deviance.⁵ This change, in which Inquisition officials’ income and operating funds would depend primarily on the performance of the institution, implied a parallel and crucial transformation in the relationship between the Inquisition and the local society in which it was becoming embedded.⁶

Indeed, while the Inquisition’s main motive was to maintain religious and moral conformity, the legal apparatus that allowed the institution to pursue this goal depended upon mechanisms that would enable any given tribunal to acquire income. Inquisition law authorized a variety of penalties that inquisitors could choose to apply against those whom they declared guilty of religious or moral deviance. Pecuniary punishment, to which we will turn below, was

calidad para ser admitidos en ellos que tener dinero.” Juan de Mañozca al Consejo de Inquisición, June 3, 1611, *libro* 1008, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵ “Que se le den sus despachos y las cédulas de la situación de los ocho mil cuatrocientos ducados que V. Md. tiene mandados consignar cada año para la paga de sus salarios y de sus ministros y oficiales en el entretanto que hay confiscaciones, penas y penitencias.” Consejo de la Suprema al Rey, Madrid, February 12, 1610, *libro* 1011, Inquisición, AHN.

⁶ For a study of the social implications of the gradual transition of the system by which the government employees sought to make profits to the establishment of fixed salaries in the United States see: Nicholas Parrillo, *Against the Profit Motive: The Salary Revolution in American Government, 1780-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

one out of many possible sentences, including imprisonment, lashings, permanent or temporary banishment, wearing penitential garments in public, and, in some extreme cases, death. Notably, a given suspect's sentence often included a combination of punishments.

An additional range of possibilities existed within pecuniary penalties themselves. Fines, for instance, included the payment of a fixed amount of money to the tribunal and allowed suspects to retain the rest of their wealth. But in addition to imposing fines, tribunals of the Inquisition were authorized to confiscate property directly. Confiscation itself could be partial (the Inquisition confiscated one half or one third of a suspect's property, for instance) or total (the Inquisition confiscated all the property belonging to a suspect).

For the Inquisition, investigation of error and confiscation of property converged, serving both a religious and a material purpose. The Holy Office identified, investigated and sought through its array of sentences and punishments, ideally, to reform those individuals deemed to be in error. This process of correction might also include an uprooting, an effective removal of the people whom inquisitors determined to be a threat to Catholic orthodoxy (to prevent the spread of their error or "heresy" as if an "infection"), and a careful confiscation of their property. Especially when individuals were found guilty and their property was not returned, the confiscations imposed upon those suspected of error and removed from their communities made the Inquisition's process of reformation self-sustaining, simultaneously fulfilling the material purpose of providing income vital for the functioning of a given tribunal. Given its consistently double function, the reformation of society's errors and the acquisition of income, confiscation of property by the Inquisition illuminates tensions and contradictions between religious, economic, and social hierarchies.

The relationship between confiscation of property and the specific social and economic context of Cartagena de Indias becomes visible when we examine trial evidence, financial records, and correspondence of the Inquisition tribunal together.⁷ This approach to the sources reveals that despite the fact that the inquisitors arrived in Cartagena with a legal framework, a bureaucratic mechanism to apply confiscation, and economic needs, they chose not to implement confiscation of all property broadly. Instead, they tested boundaries, established precedents, and sentenced selected individuals to confiscation of all property before moving on to imposing the same punishment on a larger scale. After isolated episodes in which the inquisitors imposed fines and partial confiscations, the first substantial set of confiscations of all property took place in 1634, when the Inquisition tribunal declared twenty-one women of African descent—some of them formerly enslaved—guilty of “witchcraft.” The inquisitors confiscated all of the women’s property, including houses and plots of land, which they then sold at auction to wealthy buyers.

The chapter begins by presenting the ecclesiastical bureaucracies that functioned in Cartagena at the time of the arrival of the tribunal of the Inquisition, focusing on their intertwined jurisdictions, the spaces they occupied, and their modes of acquiring wealth from the

⁷ While confiscation was practiced by Inquisition tribunals throughout the early modern Iberian world, there are as yet no studies of the gradual application of this punishment by specific tribunals that allow for a comparative approach. Scholars have tended to look at these sources separately, and confiscation as a category has generally been examined in economic terms. There have been hints at, and debates over, their wider significance. Henry Charles Lea dedicated sections of his monumental four-volume *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* to the technique and importance of confiscations, concluding that these had repercussions that eventually led to Spain’s economic decline. Based on extensive research using the financial archives of Inquisition tribunals in Spain, Henry Kamen, for his part, concluded that there was very little evidence to support Lea’s claims of such decline. In “Confiscations in the Economy of the Spanish Inquisition,” Kamen deals instead with three questions: Who gained from confiscations? Who suffered from them? And what property was confiscated? See Henry Kamen, “Confiscations in the Economy of the Spanish Inquisition,” *The Economic History Review* 18:3 (1965): 511-525; and Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906).

main source of revenue in the city: the trade in African captives. It then explains the inquisitors' rationale for acquiring income from a vulnerable but prosperous community of women of African descent, suggesting that this was for them a way to build local authority from below and field test their confiscation power before moving up to the holders of much of the city's wealth, the Portuguese traders in African captives. The chapter that follows then explores the community of these women and their social worlds.

*The religious geography of Cartagena de Indias before the Arrival of the Inquisition*⁸

The tribunals of the Inquisition that the Iberian crowns established overseas were located in places where strong revenues would allow the Holy Office to fund and perpetuate itself. This was true for the tribunal that the Portuguese Inquisition established in Goa (1560)—which targeted mainly New Christian traders—and for its Spanish counterparts in Lima (1570) and Mexico (1571).⁹ The Cartagena tribunal was not an exception. By the time the inquisitors arrived, Cartagena had increasingly consolidated its position as one of the main ports in Spanish South America. It was the point of departure for growing volumes of gold coming from New Granada. The port also received valuable goods such as cocoa, indigo, tobacco, pearls, and leather, some of them acquired with a portion of that gold.

⁸ The availability of primary and secondary sources about the secular clergy and the different religious orders varies significantly. For this reason, the reader will find a more textured narrative of the Jesuit order, whose annual letters from Cartagena have been recently published. I decided to take advantage of this source because of the relevance of Jesuit missions with the African population arriving and staying in the city.

⁹ Toby Green, "Policing the Empires: A Comparative Perspective on the Institutional Trajectory of the Inquisition in the Portuguese and Spanish Overseas Territories (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," *Hispanic Research Journal* 13 (2012): 7-25.

Unlike the Inquisition, ecclesiastical institutions, such as convents, were able not only to settle but to remain in Cartagena by establishing long-lasting relations of patronage and donations from the local community. Pope Clement VII had raised Cartagena de Indias to the status of a diocese in April of 1534. In May, the King of Spain sent a letter to Pedro de Heredia, the governor of the province, ordering the construction of a church or temple using crown funds and indigenous labor.¹⁰ The secular clergy in the city were few in number during the first decades of Spanish control, and only six priests served in Cartagena in 1536, in addition to its first bishop. Tithing apparently did not yield sufficient resources to support additional priests.¹¹

The second bishop of Cartagena, Jerónimo de Loaysa, led the construction of the first cathedral, which did not survive a fire that consumed most of the city's wooden structures in 1552. It was rebuilt by subsequent bishops, employing crown funds, donations, and African labor. The construction of the new stone building began officially in 1575, but part of the main structure collapsed in 1600. The secular clergy attributed the disaster to the sins committed in the city and conveyed the sad state of its inhabitants in their letters requesting funds to the King. They recounted that the bishop and governor saw themselves forced to beg for money in the streets for the reconstruction, but they collected an insignificant amount, which only allowed them to pay for an arbor or bower (*enramada*) under which to celebrate the church services. The

¹⁰ “porque fui informado que en la ciudad de Cartagena, que en lengua de los indios se llamaba Calamar, no hay iglesia en que se celebrasen los divinos officios[...] he mandado[...] que de nuestra hacienda gastéis[...] para la obra de la dicha iglesia[...] [y] proveáis como los indios más cercanos al sitio donde se hubiere hecho o hiciere la dicha iglesia, ayuden a la obra con la menor vexación de los dichos indios[...].” El Rey al gobernador de Cartagena. Toledo, May 21, 1534, in Martínez Reyes, *Cartas de los obispos de Cartagena*, 29.

¹¹ Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 445-449.

collapse of the cathedral generated a flurry of correspondence from both civil and religious authorities, requesting funds, as the residents of the city were tired of giving donations.¹²

The spiritual geography of the city continued to expand as religious orders founded convents and established relationships with Cartagena's Spanish inhabitants and their descendants, who invested in their eternal salvation by donating land and funds in exchange for prayers for their souls.¹³ Bishop Loaysa founded the first order, the Dominican, in 1539. Their monastery was an improvised structure made of wood and roofed with palm leaves in a plot the Dominicans received as a donation from *licenciado* Juan Materano, located in the *plazuela de la Yerba*. The bishop himself, as well as governor Heredia and some of the most distinguished inhabitants, provided tithes and donations to the newly established friars.¹⁴ This building, however, did not survive the fire, and the Dominicans moved to the location where their convent stands today, on land donated by one Francisco de Lipar. The physical construction of the building took a long time. By 1597 the convent had stone foundations, but the structure was not finished until the eighteenth century.¹⁵

¹² Expediente sobre la iglesia catedral que se vino abajo el 7 de agosto de 1600, *no. 7, legajo 232*, Santa Fe, AGI. In 1603 bishop Juan de Ladrada requested funds from the King for the reconstruction of the structure that collapsed: Bishop Ladrada to the King, Cartagena, February 12, 1603, ff. 44-45v, *carta 6, carpeta 005, caja 002, subserie Al Rey, serie Correspondencia*, Conventos San José, Archivo Provincial Luis Beltrán Colombia, Bogotá (hereafter APLBC).

¹³ Kathryn Burns has described this phenomenon as a "spiritual economy," drawing on the case of the female convent of Santa Clara in Cuzco, in which the material and the spiritual were inextricable. In return for Cuzqueños' donations and dowries, nuns offered prayers and monetary loans. Burns explains that "spiritual 'goods' circulated and might be bought for money with no perceived contamination or contradiction." Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 3.

¹⁴ Zamora, *Historia de la provincia*, 190.

¹⁵ Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 12-13. The Dominicans acquired property and houses through *censos*, financial instruments similar to mortgages, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For more on *censos*, see: Alfonso W. Quiroz, "Reassessing the Role of

The Franciscan order arrived in the city in 1555. The friars founded their monastery on the adjacent island of Getsemani and dedicated it to the patronage of Our Lady of Loreto. As Cartagena's role in Atlantic shipping networks expanded and the city became a required stop for travelers heading to the interior of New Granada, to Panama, or to the viceregal capital of Lima, the Franciscan monastery became an important place for lodging friars and other colonial authorities who were in transit to other places. In 1588, the Franciscans complained that the building lacked proper dormitories for the visitors, and lamented the lack of tithes, which slowed down the construction.¹⁶ By 1596 the building of stone seemed fairly advanced, but it was not finished until the mid-1620s, when the Franciscans inherited a substantial amount of money and land, and a number of enslaved workers after the death of a devoted supporter who left no other heirs.¹⁷ The Franciscans founded a second monastery in 1608, which they dedicated to San Diego. Unlike the Franciscans' first building, this monastery was located within the walls of Cartagena, at the northern edge of the city. Jorge Fernández Gramajo, one of the wealthiest traders in African captives in the city, provided large sums of money for the construction. A

Credit in Late Colonial Peru: Censos, Escrituras, and Imposiciones," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 74:2 (1994): 193-230, and Carla Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real, 1500-1700: Growth, Crisis, and Readjustment in the Spanish Economy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 61-62. The local financial archives of the Dominican order in Cartagena have not survived, but there is one document that shows that in 1611, the Dominicans had been involved in a lawsuit about *censos* imposed on houses: Confirmación de Sentencia por pleito de censos, 1611, *carpeta* 0001, *caja* 0005, *subserie* Cuentas, *serie* Capellanías y censos, APLBC.

¹⁶ Luis Carlos Mantilla R., *Los Franciscanos en Colombia. Tomo II (1600-1700)* (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1984), 160-161.

¹⁷ Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 13. In 1596, Dominican bishop Juan de Ladrada informed the King that the construction of the Franciscan monastery was very advanced. "Parece que la obra de la Yglesia del dicho monasterio de San Francisco está ya muy adelante y que para poderse acabar de todo punto será necesario dos mil pessos de a ocho reales." Juan de Ladrada to the King, Cartagena, June 27, 1596, ff. 40-41v, *carta* 4, *carpeta* 0005, *caja* 002, *subserie* Al Rey, *serie* Correspondencia, Conventos San José, APLBC. The Franciscans received the inheritance in 1616, from Juan Núñez de Villegas: Mantilla, *Los Franciscanos*, 161.

native of southern Portugal, Fernández Gramajo had arrived in Santo Domingo in 1587 on a ship that went from Lisbon to Brazil and from there to Cape Verde.¹⁸ He traveled to Lima on four occasions before acquiring urban and rural properties and settling in Cartagena in 1591. He was involved in the legal trade in captives at least since 1595.¹⁹ Fernández Gramajo also became a member of the city council (*cabildo*), and he administered the finances of the city's hospital. By 1611, he had paid for the construction of ten houses *de cal y canto* (masonry) which he owned, in addition to the house where he resided, next to the convent of San Agustín. A 1611 inventory of his property shows that he held eleven men and nine women as slaves.²⁰ Before his death in 1626, he requested to be buried in the presbytery of the convent of San Diego.²¹

The Franciscans of San Diego were more than grateful for Jorge Fernández Gramajo's investment in their monastery. In addition to providing annual clothing to the friars, Fernández Gramajo had spent large sums of his own money to pay for "very expensive materials" such as stone, *cal* (lime) bricks, *teja* (tile) and wood and for the construction of stone pillars and brick

¹⁸ Civil authorities in Cartagena conducted several inquiries regarding his alleged involvement in tax avoidance. However, they were not able to find evidence against him: leg. 962, Escribanía, AGI; leg. 589B, Escribanía, AGI; N. 46, R. 3, leg. 17, Panamá, AGI; N63, R. 4, leg. 17, Panamá, AGI; N. 8, R. 1, leg. 16, Panamá, AGI. Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región*, 136; Mantilla, *Los Franciscanos*, 77. During the union of the Iberian Crowns (1580-1640), the Spanish attempted to restrict Portuguese navigation to the Greater Caribbean, with the exception of the ships of the *asiento* trading in African captives. However, this trade opened multiple avenues for connecting the Spanish and Portuguese trade routes. See: Wheat, "Global Transit Points," 253-274. See also: Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Extranjeros en Cartagena (1593 – 1630)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 16 (1979): 165-172.

¹⁹ Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región*, 136-137. Linda Newson and Susie Minchin have traced the trade network Jorge Fernández Gramajo (or Gramaxo) participated in, which stretched to Portobelo (Panama) and Lima, mainly through associates of Manuel Bautista Pérez. See: Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 50, 155, 327.

²⁰ Leg. 589B, Escribanía, AGI. Vila Vilar, "Extranjeros," 168; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región*, 138.

²¹ Leg. 109, Santa Fe, AGI; Vila Vilar, "Extranjeros," 167.

arches for the church and sacristy, a *portería*, and cells for the friars.²² The convent had between eight and ten residents, all of them “men of grey hair and mature” who had worn the habit of Saint Francis for over thirty or fifty years and who wished to have a “more austere and more perfect life in order to end their days only in prayer, contemplation, and penance.”²³ Their superior reported in 1611 that the friars of San Diego were not a nuisance for the neighborhood’s residents, as they did not beg for alms other than the ordinary practice of asking for bread carrying “panniers on their shoulders.” This was a critical consideration when founding new monasteries in the city, because by the first decade of the seventeenth century, the supply of alms from devout neighbors was limited.²⁴ The friars of San Diego returned Jorge Fernández Gramajo’s generosity by offering him “the spiritual currency of the sacrifices and prayers of this convent.”²⁵

²² Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena, f. 154v, doc. 9, leg. 3, SC: 39, Miscelánea, Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá (hereafter AGN). For a detailed account of San Diego and the neighborhood where it was located, see chapter two.

²³ “Hombres de canas y maduros e virtud conocida y que pasan algunos dellos de cincuenta años de hábito y otros de treinta y más [...] y que agora viéndose viejos y cansados se quieren recoger a más perfección y hacer vida más áspera y más perfecta para acabar sus días solo en oración, contemplación, y penitencia.” Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena, f. 155, doc. 9, leg. 3, SC: 39, Miscelánea, AGN.

²⁴ “viven los dichos religiosos sin molestar e importunar a los vecinos desta ciudad les ayuden con sus limosnas más que la ordinaria que por instituto de su religión piden de pan con alforjas al hombro.” Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena, f. 154v, doc. 9, leg. 3, SC: 39, Miscelánea, AGN. As one witness put it, the amount of alms “cannot be of consideration because of the many convents that are in this city among which the alms are divided.” “No puede ser muy considerable por aver muchos conventos en esta ciudad entre quienes se reparten las limosnas.” Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena, f. 157, doc. 9, leg. 3, SC: 39, Miscelánea, AGN.

²⁵ “el agradecimiento y recompensa se deve y ha de pagar con la moneda espiritual de sacrificios y oraciones deste convento.” Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena, f. 162v, doc. 9, leg. 3, SC: 39, Miscelánea, AGN.

The last order to arrive in Cartagena in the sixteenth century were the Augustinians (1588). Their convent on the top of the hill known as *cerro de la Popa* (named like that because it resembled the stern of a ship) was finished in 1603.²⁶

When the first Jesuits arrived in Cartagena in July of 1604, they found out that the potential benefactors whom they counted on for economic support for founding the new convent had died. The four priests and two lay brothers reported to their superiors the difficulties that ensued, as the inhabitants of Cartagena—fearful of antagonizing members of other local orders—refused to sell or rent houses to the newcomers.²⁷ Indeed, they entered into conflict with the Franciscans about the land where they would build their convent, which had been donated by doña Catalina Pimienta Pacheco.²⁸ The zealous founders, however, declared themselves so determined to fulfill their mission that they said they were willing to find a place to live in Cartagena, "even if it was a hut roofed with straw, made with our own hands."²⁹

²⁶ Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 13.

²⁷ "y por faltar estos apoyos y por la mucha pobreza que tenían los padres y contradicciones secretas que hacía gente religiosa rehusaban los ciudadanos de venderles casa en que viviesen [...] ni aún alquilada hallaban casa donde vivir." Jesuits of Cartagena to Superiors in Rome, 1604-1605. José del Rey Fajardo and Alberto Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino de Granada: años 1604-1621* (Bogotá: Archivo Histórico Javeriano Juan Manuel Pacheco, 2015), 136. These letters, known as *Cartas Anuas*, were cyclical reports that each Jesuit province submitted to Rome. The reports from Cartagena were included in the letters submitted by the Jesuit Province of the New Kingdom of Granada, which was governed from Santafé. The original letters have been preserved at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome.

²⁸ Nicole Von Germeten, *Violent Delights, Violent Ends: Sex, Race, and Honor in Colonial Cartagena de Indias* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 6. For more on Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, and her family's participation in debates about the status of the island of Getsemaní in relation to Cartagena, see Chapter Five.

²⁹ "aunque fuese en una choza pajiza hecha de nuestras manos." Carta Anua of 1604-1605 (no author), in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 136.

Their rootlessness in Cartagena did not last long, as the Jesuits were able to purchase "the best house in the city, in the best place" from a Portuguese man named Manuel Cutiño, who also donated 2,500 *pesos*, in addition to 500 that bishop Juan de Ladrada had offered to them. Soon after they had established a church, a school, and rooms that seemed appropriate for their mission.³⁰ The Jesuits also established three missions outside of Cartagena, one in the town of Tenerife, another one in Mompox (up the Magdalena River), and the last one in the capital of the neighboring province of Santa Marta. From there, they also brought donations, which allowed them to finish paying for the house and to acquire the small houses next to it, which they rented out for three hundred pesos.³¹

The four Jesuit priests and two brothers divided up their tasks among themselves. The Rector was in charge of preaching, another priest took charge of instructing Spaniards, while the third one dedicated himself to teaching the local youth. The last priest was in charge of evangelizing "the blacks," a generic term that encompassed both captives recently brought to Cartagena and those who had been purchased by locals earlier. Finally, one brother was the doorman, and the other one was responsible for the sacristy.³²

The Jesuits were eager to report that the sermons of the Rector were yielding results, as in a letter to their superiors they described the notable effects of his preaching, which included the exercise of mercy in the form of "copious alms to the Company." The Jesuits were so financially

³⁰ Carta Annuæ of 1604-1605, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 136.

³¹ Carta Annuæ of 1604-1605, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 142.

³² Carta Annuæ of 1604-1605, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 137-138.

comfortable that they were able to assist some of the poor, which were many, “because this land is very expensive and many come from Spain in need.”³³

The Jesuits of Cartagena also founded a “congregación de españoles,” or a lay brotherhood for Spaniards. Its members were distinguished members of the community, who by 1605, when the letter was written, were said to have given more than 14,000 pesos in alms. With these donations, the Jesuit missionaries had adorned their church with a “monstrance for the Most Holy Sacrament valued in 500 ducados,” a tabernacle that was worth 1,000, a monument that cost 500, and a lamp for 300 ducados. With these ornaments, they said, the church was constantly well adorned, which was an admirable accomplishment given that they had been in Cartagena for such a short period of time. Finally, the founders of the Jesuit convent in Cartagena reported that locals were so fond of them, that they received a variety of goods for free or at a noticeable discount.³⁴

These same Jesuits of Cartagena have been most known among scholars for their participation in the evangelization of the Africans who arrived as captives in the city. This is mostly due to the figure of Pedro Claver (1581-1654), a Jesuit missionary who memorably described himself as “Slave of the slaves,” and who was canonized in 1888. More recently, Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval (1576-1652), one of Claver’s teachers in Cartagena, has also gained scholarly attention, especially after his 1627 *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (literally “On how to restore the Salvation of Africans,” an expansive treatise on Jesuit ministries among African

³³ “copiosas limosnas a la Compañía,” and “por ser la tierra tan cara y venir tantos desde España necesitados,” Carta Anua of 1604-1605, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 139.

³⁴ Carta Anua of 1604-1605, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 136, 142. A monstrance is a receptacle consisting of a round pane of glass in a cross of gold or silver in which a consecrated host is exposed for veneration.

slaves in the New World) was reprinted in Bogotá in 1956 and recently published in an abridged English translation.³⁵

Soon after their arrival in Cartagena, the Jesuits surveyed their new surroundings and began evangelizing the many men, women, and children brought as captives from Africa. Those who only spoke their own African languages were known as *bozales*, while those who had learned Spanish were known as *ladinos*. The anonymous author of the *Carta Anua* of 1604-1605 reported that the Jesuits of Cartagena evangelized both *ladinos* and *bozales*. His description of a congregation of *morenos ladinos* who gathered at the Jesuit house on Sunday afternoons offers a glimpse of one of the various forms of Catholic Christianity developing among people of African descent in Cartagena.³⁶ After preaching or reading to the assembly from a book, the priest in charge of this ministry led the group out of the house, singing, and joining what he called “the dances of the *bozales*.” No more is said about the gathering. But what is emphasized is that this attempt at a gathering-in fared well. Together, the priest and the group of *ladinos* helped to

³⁵ Alonso de Sandoval, *Natvraleza, policia sagrada i profana, costvmbres i ritos, disciplina i catechismo evangelico de todos etiopes* (Seville: Francisco de Lira, 1627). The author expanded the 1627 version: Alonso de Sandoval, *De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute* (Madrid: Paredes, 1647); Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda aethiopum salute; el mundo de la esclavitud negra en América* (Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones, 1956); Alonso de Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery: Selections from De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute*, trans. Nicole Von Germeten (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008).

³⁶ For a study of representations of blackness in the Jesuit letters, see: María Cristina Navarrete Peláez, “Las Cartas Annuas jesuitas y la representación de los etiopes en el siglo XVII,” in *Genealogías de la diferencia: tecnologías de la salvación y representación de los africanos esclavizados en Iberoamérica colonial*, ed. María Eugenia Cháves Maldonado (Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Instituto de Estudios Sociales y Culturales Pensar, Abya-Yala, 2009), 22-57. On black Christian conversion in colonial Spanish America more generally, see: Larissa Brewer-García, “Imagined Transformations: Color, Beauty, and Black Christian Conversion in Seventeenth-century Spanish America,” in *Envisioning Others: Representations of “Race” in the Iberian and Ibero-American World*, ed. Pamela Anne Patton (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pages, and Larissa Brewer-García, *Beyond Babel: Translation and the Making of Blackness in Colonial Spanish America* (forthcoming).

gather the others, the correspondent claims. The *bozales*, then, were taught about “the prayers and catechism,” and the session ended with everyone singing in a procession back to the Jesuits’ house.³⁷

By 1608-1609 the number of Jesuit priests dedicated to evangelizing Africans and their descendants in Cartagena had increased from one to four. In his provincial’s report for that period to the Father General in Rome, the author expressed that those who were most in need of spiritual attention were the captives “who are brought in caravels from Guinea [...] for sale all over the Indies.” The author explained that the captives were baptized “on the seashore” before they were embarked for Cartagena, and that the only preparation the captives received before baptism was a lesson that they often had no way of understanding.³⁸ This was a major point on which Jesuits differed from other missionary orders. The Jesuits believed in gradually educating non-Christians so that they would willingly accept baptism and then grow in the faith.³⁹ The same correspondent thus presented the evangelizing mission in Cartagena in contrast not only to the mass baptisms with little instruction in West-Central Africa, and implicitly to the methods that had been employed by other religious orders before them. The author of the letter described

³⁷ “Salen de aquí cantando [...] con el Padre que los tiene a cargo a los bailes de los más bozales, y ayudando a juntarlos se les enseñan las oraciones y catecismo.” Carta Anua of 1604-1605, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 169.

³⁸ “Mucho más necesitada es la gente de cargazones que traen en carabelas de Guinea [...] para venderse para todas partes de las Indias; a éstos bautizan a la ribera del mar cuando los quieren embarcar trescientos o cuatrocientos juntos después de haberles hecho una plática aunque no hayan hecho concepto de ella.” Carta Anua of 1608-1609, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 242.

³⁹ Nicole Von Germeten, “Introduction,” in Alonso de Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery: Selections from De Instauranda Aethiopiae Salute*, trans. Nicole Von Germeten (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008), xvi. For a critical study of Sandoval’s text as “a cosmovision that is formed by difference, heterogeneity, and a New World experience that seeks to make sense of the human encounter between Africans and Europeans,” see: Margaret M. Olsen. *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 26.

one of the priests of the Company as “a priest who has dedicated himself with zeal and love to these helpless people, and with interpreters of their own languages (which are many and very diverse), he catechizes them, and if necessary, baptizes them again.”⁴⁰ In this context, it was unclear whether the impending arrival of the Inquisition would upset the existing Jesuit emphasis on evangelization, perhaps replacing it with a campaign for conformity.

To Serve God and the King: Structures of Inquisitorial Power

Neither the local community nor the authorities of Cartagena had actually requested the addition of a tribunal of the Inquisition to the city’s highly competitive environment for souls and alms. On the contrary, the arrival of the new institution was an imposition by metropolitan and colonial authorities outside Cartagena. The tribunal in Lima had since 1570 tried suspects from the New Kingdom of Granada, including Cartagena. Viceroy of Peru Francisco de Toledo, for instance, considered that the large extension of the jurisdictions of the Holy Office in Lima and Mexico (established in 1570 and 1571, respectively) created logistical problems, especially regarding the transportation of suspects from distant places.⁴¹ After the inquisitor of Lima submitted another request to authorities in Madrid, a new tribunal with jurisdiction over the New Kingdom of Granada, the Windward Islands, and the dioceses of Caracas, Cartagena, Panamá,

⁴⁰ “Se ha aplicado un padre de este colegio con gran celo y amor a esta desamparada gente y con intérpretes de sus mismas lenguas que son muchas y muy variadas, los catequiza y si es menester de nuevo los bautiza,” Carta Anua of 1608-1609, in Rey Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas, 1604-1621*, 242. The author of the letter most likely referred to Pedro Claver.

⁴¹ Anna María Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias, 1610-1660, vol. 1* (Bogotá: CEJA, Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1997), 108.

Popayán, Puerto Rico, Santafé, Santa Marta, Santiago de Cuba, and Santo Domingo, was established, with its base in Cartagena.⁴²

Like all other tribunals of the Inquisition in Spain's domains, the Cartagena tribunal was under the authority of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, simply known as the Suprema. At its inception in the fifteenth century, the Supreme Council of the Inquisition was a court of appeals based in Madrid. The head of the Suprema was the Inquisitor General, who was appointed directly by the King. Initially, if the Suprema denied an appeal, the interested party had the possibility of appealing the decision to Rome. However, during the sixteenth century, this practice was no longer allowed, in order to bolster the authority of the Inquisitor General and strengthen the autonomy of the Spanish Inquisition in relation to the Papacy.⁴³

The Suprema itself was composed of the Inquisitor General and a group of advisors (*consejeros*) whom he appointed in consultation with the King. Access to a position in the Council of the Inquisition was generally granted to clergymen who had had an outstanding career serving the Inquisition in the Peninsula or overseas. Typically, such advisors were later elevated to episcopal seats after serving the Suprema.⁴⁴ Quite frequently, advisors to the Suprema were also the King's personal confessors.⁴⁵ Many advisors were members of the Dominican Order, but

⁴² Philip III established the royal decree (*real cédula*) by which the tribunal was founded on February 25, 1610. Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años*, vol. 2, 112.

⁴³ José Ramón Rodríguez Besné, *El Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición. Perfil jurídico de una institución* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2000), 174.

⁴⁴ Rodríguez Besné, *El Consejo de la Suprema*, 54, 132.

⁴⁵ Rodríguez Besné, *El Consejo de la Suprema*, 56-57.

the positions were open to members of other orders as well as to the secular clergy.⁴⁶ Until the eighteenth century, the Jesuits were an exception, as their Order's constitutions obliged members to denounce all manners of perceived offenses, included suspected “heresy,” only to their superiors, not to other ecclesiastical authorities. The Society of Jesus was seen with suspicion by some ecclesiastical authorities in Spain during the sixteenth century, in part due to this privilege.⁴⁷

The Inquisition's jurisdiction over members of religious orders in matters of faith was definitely established by the Papacy between 1592 and 1606. Only bishops remained beyond the reach of inquisitorial power.⁴⁸ However, this boundary was blurred in several occasions, as bishops frequently crossed institutional limits when they were appointed to Inquisition offices and vice versa. In 1596, for instance, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero was appointed archbishop of Santafé de Bogotá, the capital of the Audiencia. He had been inquisitor of Mexico since 1583.⁴⁹

In addition to the Inquisitor General and his advisors, the Suprema also employed a group of laymen or clergymen who held positions as accountants, scribes, wardens, bakers,

⁴⁶ The Dominicans did control the Papal Inquisitions of the Middle Ages, and the first Spanish Inquisitor General himself, Juan de Torquemada, was a Dominican. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition. A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 138-139.

⁴⁷ Dominican friar Melchor Cano, for instance, led a significant campaign that denounced the Society's Spiritual Exercises as heretical. The Society of Jesus, moreover, refused to apply the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood, freedom from Jewish, or less commonly, Moorish ancestry) when recruiting members, which only reinforced the opponents' apprehension. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 158, 245-246.

⁴⁸ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 158-159.

⁴⁹ Fajardo and Gutiérrez, *Cartas Anuas*, 49. See also: Luis Carlos Mantilla, *Don Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, inquisidor y tercer arzobispo de Santafé de Bogotá (1599-1609)* (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1996).

confectioners, locksmiths, carpenters, and gardeners.⁵⁰ The Inquisitor General in the Peninsula had autonomy to appoint inquisitors of district tribunals, such as the one in Cartagena.⁵¹

Members of the Suprema received salaries from the King, and they collected additional funds for the functioning of the tribunal through confiscation of property, *censos*, and via remittance from the subordinate district tribunals in the Peninsula and in the Americas. When financial crisis hit the Royal Treasury during the seventeenth century, the number of members of the Suprema was reduced.⁵²

“The property of the heretic ceases to be his”: The Law and Practice of Confiscation

The complicated institutional relationships between the Catholic Church, the Inquisition, and the Spanish Crown translated into local tensions in Cartagena. Despite the warm welcome that both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Cartagena offered to the new inquisitors upon their arrival in 1610, conflicts soon emerged. The space of the cathedral became the ground for jurisdictional disputes between the inquisitors and the bishop, who was reluctant to split the use of the recently finished building with the newcomers. As the inquisitors became regular participants in the religious ceremonies, discord only increased, and several debates about who should take the most honorable seats in the presbytery ensued.⁵³ In a letter to the King, bishop Juan de Ladrada complained about the ingratitude of the inquisitors, who had repaid his

⁵⁰ Rodríguez Besné, *El Consejo de la Suprema*, 61.

⁵¹ Rodríguez Besné, *El Consejo de la Suprema*, 131.

⁵² Rodríguez Besné, *El Consejo de la Suprema*, 89.

⁵³ Arístides Ramos Peñuela, “Competencias de jurisdicción en la inquisición de Cartagena de Indias,” *Revista Destiempos* 14:1 (2008), 331.

generosity by undermining the episcopal jurisdiction and its dignity.⁵⁴ The governor also became involved in jurisdictional disputes with the inquisitors, especially about who had the preeminent legal right to adjudicate cases that involved both civil and Inquisition officials.⁵⁵

Establishing a new permanent tribunal involved carving out a jurisdictional space for the Inquisition and navigating frictions with local authorities and required opening up physical space to accommodate the Inquisition's presence in the city. After spending a few days in Cartagena, the inquisitors concluded that there was no single house in Cartagena that suited their needs and those of the Tribunal, and they decided to rent three adjacent houses located on one of the corners of the Plaza Mayor.⁵⁶ However, the inquisitors considered this arrangement less than ideal because life in the city was "excessively expensive" and they would not be able to afford more than six months of living expenses on their current annual salaries. They proceeded to write a report to their superiors in the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid, requesting higher stipends. The inquisitors also requested forgiveness of a debt they had acquired in Seville, or

⁵⁴ "Acudí personalmente al recibimiento de los Inquisidores, que vinieron a esta ciudad asistiendo a los actos del juramento y los demás, con toda puntualidad, procurando se hiciese con la austeridad y decencia posible, y dándoles todo el favor y ayuda, teniendo siempre de mi parte, con el tribunal del Santo Oficio toda buena correspondencia. Y la que conmigo se ha tenido ha sido quitarme lo que, de derecho me compete y Su Santidad y V. M. me concede, en daño y perjuicio de la jurisdicción y dignidad episcopal, dando con esto ocasión a que hubiese muchos encuentros, disgustos y pesadumbres." Fr. Juan de Ladrada al Rey, Cartagena, June 25, 1613, in Martínez Reyes, *Cartas de los obispos de Cartagena*, 194.

⁵⁵ See: "Pleito de competencias entre Diego Fernández de Velasco, gobernador de Cartagena, y el Tribunal de la Inquisición en la causa de Juan Álvarez (1612)," *expediente 16, legajo 1597*, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵⁶ "No hay casa en toda la ciudad en que pueda vivir un inquisidor y estar en ella el Tribunal," f. 10v, *libro 1008*, Inquisición, AHN.

authorization to defer repayment until the Cartagena tribunal had engaged in the common inquisitorial practice of imposing fines and confiscating property from supposed “heretics.”⁵⁷

As a punitive mechanism and a source of revenue, confiscation of property was by no means exclusive to the Inquisition’s legal practices. In fact, both Roman law and Canon law recognized confiscation as a punishment for serious crimes, especially of a political nature. Roman law also safeguarded the succession rights of the guilty party’s wife and children by dictating that half the property should be reserved for descendants, except in case of crimes of *lèse-majesté*. Local law and custom across western Europe, however, expanded the application of confiscation to many crimes, on a case-by-case basis. Nonetheless, the main objective of confiscation remained generally unchanged: to punish individuals who had made themselves subject to exclusion from the community by committing a crime.⁵⁸

Criminal law regulated the punishment of “heresy.” However, theological definitions of what constituted heresy were not always clear-cut, and its employment in practice even less so. The term was often used to describe a range of offenses and errors, from deviation from religious orthodoxy to moral conducts that could be potentially considered heretical, such as blasphemous speech. For instance, some theologians differentiated between non-heretical blasphemy and heretical blasphemy. Cursing, for example, could be considered sinful but non-heretical. On the contrary, statements such as “there is no God” could be considered heretical because they included a statement against Christian doctrine. In a similar way, inquisitors prosecuted sexual

⁵⁷ “O si V. S. es servido se difiera la paga hasta que esta inquisición tenga bienes confiscados,” f. 11v, *libro* 1008, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵⁸ Annamaria Monti, “Illegitimate Appropriation or Just Punishment? The Confiscation of Property in Ancien Régime Criminal Law and Doctrine,” in *Property Rights and their Violations: Expropriations and Confiscations, 16th-20th Centuries*, eds. Luigi Lorenzetti, Michela Barbot, and Luca Mocarrelli (Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 15-18.

behaviors that could potentially threaten Catholic doctrine on the “sanctity of marriage,” such as bigamy, “sodomy,” and solicitation during confession.⁵⁹

Although the tribunals of the Holy Office had considerable flexibility in determining whether some behavior or belief could be considered heretical, “heresy,” broadly defined, was a crime against God’s majesty, thus similar to another crime of *lèse-majesté*: high treason.⁶⁰ Heresy contained the three elements that defined the notion of crime: the religious or moral damage, the social damage, and the personal offense.⁶¹ Castilian legal codes regulated confiscation as a punishment for heresy, but the conditions and limits of the punishment changed over time. The Castilian legal code of *Siete Partidas* established that the property of people considered guilty of heresy should pass to their descendants -as long as they were Christians-, thus maintaining the regulation of inheritance in civil law. If the person had no Christian heirs, the Royal Treasury (Hacienda Real) confiscated the property.⁶² In the years that followed, Alfonso XI (1313-1350) codified confiscation as a punishment for both treason and heresy in *Ordenamientos sobre las penas pecuniarias para la cámara del rey*, establishing that the body

⁵⁹ On blasphemy as a potential threat to Spain’s colonial enterprise in Mexico, see: Javier Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech. A Social History of Blasphemy in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2006). For Villa-Flores’s explanation of the theological distinctions among forms of blasphemy, see pages 9-12.

⁶⁰ On the Inquisition’s “interpretive latitude” regarding potentially heretical behavior, see: Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 18.

⁶¹ Miguel Pino Abad, *La pena de confiscación de bienes en el derecho histórico español* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2014), 326.

⁶² Pino Abad, *La pena de confiscación de bienes*, 328.

and property of traitors belonged to the King, while half the property of heretics belonged to the King's treasury, regardless of the existence of Christian heirs.⁶³

Canon law authorized confiscation as one of the standard punishments for “heresy,” and as such, the Roman church had applied it since the twelfth century.⁶⁴ In the fourteenth century, Nicolau Eimeric (c. 1320-1399), inquisitor of Aragón, wrote a *Directorium inquisitorum*, a manual that contained methodical instructions for the inquisitors and a compendium of dogma. This work was widely reproduced and used by Spanish inquisitors until the nineteenth century. In the section about confiscation of property, Eimeric's text suggests that the legal/theological foundation for confiscation was the idea that individuals found guilty of “heresy,” broadly defined, were “unworthy of enjoying life and property, because the heretic's property ceases to be his by the mere fact of incurring in heresy.”⁶⁵ The property and income generated by confiscations, he explained, should be invested in pious causes, such as “the maintenance and decorum of the Holy Office,” given that it was “in accordance with justice that those condemned by the holy tribunal pay for its subsistence.”⁶⁶ This practice became a central feature of

⁶³ “1. El traidor es mal nombre e apartado de todas las bondades. Todo onme que caya en tal caso, todos sus bienes son para la Camara del rey; e el cuerpo a la su mercet.” and “2. El caso de heregia, el que es caido ende, pierda la metat de sus bienes, e sean para la Camara del rey.” Joaquín Cerdá Ruiz-Funes, “Dos ordenamientos sobre las penas pecuniarias para la Cámara del Rey (Alfonso XI y Enrique III),” *Anuario de historia del derecho español* (1947): 451. See also Pino Abad, *La pena de confiscación de bienes*, 336.

⁶⁴ Kamen, “Confiscations,” 512.

⁶⁵ “siendo indignos de gozar vida y hacienda, pues por el mero hecho de incurrir en la heregía dejan de ser suyos los bienes del herege.” Nicolau Eimeric (1320-1399), trans. J. Marchena, *Manual de inquisidores para uso de las inquisiciones de España y Portugal: o compendio de la obra titulada Directorio de inquisidores* (Montpellier: Impr. de Feliz Aviñón, 1821), 60.

⁶⁶ “Deben invertirse estas multas en obras pías, como son la manutención y el decoro del Santo Oficio; que efectivamente es muy conforme a justicia que los que son condenados por el santo tribunal paguen para que esta subsista.” Eimeric, *Manual*, 58.

Inquisition finances throughout the Spanish and Portuguese domains as the tribunals went from being mobile courts to permanent institutions in need of houses, jails, and resources to maintain them.⁶⁷

Cruacially, Eimeric's *Manual* did not offer specific instructions or regulations for inquisitors to determine when to apply partial or total confiscation of property against a suspect of "heresy." This meant that, as with the definition of what constituted "heresy," the inquisitors of Cartagena, as those of every other tribunal of the Holy Office, had ample discretionary power when imposing confiscation of property as part of a sentence.

Inquisitor manuals alone, however, were not enough for generating suspects and potential confiscations. When inquisitors established a tribunal at a new location, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as well as the inhabitants of the place, attended an opening ceremony in which inquisitors read an edict of the faith (*edicto de fe*). The document explained in detail the behaviors and beliefs that good Christians were obliged to denounce to the Holy Office, risking excommunication if they failed to do so.⁶⁸ The *edicto* that inquisitors read in Cartagena contained seven chapters: Judaism, Islam, Lutheranism, *alumbradismo*, and "diverse heresies." These "diversas herejías," as they appear in the text of the *edicto de fe*, included a range of offenses that inquisitors could consider heretical or threatening to the doctrinal authority and

⁶⁷ This is the main difference between Inquisition institutions in Spanish and Portuguese America: the tribunals in Brazil were mobile and temporary (because Brazil was a secondary colony for the Portuguese, who did establish a permanent tribunal in Goa). The procedures in both Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, however, was almost identical. See Green, *Inquisition*, 159.

⁶⁸ Inquisitors Pedro Matheo de Salcedo and Juan de Mañozca read the *edicto* in Cartagena on November 30, 1610. Anna María Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años vol. 1*, 107, 112.

orthodoxy of the Church, including blasphemy, not believing in hell, witchcraft, and divination. The edict also pointed to sexual crimes, and forbidden books.⁶⁹

If inquisitors decided to prosecute someone following a denunciation, an *alguacil*--an Inquisition official whose main function was to place suspects under arrest--apprehended them and seized their property. This procedure, as well as inquisitorial practice in general, relied on professional record-making, and required the expertise of notaries who authenticated the records and weaved the fabric of the Inquisition's legal and financial archives. In fact, the *alguacil* was usually also a notary, who formalized the apprehension and seizure of property in a single document that followed a template.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ This *edicto* was identical to the one used in the Iberian Peninsula, and some of the crimes it contained never arrived in the Americas. Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años, vol. 1*, 113, 114. On the structure and evolution of the Edict of Faith, see: Ignacio Villa Callejo, "La oportunidad previa al procedimiento: los "Edictos de Fe" (siglos XV-XIX)," in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América, tomo II*, eds. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet (Madrid, Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 1993), 329. See also Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate. Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609-1614)* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980), 96-99. *Alumbradismo*, or Illuminism, was a set of ideas, practices, and customs that emerged in Castile during the sixteenth century. Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda explain that "In depositions made by the accused that survive in extant documents, Illuminism invariably displays two distinct characteristics. First, it shows a combination of practices, beliefs, and even feelings that were shared within small clandestine groups or *conventículos*, united more by emotion than by strictly confessional or ideological ties [...]. In the second place, all of these groups shared a limited set of ideas and behaviors that combined, to a greater or lesser degree, a feeling of purity, the practice of mental prayer and an abundance of ecstatic experiences." Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, "On the *Alumbrados*: Confessionalism and Religious Dissidence in the Iberian World," in *The Early Modern Hispanic World. Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches* eds. Kimberly Lynn and Erin Kathleen Rowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 121, 126. There is evidence of *alumbradismo* in Mexico during the seventeenth century. See: Adriana Rodríguez Delgado, *Santos o embusteros: los alumbrados novohispanos del siglo XVII* (México: Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz, 2013).

⁷⁰ On the role of notaries as crucial go-betweens in the structure of criminal and civil justice in early modern Iberia and Spanish America, see Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive. Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

The financial records that accompanied each suspect's Inquisition file were usually bound volumes that began with an *acta*, or minute, that indicated the place and date of the arrest, and the suspect's declaration under oath of the property he or she owned, followed by an inventory. These lists included the type of property or item, accompanied by a brief description. Presumably, an assistant helped the *alguacil* throughout this process. The inventory was preceded by a formula by which the act of inscription of items in the *alguacil*'s list implemented the seizure of property ("con lo qual el dicho alguacil hizo secresto de ellos de la manera siguiente").⁷¹

If the inquisitors found the prisoners guilty and confiscation of property was among the punishments in the sentence, the notary formalized the expropriation in the next entry of the financial record pertaining to the accused. The bound volume then concludes with the *almoneda*, or public auction of each item, noting the date, place, and the name of the herald (*pregonero*) who announced the beginning of the auction at the main square. A notary recorded the process, beginning with the sale of houses and of people held as property, and noting who made offers and how much each person was willing to pay. The *almoneda* for some types of property lasted several days. When there was any kind of debate or dispute around a specific item, the interested party could bring a lawsuit against the Inquisition, represented by the *receptor*, to prove his or her ownership of a house or plot of land, for instance, before it was sold at auction. Plaintiffs produced property titles and deeds to prove their claims and the inquisitors made a decision in each case. Each entry concludes with the final buyer and the amount he or she paid for the item, house, plot of land, or enslaved person.⁷²

⁷¹ "Secresto" is an archaic form for the modern term *secuestro*, or seizure.

⁷² For a representative example of such a record, see *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas de los bienes secuestrados a varias reconciliadas (1632-1637)*, especially the case of the property of

Building Authority Day by Day

In January of 1611, four months after their arrival, the first inquisitors of Cartagena (still lodged in their rented spaces) used the eight thousand *ducados* that the King had assigned them for their initial expenses to buy a house that they intended to renovate in order to accommodate the needs of the new tribunal.⁷³ They planned to build a large courtroom, two rooms for Inquisition officials, and a jail with fifteen cells. The price of the house was 9,500 *pesos*, and the inquisitors calculated that renovation expenses would amount to near five hundred more (the line of credit they used to cover these expenses was still not paid off nearly two decades later).⁷⁴

As a mechanism for acquiring wealth, confiscation by the Inquisition was contingent upon the outcome of faith trials. Aware of the fact that these were often lengthy bureaucratic and legal procedures, the had King granted 8,400 *ducados* every year to pay salaries to Inquisition officials in Cartagena, until the tribunal had acquired income through “confiscations, penalties, and fines.” Cartagena’s Real Hacienda, unfortunately for the inquisitors, was nonetheless often depleted, and unable to cover this expenditure. In order to remedy the situation, the Suprema requested to the King in 1611 that salaries for officials of the Cartagena tribunal be obtained from the tax revenues (“*hacienda*”) that otherwise were sent to Castile from the interior of New

Juana de Ortensio, ff. 97-113v, número 2, legajo 4822, Inquisición, AHN (hereafter Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas). The file has been digitized and is accessible online on www.pares.mcu.es.

⁷³ Philip III assigned 8,000 *ducados* to the first inquisitors, specifically for purchasing houses. Receptoría, rentas y efectos de esta Inquisición (1611-1631), f. 1, *número 7, expediente 1, legajo 4818*, Inquisición, AHN.

⁷⁴ Carta del Tribunal de Cartagena al Consejo de Inquisición, Cartagena, April 19, 1630, *libro 1011*, Inquisición, AHN.

Granada via Cartagena.⁷⁵ By 1626 the problem with salaries continued, as the annual 8,400 *ducados* were insufficient to remunerate all the officials who worked for the tribunal and the Inquisition had not acquired sufficient income from fines and confiscations yet.⁷⁶

If the inquisitors who founded the Cartagena tribunal had authority as a Royal institution with available legal and procedural mechanisms to generate confiscations, and the presence of potential—and wealthy—suspects of heresy, why did they choose not to implement confiscation broadly soon after their arrival in 1610? It seems that the Inquisition officials had realized that authority from above was not enough. In order to root the tribunal in the political, economic, religious, and physical networks of Cartagena, and to be able to perform all of its institutional operations locally, the inquisitors had to build authority from below. On June 3rd, 1611, inquisitors Juan de Mañozca and Pedro Mateo de Salcedo wrote a letter to the Suprema in Madrid. They informed their superiors of their activities, regarding both the “internal ministry of the Tribunal” and the exterior authority that it must have, especially “now in its beginnings which is when it is advisable that things be well initiated so that they may run without impediment in the future, growing day by day.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ “Confiscaciones, penas y penitencias.” Consejo de Inquisición al Rey, Madrid, February 12, 1610, f. 54, *legajo* 215, Santa Fe, AGI.

⁷⁶ The 8,400 *ducados* were divided as follows: 2,000 *ducados* for each of the two inquisitors; 1,604 for the *fiscal* (prosecutor) and 1,000 for the notary; the remaining 1,800 were divided among the nuncio, the *portero* (doorman), the warden (*alcaide*), and to feed the tribunal’s prisoners. The officials who were left without a salary were the *alguacil*, the receptor, the accountant of confiscated property, and “other ministers.” Consejo de Inquisición al Rey, Madrid, February 10, 1626, f. 88, *legajo* 215, Santa Fe, AGI.

⁷⁷ “así en las cosas tocantes al ministerio interior del Tribunal como a la auctoridad que exteriormente es razón tenga maiormente aora en sus principios que es cuando conviene se entablen bien las cosas para que en adelante corran sin estorbo alguno teniendo cada día maiores aumentos.” Mañozca and Salcedo to the Suprema, Cartagena, June 3, 1611, f. 21, *libro* 1008, Inquisición, AHN.

Building authority day by day not only depended on the availability of funds to sustain the tribunal, but also on its ability to spend those funds by participating in the ordinary economy of the city without impediment. One morning in 1612, for example Juan Ramos, who was in charge of supplying food for the Inquisition's prisoners, went to the fish market to pick up some items that he had ordered the day before directly from the fishermen. Upon his arrival, a servant (*criado*) of the Sergeant Major tried to take the fish away from Ramos, "saying a thousand insults and affronts against the authority of this Holy Office and its ministers."⁷⁸ Mañozca and Salcedo complained that the new tribunal had very little power to repress such excesses, especially because in a poor "land populated by people from diverse nations," the tribunal lacked allies. In their view, "the Holy Office has few ministers and not many enthusiasts." Instead, those who were supposed to support and assist the new tribunal were an impediment to its growth.⁷⁹ The course of action Mañozca and Salcedo envisioned was to request the King's immediate intervention against the Sergeant Major, because if in the tribunal's "beginnings people have no shame in taking food away from prisoners, tomorrow they will prevent [us] from apprehending" anyone.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ "diciendo mil oprobios y afrentas en gran desautoridad de este Sto. Oficio y sus ministros." Mañozca and Salcedo to the Suprema, Cartagena, October 5, 1612, *número 2, expediente 16, legajo 1597*, Inquisición, AHN.

⁷⁹ "pues en una tierra corta y poblada de gentes de diversas naciones, q no ay ninguna por contaminada [...] donde el tribunal es tan nuevo y con tan pocas fuerzas y que los que se las habían de prestar le estorban y le impiden su aumento;" "El Sto. Oficio tiene pocos ministros y no muchos aficionados." Mañozca and Salcedo to the Suprema, Cartagena, October 5, 1612, *número 2, expediente 16, legajo 1597*, Inquisición, AHN. For more on inquisitor Juan de Mañozca, especially the corruption accusations against him, see Toby Green, *Inquisition*, 4-5.

⁸⁰ "si agora en sus principios se desvergüenzan a quitar la comida de los presos, mañana estorbarán el prenderlos." Mañozca and Salcedo to the Suprema, Cartagena, October 5, 1612, *número 2, expediente 16, legajo 1597*, Inquisición, AHN.

The connection between the religious functions of the tribunal and the strategic importance of setting gradual precedents so that those functions could be carried on is clear in the first inquisitors' correspondence with the central Inquisition authority in Madrid. Mañozca and Salcedo applied the same logic to deploy the mechanism of confiscation of property. In 1613 the tribunal began to gradually replenish its coffers by confiscating property on the basis of religious and moral deviance. The first fines and confiscations were relatively modest, proportional to the institution's financial needs. The Inquisition's accounting books register one thousand *pesos* that it confiscated from Ana María de Olarreaga in 1613, and four thousand *ducados* from Doña Lorenzana de Acereto, both accused of sorcery, the following year. Reflecting the flexible character of Inquisition guidelines regulating pecuniary punishments and confiscation of property in cases of "heresy," broadly defined, the inquisitors of Cartagena refrained from imposing similar punishments on María Ramírez, Isabel Noble, and Francisca Mejía, whom they declared guilty of sorcery the following year.⁸¹

This trend of modest confiscation practices during the first years of the tribunal in Cartagena is most visible in the aggregate of prosecution outcomes up until 1634. On February 2, 1614, the inquisitors celebrated the first *auto de fe* in Cartagena, a solemn ceremony that took place in the cathedral, in which they read the sentences to the accused. Of the twenty people who appeared as defendants at the ceremony, only one was sentenced to confiscation, even though

⁸¹ Receptoría, rentas y efectos de esta Inquisición (1611-1631), f. 1. Ana María de Olarreaga was a Spanish-born resident of Cartagena, while Doña Lorenzana de Acereto was born in New Granada. They were both declared guilty of sorcery. Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años, vol. 4, índice de reos* (no page). Ana Díaz Burgos has studied the geographies of sorcery in Cartagena as they emerged from Doña Lorenzana's declarations: Ana Díaz Burgos, "A Cartography of Sorcery: Mapping the First Auto de Fe in Cartagena de Indias, 1614," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 1:3 (2013): 243-272. For the *Relaciones de causa* see: Francisca Mejía, ff. 9v, 14v, 46, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN; Isabel Noble, ff. 9, 15, 44v, 230v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN; María Ramírez, ff. 8v, 14, 42, *ibro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

most of the accused had been convicted of offenses that, depending on the Inquisitors' interpretation, could fall under the category of "other heresies" (such as blasphemy and sorcery, as mentioned above) as they appeared in the *edicto de fe* that the inquisitors had read in the Cathedral at their arrival to Cartagena. Most notably, the inquisitors did not impose confiscation as part of the punishment against Juan Mercader, whom they declared guilty of Protestantism, an unquestionable "heresy" in Inquisition law.⁸² The person sentenced to confiscation, among other punishments, was Luis Andrea, described by Inquisition scribes as *mestizo* because he was the son of an indigenous woman and a European man. He was accused of witchcraft. It is unclear, however, if the sentence was ever executed and if the funds ever made it to the Inquisition's coffers. There is no entry under "Luis Andrea" in the accounting books of the tribunal.⁸³

This pattern of occasional fines and confiscations continued in all the subsequent *autos de fe*, as Appendix A shows. In 1622, the Inquisition sentenced seven people. Only Adán Edón, an unrepentant Protestant, was punished with confiscation (and burned at the stake).⁸⁴ On that occasion, the inquisitors of Cartagena declared four women of African descent guilty of "witchcraft" and one of "sorcery," and none of their sentences included fines or confiscation of any kind.⁸⁵ Out of twenty-two people, the inquisitors sentenced one person, the Portuguese Luis

⁸² *Relaciones de causa*, Juan Mercader, ff. 6, 15v, 29v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

⁸³ Splendiani, *Cincuenta años*, vol. 2, 48-53. The Inquisition held *autos de fe* occasionally, especially when the number of accused people was large.

⁸⁴ Splendiani, *Cincuenta años*, vol. 2, 208.

⁸⁵ The women of African descent lived in the mining region of Zaragoza, one of the main destinations for the enslaved African captives that were purchased in Cartagena. Zaragoza, an interior province in present-day Antioquia department, was one of the first locations where the inquisitors of Cartagena launched significant prosecutions against suspects of "witchcraft." The women they declared guilty were: Leonor Zape (ff. 208v, 392v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN), Guiomar Bran (f. 214v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN), María Linda (f. 224v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN), and Jusepa Ruiz (f. 227, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN). For studies of

Franco, to the partial confiscation of one third of his property. He was declared guilty of “Judaizing” in the *auto de fe* of 1626. “Judaizers” were commonly sentenced to confiscation of property by Inquisition tribunals in Iberia. That same year, another Portuguese man, Pedro de Abreu, charged with the same crime, paid a fine of two hundred *pesos*.⁸⁶ In the *autos* of 1627 and 1628, the Inquisition confiscated the property of six out of twenty-one people, four Portuguese men suspect of “Judaizing” and two women who had been formerly held as slaves, Isabel Hernández and María Cacheo, accused of “witchcraft.”⁸⁷

After testing their strategy with confiscation from individual heretics, the inquisitors proceeded to confiscate property on a larger scale by prosecuting groups of people who were viewed with suspicion by the rest of society and whose dispossession might not upset the local balance of power. The first group targets aimed at twenty-one women of African descent whom they accused of witchcraft.⁸⁸ Historians of the Inquisition Tribunal in Cartagena have argued that

Zaragoza and the trials for “witchcraft,” see: Adriana Maya Restrepo, “Las brujas de Zaragoza: Resistencia y cimarronaje en las minas de Antioquia, Colombia, 1619-1622,” *América Negra* 4 (1992): 85-99; María Alejandra Mazo Álvarez, *Relatos de brujas en Zaragoza, Antioquia. Imaginario, Símbolo y representación* (Trabajo de grado para optar al título de antropóloga, Universidad de Antioquia, 2014).

⁸⁶ Splendiani, *Cincuenta años*, vol. 2, 246-247.

⁸⁷ Splendiani, *Cincuenta años*, vol. 2, 264-265; 279-283.

⁸⁸ Witch-hunting had acquired momentum in Europe after the Council of Trent and peaked in Spain and Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century, inquisitors in the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid and elsewhere viewed the charge of witchcraft with increasing skepticism, especially after inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías’s investigation of the witch trials of the Basque provinces (1609-1614). The Supreme Council suspended witch burning and mitigated the sentences when local tribunals attempted to punish witchcraft at the stake. Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate. Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609-1614)* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980), 17, 22, 389; Jaime Humberto Borja Gómez, *Rostros y rastros del demonio en la Nueva Granada. Indios, negros, judíos, mujeres y otras huestes de Satanás* (Bogotá: Ariel, 1998), 273. Henningsen found that the civil authorities were usually prepared to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Inquisition in cases of witchcraft. Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*, 281.

the Holy Office used the charge of witchcraft to stigmatize groups of women of African descent that its officials perceived as threatening to the social order.⁸⁹ The Tribunal's financial records suggest that the charge of witchcraft had effects well beyond stigmatization, and provide insights into the mechanisms by which the dispossession of women of African descent allowed the Inquisition to expand its institutional reach in Cartagena.

The aggregate lists of sentences that included fines or confiscation of property at the Cartagena tribunal shows an increase in confiscation rates in the *auto de fe* of 1634. In this *auto*, the inquisitors read sentences to twenty-five people. Twenty-one of them were women of African descent, some of them formerly enslaved, whom the officials declared guilty of "witchcraft" and condemned to punishments that included jail, whippings, service at local hospitals, temporary or permanent exile, and notably, confiscation of all their property (as opposed to partial confiscation or fines).⁹⁰ In the subsequent months, Inquisition officials auctioned these women's houses, plots of land, jewelry, clothes, bedding, furniture, and people they held as property to the

⁸⁹ Diana Luz Ceballos Gómez argues that the stigma operated as inquisitors highlighted the communal character of witchcraft, thus distinguishing it from sorcery, a crime that inquisitors usually treated as pertaining to an individual and not to a community. Diana Luz Ceballos Gómez, *Hechicería, brujería e inquisición en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Un duelo de imaginarios)* (Medellín: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1995). See also Kathryn J. McKnight, "Performing Double-Edged Stories: The Three Trials of Paula de Eguiluz," *Colonial Latin American Review* 25:2 (2016): 156.

⁹⁰ The other accused were: two blasphemers, one person who had married twice ["un casado dos veces"], and one sorceress. *Relación del auto de fe celebrado en la Iglesia Mayor de Cartagena de las Indias en el año de 1633*. ff. 313-359, *libro 1020*, Inquisición, AHN. I used the full transcription of *libro 1020* in: Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años, vol. 2*, especially pages 297-323. The documents I introduce below suggest that the *auto de fe* of March 26 was actually celebrated in 1634 rather than 1633. The *Relación* in *libro 1020* includes the sentence of Catalina de Otavio, for instance, who was arrested for the first time on April 4, 1633. The financial documents in *expediente 2, legajo 4822*, Inquisición, AHN that contain the confiscation and sale of the women's property indicate that the *auto de fe* took place on Sunday, March 26, 1634. This is relevant because previous scholarship has referred to this ceremony as the *auto* of 1633, including Splendiani's transcription.

highest bidder and used the proceeds to pay its agents and finance other public ceremonies. They kept careful inventories and recorded all the sales. For the property of fourteen of the twenty-one women, these documents survive in the Inquisition archives in Madrid.⁹¹

The bound volume containing the inventories is unique among the financial records of the Cartagena tribunal because it brings the financial dimension of the fourteen women's faith trails together, creating a unit. Other financial records dealing with confiscations in Cartagena were usually dedicated to individuals, not to groups of people. A close reading of this *expediente* suggests that the confiscation and resale of the women's property, especially real estate, disrupted a community of free people of African descent who lived in one specific neighborhood of Cartagena, and in turn benefited wealthy real estate buyers.⁹²

By applying a prescribed procedure of seizure, confiscation, and auction of the property of the sixteen women accused of witchcraft in 1634, the Inquisition of Cartagena not only acquired some income, but also transformed thriving members of a community of free people of African descent into outcasts on the grounds of moral and religious deviance.⁹³ In the process, the inquisitors benefited people of other ranks by offering luxury goods and everyday items at reduced prices, and by creating opportunities for wealthy buyers to expand their real estate holdings. Despite earlier tensions, the Inquisition did not face opposition from local power

⁹¹ Inventarios, almonedas, y cuentas. The confiscated property of two more women who were at the same *auto de fe* appears in Libro becerro del Tribunal de Cartagena, *libro 97*, Inquisición, AHN. All the Inquisition materials from Cartagena that survive in the AHN are copies and summaries of some trials, letters, and administrative records that local officials submitted to the Inquisition headquarters in Madrid. The local archive of the Cartagena tribunal is lost.

⁹² For a deeper analysis of these women's case, see Chapter Two. While the method proved to be effective, it was not flawless, as Chapters Three and Four show.

⁹³ For a study of marginality in urban contexts through the lens of gender, see: Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

groups on this occasion. In Cartagena, where multiple interests converged, the Inquisition first operated against socially subordinated but prosperous persons, putting valuable real estate on the market and creating precedents that could serve other purposes later. The inquisitors chose the path of least resistance by confiscating all the property of a group of women of color, and by displaying the economic and spiritual benefits that confiscation offered to the rest of society (see Chapter Two). In doing so, the inquisitors secured the ground for their subsequent rounds of prosecution, which then began to encroach on selected members of the elite (see Chapter Three).

Chapter Two

Threatening Fortunes: Women of African Descent, Property, and the Inquisition of Cartagena

Introduction

On November 9, 1632, two Inquisition officials arrested Dorotea de Palma, described as *negra*, in Cartagena de Indias. She was wearing an eye-catching necklace (*gargantilla*) made of twenty-eight melon-shaped beads of gold, with an image of the Conception, three pearls, and a green cross on the back of the image. According to the arrest and inventory records that the officials drew up at the time, secretary Juan Ortiz removed the choker from Dorotea de Palma's neck and gave it to official Juan de Simancas, setting it alongside a black taffeta skirt and the matching bodice they had already noticed amidst her effects. The officials calculated that if these items were to be sold in the market, they would yield around fifty *ducados*, the sum which another Inquisition official would now use to purchase food for Dorotea de Palma's sustenance while she was in prison on trial for suspicion of "witchcraft." Ortiz and Simancas had discerning eyes, chosen the skirt over a box that contained "two or three shirts," which they considered "of little value."¹

¹ "Una gargantilla de oro q el dho Alguacil mayor le quito del cuello con veinte y ocho quantas amelonadas y una imagen de la concepcion con tres perlas y a las espaldas una cruz verde [...]. Una saya de tafetan negro y aforrada en Bocací y un coletillo de lo mismo [...]. La gargantilla y saya de tafetan negro con su corpiño se entrego a Juan de Simancas Receptor del Sancto Oficio para en quenta de los cincuenta ducados q se mandan sacar para alimentos de la dha Dorotea," ff. 87-87v; "Una caixa en que havia dos o tres camisas todo de poca consideración," f. 87v, Inventarios, almonedas, y cuentas.

The last item they recorded was the house of wooden boards and tiles where Dorotea de Palma lived, located on the Calle de la Cruz (Street of the Cross) in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood. Once the inventory was complete and the seizure of property recorded, Ortiz and Simancas gave the box with the rest of Dorotea de Palma's belongings to an enslaved *mulato* named Joan de Padilla, Dorotea's husband. Joan de Padilla would keep her belongings in his custody until the inquisitors had pronounced their verdict on Dorotea de Palma's faith trial.² If at the end of the faith trial the inquisitors declared her guilty of "witchcraft," they had the discretionary power to decide whether or not to confiscate all or part of her property as part of her sentence. If so, confiscation would fulfill both the Inquisition's purposes of attempting to reform the person they considered to be in religious error, and of acquiring income for the functioning of the tribunal.

This chapter follows the prescribed procedure of seizure, storage, confiscation, and auction of the property of Dorotea de Palma and fifteen other women of African descent whom the Inquisition accused of "witchcraft." Removing each woman for trial meant not only apprehending her body but also upending and refashioning her connections to the social and material worlds that she inhabited. As the women and the Inquisition became intertwined over the course of the legal proceedings, the women's religious and material displacement in turn shaped shape the Inquisition's place in Cartagena.

² ff. 87v, 92, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. The terms *mestizo/a*, *mulato/a* were socioracial labels that colonial authorities ascribed to individuals in an attempt to classify the broad range of mixtures of Spanish colonial societies. Sometimes these terms could also be self-ascribed.

Who can be arrested? Initiating a faith trial

In a letter written on December 9, 1632, Cartagena inquisitors Domingo Vélez de Asas y Argos and Martín de Cortázar y Azcárate wrote a letter to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid in which they invoked the large volume of *causas de fe*, or faith trials, that had resulted from “the two complicities of witches that have been discovered.” They sought authorization for Juan de Uriarte Araoz to retain his post as notary of the Tribunal fearing that without his assistance the Tribunal would not be able to manage the heavy workload. The Suprema agreed to the petition, and assigned him a salary of 1,000 *ducados* annually, to come from fines and confiscated property.³

The behaviors that the inquisitors described as *brujería*, or witchcraft in Cartagena resembled narrow definitions of witchcraft in the Peninsula. These definitions pertained to groups of individuals suspected of engaging in supposed pacts with the devil during nocturnal ceremonies that included dancing around a he-goat, engaging in sexual activities perceived as perverse, and renouncing Jesus, Mary, and the Saints. *Hechicería*, or “sorcery,” on the other hand, was a broader category that included an array of beliefs and behaviors that inquisitors described as superstitious prayers employed for magical purposes, unorthodox healing practices, divination, and invocations of the devil.⁴

³ “está muy bien servido este tribunal con la asistencia que hace el dho Juan de Uriarte en su oficio y nos haría grandísima falta si le dexasse y más en esta ocasión que han ocurrido tantas causas de fe a este Sto Oficio con las dos complicitades de brujas que se han descubierto.” Inquisitors of Cartagena to the Suprema, December 9, 1632, *libro* 1011, Inquisición, AHN. See also: “Su S. I. estando en el Consejo proveyó la plaza de notario del secreto de la Inqn. de Cartagena de las Indias en Juan de Uriarte [...] y que goce entretanto de los mil ducados de salario en penas y penitencias.” Madrid, April 23, 1633, *libro* 1011, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴ Andrew Redden, "The Problem of Witchcraft, Slavery and Jesuits in Seventeenth-century New Granada," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 90:2 (2013): 227-228. For the parallel definitions in the

Historians of inquisitorial trials for witchcraft and sorcery in Cartagena, however, have found that the boundaries between the two categories were sometimes blurry, as both witchcraft and sorcery had recognizable communal components and involved what inquisitors considered invocations of the devil. As a consequence, locating the potential offense in the spectrum that stretched from errors to “heresy” was also complicated. They have also suggested that in Cartagena the prosecutions followed a racialized pattern in which inquisitors generally charged Africans and Afrodescendants with witchcraft rather than the less consequential sorcery.⁵

In September, the inquisitors Asas y Argos and Cortázar y Azcárate had already informed their immediate superiors of the first supposed conspiracy of “witches” that they were in the process of uncovering in the village of Tolú, located about twenty leagues from Cartagena. In their report, they explained that they were proceeding with prudence in what they described as a delicate matter: even though alleged eyewitnesses and accomplices had testified against many people, the inquisitors had not proceeded to arrest all the suspects, because “the witnesses are

Peninsula, especially in the Basque province of Logroño, see Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*.

⁵ Unfortunately, the majority of the original faith trial records from the Inquisition of Cartagena have not survived. For that reason, historians have worked with the annual summaries that Cartagena inquisitors submitted to the Suprema, and with the rare faith trial records that have survived as copies sent to the Suprema. Ceballos Gómez, *Hechicería, brujería e inquisición*; McKnight, "Performing Double-Edged Stories," 156. Studies have also suggested that, like in witchcraft trials in the Peninsula, defendants with little knowledge of Catholic beliefs about the devil learned to confess themselves as witches during the Inquisition's interrogation process, both to minimize their culpability and to satisfy the expectations of interrogators: Heather Rachele White, "Between the Devil and the Inquisition: African Slaves and the Witchcraft Trials in Cartagena de Indias," *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History* 2 (2005): 1-15.

slaves and the accomplices [are] Spanish women, very well related and with fortune/property.”⁶

They had, however, arrested two women, whom they described as “one *mestiza* and one *mulata*.”

Tribunals of the Inquisition in Spanish America and Iberia shared a procedural framework for determining the conditions under which a faith trial could be initiated. In *Directorium Inquisitorum* (*Manual de Inquisidores* in Spanish), a fourteenth-century manual for inquisitors that became one of the theoretical basis of inquisitorial practice, Nicolau Eimeric described three alternate methods for establishing whether arrest and prosecution of suspects of “heresy” or other errors was justified: accusation (*acusación*), investigation/inquiry (*pesquisa*), and denunciation (*delación*).⁷ In the first legal mechanism, accusation, the accuser was required by law to produce evidence proving the accusation. Failure to do so resulted in punishment for the accuser (“sugetándose a la pena del talión en caso de no dar pruebas.”) The *Manual* recommended that inquisitors avoid employing this method. A substitute, however, was for an

⁶ “Escribimos estos renglones dando cuenta a V. A. como se va descubriendo una gran complicitad de Brujas en la villa de Tolú jurisdicción deste gobierno en que vamos caminando con el tieno que VA nos manda lo hagamos en semejantes cosas porque aunque hay muchas personas testificadas por tres testigos de vista uno complice y dos de haberles visto en sus juntas hacer las ceremonias de brujas como es baylar alrededor de un cabron y besarle el trasero y volar por el aire dando balidos como chibatos con candelillas en las manos que por ser los testigos esclavos y las cómplices españolas y muy emparentadas y con hacienda no habemos procedido a prision contra las tales si bien sí contra una mestiza y una mulata que por estar testificadas por cuatro las tenemos reclusas en las carceles secretas.” Inquisitors of Cartagena to the Suprema, September 25, 1632, *libro* 1011, Inquisición, AHN.

⁷ I thank Toby Green for valuable clarification of legal terms. Another influential manual of this kind was Bernardo Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis* (from the early fourteenth century). Eimeric’s work, however, became the official inquisitorial guide, especially after it was re-edited in Rome in 1578. Bruno Aguilera Barchet, “El procedimiento de la Inquisición española,” in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América, tomo II*, eds. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet (Madrid, Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 1993), 338. The Spanish translation of Eimeric’s *Directorium* cited hereafter is: Nicolau Eimeric (1320-1399), trans. J. Marchena, *Manual de inquisidores para uso de las inquisiciones de España y Portugal: o compendio de la obra titulada Directorio de inquisidores* (Montpellier: Impr. de Feliz Aviñón, 1821).

Inquisition prosecutor (*fiscal*) to serve as accuser, since he was exempted from the requirement of providing evidence⁸

The second method, inquiry (*pesquisa*), expanded the inquisitors' powers, as it allowed them to initiate faith trials in the absence of formal accusation or denunciation. Inquisitors themselves were expected to investigate rumors of what they considered suspicious behavior by summoning witnesses to provide testimony against an individual.⁹ The efficacy of this method rested on the principle that inquisitors operated in a jurisdiction of exception, which justified departure from the rules of ordinary legal procedures and gave inquisitors ample discretionary power.¹⁰

The most common legal mechanism for initiating a faith trial was denunciation (*delación*), which could be brought by anyone, and did not represent a risk for the denouncer. On the contrary, when inquisitors established a tribunal at a new location, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as well as the inhabitants of the place attended a mandatory ceremony in which inquisitors explained with detail the suspicious behaviors and beliefs that good Christians were obliged to denounce to the Holy Office, risking excommunication if they failed to do so.¹¹

Inquisitors were allowed to formally accept a denunciation in the absence of witnesses. Crucially, inquisitors were expected to proceed against anyone who had been denounced,

⁸ *Manual de Inquisidores*, 2-3. The accusation method was also in disuse in both canon and civil law, at least since the 13th century. Canon law was at the forefront of the substitution of the accusatory procedure for a more effective "instrumento procesal." One of the most influential innovations, going back to the end of the 12th century, was the introduction of the methods of denunciation and inquiry. Aguilera Barchet, "El procedimiento," 334-335.

⁹ *Manual de Inquisidores*, 4-5.

¹⁰ Aguilera Barchet, "El procedimiento," 335-336.

¹¹ For more on this ceremony and the *edicto de fe* in which inquisitors explained these behaviors, see Chapter One.

regardless of the convincing or suspicious quality of the denunciation. According to this logic, the fact of denunciation was enough to initiate a faith cause.¹² In theory, this legal framework was broad enough to allow Vélez de Asas y Argos and Cortázar y Azcárate to arrest and prosecute the Spanish women whom witnesses had denounced as “witches.” However, as the letter they wrote to the Suprema suggests, the inquisitors chose not to proceed against them, based on assumptions made about their religious orthodoxy and social standing from their reported wealth and lineage.

The denunciations made by Paula de Eguiluz in Cartagena

The second identification of a “complicity” came after inquisitors Vélez de Asas y Argos and Cortázar y Azcárate arrested Paula de Eguiluz, a freed black woman who lived in the island of Getsemaní, on September 20, 1632. The information we have on Paula de Eguiluz’s biography came into being when notaries inscribed a rendition of her answers to a set of questions that inquisitors routinely asked suspects about their lives and identities (“el discurso de su vida”). According to the records, Paula de Eguiluz was born into slavery in Santo Domingo around 1591. By 1624 she lived in a copper mining town near Santiago de Cuba, where the royal treasury accountant Juan de Eguiluz held her as a slave.¹³ As recorded by the Inquisition notary,

¹² “Cuando la delación hecha no lleva viso ninguno de ser verdadera no por eso ha de cancelar el inquisidor el proceso, que lo que no se descubre un día se manifiesta otro.” Eimeric, *Manual de Inquisidores*, 4.

¹³ The mines in El Cobre, as the mining town was known, were the center of economic activity in eastern Cuba. The right to exploit the mines belonged to private contractors until 1670, when the Spanish Crown confiscated the mines and the enslaved workers of El Cobre. For the life and work of the community of royal slaves and free people of color who settled El Cobre, see María Elena Díaz, *The Virgin, The King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000).

she described her mother, Guiomar, as a “*negra* of the *biáfara* caste,” (terms that suggest west-central African origins). Her two sisters, Ana and Juana, were still living in Santo Domingo when the inquisitors interrogated Paula de Eguiluz. That same year, Inquisition officials brought her from Cuba to Cartagena, where she then faced the first of three trials under the charge of “witchcraft.” After serving her sentence, Paula de Eguiluz remained in Cartagena as a *negra horra*, a term that usually referred to freedom by self-purchase, and was said to support herself by practicing healing and love magic.¹⁴ Eguiluz’s continued involvement in the local healing trade marketplace gave rise to competition and rivalries. Her second arrest, in 1632, was propelled by the denunciations of another Cartagena healer, a *mulato* named Diego López. According to the Inquisition’s record, in the days following her arrest, Paula de Eguiluz in turn

¹⁴ “Dijo que [...] nació en la ciudad de Santo Domingo en casa de Diego de Leguizamo de quien era esclava su madre Guiomar, negra de casta biáfara.” Primera causa de Paula de Eguiluz. Segunda Audiencia. July 4, 1624. Proceso de fe de Paula de Eguiluz, f. 2, bloque 1, expediente 10, legajo 1620, Inquisición, AHN. Paula de Eguiluz’s three trials by the Inquisition (1624, 1632, 1636) have received attention from historians, in part because the trial records have survived as copies sent from the Cartagena tribunal to the Suprema in Madrid. Nicole Von Germeten has explored Paula de Eguiluz’s love life, her clientele in the local market for love magic and healing, and the intense rivalry and competition that emerged between her and other local healers. See: Von Germeten, *Violent Delights*, 103-124. Kathryn J. McKnight has studied the strategies that Paula de Eguiluz employed during her trials before the Inquisition from the perspective of performance studies. Specifically, McKnight looks at how Paula de Eguiluz exercised agency through storytelling. See: McKnight, “Performing Double-Edged Stories.” Sara Vicuña Guengerich transcribed and translated sections of Paula de Eguiluz’s first trial in “The Witchcraft Trials of Paula de Eguiluz, A Black Woman, in Cartagena de Indias, 1620-1636,” in *Afro-Latino Voices, Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550-1812*, eds., Kathryn Joy McKnight and Leo J. Garofalo (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 175-193. Adriana Maya dedicates a section of her book to Paula de Eguiluz as a representative of *mulatas* and *criollas* who practiced love magic (*arte del bien querer*) in the Greater Caribbean during the seventeenth century: Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, *Brujería y reconstrucción de identidades entre los africanos y sus descendientes en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 2005), 599-614.

denounced other freed women of African descent whom she described as “witches” responsible for many evils that were occurring in the city.¹⁵

Paula de Eguiluz’s denunciations, as recorded by a scribe, directed the inquisitors’ attention not only to those women, but also to a particular area of the city: the neighborhood known as Los Jagüeyes (San Diego in present-day Cartagena). According to the Inquisition’s record of Eguiluz’s second faith trial, she declared that “Teodora, free black, who lives in front of Ayala’s wife, is a witch,” as well as *negras* Bárbola de Albornoz, Elena de Viloría, Angelina de Guincha, María Quelembe, and Juana Gramajo, “who lives in front of Santa Clara [convent].”¹⁶ This convent was located near the street Calle de la Cruz, which Eguiluz is said to have mentioned when she named Juan Bran, whom she described as a *negro horro*. Juan Bran, Eguiluz recounted, was a “great wizard” who had recently died and who had lived on that street.¹⁷

Leaving aside the caution they had described in their letter of September 25, the inquisitors now ordered the arrest of the women Paula de Eguiluz had denounced. As free

¹⁵ Proceso de fe de Paula de Eguiluz, bloque 2, ff. 33-35. I am borrowing the concept of healing trade marketplace from Nicole Von Germeten. See: *Violent Delights*, pp. 103, 254. As Von Germeten notes, the entrepreneurial activities of healers in Cartagena can be compared to the active and competitive small business and vending markets of Potosí, which Jane Mangan has described. See Jane E. Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

¹⁶ “Y declara por descargo de su conciencia que Teodora negra libre que vive frontero de la mujer de Ayala es bruja y que como tal la ha visto acudir a las juntas de tales haciendo los ritos y ceremonias que las tales brujas hacen adorando al demonio reconociéndole por dios y señor besándole en el trasero y en particular fueron gozando esta y la dicha Teodora y Barbosa de Albornoz y Elena de Viloría y Angelina de Guincha y María Quelembe negra horra que vive en las casas de Joan Biáfara junto a Elena de Viloría y Juana negra horra que por otro nombre se llama de Gramajo que vive frontero de Santa Clara.” Proceso de fe de Paula, bloque 2, f. 33.

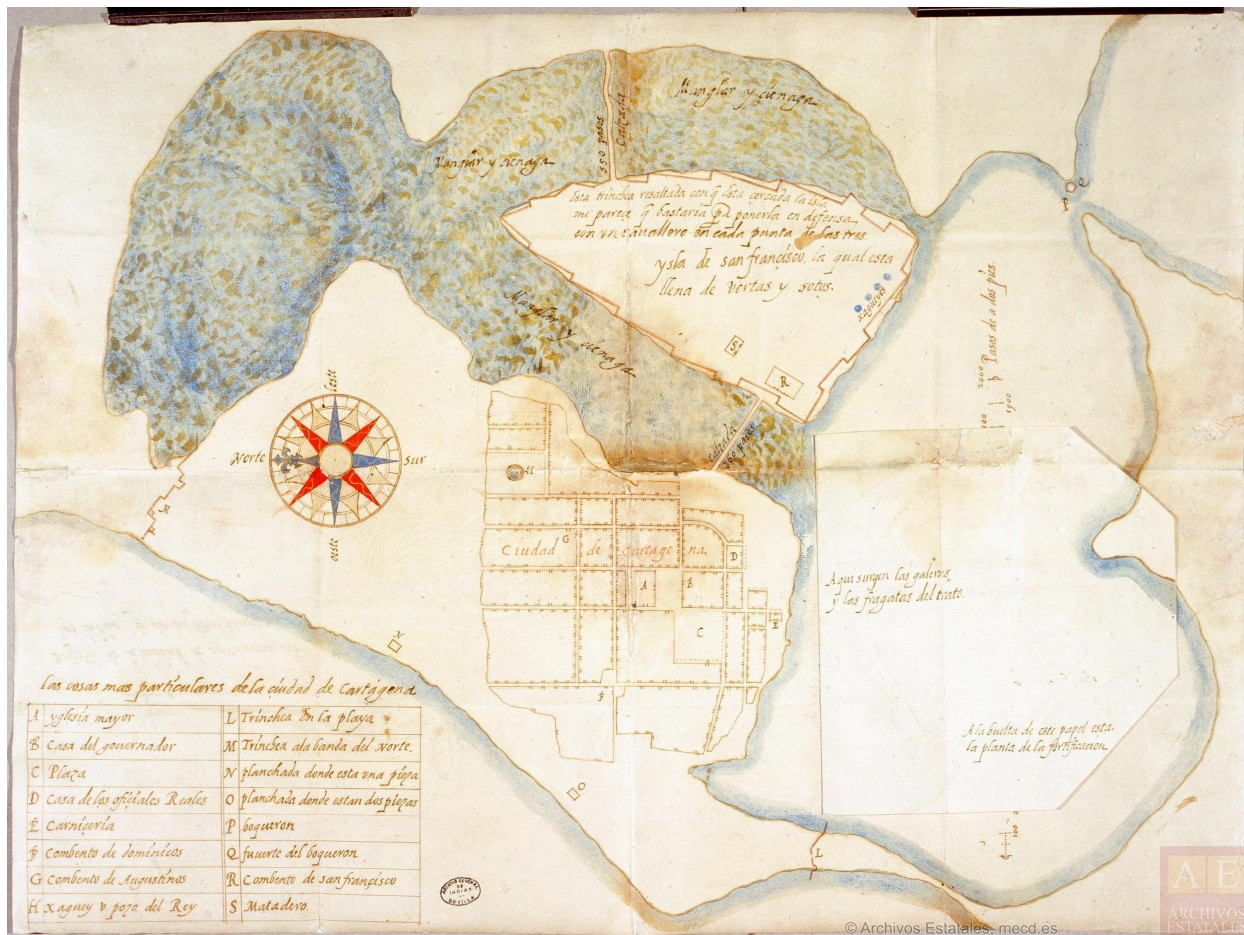
¹⁷ “Dixo que la ha pedido [la audiencia] para decir como habiendo muerto Juan Bran negro horro gran brujo que vivía en la calle de la Cruz se juntaron las brujas de Cartagena a llorarle a deshoras de la noche.” Proceso de Fe de Paula, bloque 2, f. 95.

women, their imprisonment for the duration of trial would not be detrimental to the interests of a master, even if their African ancestry and experiences of or ties to slavery placed them well below the Spanish-born suspects in the social hierarchy. Between October 6, 1632 and January 10, 1633, inquisition officials apprehended twelve of them, including Dorotea de Palma.¹⁸

Los Jagüeyes: from “empty space” to desirable neighborhood

The neighborhood of Los Jagüeyes, where many of the women lived, had been chosen by the Franciscan friars as the location for building their second convent, which they dedicated to San Diego in 1608. When the first inquisitors had arrived in Cartagena in 1610, the area that surrounded the soon-to-be monastery was considered remote in relation to the city center. Map 1, drawn in 1610, shows the city as an assemblage of mostly rectangular figures, carefully traced to convey the organized environment of the Spanish-style *urbs*. Marked with capital letters are the main buildings in the city. In alphabetical order, the map presents the Cathedral (*Iglesia Mayor*), the Governor’s house, the main plaza, the houses of the Royal Officials, the existing convents (excluding San Diego), the slaughterhouse on the island of Getsemaní (above Cartagena). To the left of the urban grid, the map offers an empty space to the viewer, in which the cartographer chose to insert a colorful compass rose with North pointing to the left.

¹⁸ For the historical, procedural and legal aspects of seizure and confiscation, see Chapter 1. For the dates of each woman’s arrest, see: Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. Barbula de Albornoz, Ana María de Robles, Juana de Mora, and Rafaela de Nava were all arrested in the evening on Wednesday, October 6. The other women were arrested one by one in subsequent months.



Map 1. “Plano de Cartagena de Indias y sus fortificaciones, 1610.” AGI, MP-Panama, 20

In 1611, one of the friars of San Diego described the area that appears empty on the map as “a remote part of the vicinity of this city, [a] neighborhood known as *de los Jagüeyes*,” or neighborhood of the wells. He then emphasized the idea of remoteness, saying that the area was “very far from other churches” [the distance from the Cathedral to San Diego convent is slightly under 2,000 feet], and that its inhabitants were poor people who “did not have cloaks to go to Mass, and they go [to Mass] with any patch of clothing.”¹⁹ Simón González, the *maestro mayor*

¹⁹ “en particular es de mucha importancia en la parte donde está fundado por ser parte remota de la vecindad de la ciudad, barrio que llaman de los Jagüeyes, muy apartado de otras iglesias y que

de las fábricas, or chief builder, also characterized the people living around Los Jagüeyes in 1611 as being poor and lacking “the adornment necessary to come to the city” to hear Mass.²⁰ Seven years later, in 1618, Cartagena governor Don Diego de Acuña echoed those descriptions of the inhabitants of Los Jagüeyes, adding that the San Diego monastery benefited poor people and soldiers who came to the city with the Spanish *armada* by feeding them in the refectory they had built near the entrance to the building.²¹

In the absence of known descriptions of the physical space around Los Jagüeyes, we can imagine that the people who lived in the area probably dwelled in spaces that did not resemble the gridded fabric of the city center, and that thus, Los Jagüeyes was not considered as part of the city by the cartographer who drew Map 1. Perhaps the people described above lived in wooden huts, roofed with palm leaves, arranged in non-linear patterns, as had long been the case on the island of Getsemaní, where Paula de Eguiluz used to live.²²

Defining who lived in the area is a similarly speculative endeavor, as census data for Cartagena in general has not survived. Historians, however, have produced population estimates

los moradores padecían mucho en acudir a ellas por el rigor del calor y sol que en ella hace y ser gente pobre que muchos no tenían mantos para ir a misa y allí van con cualquier remiendo de vestido.” Fr. Guillén de San Francisco, pidiendo se haga información al Rey, June 14, 1611. “Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena,” f. 154, D. 9, leg. 3, Miscelánea:SC.39, AGN.

²⁰ “Por ser gente pobre y algunas personas por no tener el adorno adorno que es menester para venir a la ciudad.” Testimony of Simón González, June 22, 1611, “Fundación de San Diego de Cartagena,” f. 160.

²¹ “Desta fundación [San Diego] se sigue muy grande utilidad por haberse hecho en lo alto de los Jagüeyes parte donde no hay parroquia ni convento avetada de gente pobre que si no tuvieran este consuelo los más dejarían de oír misa por su incomodidad y aún de comer lo más del tiempo si les faltara el socorro de la limosna que se les da del dicho convento de más de la que hacen a pobres vergonzantes y soldados de armadas y flotas en un refectorio que para este efecto hicieron junto a la portería.” Don Diego de Acuña to the King, August 13, 1618. Leg. 243, Santa Fe, AGI.

²² For a detailed account of the population and dwellings on Getsemaní, see Chapter Five.

using sources such as governors' reports and correspondence. While the numbers are by no means definitive, there is consensus that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Africans and their descendants outnumbered the European population of Cartagena. By 1615, around 1,500 Spanish *vecinos* lived in the city. In the following two decades, the number of people labeled as *vecinos* remained stable. In 1634, Cartagena bishop Luis de Córdoba Ronquillo reported that the number of vecino households (1,500) included the homes of *mulatas* and free blacks. The same year, a military report drawn by governor Francisco de Murga in the wake of war against communities of runaways from slavery recorded the presence in the province of at least 12,000 blacks capable of bearing arms.²³

The presence of African women and their descendants was significant among Cartagena's inhabitants. Using port entry records, David Wheat has estimated that 10,000 women from West Africa disembarked in Cartagena in the last two decades of the sixteenth century alone, in contrast with the 173 women who are known to have arrived in Cartagena from Seville during the same period.²⁴ Given the scarcity of sources, it is very difficult to gauge the number of women who acquired their freedom (through self-purchase, for instance) and remained in Cartagena, or those who acquired their freedom elsewhere and then settled in Cartagena, as did Paula de Eguiluz, who was originally from Santo Domingo. It is also impossible to calculate the number of women of African descent who were not claimed as slaves at birth and who lived and worked in Cartagena.

²³ While these sources must be approached with caution, they do provide a general outline of the demographic composition of Cartagena during the first half of the seventeenth century. Obispo fray Luis de Córdoba Ronquillo a S. M., Aug. 10, 1634, n. 97, 100, leg. 228, Santa Fe, AGI. "Testimonio de los autos que formó el gobernador de Cartagena Francisco de Murga," 1634, f. 361v, bloque 2, r. 7, leg. 234, Patronato, AGI. Wheat, *Atlantic Africa*, 279.

²⁴ David Wheat, "Nharas and Morenas Horras: A Luso-African Model for the Social History of the Spanish Caribbean, c. 1570-1640," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 130-131.

African women and their descendants had an important economic and demographic presence in Cartagena and the Spanish Caribbean more generally. Their work as market women, food providers, land and house owners and renters were key in supporting the port economy. In addition, their participation in a broad range of sexual and marital relations with African, Iberian and creole men was central to the formation of early modern Caribbean societies.²⁵

In turn, the urban economy sometimes allowed enslaved persons, especially women, to find ways to save small sums of money to eventually purchase their freedom papers. These transactions, however, could become complicated legal matters with uncertain outcomes for those claimed as slaves.²⁶ Juana Zamba, for instance, was an enslaved woman who sold clothes and textiles on the streets of Cartagena. While the merchandise belonged to her mistress, Juana Zamba was allowed to keep a very small fraction of the sales for herself. In 1633, she appeared before the civil authorities of Cartagena demanding that her mistress accept Juana's purchase of her freedom papers. As the mistress refused to do so, a lengthy lawsuit ensued.²⁷

While census data for the area near Los Jagüeyes is unavailable, the confiscation records produced by the Inquisition in the aftermath of the denunciations made by Paula de Eguiluz show that a community of free people of African descent, including formerly enslaved women, lived and worked in the area. In addition to the walls that by the 1630s surrounded the city center and Los Jagüeyes, the nunnery of Santa Clara further expanded Cartagena's religious boundaries towards that area, and streets that survive to this day, such as Calle de la Cruz (street of the

²⁵ Wheat, "Nharas and Morenas Horras, 119-150. Wheat, *Atlantic Africa*, 142-180.

²⁶ For a study of manumission practices in eighteenth-century New Granada, especially Santafé, see: Rafael Díaz, *Esclavitud, región y ciudad. El sistema esclavista urbano-regional en Santafé de Bogotá, 1700-1750* (Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 2001), especially chapter 5.

²⁷ Juana, su pleito con Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, por su libertad, 1633-1634, doc. 1, leg. 9, Negros y esclavos de Bolívar, AGN.

Cross) began to appear in the written records. Indeed, the Inquisition's confiscation records show that Los Jagüeyes was also becoming a desirable space for members of the Spanish elites to own real estate.

Arrest, inventory, and seizure of property

Following a denunciation, the inquisitors issued an order of arrest, which a notary recorded and certified. In the hands of designated officials, the piece of paper, now transformed into a legal document, authorized the physical process by which a person suspected of "heresy" or religious deviance would become a prisoner. Inquisition law established that supposed heretics, specifically, lost the right to possess property from the moment they were accused of committing a faith crime. Thus, the stages of arrest and seizure of property were inextricably linked in inquisitorial procedure. While a person who came to be judged innocent would have all her or his property returned, the earlier arrest and seizure rested on the presumption of guilt. The seizure of property prior to trial also ensured the tribunal of adequate funds to pay for administrative and maintenance expenses related to the suspect's trial and time in prison.²⁸

On the evening of Wednesday, October 6, 1632, secretary Juan Ortíz and *receptor* Juan de Simancas—probably accompanied by other Inquisition officials—crossed the San Francisco bridge that connected Cartagena to the island of Getsemaní. Once on the other side, they may have walked down the street known as Calle Larga, which took them into Calle de San Juan. They were looking for a house made of wooden boards, tiles, and reeds, where Ana María de

²⁸ For more on the law of confiscation, and for an overview of Cartagena faith trials in which the Inquisition did not sentence people to confiscation of property between 1614 and 1633, see Chapter 1. Aguilera Barchet, "El procedimiento," 371, 373.

Robles, identified as a free *mulata*, lived. The *receptor* Juan de Simancas must have been familiar with her house, as it was adjacent to houses that belonged to him to one side.²⁹ Ana María de Robles, a native of Santo Domingo, was the owner of the house, which she had built on a plot of land that she had bought from Bárbara de León, a *mulata* who was single.³⁰ Ana María de Robles was still paying for the plot of land when Inquisition officials appeared at her doorstep that evening to place her under arrest and seize her property.

Ortíz and Simancas also walked the streets of Los Jagüeyes neighborhood, and arrested nine other women of African descent. Like Ana María de Robles, some of the apprehended owned the houses in which they lived. Other women lived in rooms (*aposentos*), which they likely rented from property owners. María Quelembe, for example, lived in a house owned by Joan Biáfara, an African-born man who had been formerly enslaved.³¹ Once the suspect was under arrest, other Inquisition officials (*familiares*) took each woman back to Cartagena's main square to the jails located in the headquarters of the Holy Office.³² Ortíz and Simancas remained

²⁹ f. 45, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

³⁰ f. 45v; 52v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. Bárbara de León had lived on the plot of land in a *bohio*, or hut, roofed with straw, in 1620. See: Relación del sitio y asiento de Getsemaní, 1620, plot number 86. For Ana María de Robles's place of birth, see: Relación del auto de fe celebrado en la iglesia mayor de Cartagena de las Indias [1634], ff. 344-344v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

³¹ “y María Quelembe negra horra que vive en las casas de Joan Biáfara junto a Elena de Viloría y Juana negra horra que por otro nombre se llama de Gramajo que vive frontero de Santa Clara.” Proceso de fe de Paula de Eguiluz, bloque 2, f. 33v. The women who owned houses in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood were: Teodora de Salcedo, Angelina de Nava, Dorotea de Palma, Juana de Ortensio, Catalina de Otavio, Ana Suárez de Zaragoza, Rufina, and Elena de Viloría. See Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

³² See the records for the arrest of Juana de Mora: “y habiéndola inviado presa [...] a las cárceles [...] con dos familiares se hizo secresto de los bienes q se hallaron,” ff. 57v-58, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

in this last woman's living quarters and took inventory of her property, opening boxes and chests to look at her clothes and valuables, work tools, property titles, and possible freedom papers.

The acts of recording and describing in detail the objects and goods belonging to each person arrested by the Inquisition fulfilled two main purposes. On the one hand, it suspended the prisoner's ownership of precise property throughout the trial period: the formal act of seizure. On the other, inventories allowed the Inquisition to keep track of the goods as they were physically transferred from the person's dwelling into the hands of a *depositario*, or custodian, who stored everything until the end of the trial period. If the tribunal subsequently declared the person innocent, the *depositario* was to return the property to its owner. If the person was found guilty, inquisitors had the discretionary power to decide whether partial or total confiscation of the property might be a component of the sentence.³³ Some portions of the person's property did not enter the record for seizure, but officials took care to certify that they would be put to other uses, such as generating income for paying for the prisoner's food during the trial period. In some occasions, although not always, the secretary also noted the pieces of clothing and bedding that the suspect brought with her to the Inquisition's jails. Bárbula (or Bárbara) de Albornoz, for example, was allowed to take with her four old skirts and two shirts.³⁴

³³ The file *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*, then, contains the arrest, seizure, and deposit stages. Then it jumps to the outcome of the trial, the official confiscation, when the goods officially become Inquisition property that would be later turned into actual wealth through the auction process. In Cartagena, confiscation of property following a faith trial was not the norm in the sentences that the Tribunal of the Inquisition imposed to supposed heretics between 1614 and 1633. As I show in Chapter 1, the Inquisition sentenced only six people to confiscation of all their property during that period. The first group confiscation sentence was against the twenty-one women whose records are part of the *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas* file.

³⁴ f. 42, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*.

In order to guarantee the integrity of the suspect's property throughout trial, well-honed Inquisition regulations with respect to the seizure of property stipulated that *depositarios* should not be officials of the Holy Office. Rather, anyone considered a trustworthy person was allowed to perform this function. In Cartagena, both free or enslaved relatives of the suspect were permitted to act as custodians of the property. As such, they were responsible for the storage of objects, for caring for animals such as chickens (and even horses), and for renting out real estate. The *depositario* was also in charge of collecting and accounting for revenue obtained from the labor of any men, women, or children whom the prisoner held as property, of providing them with food and clothing, and tending to them if they fell ill.

The stages of taking inventory and placing the person's property in deposit were crucial to the Inquisition's interest in safeguarding the value of goods, whether it be to return them to the suspect in case of an acquittal or to maximize the potential income the possessions would yield if the suspect was declared guilty and their sentence included confiscation. Even though the property was physically in the hands of *depositarios* rather than the Inquisition's, tribunals exerted meticulous control over it by requiring certain conditions pertaining to its storage and usage throughout the duration of trial. Inquisition manuals established that perishable goods such as foodstuffs, for instance, should be sold at auction soon after seizure, so that their value could be accurately realized. Real estate, including rooms and houses, was to be rented out and carefully maintained.³⁵

³⁵ Aguilera Barchet, "El procedimiento," 375.

Trial outcomes and confiscation sentences

In a separate bundle of correspondence between the inquisitors of Cartagena and the Suprema in Madrid, the former provided a summary of the faith trials of the twenty-five people who heard their sentences on March 26, 1634. Here, the inquisitors offered details of the trials against the women accused of “witchcraft.” The summaries include information about the denunciations that led to each woman’s imprisonment, usually noting how many witnesses had denounced each one. The summaries also include the Inquisition’s rendition of the motivations that impelled each woman to become a “witch,” as well as who persuaded her to do so.

Access to wealth was a common denominator in the inquisitors’ narratives about the women’s motivations to become “witches.” According to these reports, sixteen out the twenty-one women had become “witches” through an initiated friend. Most of the summaries follow a template for this part of the story. According to the records, Teodora de Salcedo, *negra horra*, for instance, is said to have confessed that six years earlier, a certain person had persuaded her to become a witch, because by doing so she would have “a lot of money and rest.”³⁶ Juana de Mora, *negra horra*, is said to have confessed that seven years earlier, a friend had told her that she would get a man who would give her many presents and possessions in this life if she became a witch.³⁷ María Méndez, also a *negra horra*, is said to have expressed that she had become a

³⁶ “Tendría mucha plata y descanso.” In this context, *plata* could refer both to money in general, or silver in particular. f. 316-317, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN. These summaries are also transcribed in Splendiani, vol. 2. As mentioned earlier, these interrogation templates closely resembled those used by inquisitors in the Peninsula. These templates are part of the phenomenon that Heather Rachelle White has described for both Cartagena and Logroño: “the interrogation process served as a kind of coercive catechesis, by which defendants learned to properly confess themselves as witches.” White, “Between the Devil and the Inquisition,” 6.

³⁷ “un hombre que la regalase y le diese muchos bienes en esta vida.” f. 319v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

witch out of greed, because someone had told her that if she did so, she would have a lot of wealth with which she would be brought out of misery.³⁸

The report continues outlining the trials of Catalina de Otavio, Rufina, Lucía Biáfara, Angelina de Guinea, Juana de Ortensio, Bárbola de Albornoz, Ana Suárez de Zaragoza, María Méndez, Juana Fernández Gramajo, Luisa Dominguez, Dorotea de Palma, and Rafaela de Nava. According to the inquisitors, all of the women confessed to having participated in a initiation ceremony in which the devil had promised to save them and to give them “glory and possessions in this life” in exchange for their loyalty.³⁹

The inquisitor’s renditions of the women’s supposed confessions establish a direct correlation between acquisition of wealth and supposed religious deviance. If “confessions” allowed inquisitors to declare the accused guilty and sentenced her to confiscation of all her property as part of her punishment, as noted earlier, they expected in this case as in others to

³⁸ “Porque siéndolo tendría mucha riqueza con que saldría de miseria.” f. 341v, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

³⁹ The formula in every case was: “para salvarla y darle la gloria y muchos bienes en esta vida.” See ff. 322v-323, 324, 326, 328, 336v-337, 338v-339, 340, 342v, 344, 344v, 348, 353v. The inquisitors’ rendition of the women’s supposed confessions suggest that formerly enslaved women who wished to acquire or increase their wealth defied Cartagena’s socio-racial hierarchies and gendered assumptions about rights to personal wealth and property ownership. The historiography of race and witchcraft in Cartagena has emphasized the subversion of racial and social hierarchies through female sexuality and power over male desire, as well as witchcraft as a form of resistance. See: Von Germeten, *Violent Delights*; McKnight, “The Three Trials of Paula de Eguluz,” Adriana Maya, *Brujería y reconstrucción de identidades*. For parallel arguments about the case of eighteenth-century Mexico, see for instance: Ruth Behar, “Sex and Sin, Witchcraft and the Devil in Late Colonial Mexico,” *American Ethnologist* 14:1 (1987): 34-54. Diana Luz Ceballos Gómez has highlighted the patterns of racialized prosecution in Cartagena, by which the Inquisition stigmatized groups that threatened the social order, especially women of African descent, by accusing them of witchcraft rather than sorcery. Ceballos Gómez, *Hechicería, brujería e inquisición*. Social historians of witchcraft in other geographic settings have underscored the role of female wealth and property holding as a factor that made women vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft. See: Valerie A. Kivelson, *Desperate Magic: The Moral Economy of Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), especially Chapter 1.

retain any income that the *depositario* had gained from renting out the house where the person used to live, if she owned it. The house would then yield further income for the Inquisition when it was sold at auction, especially since most buyers in this time and place acquired such houses on credit. Confiscation of houses and other types of real estate enabled the Inquisition to become a modest but not insubstantial credit institution. Confiscation allowed the tribunal to sustain itself and to strengthen its local role and economic ties by financing economic activities that offered virtually immediate benefit to Cartagena residents. In return, the Inquisition not only received periodical income, but also economic relationships that extended into the future, as borrowers were expected to pay back in installments over time.

Most of the Cartagena residents who purchased the women's houses at auction did so through credit. Some of these credit lines remained unpaid eighteen years later, as account books of the Holy Office in Cartagena drawn in 1652 show. The account books also demonstrate that the sale of these women's houses in 1634 were the first sources of income acquired through credit by the Inquisition. The list of properties and *censos* in this account book begins with three entries regarding the houses that the first inquisitors purchased in 1610. The entries that follow (entries four through seven, and nine through sixteen) correspond to the credit lines (*censos*) through which buyers acquired the houses of the women accused of "witchcraft." Entry seven for instance, describes the debt of Marina de Aday and her son, Simón Antonio de Aday, for "a plot of land and what is built on it [...] which belonged to Juana de Ortensio, *negra horra*, [who was] reconciled by this Holy Office [...] in the *auto de fe* of March 26, 1634."⁴⁰ The tribunal's

⁴⁰ Entry seven for instance, reads: Tiene el tribunal por bienes suyos propios un censo redimible de ciento ochenta pesos de principal y por ellos nueve de monta en cada un año a razón de veinte mil el millar que pagan Marina de Aday y Simon Antonio de Aday presbítero su hijo vecinos de esta ciudad que empezó a correr el catorce de octubre de 1634, impuesto y situado sobre un pedazo de solar y lo en el edificado que está en la calle de la Ceiba de esta ciudad y fue de Juana

financial records for following years show that the properties inquisitors did not sell still generated income through rental. The house in the Calle San Juan that they confiscated from Ana María de Robles, for instance, became the first of ten houses the Inquisition of Cartagena acquired and rented to artisans until at least the 1670s.⁴¹

When the inquisitors' sentence included confiscation, the *depositario* transferred the custody of the property to the *receptor* of the Holy Office, in the presence of a notary who recorded and certified the transfer. The inscription of this transaction also legitimized the act of confiscation by which the Inquisition became the legal owner of the property. At this stage, the *depositario* reported any losses, expenses, or income he had acquired from the seized property while the suspect was on trial. In the case before us, however, there were circumstances to record. After the inquisitors of Cartagena declared Dorotea de Palma guilty of witchcraft in March of 1634, her husband, Joan de Padilla (described as *mulato*), declared that Dorotea de Palma's son and sister had lived in Dorotea's house from the time of her arrest. For that reason, Joan de Padilla declared that he had not received any income from renting out the house.⁴²

Unlike Joan de Padilla, the *depositario* of the property of Teodora de Salcedo, *negra horra*, extracted value from her house by renting it out to different people between October 1632, when the Inquisition officials arrested her, and March 1634, when the inquisitors declared

de Ortensio negra horra vecina della [...] que fue reconciliada por este santo oficio[...] en el auto de fe del 26 de marzo de 1634. Libro becerro del tribunal de la Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias (1652), doc. 7, *libro 97*, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴¹ The Cartagena tribunal offered credit mostly in form of *censos*. For the Cartagena Inquisition's rental records, see: Juntas de Hacienda, *leg.* 4821, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴² “Y que en quanto a la casa del secresto el dho Juan de Padilla dixo no haver vivido en ella, - y que en las dha casa vivieron desde la prisión al Remate un hijo de la dha Dorotea de Palma, porque es suya, y también ha vivido con él su tía del muchacho q se llama Mariana de la Rua, hermana de la dha Dorotea de Palma, y ansi no ha ganado alquileres ningunos.” Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, f. 91.

her guilty of witchcraft and sentenced her to confiscation of all her property. The house in question was located near the Plaza de los Jagüeyes, in the neighborhood of the same name. The *depositario*, a man named Joan de Ayala (probably a neighbor, as Teodora was said to live “across the street from Ayala’s wife”), reported that he had rented the house to a Joan Correa, a blind man, who lived in it for three months and payed 6 *pesos* each month. He then reported that the house was uninhabited for four months before he rented it to Juan Estevan, “an old man who sold clothes on the streets,” also for six *pesos* monthly. Juan Estevan lived in the house for four months. The *depositario* said that the house had been uninhabited again before “a man named Diego González” rented it for eight months. In total, the *depositario* reported an income of ninety *pesos* from rentals.⁴³

Some *depositarios* incurred maintenance and repair expenses undertaken in order to maximize rental income. The reports they produced before inquisition scribes offer a glimpse into the ways in which local life and commerce, far from ceasing with an arrest and seizure of property by the Inquisition, were carefully maintained. Seized property produced revenue that *depositarios* might then re-invest in order to increase the value of real estate. At the same time, by procedurally insisting on the maintenance and repair of seized property such as a house the Inquisition normalized itself, quite literally seizing the opportunity to become more integrated in

⁴³ Unfortunately, the reports do not offer information on renters, other than noting their name and sometimes their occupation. “- Primeramente se alquiló la dha casa a Joan Correa ciego, en 6 pesos cada mes que corre el dho mes desde 1 de octubre de 1632 y estuvo ocupada tres meses que fue hasta fin de diciembre del dho año ... cuenta 18 pesos.” In her denunciation of Teodora de Salcedo, Paula de Eguiluz identified the location of Teodora’s house: “Y declara por descargo de su conciencia que Teodora negra libre que vive frontero de la mujer de Ayala es bruja.” Proceso de fe de Paula de Eguiluz, bloque 2, ff. 33-33v.- Estuvo vacía la dha casa por 4 meses. - Y alquilose la dha casa a Juan (31) Estevan, que era un hombre viejo que vendía ropa por las calles, a 6 pesos cada mes, desde 1 de mayo de 1633 y la tuvo ocupada 4 meses, hasta fin de agosto... cuenta 24 pesos.” Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, 30v-31.

the economic life of the city through a stewardship of property and by generating new demand for local construction materials and labor.⁴⁴

The *depositario* of Teodora de Salcedo's seized property reported that he had invested funds in order to make her house suitable for rental. He said that he had paid five *pesos*—nearly a month's rent—to a carpenter for making and mounting the house's front door. He then reported the expenses incurred for the repair of the wall/fence that surrounded the plot of land in which the house was located. The wall was made of *bahareque* (wattle and daub), both a material and an indigenous building technique consisting of adjacent trunks of wood or cane—usually *guadua* bamboo (*Guadua angustifolia*)—tied together and filled or plastered with a mixture of soil, straw or twigs, and water (for an example, see Figure 1).

Although the structure of the wall was modest, its repair and upkeep were beneficial to local and regional micro-economies, as the *depositario*'s report suggests. He said that he had spent two *pesos* for cane; one *peso* for the vegetable fiber (*bejuco*) used for tying the canes together; four *reales* for the person who had transported the cane from the harbor to the house, in a wagon, and the same amount to the *morenos* (unclear if they were enslaved or free) who had repaired the *bahareque*. The notary also recorded expenses related to the repair of the house's roof, as the tiles leaked, and the enhancement of a fence that surrounded the kitchen, which was located outside the house, adjacent to the *bahareque* wall that enclosed the plot of land.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ For examples of these reports in Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas see ff. 88v-92, 120v, 128-130v.

⁴⁵ For a definition of *bahareque* and its symbolic and material significance in Cartagena, as well as the commercial networks that tied the city to the hinterlands, see Chapter 4.

“Memoria de los gastos que se hicieron:

- 5 pesos costó la puerta que está a la calle que puso el carpintero con que se cierra la dha casa y poderse alquilar.

- Para los reparos de los bahareques que caen a la calle que es la cerca que tiene la dha casa por



Figure 1: Example of wattle and daub construction method. Photograph by MrPanyGoff, distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e5/Wattle_and_daub_construction.jpg

estar rotos y desbaratados para cercarla compré 8 haces de cañas que costaron 2 pesos para poderse alquilar la dha casa.

- Por el bejuco para amarrar la dha cerca de las dhas cañas que costó 1 peso.
- Del acarreto de llevar las dhas cañas a la dha casa desde el muelle 4 reales.
- A los morenos que hicieron el dho bahareque y cerca a la dha calle 4 reales.
- Por tener necesidad de trastexarse la dha casa por estar lloviéndose de goteras se trastejó y pagué al albañil 1 peso.
- se gastó un peso para cercar la cocina que cae y linda con la cerca que se hizo de la dha casa a la calle.
- Del acarreto de llevar las cañas un real y medio a una carreta.
- Mas 4 reales de bejuco.
- Se compraron más 6 haces de cañas porque faltó en las que se compraron antes y no hubo harto para la dha obra [de la cocina], que costaron 12 reales mas 2 reales de la carreta.
- A los negros que hicieron la dha cerca tres reales y medio.
- Mas 4 reales de bejuco porque no hubo harto en el que se había llevado antes.” Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, 31v-32.

The *depositario* of the property of the African-born Catalina de Otavio was her husband, a formerly enslaved man named Pedro Anxico. He reported to Inquisition officials that during the time his wife had been in custody, he had received thirteen *pesos* for the sale of four heads of cattle that she owned, along with some hens and chickens, and five pitchers (*botijas*) containing rice. He also declared that he had given the earnings to his former owner, Juan Baptista de Segovia, who signed the declaration in Pedro Anxico's name. Juan Baptista de Segovia also lent Pedro Anxico thirty-six *pesos*, which he spent paying for repairs to the house where Catalina de Otavio lived before her arrest, as the *bahareque* was falling to pieces and "some canes and sticks had been stolen and burned by neighbors."⁴⁶

Public auction and debates over property rights

Following the Inquisition's verdict of guilt, if the sentence included confiscation, the *receptor* of the Holy Office proceeded to sell the property at a public auction that took place in Cartagena's main square. In addition to transforming the confiscated property into actual wealth for the Tribunal, the public announcement of a forthcoming auction also provided third persons with the opportunity to claim property rights over a given commodity. Debates over property rights in the financial records of the Inquisition of Cartagena show how its officials expanded the parameters of their jurisdiction by claiming the authority to review legal documents produced by other institutions. In the process, the inquisitors also tested the limits of their power to disrupt some communities, while cultivating social ties and political alliances with others. When Juan

⁴⁶ "por estar cayéndose y ser de bahareque y haber hurtado y quemado la vecindad algunos palos y cañas." Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, ff. 130- 130v. The reference to Juan Baptista de Segovia as the former master of Pedro Anxico is in *folio* 147v.

Ortíz had arrested Catalina de Otavio, she had declared that she had a plot of land with a house in it, located on the calle de la Cruz, near the houses of Dorotea de Palma and Teodora de Salcedo. Catalina de Otavio then clarified that she owned the house, but that the plot of land belonged to her husband. Since she was the rightful owner of the building and the land according to the property titles, her husband started a lawsuit in order to avoid confiscation of the land by the Holy Office. Pedro Anxico explained that he had bought the plot of land when he was still enslaved, and since slaves were not allowed to own property, the titles were notarized in his wife's name.⁴⁷

Pedro Anxico brought witnesses and produced notarial records such as property titles, sale deeds, and freedom papers in order to support his claim. The notarial records, as well as the lawsuit itself, suggest that what was at stake was not only Pedro Anxico's right to property, but also his permanence in a community and network of formerly enslaved people in Cartagena. The sale deed for the plot of land, for instance, shows that Pedro Anxico bought it from a *moreno horro* named Agustín Martín, who lived in adjacent houses. The notary also labeled some of the neighbors, such as Juana de Boloria and Pantaleón Mendoza, as *morenos horros*. In the lawsuit, the witnesses who described Pedro Anxico's capacity to purchase the land had also been formerly enslaved. Their own narratives in testimony suggest familiarity with the history of Catalina de Otavio and Pedro Anxico's legal status in Cartagena. They described Pedro Anxico's work as overseer on his former master's farm, and his ability to make profits by renting out two

⁴⁷ "Secresto y almoneda de los bienes de Catalina de Otavio y partición con Pedro Anxico su marido," Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, ff. 141-170.

mules that he owned. According to witnesses' testimonies, he had even purchased his wife's freedom before buying the plot of land, and before acquiring his own freedom papers in 1628.⁴⁸

Pedro Anxico succeeded in demonstrating his right to half of his wife's property on the basis of marital property, and the Inquisitors duly affirmed his right to receive a proportional share of the sales. However, he did not get to keep the house amidst his neighbors nor the plot of land to which he had claim, both of which appear to have been most desirable properties. While two or three people expressed interest in buying the houses that the Inquisition had confiscated from the other women, no fewer than eight different people, some of them prominent residents of Cartagena, made offers when the *receptor* sold Catalina de Otavio and Pedro Anxico's properties at auction. The highest bidder was Don Gregorio de Banquésel, one of the wealthiest men in the city.⁴⁹

As in the cases of Catalina de Otavio and Pedro Anxico, the Inquisition confiscated property from other members of the community of free and formerly enslaved persons of African descent who lived on the calle de la Cruz and in its neighborhood. Of the sixteen women whose property was confiscated in this occasion, ten owned houses or plots of land. Eight of those were located in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood, half on calle de la Cruz and the other half on plaza de los

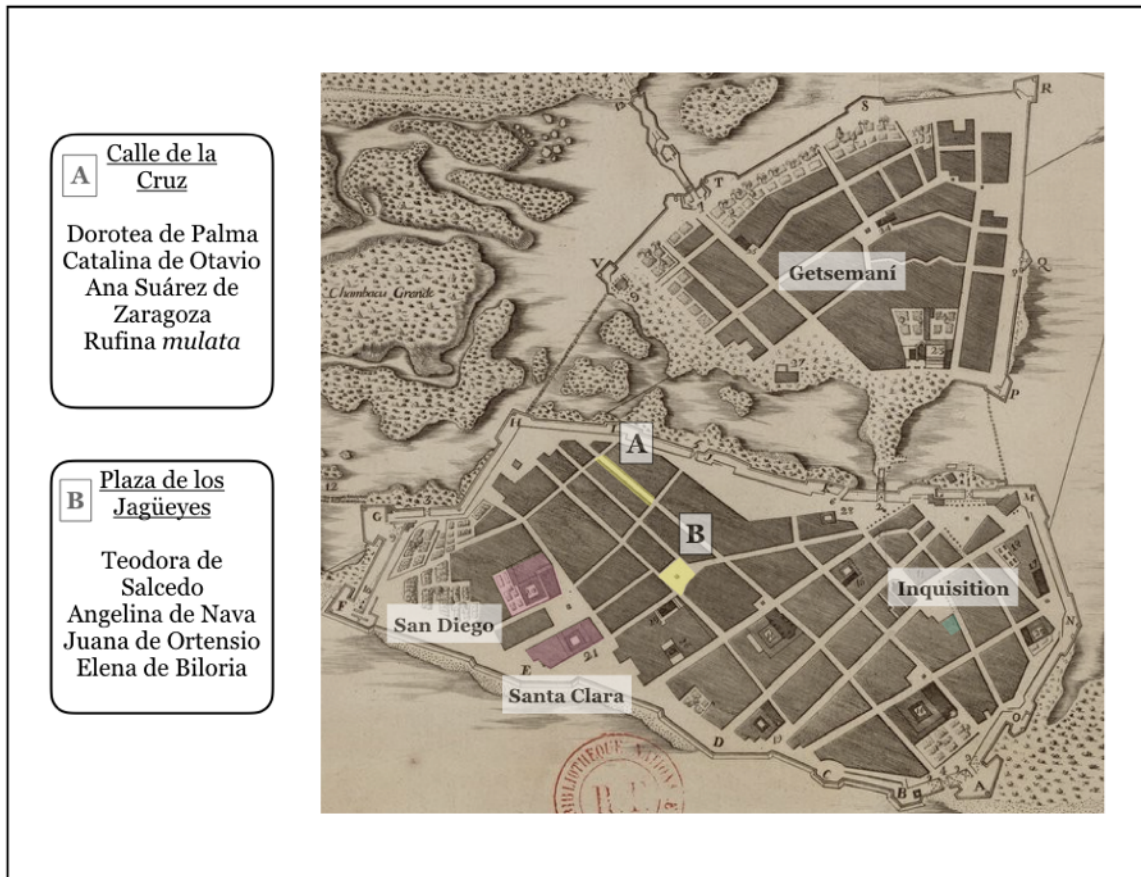
⁴⁸ Catalina de Otavio and Pedro Anxico purchased the plot of land for 230 pesos in 1611. They paid 140 pesos in cash and they borrowed the remaining 90 pesos from one Salvador de Bustos, described as *moreno horro*. Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, ff. 128, 147v. The questions for the witnesses are in folios 154v-155. Pedro Anxico's former owner, Juan Baptista de Segovia, provided testimony about Pedro Anxico's labor as captain and overseer of other enslaved workers in Segovia's *estancia*. See folios 156v-157. For Pedro Anxico's freedom papers, see ff. 161-162.

⁴⁹ The verdict is in Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas, ff. 165-170. On the Banquésel family, of Flemish origins, and their role as bankers in Cartagena, see Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región*, 255-258.

Jagüeyes.⁵⁰ The two remaining houses, which belonged to Elena de la Cruz (“*criolla*”) and Ana María de Robles (“*negra libre*”), were located in Santo Domingo neighborhood and Getsemaní, respectively (see Map 2).⁵¹

⁵⁰ There are no comprehensive studies of the history of Los Jagüeyes during this period, to the best of my knowledge. The neighborhood obtained its name from the convent that Franciscans began to build there in 1608, when the area was “a poor neighborhood.” The main benefactor of this convent was the Portuguese merchant and slave trader Jorge Fernández Gramaxo, as Chapter 1 shows. Mantilla, *Los Franciscanos*, 76-77. For more on Gramaxo see: Vila Vilar, “Extranjeros,” 165-167. During the first four decades of the seventeenth century, San Diego was populated by artisans and specialized laborers: Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 26, 243. At least one private house where captains of slave ships lodged African captives after they entered the city in the 1620s was located near San Diego. Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 146.

⁵¹ The women who owned houses on calle de la Cruz were Dorotea de Palma (“*negra horra*”), Catalina de Otavio (“*negra horra*”), Ana Suárez de Zaragoza (“*negra libre*,” free black), and Rufina (“*mulata*”). The properties of Teodora de Salcedo (“*negra horra*”), Angelina de Nava (“*negra*”), Juana de Ortensio (“*negra horra*”), and Elena de Biloría (“*negra horra*”) were located on plaza de los Jagüeyes. For the location of Ana Suárez de Zaragoza’s house, see Libro becerro del Tribunal de Cartagena, f. 23, no. 11, *libro 97*, Inquisición, AHN. For the location of Elena de Biloría’s house, see f. 33, no. 16, *libro 97*, Inquisición, AHN. The references to location of the other women’s houses and plots of land are in Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.



Map 2: Cartagena, Getsemaní, and location of houses. The city wall ran around the urban area on the bottom of the map (geographic West). Source: *Plano de la Ciudad de Cartagena de las Indias*/Cs. Bargas *delineavit*; Cs. Casanova *Cxt*, 1735. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The auctions took place on the days following the *auto de fe* of March 26, 1634 in Cartagena's main square, where the Inquisition's headquarters were located. As recorded by scribes, the auction formulas employed by town criers (usually described as "negros") at the beginning of the public auction included specific references to the location of each house by indicating the name of the street where it was located, and sometimes the names and occupations

of next-door neighbors. Town criers also offered a description of the materials that each house was made of.⁵²

The auction and sale records suggest that Los Jagüeyes had a mixed population, as some of the women lived in close proximity to Spanish officials and their descendants. For instance, Pedro de Quintanilla, an Inquisition official and attorney of the Santa Clara nuns, lived in a house located on the plaza de los Jagüeyes, the same plaza where convicted “witches” Teodora de Salcedo, Angelina de Nava, Juana de Ortensio, and Elena de Boloria owned houses.⁵³ While Pedro de Quintanilla did not acquire any of the women’s confiscated land or houses, other neighbors in Los Jagüeyes expanded their holdings by purchasing these properties at auction.⁵⁴ A similar pattern occurred with the properties located on Calle de la Cruz, near Plaza de los Jagüeyes, whose buyers were members of the city council, clergymen, and bankers, as the sale records indicate.⁵⁵

⁵² When auctioning the house that used to belong to Teodora de Salcedo, for example, the town crier described it as “a house of wood and tile,” adjacent to “the houses of Salvador de Torres,” on Plaza de los Jagüeyes. August 30, 1634, f. 15, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*. At the auction of the property of Ana María de Robles, the town crier described her house as “a small house of wood, tile, and canes,” located on Calle de San Juan in Getsemaní. One of the neighbors was one Alonso de Portillo, described as a waxworker (“cerero”). September 1, 1634, ff. 45-46, 56v, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*.

⁵³ ff. 107, 20, and 68v respectively, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*. See also *Juicio civil de Antonio de Berrocal contra las monjas de Santa Clara, 1630-1631*, ff. 402-529, *documento 6*, *legajo 2*, Fincas de Bolívar, AGN.

⁵⁴ The *almoneda*, or auction records, of the houses of Theodora de Salcedo, Ana María de Robles, Juana de Ortensio, and Angelina de Nava show that their next-door neighbors (Pedro de Guzmán, Simón Antonio de Aday, Alonso de Portillo) purchased these women’s houses. See: ff. 20, 50, 113v, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*.

⁵⁵ Don Joan de Atienza, councilman (“*alcalde ordinario*”) bought Rufina’s house; Gregorio de Banquésel bought Catalina de Otavio’s; the notary did not provide the occupation of Juan Lozano, who bought the houses of Dorotea de Palma and Ana Suárez de Zaragoza. Priest Simón Antonio de Aday bought Juana de Ortensio’s house. ff. 255, 135, 95, 113v, respectively. *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*.

The process of auctioning confiscated properties allowed the Inquisition to transform these properties into liquid capital by re-integrating them into the local economy as commodities, shaping multiple tiers of economic activity in Cartagena. While the Inquisition deprived those accused and convicted of a wide variety of errors, it also benefited people of all ranks by offering (and re-distributing) an array of goods at accessible prices and generating income for the Tribunal even in cases in which the person sentenced to confiscation did not own real estate. Rather than tracing the stages in the *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas* file as a whole, the following section focuses on the case of Juana Fernández Gramajo, described as *negra horra*, one of the women who did not own real estate. It follows some of the goods in her inventory as they re-entered the local economy as they were auctioned by the Inquisition, showing the ways in which luxury and everyday goods fed a variety of micro-economies, including supplies that buyers would transform and integrate again into local markets. Finally, the section illustrates the methodological possibilities and limitations of this kind of Inquisition record as a source for piecing together fragments of the stories of individuals and their social and material lives.

Juana Fernández Gramajo and Cartagena's economic fabric

On the night of Wednesday, September 6, 1632, *alguacil* Juan Ortíz apprehended Juana Fernández Gramajo (sometimes “de Gramajo”), a native of Cartagena.⁵⁶ As was often the case in Cartagena, Juana may have adopted her former owner’s surnames, and been enslaved in the household of the prominent Cartagena trader in African captives Jorge Fernández Gramajo.

⁵⁶Arrest of Juana Fernández Gramajo, f. 344, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

Alternatively, she may have been designated by that surname through some other process associating her with the well-known family.⁵⁷

Juana Fernández Gramajo lived across the street from the female convent of Santa Clara, in a room or *aposeno* in a house that she did not own.⁵⁸ When Juan Ortíz asked her to declare the property she owned, Juana Fernández Gramajo named only a few specific possessions, perhaps those that were most obvious to the men taking inventory of everything in the room: “a box with her clothes, the bed in which she sleeps, and everything else that is in her *aposeno*.”⁵⁹ The domestic space that Juana inhabited may have been arranged around the most voluminous item listed in the inventory of her property: an old bed made of cedar wood, with a mattress made of, or wrapped in, the fabric of the fiber *cañamazo* (canvas).⁶⁰ To dress her bed, she had

⁵⁷ The Portuguese Jorge Fernández Gramajo traded in African captives, at least since 1610 (Doc. 12, leg. 14, Negros y Esclavos de Bolívar, AGN). For his role in the construction of the Franciscan convent of San Diego in Cartagena, see Chapter One. He was a member of the city council in 1617 (Joan de Barros to the King, Cartagena, April 13, 1617, leg. 243, Santa Fe, AGI). The civil authorities of Cartagena suspected that Gramajo, as they referred to him, engaged in contraband of enslaved people and goods in his *estancia*, which was located near the port of Cartagena: n. 46, R. 3, leg. 17, Panamá, AGI; and N. 63, R. 1, leg. 17, Panamá, AGI. See: Antonino Vidal Ortega, “Jorge Fernández Gramajo. Un modelo de poderoso comerciante esclavos. La versatilidad del negrero,” in *Cartagena de Indias*, 135-145.

⁵⁸ Proceso de fe de Paula de Eguiluz, f. 33, bloque 2, exp. 10, leg. 1620, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵⁹ “Dijo que lo que tiene son una caja con su ropa y la cama en que duerme y todo lo que se hallare en el dho aposento y que no tiene otros ningunos,” f. 1v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

⁶⁰ “Primeramente una cuxa de cedro; un colchón de cañamazo; una sábana; una almohada de damasco con su lana,” f. 1v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. In her translation of fragments of these inventories, Nicole Von Germeten translates “cuxa” as box, perhaps because of this term’s similarity with the Spanish “caja,” often spelled “caxa” in these records. However, it is more likely that *cuxa* in this context refers to the structure of a bed: “CUXA. Significa también el lecho o armadura de la cama,” *Diccionario de Autoridades*, tomo II, 1729. There is no other entry for *cama* (bed) in the inventory of Juana’s property. See: Nicole Von Germeten, “African Women’s Possessions: Inquisition Inventories in Cartagena de Indias,” in *Documenting Latin America. Gender, Race, and Empire. Volume 1*, eds. Erin O’Connor and Leo Garofalo (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2011), 103-110. In this collection of primary sources, Von Germeten offers

one sheet, a cotton blanket, and a damask pillow.⁶¹ Lying somewhere in the room, perhaps on one of the wooden boxes that she owned, or over one of her two chairs, Juana Fernández Gramajo had a linen or canvas (*lienzo*) bodice, a sash or girdle (*faja*) made of cotton, a vicuña hat, and a skirt made of a type of heavy wool called *perpetuán*, dyed in a dark yellow color reminiscent of lion fur and adorned with a small snail-shaped accessory made of gold.⁶²

Secretary Juan Ortíz found other objects inside boxes, such as pendants of gold “with glass and five pearls,” a small silver image of the Baby Jesus (*Niño Jesús*), colorful bracelets made of large and small glass beads, and a necklace with “thirty one beads of gold with an image and some small pearls” that Juana Fernández Gramajo kept in a Flanders-style box.⁶³ Other religious objects included: two *Agnus Dei* figures, a container for holy water, and a statue of Saint Anthony (most likely San Antonio de Padua) “that was very old and broken and without one arm.” While the Inquisition made a small profit by auctioning the jewels and the images of the Christ Child and the *Agnus Dei* after Juana’s trial, the figure of Saint Anthony, which may have been in Juana’s possession for a long time, perhaps with special affective value, remained

transcriptions and translations of sections of the inventories in *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. In Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century*, Alejandro de la Fuente translates *cañamazo* as canvas, but it remains unclear if the term used here refers to cotton-based or hemp-based canvas. In Cuba, canvas was used to clothe enslaved laborers. See pages 32, 33, and 145.

⁶¹ “Una sábana, una manta de algodón, una almohada de damasco,” f. 1v, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*.

⁶² “Un colmillo de lienzo, una faca de algodón, una saya de perpetuán leonado con un caracolillo de oro,” f. 2, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*. See: LEONADO. Lo que es de color rúbio obscuro, semejante al del pelo del León. *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Tomo IV, 1734.

⁶³ “Una cajuela de Flandes con lo siguiente [...] una gargantilla con treinta y una cuentas de oro con imagen y unas perlititas,” f. 2v, *Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas*.

in her family. The Inquisition officials gave the image to Juana's mother, because she said that it belonged to her and that it was worth nothing.⁶⁴

Further clothes and textiles are listed in this inventory, suggesting that Juana made an income by selling fabric, or more probably by making or mending items of clothing. The Inquisition officials noted the presence of unfinished sleeves, scraps of cut textiles (*retazos*), a bundle of buttons, and roles of fabric such as taffeta, the fine and colorful *ruan* (a cotton fabric made in the city of Rouen, France), and a type of linen from Bretagne known as *bretaña*.⁶⁵ She also had a gourd that contained what the officials described as "small stuff of little value," perhaps referring to Juana's sewing accessories.⁶⁶

European fabrics of this kind were significant in the economic life of Cartagena. Merchants located in the city received shipments of black, red, brown, and blue taffeta that business partners sent from Seville. Textiles, including taffeta and Sevillian *damasco*, for instance, were the main commodity that merchant Simón Rodríguez Bueno in Seville sold to his

⁶⁴ "Y el tabernáculo con un San Antonio que era muy viejo y quebrado y sin un brazo se le dio a la madre de la rea por decir que era suyo y no ser de valor," f. 7v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. One Alonso Enriquez bought the image of the Child Jesus for 2 and a half pesos. Brother Antonio de Almazán acquired one of the Agnus Dei figures for one peso, ff. 6-6v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

⁶⁵ See: María Ángeles González Mena, *Colección pedagógico-textil de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Estudio e inventario* (Madrid: Consejo Social de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1994). The inventory of the property of Barbula de Albornoz, also in this file, shows that she owned unfinished sleeves. However, the absence of roles or scraps of fabric suggests that she may have sewn for her own consumption, or that she worked in a place different from her dwelling. See: f. 36v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

⁶⁶ "Una totuma con menudencias de poca consideración," f. 3, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. In the inventory of the property of Rafaela de Nava, the scribe noted "a gourd with rosary beads and brass thimbles" ("una totuma con rosarios y dedales de azófar"), f. 81, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

business partner Juan Rodríguez Mesa in 1637.⁶⁷ Another merchant established in Cartagena, one Gonzalo de Herrera, sent local products such as gold, emeralds, tortoiseshell, indigo, and leather to his brother-in-law in Seville. The latter sold these products in Cadiz, Genoa, and Holland and acquired fabrics such as ruan and *olanes* (from Holland), which he later shipped to Cartagena.⁶⁸ Textiles figure prominently in the inventories of some of the other women. In addition to taffeta, *ruán*, and *perpetuán*, Teodora de Salcedo, for instance, also owned two pieces of blue “Guinea cloth,” presumably the European or Indian fabric used in the trade on the West African coast. Angelina de Nava (also known as “de Guinea”), another of the women sentenced to confiscation, owned a skein of blue Guinea thread. A prominent Cartagena resident, Don Fernando de Orellana, bought the skein at auction for nine *reales*. He also bought a small scapular of blue taffeta, with a silver adornment, for four *reales*.⁶⁹

Local buyers of all ranks were eager to bargain for textiles and items of clothing made from them at the Inquisition’s periodic auctions. People of high social status such as Don Luis de Cussia, for instance, bought an unfinished skirt for four *pesos* and two *reales*, while the town crier, a man referred to as “Joseph *negro*,” purchased a finished skirt of purple *perpetuán* for five

⁶⁷ Pleito civil de Simón Rodríguez Bueno, f. 10, exp. 5, leg. 1636, Inquisición, AHN.

⁶⁸ Proceso criminal contra Antonio Ramírez de los Reyes, ff. 5-15v, exp. 2, leg. 1616, Inquisición, AHN. For a study of the leather industry in Cartagena and its role in local and Atlantic trade networks, see Chapter 4.

⁶⁹ “Dos paños de Guinea azules,” f. 11v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. Lacking further description of this kind of textile, it is impossible to know if “pañó de Guinea” actually came to Cartagena from West Africa in the ships of the trade in captives. However, Linda Newson and Susie Minchin have identified an African-made “pano azul” (blue cloth) that was sold on the Upper Guinea coast between 1613 and 1618. Among the European textiles sold on the Upper Guinea coast during the same period, were olan, perpetuán, ruan, and jergueta, another type of cloth commonly listed in the Inquisition’s inventories. Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 313- 314. Don Fernando de Orellana also bought a small scapular of blue taffeta, with a silver adornment, for 4 reales. He put an offer on Angelina de Nava’s house, but did not buy it in the end. f. 68v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

pesos, and an old cotton blanket sold for one *peso*. The auction of the property of Juana Fernández Gramajo may have also benefited her erstwhile competitors in the local economy: Juan de Mesa, *moreno*, for example, acquired a small, unfinished shirt of *ruan*, a scrape of taffeta, two sleeves that were halfway finished, two more sleeves ready to be made, and a small bag containing relics, all for three and half *pesos*.⁷⁰

Even old items and ragged pieces of clothing and textiles found their way back into different filaments of Cartagena's local economy through the auction process. One Juan Francisco de Meneses paid four *pesos* for "an old and ragged cloak," for instance, and another man, identified by the scribe as Francisco *negro*, bought a pair of "very old" *calzones* (underpants) for two *reales*.⁷¹ The old cedar bed where Juana Fernández Gramajo used to sleep was sold to a captain named Melchior Núñez de Rojas for four *pesos*, and one of the chairs she had owned was sold for two and a half *pesos*.⁷² In one rare instance, the *almoneda* record offers a glimpse of how a buyer intended to use the ragged bedsheets he purchased at auction. As recorded by the scribe, one Francisco Gutiérrez paid one *peso* for "two bedsheets ragged and torn to pieces, for threads."⁷³ In a port city dependent on seasonal markets, repeated shortages meant that very few items were worthless in Cartagena.

⁷⁰ ff. 7-8v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. People who benefited from the auctions included Inquisition officials and public notaries. Notary Francisco López Nieto, for instance, purchased "cuatro camisas y tres sábanas y cuatro almohadas chicas y grandes, todo viejo y muy roto, en 8 pesos con unos calzones viejos y rotos," f. 26, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas. This notary also acquired credit from the Inquisition. See: *libro 97*, Inquisición, AHN. Rafaela de Nava, another of the women accused of witchcraft, also owned what the scribe described as a bag of relics. f. 80, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

⁷¹ f. 68v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

⁷² f. 8, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

⁷³ "Rematáronse dos sábanas rotas hechas pedaços para hilos en Fran^{co} Gutiérrez en un peso." f. 68v, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

Epilogue

In addition to confiscation of the women's property, the Inquisitors sentenced Juana Fernández Gramajo and the others to punishments that included wearing a penitential garment, time in prison, and lashes. Finally, the women were sentenced to several years' temporary banishment from Cartagena and any other locations where they could have had the support of family or friends. Ana María de Robles, the native of Santo Domingo who had owned a house in Getsemaní, for instance, was sentenced to banishment from the bishoprics of Cartagena and Santo Domingo for a period of three years. As the surviving Inquisition records do not include information about whether or not this part of the sentence was executed, it is impossible to know where the women went, and if they ever returned to Cartagena.⁷⁴

Crucially, the Inquisition also seized the freedom papers that had been in possession of some of them at the time of their arrest. Luisa Domínguez, *negra horra*, for instance, had two *cartas de libertad* (freedom papers) in her possession at the time of her arrest. The first one recorded Luisa Domínguez's purchase of her own freedom for 250 *pesos*, which she had paid to her former owner, a surgeon named Diego López, in 1630. The second one was a *carta de libertad* that the same Diego López had granted to one Ana Bañol (a West-African ethnonym) "for her good services and love" in 1629.⁷⁵ Unlike the houses, plots of land, furniture, jewelry

⁷⁴ f. 347, *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

⁷⁵ While the Inquisition record does not offer clues about the relationship between Luisa Domínguez and Ana Bañol, nor an indication of whether Ana Bañol lived in the same household as Luisa Domínguez, the fact that Luisa Domínguez kept Ana Bañol's freedom papers does suggest close kinship or friendship ties between both women. Perhaps Luisa Domínguez was the daughter of Ana Bañol. See: f. 285, Inventarios, almonedas y cuentas.

and textiles, the freedom papers disappear from the Inquisition's record in the stages subsequent to the inventory and seizure of the property. Any conclusions about the women's ability to maintain their legal status as they moved to other provinces are necessarily speculative. Did the inquisitors return the freedom papers to the women at one stage or another? Were they allowed to carry the fragile but indispensable proof of their legal status as they faced life away from the communities in which they had been rooted?

Chapter Three

“They Can Sustain the Trade of the Blacks”: Economic Networks and the Boundaries of Religious Repression in Seventeenth-Century Cartagena de Indias

Introduction

On March 25, 1638, the main square of Cartagena de Indias was filled to capacity as early as six in the morning. Surrounded by the multitude, a military squadron formed a broad, diagonal corridor across the square, from the gate of the Inquisition’s palace to the cathedral. The soldiers, facing one another, held banners that enhanced the pomp and solemnity of the occasion. Meanwhile, the highest religious and civil authorities of Cartagena waited in the cathedral, occupying seats designated according to each man’s rank. Few other events altered the rhythms of daily life in the city as this one did: an *auto de fe*, a solemn ceremony in which Inquisition officials read the sentences to the accused. The last time that a similar ceremony had taken place in Cartagena was four years earlier, when the tribunal of the Inquisition publicly declared twenty-one women of African descent guilty of “witchcraft” and sentenced them to serve time in jail, temporary banishment from Cartagena, and confiscation of all their property.¹

This time it was men--Francisco de Heredia, Luis Fernández Suárez, Francisco Piñero, Juan del Campo, Manuel de Fonseca Henríquez, Francisco Rodríguez Solís, Duarte López, and Juan Rodríguez Mesa--who were marched in procession from the Inquisition’s palace to the

¹ Relación del auto de fe celebrado en la iglesia mayor de Cartagena de las Indias [1634], *libro* 1020, Inquisición, AHN.

cathedral, wearing penitential garments. Blas de Paz Pinto, who had died before the *auto de fe*, was represented by a statue bearing a sign with his name. The men were all natives of Portugal, and none of them had been seen in public since the time of their arrest and detention in the Inquisition's jails two years earlier, in 1636. These significant convictions, however, cast a shadow over a larger group of suspects whom inquisitors acquitted of the same charge.²

The accused heard their sentences one by one. The inquisitors declared them guilty of "Judaizing," or the secret practice of Judaism by baptized Christians. Inquisition secretary Juan de Uriarte Araoz, for instance, read the sentence against Juan Rodríguez Mesa. As a punishment for "Judaizing," the inquisitors had sentenced him to three years in prison (wearing a penitential garment), permanent banishment from *las Indias*, and confiscation of all his property.

Juan Rodríguez Mesa, like most of the other men who heard their sentences that day, was a prominent member of Cartagena society, a key player in the economic life of the city, and one of the most important participants in the local trade in African captives. Originally from the Portuguese village of Estremoz, he had settled in Cartagena around 1627, where he worked as an agent for the ships that brought captives from West Africa.³ He purchased captives in Cartagena and sold them later, through intermediaries, in Lima and Panama. Rodríguez Mesa then re-invested some of the income in other businesses, including the shipping industry of the city. For instance, he owned a frigate that sailed the route between New Spain and Cartagena, and another ship used for the naval defense of the city. In 1627, he financed the repair of a ship that arrived

² Relación del auto de fe de 1638, ff. 4-16v, libro 1021, Inquisición, AHN. For the confiscation of the women's property, see Chapter Two.

³ "Es agente de los navíos de negros que entran en esta ciudad," Governor Diego de Escobar to the King, Cartagena, August 5, 1627, N. 19, R. 2, leg. 39, Santa Fe, AGI.

from Cape Verde to Cartagena (probably bringing captives).⁴ When the inquisitors of Cartagena reported on the *auto de fe* of 1638 to their superiors at the Suprema, perhaps magnifying some details, they said that when Inquisition notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz read this sentence, the audience was “astonished to see that those who used to be so esteemed, today came to great infamy...”⁵

The convictions and acquittals of members of the commercial elite illuminate the tensions between the religious and the economic interests of the Crown. Indeed, between 1590 and 1640 the Spanish Crown entrusted the supply of African captives to people who were often suspected of religious deviance, thus opening the possibility for the formation of contradictory religious and economic hierarchies in Cartagena, the only authorized port for disembarking African captives legally in Spanish South America.

The tribunal of the Inquisition in Lima, led by Juan de Mañozca (the first inquisitor of Cartagena), had since 1635 intensified the prosecution of Portuguese New Christians, or descendants of Jewish converts to Christianity. Scholars of the Peruvian Inquisition have explained the motivations behind this upsurge in prosecutions of New Christians through a combination of economic, religious, and political factors. As the relations between Spain and Portugal, unified under the Spanish Crown, began to deteriorate, suspicions about the loyalty and orthodoxy of Portuguese residents in Spanish America increased. At the same time, as studies of the activities of the tribunal of the Holy Office in Lima have shown, the prosecutions beginning

⁴ María Cristina Navarrete, *La diáspora judíoconversa en Colombia, siglos XVI y XVII. Incertidumbres de su arribo, establecimiento y persecución* (Cali: Universidad del Valle, 2010), 233, citing leg. 106, Santa Fe, AGI.

⁵ "Leyó esta sentencia el secretario Juan de Uriarte Araoz, leyóla muy bien y el auditorio estuvo con mucha atención y quedó pasmado de ver que los que fueron tan válidos en un tiempo viniesen hoy a la suma infamia, teniendo engañado a este lugar con tanta hipocresía," f. 6v, libro 1021, Inquisición, AHN.

in 1635 were clearly aimed at Portuguese merchants (not Portuguese people in general) whom the Inquisition suspected of practicing Judaism in secret. The studies have suggested, in addition, that the Lima tribunal reached financial stability between 1635 and 1639, after trials against New Christians had culminated in sentences that included, but were not limited to, confiscation of property. The direct influence of events in Peru over Cartagena is clear. As Portuguese New Christians in Lima denounced their business partners in Cartagena as “Judaizers,” and the widespread nature of their networks became visible to inquisitors both in Lima and Cartagena, they characterized the situation as a conspiracy of Judaizers, or “The Great Plot,” *La Gran Complicidad*.⁶

In 1636, Juan Rodríguez Mesa himself had denounced twenty-two other wealthy Portuguese businessmen based in Cartagena to the Inquisition. Juan Rodríguez Mesa had, in turn, been denounced by his cousin Jorge de Silva, a slave trader who resided in Lima.⁷ The Inquisition of Lima had already tried Jorge de Silva and his brother Juan a year earlier on the charge of Judaizing. Although Jorge was later reconciled back into the Church his brother was burned at the stake in 1639.⁸ In Cartagena, Juan Rodríguez Mesa’s denunciations unleashed a

⁶ The hostilities between the Dutch and the Spanish monarchy triggered fears about the loyalty of Portuguese New Christian residents in Spanish America, as many of them had relatives and business partners who had fled the Iberian Peninsula and settled in the Netherlands to avoid persecution by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. Rumors of a secret alliance between New Christians in the Americas and the Netherlands increased after the Dutch established a colony in northeastern Brazil in 1630. Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 156-164; Stuart B. Schwartz, "Panic in the Indies: The Portuguese Threat to the Spanish Empire, 1640-50," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2:1-2 (1993): 165-187; Navarrete, *La diáspora*, 131-155. I thank Stuart Schwartz for this reference.

⁷ “Proceso de fe contra Juan Rodríguez Mesa,” ff. 45r – 45v, leg. 1031, Inquisición, AHN; Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 166.

⁸ Although those reconciled, or *reconciliados*, were admitted back into the Church, they received severe penalties that usually included the confiscation of large portions of their property. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, ix; Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 258.

series of faith trials against Portuguese New Christians, including the men who would hear their sentences in the *auto de fe* of 1638.

As the group of wealthy and powerful merchants walked in processional humiliation across Cartagena's main square in the *auto de fe* of March 25, 1638, the inquisitors of Cartagena were in effect making a public statement of the local power that the tribunal had gradually achieved since its arrival in 1610. Juan Rodríguez Mesa, like the other men accused, was sentenced to serve time in jail, to temporary or permanent banishment from the Indies, and to confiscation of all his property. The sentences not only reflected the Inquisition's zealous efforts to prevent beliefs and behaviors that inquisitors considered "heretical" from spreading in Cartagena, but also the institution's ability to obtain direct access to the main source of wealth in the city: the trade in African captives. From Juan Rodríguez Mesa alone, they confiscated 161,855 *pesos*, of which the Inquisition kept 63,293 after creditors collected debts that Rodríguez Mesa owed.⁹

The Inquisition of Cartagena had applied the punishment of confiscation of property quite selectively during the first decades after the tribunal was established in the city, even though canon law allowed confiscation as a punishment for "heresy," broadly defined. Indeed, between 1610, when the Inquisition was founded in Cartagena, and the *auto de fe* of 1638, ninety-six individuals appeared in *autos de fe*. However, the inquisitors applied the punishment of confiscation of all property only against four suspects of "Judaizing," and against sixteen women

⁹ Navarrete, *La diáspora*, 236. For the inventory of the confiscated property see: Inventario de bienes secuestrados a Juan Rodríguez Mesa, exp. 34, leg. 1601, Inquisición, AHN, and Secuestro de bienes a Juan Rodríguez Mesa, exp. 26, leg. 1601, Inquisición, AHN.

of African descent accused of “witchcraft,” as shown in Chapters One and Two.¹⁰ From this perspective, the sentences of confiscation against the nine wealthy men accused of “Judaizing” in the *auto de fe* of 1638 signalled a success for the inquisitors, who were able to prosecute prominent merchants suspected of religious deviance and to acquire significant amounts of liquid wealth from these confiscations.

However, the pomp and solemnity of the *auto de fe* of 1638 in Cartagena obscures the fact that the Inquisition had achieved only uneven results from their prosecution of the twenty-two business partners whom Juan Rodríguez Mesa had denounced. The inquisitors gave one of the suspects a lighter sentence (*de levi* abjuration and a fine) and declared eight of them innocent.¹¹ They released these nine from the Inquisition’s jails and returned all the property that the tribunal had seized from them at the time of their arrest. The other five trials were suspended. The dramatic convictions thus overshadowed a large number of acquittals. To understand the pressures that led to those acquittals, one must look to the complex role of the trade with West Africa.¹²

¹⁰ For a list of confiscation sentences against suspects who appeared in *autos de fe* before 1638, see: Appendix A.

¹¹ An *abjuración* was a mild punishment in which the sentenced were forced to renounce the heretical behavior of which the Inquisition had declared them guilty. There were two types of abjuración: *de levi*, which applied to minor crimes, and *de vehementi*, when the person was strongly suspected of serious heretical crimes. Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años*, vol. 4, 35.

¹² Historians of the Inquisition in Cartagena have generally concluded that, as in the campaigns against wealthy merchants suspect of religious deviance in Lima and Mexico, the Inquisition in Cartagena was the most successful institution in reducing the number of Portuguese merchants and “eliminating their economic importance” in those districts. See for instance: Navarrete, *La diáspora*, 112-114. For the suspects of Judaizing whom Cartagena inquisitors declared innocent, see: Relación de las causas de fe del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena, de este año de mil y seiscientos y treinta y ocho, libro 1021, Inquisición, AHN. The men whom the Inquisition released were: Francisco de Silva Castillo (f. 37v), García Serrano, (f. 38), Melchor Báez Méndez (f. 38v), Antonio de Acosta (f. 39), Luis Gómez Barreto (f. 40), Antonio Rodríguez

In Cartagena, where multiple economic networks converged, each pulled by the trade in African captives, the inquisitors negotiated between the Spanish Crown's interest in imposing religious orthodoxy throughout its domains, on the one hand, and economic and political interests at the local level, on the other. During the Union of the Iberian Crowns (1580-1640), local residents of Cartagena generally saw the presence of Portuguese New Christians as an economic necessity. In contrast, the Inquisition saw it as a potential threat to religious orthodoxy. Yet, unlike Inquisition prosecution and confiscation of property against New Christians in Lima and Mexico, the number of individuals declared guilty of "Judaizing" in Cartagena was relatively small. The inquisitors in practice uprooted only a few men from the religious and economic life of Cartagena by sentencing them to confiscation of all their property, among other punishments.¹³

The crucial participation of Portuguese New Christians in the economy of Cartagena, especially through the trade in African captives, meant that inquisitors could find ways to prosecute suspects of religious deviance and to acquire income for the functioning of the tribunal by confiscating the property of those they considered guilty, but had to do so without disrupting the economic life of the city. The Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid (the Suprema)—suspicious of the low conviction rates against New Christians in Cartagena—would later

Ferrerín (f. 41v), Francisco Rodríguez Carnero (f. 44) and Francisco de Ortega (f. 35). All the men were natives of Portugal, except for Antonio Rodríguez Ferrerín, who was from Seville.

¹³ Escobar Quevedo examines the discrepancy in the volume of prosecutions against New Christians in Mexico and Lima, on the one hand, and Cartagena, on the other. He concludes that Cartagena was not an indispensable node of Spain's colonization enterprise. "Lima y México son eslabones imprescindibles del plan de colonización, mientras el puerto caribeño figura, en el mejor de los casos, como un pálido sucedáneo, fortuito y fallido intento del Consejo de la Suprema por controlar la puerta del Atlántico." Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 166-168. See also Alfonso W. Quiroz, "The Expropriation of Portuguese New Christians in Spanish America, 1635-1649," *Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv* 11:4 (1985): 407-465.

commission an inspection, or *visita*, of the Cartagena tribunal. The main objective of this inspection was to determine whether local inquisitors had acquitted the suspects out of personal interest.

The Port of Cartagena: "a receptacle of all things bad"

While crucial for the economic interests of both Crown and colonists, the trade in captives also brought to Cartagena individuals whom inquisitors could potentially consider suspect of heresy or moral deviance. The stereotypical association between "Portuguese" and "Jew" or "Judaizer," in particular, was prominent among inquisitors in Spanish America during the Union of the Iberian Crowns.¹⁴ In a 1625 letter to the Suprema, for instance, one of Cartagena's zealous inquisitors described the city's port as a "receptacle of all things bad [because of] the many infected [people] who come here, in particular from Angola, Brazil, and Cape Verde," on board ships for the trade in captives.¹⁵ The reference to contamination or corruption in the letter reflected broader inquisitorial conceptions of non-Christian ancestry as something that not only marked a given person, but also as something that could spread to the

¹⁴ The stereotype was also applied by other Europeans to Iberians in general, not just Portuguese, especially during the sixteenth century. See: Brian Hamm, "Between the Foreign and the Familiar: The Portuguese, The Inquisition, and Local Society in Cartagena de Indias, 1550-1700" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2017), 12-13.

¹⁵ "que cierto es receptáculo de todo lo malo según los muchos infectos que a él vienen y en particular de por las partes de Angola, Brasil, y Cabo Verde en los muchos navíos de negros que aquí vienen." Agustín de Ugarte Saravia to the Suprema, Cartagena, January 31, 1625, leg. 1607, Inquisición, AHN.

rest of the social body. The *Diccionario de Autoridades*, as late as 1734, defined “infecto” as “someone who has a mixture or race of Moor or Jew.”¹⁶

The inquisitor’s statement reflected tensions between Iberian religious policies aimed at ensuring Christian orthodoxy by restricting the mobility of Portuguese individuals of Jewish descent, on the one hand, and economic policies to which Portuguese trade networks were central, on the other. Before the union with Castile, King João II of Portugal had accepted a significant number of Jews following their expulsion from Castile and Aragon in 1492. After João's death three years later, however, his brother-in-law Don Manuel succeeded him and married Isabel, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. As a condition for the union, the Catholic Monarchs demanded that Manuel expel Jews from his kingdom.¹⁷ As a result, many Jewish families left Iberia between 1492 and 1497, seeking refuge in places with more tolerant policies, such as Istanbul. In the Ottoman Empire, Jews and Christians were not actively persecuted, though they were treated as second-class citizens.¹⁸ Those who remained in Castile and Aragon were forced to convert to Christianity and became the main targets of the Spanish Inquisition. In Portugal, however, these New Christians, as they were known, were able to live relatively undisturbed until king João III obtained Papal permission to establish the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536. Some *converso* families and their descendants became sincere Christians during this interval, while others maintained a measure of the cultural and religious practices of their ancestors in secret. Several historians have thus argued that across almost four decades of

¹⁶ “Se llama también infecto el que tiene mezcla o raza de Moro o Judío. Latín. *Infectus sanquine.*” *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1734), accessed online at <http://web.frl.es/DA.html>.

¹⁷ Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 35, 37.

¹⁸ Francesca Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2012), 26.

relative tolerance, crypto-Jewish practices became rooted in Portugal among some families otherwise identified as Christians.¹⁹

The situation changed dramatically after 1536, when the Portuguese Inquisition began persecuting “Judaizers,” a theological and juridical term that inquisitors used to describe New Christians who practiced elements of Judaism in secret.²⁰ The main destinations for these families and individuals between 1530 and 1560 were European and Mediterranean port cities, including Constantinople, Salonica, Antwerp, Ferrara, Ancona, and Venice. Smaller groups fled

¹⁹ “En suma, los cristianos nuevos no serán realmente inquietados antes de 1536, año de la creación de la Inquisición portuguesa. Durante esos cuarenta años, la existencia relativamente tranquila de la comunidad conversa consolida de manera determinante su condición social y económica, y permite el arraigo del criptojudasmo.” Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 36.

²⁰ Most of the information on New Christians (and their activities and beliefs) available to historians comes from Inquisition trials. Given that the interest of the Inquisition was to determine whether suspects were sincere Christians or secret Jews, the question of belief has been at the center of debates among historians. However, as James Amelang and others have shown, “the difficulties of charting the contours of a secret religion are compounded by the sheer impossibility of knowing which inner convictions lay behind or beyond outer practice.” Thus, it is almost impossible to determine to what extent any given individual suspected of “Judaizing” may have been observing the tenets and rituals of Judaism. New Christian religiosities took shape across a complex spectrum of possible articulations between the poles of the “sincere Christian” and the “fervent Jewish” that informed inquisitorial logic. To complicate things further, location within this spectrum could change across a person’s life. The specificity of New Christian religiosities is precisely the tension between Christianity and Judaism, and the array of syncretic combinations that lies in between. James Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 110; Nathan Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir. Labyrinthes marranes* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 14-15 (translated as *The Faith of Remembrance. Marrano Labyrinths*, trans. Nikki Halpern [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013]). See also: Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic. Judeoconvertos, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2009) and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). One of the first scholarly studies to suggest that there was no credible evidence to document the claim that conversos as a collectivity were in fact secret Jews is Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*.

to North Africa, the Americas, and ports in Portuguese India such as Cochin and Goa.²¹

Some New Christian families nonetheless remained in Portugal, and many of their descendants would later migrate to the Americas to take advantage of economic opportunities that the Crown itself had created. From 1595 to 1640, during the Union of the Iberian Crowns, the monopoly rights to trade in African captives in Spain's domains were granted to Portuguese companies through the contracts of *asiento*. These contracts were valid for a certain period of time, during which *asentistas* were expected to deliver a specified number of captives to authorized ports in Spanish America (normally Cartagena de Indias and Veracruz, and to a lesser extent, Buenos Aires) each year and to pay an annual sum to the Spanish Crown.²²

Although subjects of the Spanish Crown, the Portuguese migrants were legally considered foreigners, even during the Union of the Crowns.²³ Thus, those involved in the trade

²¹ Francesca Trivellato has studied a network of merchants centered in Livorno, where tolerant legislation in the 1590s regarding Iberian Jews soon attracted a considerable number of refugees. See: Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 26. For New Christian networks in Goa and Macau, see: Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *A articulação da periferia. Macau e a Inquisição de Goa (c. 1582-1650)* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau; Fundação Macau, 2016).

²² The *asiento* contracts were negotiated between the Spanish Crown and private companies. *Asentistas* (*asiento* holders) were themselves intermediaries, selling and distributing licenses to traders in African captives. See: Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale.*, 18-19. See also: Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica*, 35-68; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región*, 125. Wheat, *Atlantic Africa*, 307. The Spanish Crown granted very few licenses to legally disembark African captives in Buenos Aires during the period of the Portuguese *asientos*. That port, however, was an active center of illegal trade. See: Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica*, 206-209.

²³ On foreigners, the *Recopilación de las leyes de los reinos de las Indias* (1680) compiled legislation from the period of the Union of the Crowns, beginning with a 1596 decree by Felipe II: “Declaramos por estrangeros de los Reynos de las Indias, y de sus Costas, Puertos, é Islas adjacentes para no poder estar, ni residir en ellas a los que no fueren naturales de estos nuestros Reynos de Castilla, Leon, Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña, y Navarra, y los de las Islas de Mallorca, y Menorca, por ser de la Corona de Aragon. Y mandamos que, con todos los demás se entiendan, y practiquen las composiciones, y las penas impuestas, si no se efectuaren: y asimismo declaramos por estrangeros a los Portugueses.” *Recopilación de las leyes de los reinos de las Indias* [1680] (Madrid: Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1774), libro IX, título 27, ley 28. Although Spanish and Portuguese legal domains remained theoretically separate during the Iberian Union,

in African captives as merchants and sailors were expected to depart in the ports once the ships disembarked their human cargo. However, many Portuguese migrants who arrived in Spanish America chose to remain. They opened up space for themselves and created conditions for permanence in ports such as Cartagena, acquiring property and securing reliable means of subsistence. Despite royal prohibitions, many of these individuals became recognized members of their local communities in the Americas.²⁴ While many of the migrants made a living as artisans, sailors, doctors, and shopkeepers, some of them remained directly or indirectly involved in the trade in African captives.²⁵

the boundaries of legal practices were often blurry in practice. See: Toby Green, “*Baculamento or Encomienda? Legal Pluralisms and the Contestation of Power in the Pan-Atlantic World of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*,” *Journal of Global Slavery* 2 (2017): 324, and Sanjay Subramanyam, “Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1600-1640,” *American Historical Review* 112:1 (2007): 1373.

²⁴ On the performative aspects of belonging at the local level, see: Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). Herzog highlights the process by which “by enacting the role of citizen or native they [outsiders] created a public image that they were citizens or natives, and this image in turn allowed them to become citizens or natives,” 4.

²⁵ Foreigners required special individual licenses in order to fully participate in the colonies’ political and economic life. Such licenses were granted prior to arrival to individuals whose transit to the Indies was seen as an imperative in the interests of the colony; those who came without a license could legalize their residency through the process of *composición*, which was generally granted upon the payment of a sum proportional to the person’s fortune. Around 1610, however, the government prohibited the *composiciones* and ordered the expulsion of Cartagena’s foreigners. Vila Vilar, “Extranjeros,” 149; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 77. The expulsion was not carried out because, according to local authorities, the departure of Portuguese businessmen would be detrimental to the local economy (see Chapter One). Foreigners from other places also managed to acquire licenses and naturalization papers by presenting their services to the Spanish Crown, seeking to remain legally in Spanish America. For an example of a Roman soldier who became naturalized in Cartagena, Julio Evangelista, and his descendants, see Chapter Four. Although Spanish and Portuguese maritime routes were supposed to be separate, they necessarily overlapped, as ports of the Portuguese Carreira da India were linked to ports for the trade in captives from West Africa to Spanish America. See: Wheat, “Global Transit Points, 253-274. On the Portuguese in Spanish America in general and in Cartagena in particular, and their simultaneous negotiation of societal pressures of both exclusion and integration, see: Hamm, “Between the Foreign.”

Many of the Portuguese merchants, including those who appeared at the *auto de fe* of 1638, had indeed come to Cartagena on board ships that brought captives from West Africa. Jorge Fernández Gramajo, the Portuguese benefactor of San Diego convent (see Chapters One and Two), for instance, had arrived in the Caribbean from Cape Verde, via Brazil. He went to Santo Domingo and then finally settled in Cartagena.²⁶ Another Portuguese man who would become a prominent surgeon and merchant in Cartagena was Blas de Paz Pinto. He had arrived in the city on a ship that brought captives from Angola in 1622.²⁷ In Cartagena, Blas de Paz Pinto seems to have maintained an active trade not only with West African ports, but also with his native Portugal. When Inquisition officials took inventory of Blas de Paz Pinto's property at the time of his arrest, he had several pieces of ceramic tableware that Inquisition officials described as "from Lisbon," (perhaps recognizable because of the blue and purple decorations on white clay popular in Lisbon workshops at the time) such as a jar, seven small plates, and nine bowls. He had two incense burners in the shape of little angels, and twelve spools of fine thread, "from Portugal."²⁸ Listed together in the inventory are goods that notaries described as West African,

²⁶ Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 136.

²⁷ Relación y abedario de los extranjeros, doc. 2, n. 73, leg. 56B, Santa Fe, AGI.

²⁸ Historical archaeologists have identified tin-glazed earthenware ("convincing imitations of Chinese porcelain") produced in Lisbon as early as 1550 in excavations at English and Irish seaports, at sites occupied by Portuguese-Jewish families in Amsterdam during the seventeenth century, as well as in archeological sites in New England, the West Indies, and shipwrecks off the coasts of Brazil and Kenya. The most common type of Portuguese tin-glazed vessels found at these sites are small and large plates, cups, and bowls that date back to the seventeenth century. Even though there is no comparable archaeological evidence for Cartagena (to the best of my knowledge), it is plausible that the vessels described in the inventory resembled the "cobalt blue" decorations that archaeologists have attributed specifically to Portuguese tin-glaze wares. Steven R. Pendery, "Portuguese Tin-Glazed Earthenware in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Preliminary Study," *Historical Archaeology* 33:4 (1999): 63-65.

such as sixteen pieces of cloth “from Angola,” two pieces of blue cloth “from Guinea,” and a large earthenware jar “from Angola.”²⁹

In addition to the offices that *asentistas* maintained in Lisbon, Madrid, and Seville, they also stationed representatives in the West African and American ports where the trade in captives was authorized. These representatives, known as *factores*, had special dispensations to remain in the ports of arrival throughout the duration of each *asiento* contract. They kept ship departure and arrival records at every authorized stage of the trade in captives and collected any taxes due. *Factores* worked through networks of business partners and relatives who managed different stages of the operation, which stretched across the Atlantic and continued from Cartagena to the Pacific via Portobelo. *Factores* and their associates thus controlled many of the transactions of the trade in African captives on the ground, which often opened up opportunities to profit from fraudulent activities such as contraband.³⁰

Jorge Fernández Gramajo, for instance, was the Cartagena *factor* for the duration of three *asiento* contracts. Although he maintained business relations in Seville, Cádiz, Lisbon, “Angola,” and “Guinea,” the foundation of his commercial enterprise was to sell African captives to business partners in Lima.³¹ As was the case with other *factores*, Jorge Fernández Gramajo was very well positioned to trade in different products on his own account. From Seville, he received commodities such as clothes, fabrics, wax, and wines, and he exported tobacco from Caracas to

²⁹ The inventory refers to “paños de yerba de Angola,” “paños de Guinea azules,” and “tinaja grande de Angola.” Secuestro y almoneda de los bienes de Blas de Paz Pinto, ff. 8v-9v, 11v, 13, exp. 5, leg. 4822, Inquisición, AHN. It is unclear whether the description “paños de Guinea azules” (which could also be translated as “blue Guinea cloth”) refers to blue cloth from Guinea, or blue cloth for the Guinea trade. However, the parallel use of the descriptor “de Angola” for cloth and jars suggests that the scribe associated these objects with West African provenance.

³⁰ Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 21.

³¹ Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 139, 141.

Portugal. In exchange, he sent back silver that his agents had collected from the sale of African captives in Potosí.³² He also owned farmlands near Cartagena. After his death in Cartagena in 1626, his nephew took charge of the uncle's business. The position was later filled by Jorge Fernández Gramajo's grandnephew, Luis Fernández Suárez, whom the inquisitors of Cartagena accused of "Judaizing" and sentenced to confiscation and other punishments in the *auto de fe* of 1638.³³ On that day, the Inquisition also sentenced Francisco Rodríguez de Solís, who had served as *factor* for the *asiento* contract held by Antonio Fernández Delvás (1615-1622), his brother-in-law.³⁴

The *asiento* contracts that the Spanish Crown held with Portuguese traders between 1595 and 1640 offered many New Christians the opportunity to put down roots in Cartagena, despite religious prohibitions. Thus, while the Inquisition dislodged nine of the most prominent traders in African captives by sentencing them to banishment and confiscation of all their property in 1638, it acquitted other New Christians in similar conditions. They were able to remain in Cartagena, including thirteen out of the twenty-two suspects of "Judaizing" whom the Inquisition had tried along with the men who appeared in the *auto de fe* of 1638.

³² Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 140.

³³ María Cristina Navarrete, *Génesis y desarrollo de la esclavitud en Colombia, siglos XVI y XVII* (Cali: Universidad del Valle, 2005), 117. Jorge Fernández Gramajo was *factor* for the *asientos* of Pedro Gómez Reynel (1595-1601), Juan Rodríguez Coutiño (1601-1603), and Gonzalo Vaez Coutiño (1603-1609). See: Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 220. On Luis Fernández Suárez, see: f. 4, libro 1021, Inquisición, AHN, and Proceso de fe de Luis Fernández Suárez, *exp.* 11, leg. 1620, Inquisición, AHN.

³⁴ Navarrete, *Génesis y desarrollo*, 115. On Francisco Rodríguez de Solís, see: f. 5v, libro 1021, Inquisición, AHN.

“They can sustain the trade of the blacks”: Increasing the Value of African Captives in Cartagena

In contrast to the inquisitor’s portrait of the Portuguese individuals who resided in Cartagena as “infected” carriers of “all things bad,” many local residents and civil authorities saw no harm in the permanent presence of foreigners in the city. Moreover, they considered them crucial for the economic sustenance of Cartagena, as foreigners, especially the Portuguese, “made the fruits of the land valuable, populated the place and inhabited its houses [...]” In addition, as one local official wrote, “they are able to sustain the trade of the blacks, which without fortune like theirs [the foreigners’] would come to an end.”³⁵

Indeed, sustaining the different stages of the trade in human captives after ships landed in Cartagena required access to a wide variety of resources. In turn, those resources were dependent upon the labor of enslaved workers. The arrival of ships from West Africa into port set in motion a series of interlinked bureaucratic and economic transactions that yielded subsequent economic activity within Cartagena, out into its hinterlands, and throughout terrestrial and fluvial routes connecting the city to the interior of New Granada, to the Caribbean Islands, to Panama, and to Lima. Many people in Cartagena were thus directly or indirectly involved in these widespread economic activities, including, but not exclusively, the men whom the Inquisition sentenced in 1638.

³⁵ “La mayor parte desta república en números de personas y en algunas calidades dellas siente que no sólo no son dañosos aquí los extranjeros más que son importantes, que por medio de su asistencia, sus inteligencias, sus contrataciones y correspondencias se sustenta este lugar y se va acrecentando, gastan los frutos de la tierra y los han hecho valiosos en conocida ventaja, tienen poblado el lugar y habitadas las casas [...] pueden conservar aquí el trato de los negros que sin caudales como los suyos se acabara.” Agustín Calderón to the Council of the Indies, June 27, 1627, no. 31B, leg. 106, Santa Fe, AGI.

First, ships arriving in Cartagena from West Africa were required to undergo a series of inspections—by royal and Inquisition officials, and by *protomédicos*, or physicians—before the captives could be disembarked. *Factores* usually arranged the first inspection, in which customs officials counted the number of captives on board, searched for undeclared cargo, and collected taxes. Account books from slave traders in Lima who had business partners in Cartagena suggest that bribing customs officials—in order to introduce captives as contraband—was a common practice, as *factores* and their agents routinely included money or goods destined towards bribery in their budgets.³⁶

The second inspection was conducted by Inquisition officials, who ensured that the ships were not carrying passengers or crew members who could be suspected of heresy or religious deviance, nor introducing prohibited books and religious images. Between July 30, 1634, and July 30, 1635, notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz and *alguacil* Don Joseph de Bolívar inspected eight ships that had arrived from West Africa to Cartagena, bringing captives. Most of the ships had departed from Luanda (Kingdom of Angola) and Cacheu (Upper Guinea), according to the traders' declarations.³⁷

The ship *Nuestra Señora de la Natividad* (Our Lady of Nativity), for instance, departed from the Kingdom of Angola in early June, 1634, carrying African captives. After eighty-seven

³⁶ Newson and Minchin have studied the account books of Manuel Bautista Pérez, a slave trader based in Lima who received captives from business partners in Cartagena, and who set aside bribe budgets. See *From Capture to Sale*, 144. See also: Navarrete, *Génesis y desarrollo*, 120-121, and Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica*, 153-155. On the office of the *protomedicato*, through which authorities regulated public health and medical practices in the Caribbean, see: Pablo F. Gómez, *The Experiential Caribbean. Creating Knowledge and Healing in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 46, and John Tate Lanning and John J. TePaske, *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Professions in the Spanish Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985).

³⁷ Pleitos fiscales de Francisco de Murga, exp. 22, leg. 4816, Inquisición, AHN (hereafter Pleitos Fiscales de Francisco de Murga).

days crossing the Atlantic, it reached the port of Cartagena de Indias. On October 6, two Inquisition officials, notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz and *alguacil* Don Joseph de Bolívar boarded the ship to conduct the inspection. Carrying out their duty as custodians of Cartagena's spiritual health, they interrogated the shipowner and inspected the ship's cargo. The Inquisition officials inquired if any sailors "from foreign kingdoms" or people whose faith could be potentially suspect came on board, asked which prayers the ship's passengers and crew members had said during the voyage, and asked who the ship's patron saints were. The ship owner responded that he and everyone else on board were natives of Portugal, that no one was suspected of religious deviance, that they had prayed the Christian Doctrine and the Litanies during the voyage, and that the ship's patron saints were Our Lady and "her most Precious Son Our Lord Jesus Christ."³⁸

Notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz also recorded the answers that the owner of the *Nuestra Señora de la Natividad* gave to other questions that followed, presumably from an Inquisition template that officials used in their routine inspections of ships of the trade in African captives arriving in Cartagena (while the questions were not recorded in the Inquisition's *visitas*, their content is obvious from the structure of the recorded answers). As recorded by the notary, the shipowner had said that he had not brought any correspondence for the inquisitors of the Holy Office, that there were no prohibited books on board the ship, that the only image they had on

³⁸ "Que no vienen marineros ni grumetes de reinos extraños de los que se puedan tener sospechas en la fe. Que han venido rezando la doctrina cristiana y las letanías y que han traído por abogados a Nuestra Señora y a su Precioso Hijo Nuestro Señor Jesucristo," f. 10v, Pleitos Fiscales de Francisco de Murga.

board was a painting of Our Lady of the Nativity (to whom the ship was dedicated), and that the ship's cargo were up to three hundred *piezas de esclavos*, male and female.³⁹

The owners and captains of the ships that Juan de Uriarte Araoz inspected declared that they were natives of different cities and villages in Portugal, where, they claimed, they intended to return after their current stay in Cartagena. Manuel Carvalho (or Carvalho), owner of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, for example, said that he was from Oporto, on the north coast, and Francisco Noguera, who had come on the same ship, said that he had been born in the village of Matusiños (Matosinhos), outside of Oporto.⁴⁰ They also declared that those ships had brought between 200 and 550 *piezas de esclavos*, whom traders intended to sell as slaves in Cartagena, or through intermediaries, in Portobelo (in Panama) and Lima.⁴¹

Members of other religious institutions also boarded these ships before the captives were disembarked in Cartagena. Jesuit missionaries, such as Alonso de Sandoval and Pedro Claver conducted routine visits to the ships in order to preach the Gospel (through enslaved African-born interpreters), baptize the captives, and tend to the sick.⁴²

³⁹ “Que no trae pliegos para los inquisidores del Sto Oficio. [...] Que no traen libros prohibidos. [...] Que solo traen una imagen de nuestra señora de la natividad que es su advocación. [...] Que trae hasta trescientas piezas de esclavos varones y hembras.” f. 10v, Pleitos fiscales de Francisco de Murga. *A pieza de esclavo* was a measure of value, not an individual enslaved person. *A pieza* “was equivalent to one able-bodied healthy male slave.” Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), xxv.

⁴⁰ ff. 38, 40v, Pleitos fiscales de Francisco de Murga.

⁴¹ Pleitos fiscales de Francisco de Murga. For an overview of the contraband lawsuit against Cartagena governor Don Francisco de Murga, of which these *visitas* are a part, see: María Cristina Navarrete, “De las ‘malas entradas’ y las estrategias del ‘buen pasaje’: el contrabando de esclavos en el Caribe neogranadino, 1550-1690,” *Historia Crítica* 34 (2007): 178-181.

⁴² Anna María Splendiani and Tulio Aristizábal, trans., *Proceso de beatificación y canonización de San Pedro Claver* (Bogotá: CEJA, 2002); Angel Valtierra, *Peter Claver. Saint of the Slaves* (London, Burns & Oates, 1960), 110-111.

The last inspection, conducted by *protomédicos*, was critical, as they boarded the ships to examine crew members and captives in search of signs of physical diseases that could potentially spread and cause epidemics. If one or more people showed such signs, the port authorities required the ship's captain to disembark the captives and cargo far from the city. They then declared the ship in quarantine.⁴³

Sustaining the trade in captives became more demanding in the subsequent stage in the process, after the captives were disembarked. This stage was unique to Cartagena. Since the city was usually the first stop for ships arriving from West Africa bringing captives (even though emergencies and contraband operations sometimes required prior stops), it was at this port city where those who had survived the Atlantic crossing were first disembarked. For traders, disembarking and remaining in Cartagena for a few weeks was crucial to increasing their possibilities for profit, as the city offered resources and infrastructure for the recovery—and thus the valorization—of captives, who generally arrived in precarious conditions of health.

Slave traders, however, were not the only beneficiaries of this process of adding value. Regular residents equipped to offer the goods and services necessary for the survival and recovery of captives at different locations in the city also made profits from the trade in human beings. After disembarking in canoes, the captives were taken to one of twenty-four known “depots”—either sheds or houses—located in the city. These deposits belonged to *factores* themselves, to independent merchants, or to private Cartagena residents. Juan Rodríguez Mesa, for instance, owned one of such depot in the city center, and Manuel de Fonseca Henríquez

⁴³ Navarrete, *Génesis y desarrollo*, 121.

owned another one on Calle del Tejadillo, in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood.⁴⁴ Agents of a Lima-based merchant in Cartagena rented two houses where they kept captives from Upper Guinea separate from those from Angola. Their account notebooks indicate that they purchased wooden boards and mats on which the captives slept, men divided from the women, in addition to some items of clothing.⁴⁵

In the *auto de fe* of 1638, the Inquisition declared Blas de Paz Pinto, along with his fellow depot owners Juan Rodríguez Mesa and Manuel de Fonseca Henríquez, guilty of “Judaizing.” The barracoon owned by Blas de Paz Pinto, also in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood (on Calle de la Cruz), was specifically destined for sick and weak captives. Blas de Paz Pinto, a surgeon, purchased these captives and re-sold them at higher prices once they were healthier. He was one of several physicians who made a profitable business in this way in Cartagena.⁴⁶

While some of the depots belonged to New Christians, other Cartagena residents were integrated into the same economic networks and made profits by offering space and resources for the recovery of captives whom Portuguese merchants disembarked in the city. Witness testimonies from the beatification process of Jesuit priest Pedro Claver mention some of these deposits and their owners. In his testimony, for example, the priest Manuel Rodríguez recounted that Claver made regular visits to “the groups of recently arrived slaves who were lodged in some of this city’s houses.” In particular, the witness remembered the houses that belonged to

⁴⁴ Inventario de los bienes secuestrados a Juan González Carnero, ff. 2-62, exp. 12, leg. 4822, Inquisición, AHN. Navarrete, *Génesis y desarrollo*, 124. Newson and Minchin have identified at least three private houses that functioned as deposits in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood in the 1620s. For a detailed account of the appalling conditions in the deposits, see Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 146-147.

⁴⁵ Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 147.

⁴⁶ Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 150, 155.

Jorge Fernández Gramajo, those that belonged to the man he referred to as don Gonzalo Arias de Aguilar (located in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood), and another one owned by doña Margarita de Paravesino. While Jorge Fernández Gramajo's New Christian lineage was well known, Arias de Aguilera was the "escribano mayor de cabildo y gobernación," a senior government scribe, and the son of Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera, a prominent notary and landowner. Although father and son were involved in civil lawsuits with the Inquisition, there is no evidence that they were suspected of Portuguese or New Christian ancestry.⁴⁷ Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera's participation in the same economic networks as the Portuguese merchants is evidenced in the lawsuits that he brought before the Inquisition to claim repayment of debts that individuals accused of "Judaizing" owed him (after confiscating these individuals' property, the Inquisition was responsible for paying back debts owed by the accused).⁴⁸

Some of the goods in the inventory that Inquisition officials took at the time of Blas de Paz Pinto's arrest offer a glimpse of the links to different local and regional economies that allowed merchants like him to extract more value out of African captives in Cartagena. First, the Inquisition seized as his property fourteen enslaved men and women, who probably performed the labor necessary for the care of the sick captives. Among the foodstuffs seized, the officials counted five bushels (*fanegas*) of beans, one *arroba* (approximately twelve kilos) of sugar, three

⁴⁷ Pleito civil de Gonzalo Arias de Aguilera, f. 1, exp. 10, leg. 1611, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴⁸ See for instance: Pleito civil de Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera contra Juan Rodríguez Mesa, exp. 9, leg. 1611, Inquisición, AHN; Pleito civil de Juan Rodríguez Mesa contra herederos de Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera, exp. 12, leg. 1611, Inquisición, AHN; Pleito civil de Luis Fernández Suárez contra Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera, exp. 33, leg. 1611, Inquisición, AHN; Pleito civil de Real Fisco de la Inquisición contra Luis Fernández Suárez y con Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera, exp. 24, leg. 1611, Inquisición, AHN, Pleito civil del Real Fisco y de los acreedores de Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera contra este último, exp. 4, leg. 1610, Inquisición, AHN; Pleito fiscal de los herederos de Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera con Juan Rodríguez Mesa, exp. 17, leg. 4817, Inquisición, AHN.

large jars “full of honey,” two small jars “full of *aguardiente*,” and twenty-eight large jars of “oil.” In addition, they seized thirty-five chickens and hens, two roosters, and several items for food storage and preparation such as the large earthenware jar “from Angola” mentioned above.⁴⁹

The items in this inventory are examples of much larger supply networks that the trade in captives pulled towards Cartagena. Products such as honey and sugar were imported from Cuba, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica. These places also supplied wheat flour, tobacco, lard, wine, and hides.⁵⁰ Using account books from slave trading companies in Lima, Linda Newson and Susie Minchin have studied the diet of African captives in Cartagena. They have found that enslaved persons purchased by traders in Cartagena for between 270 and 310 *pesos* could be sold in Lima for over 600 *pesos*. The increase in value was due in part to the recovery stage in Cartagena, after the Middle Passage. Such good profits meant that in Cartagena, traders were willing to purchase somewhat expensive foods, such as pork and chicken, for the sick captives whom they held in the barracoons.⁵¹

Newson and Minchin have found that two-thirds of the traders’ expenditure on food for captives corresponded to the diet of common people in the city: maize bread and other maize products (such as *bollos*), cassava (*yuca*), and some meat and fish. Some of the agricultural products came from nearby lands, which were often owned by wealthy Cartagena residents who sometimes were involved in the trade in captives. This was the case of the Portuguese Luis

⁴⁹ Secuestro y almoneda de los bienes de Blas de Paz Pinto, ff. 1v, 13, 19v, 20v, 21, 25v, exp. 5, leg. 4822, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵⁰ Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 159. See also: Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 183-199

⁵¹ Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 160.

Gómez Barreto, one of the prominent men whom the Inquisition acquitted of the charge of “Judaizing” in 1638. (His faith trial would be reopened years later by an inspector (*visitador*) whom the Suprema commissioned.) Other Cartagena residents secured access to land grants conceded by the city council for the production of maize and cassava specifically.⁵² Surgeon Blas de Paz Pinto himself owned an agricultural *estancia* located on the shores of a nearby estuary. One of the major suppliers of maize for the traders whom Newson and Minchin have studied was Andrés de Banquésel, who owned several haciendas in the jurisdiction of Cartagena. However, as shortages of maize were common in the city during the 1620s and 1630s, much of the maize production from more distant regions such as Tolú was consumed and stored in Cartagena.⁵³ Tolú, located twenty leagues from Cartagena, was accessible by land and water. The village had around sixty *vecinos* in the 1650s and was surrounded by “many savannas where many Spaniards live with their families in their haciendas,” which produced “many fruits and provisions for the city of Cartagena.” The “fruits” of the land were transported under grueling

⁵² See for instance the land grant of six *caballerías de tierra* to Martín Polo del Águila, “para el cultivo de yuca y maíz” in the nearby areas of Mahates and Matuna, both connected to Cartagena through fluvial routes. Auto del Cabildo, December 21, 1621, ff. 30-32, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI. These lands were purchased by Don Gonzalo de Herrera, one of the main figures in Chapter Four, in 1656.

⁵³ For an inventory of the *estancia* that belonged to Blas de Paz Pinto, see: Secuestro y almoneda de los bienes de Blas de Paz Pinto, f. 1v exp. 5, leg. 4822, Inquisición, AHN. Newson and Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 157-161. Maize and cassava had also been the main components of local indigenous diets long before the arrival of the Spaniards. Throughout the sixteenth century, these products were harvested by indigenous people and transferred into the local economy as tribute that indigenous groups were forced to pay to their *encomenderos*. See: María del Carmen Borrego Plá, “El abastecimiento de Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVI,” *Temas Americanistas* 1 (1982): 1-9. In the 1580s, *encomenderos* still requisitioned corn from indigenous people in the Cartagena province. “La principal cosa que arruina a los yndios desta tierra es cargar las mujeres del maíz que se coje en las rozas para que lo lleven a las estancias donde muchas mueven y muelen y como van en queros ellas y sus criaturas y el sol las pasa vienen se a acabar los pueblos.” Bishop Juan de Montalvo to the King, June 4, 1580, carpeta 2, caja 3, Informes, Particulares, Sección Conventos San José, APLBC.

conditions. The Bishop believed that the labor thus imposed on women and children was a cause of the indigenous population decline.⁵⁴

Shortages of basic foods in Cartagena meant that royal officials, soldiers, sailors, and regular Cartagena residents had to compete with slave traders for access to such products, especially when ships arrived from West Africa bringing large numbers of captives in need of food. This was certainly the case for inquisitors and Inquisition officials. In a 1624 letter to their superiors at the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid, Cartagena inquisitors expressed their frustration about the supply of pork and maize in the city. They explained that in the past, there was only one authorized slaughterhouse in the city, and that they used to have a deal with the butcher. For a fixed amount, each inquisitor received two pork tenderloins, while the prosecutor, the *alguacil*, and the secretary, received one tenderloin each. The deal included the delivery of other cuts of meat that Inquisition officials fed to the tribunal's prisoners. However, the city council had decided to authorize private individuals to slaughter, weigh, and sell pork in their houses. This meant that the inquisitors' servants (*criados*) were now forced to "go from house to house" bargaining for meat. The main problem, however, was that the major sources of both pork and corn, which they called "the ordinary bread in this land," were haciendas that belonged to members of the city council. Thus, city councilors fixed the prices to their own advantage. Moreover, the inquisitors complained, city councilors used the corn to feed their own pigs, instead of selling it in the city. Sometimes, the inquisitors protested, the councilors brought

⁵⁴ "Ay en sus alrededores muchas sabanas donde viven en sus haciendas muchos españoles con sus familias de donde se cogen muchos frutos de bastimentos, de que se sustenta la ha ciudad de Cartagena." Relación de las villas y ciudades villas y lugares y distancias de unas a otras que tiene el distrito jurisdicción de la Inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias, April 12, 1653, f. 403, libro 1014, Inquisición, AHN.

pigs and corn to the city late at night in times of scarcity and sold them to “armadores de negros bozales” (local traders in African captives) for exorbitant prices.⁵⁵

Ten years later, in 1634, corn seems to have continued to be a highly sought after but scarce product. One Saturday in July of that year, Don Juan Pacheco, the Inquisition official charged with supplying food for the tribunal’s prisoners, went to the docks to buy eight *fanegas* of corn for that purpose. Corn was cheapest at the docks, where enslaved workers unloaded it from the canoes that brought it from haciendas in Tolú and other nearby places. The governor had established a regulation limiting the price of corn to a maximum of twenty *reales* per *fanega*. The supplier, who had planned to make more profits by taking the corn to sell it from his house in Cartagena for twenty-four reales, refused to do business with the Inquisition official. The incident was registered by Inquisition notaries and a formal investigation ensued.⁵⁶ Corn scarcity remained an issue in Cartagena, not only for Inquisition officials seeking food supplies, but also for other local authorities. During subsequent decades, *fanegas* of corn were a common cargo that customs officials seized from ships engaging in contraband.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ “dijeron que cada particular que tuviera la dha carne de cerda lo matase en su casa, y en ella la pesase y diese a quien quisiese, con que así alcanzarían los lomillos a quien mejor negociase, y por esto el proveedor de los presos y nuestros criados andan de casa en casa a buscar dha carne de puerco y de ordinario negocian peor que otros, porque así en esta carne de puerco como en el maíz, que es el pan ordinario de esta tierra, como es la cosecha y hacienda de las estancias de los Regidores no ay más postura ni orden de lo que ellos quieren, porque quando ay abundancia de maíz no lo quieren vender sino gastarlo en engordar el dho ganado de cerda que venden al precio que se les antoja y quando ay necesidad de él lo traen de noche ocultamente a sus casas y lo venden a precios excesivos a armadores de negros bozales.” Inquisitors of Cartagena to the Suprema, August 30, 1624, leg. 1607, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵⁶ Testimonio de la información recibida a Juan Pacheco sobre lo que pasó yendo a comprar ocho fanegas de maíz para los presos, exp. 5, leg. 4816, Inquisición, AHN.

⁵⁷ In 1686, for instance, customs authorities seized two hundred sacks of corn from on board the ship *La María Americana*, which had sailed from Curaçao. See: Comisión a Francisco Carcelén Fernández de Guevara, oidor de la Audiencia de Santa Fe, 1686, leg. 598A, Escribanía, AGI. See

Wheat flour was another highly sought but scarce product in Cartagena, as it was imported from dry regions in the interior of New Granada, such as Villa de Leyva, Sogamoso, and Tunja. Even though wheat flour was consumed mostly by the Spanish population in the form of bread, slave traders also purchased some amounts to prepare as durable supplies for return sea voyages. One Gaspar de Olarte, a resident of Cartagena, for instance, purchased flour from New Granada in Mompox. He then kept some, which “his people” (presumably enslaved workers) used to make bread “for the sustenance of his house and family.” He then sold the rest to bakers in Cartagena for eighteen *reales* per arroba.⁵⁸

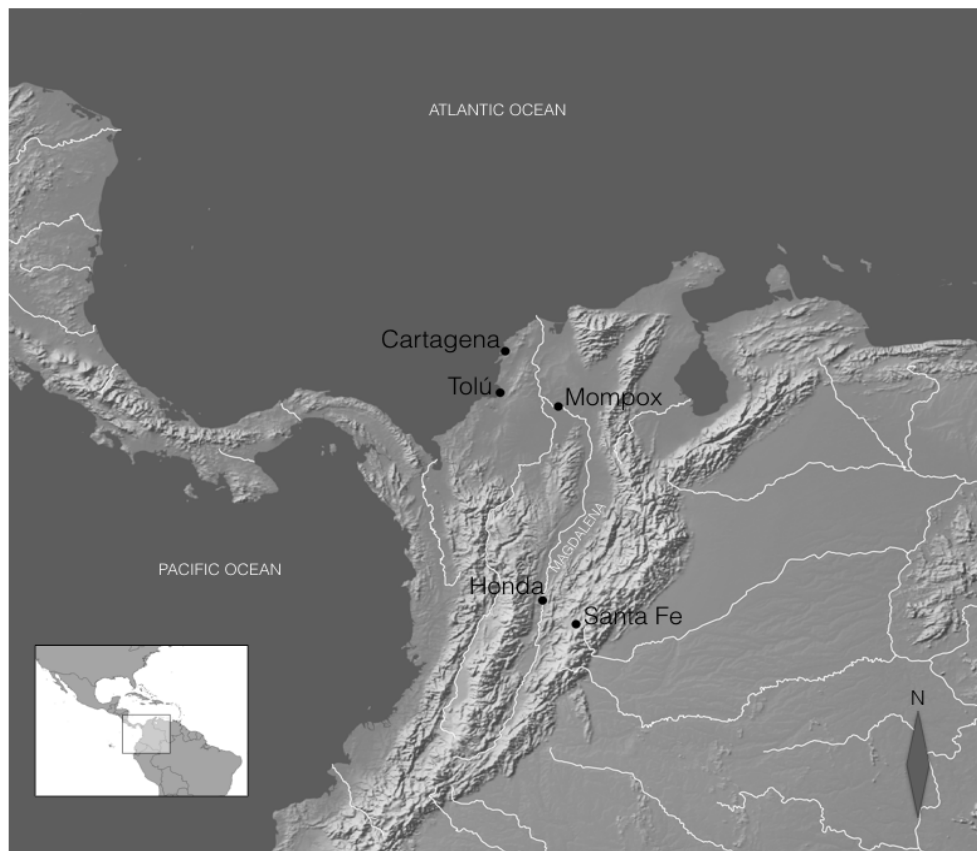
The economic activities that slave traders stimulated in Cartagena as they sought to increase the value of captives also produced benefits for residents of other towns and villages in the region. The village of Mompox, located on the banks of the Magdalena River—as shown in Map 3—was the main point of exchange for products coming to and from Cartagena and the interior of the Audiencia of New Granada. Local authorities collected taxes on many of these products, including wheat flour. Ham, chickpeas, lard, and leather figure prominently in tax records drawn by customs officials monitoring products that went from Mompox to Cartagena. Imports from Europe, such as wine, paper, clothes from Castile, and some spices were among the main goods that went in the opposite direction, from Cartagena to Mompox and the interior of New Granada.⁵⁹

also: Causa de oficio por los libros del dique, balsa y barranca, 1662, pieza 69, leg. 637C, Escribanía, AGI.

⁵⁸ “Que allí lo hacía amasar con su gente”; “para el gasto y sustento de su casa y familia”; “Que vendió harinas a las panaderas de la ciudad en dieciocho reales arroba, por ser este el precio que comúnmente valía.” Visitas de la gobernación de Cartagena, September 20, 1662, pieza 68, leg. 637C, Escribanía, AGI.

⁵⁹ Visitas de la gobernación de Cartagena, 1658, pieza 67, leg. 637C, Escribanía, AGI.

Residents of Mompox, Tolú, Cartagena, and other nearby villages made an income by providing transportation both for the agricultural products that went into Cartagena and for the transportation of captives from that city to the inland provinces via the Magdalena river, the main fluvial artery connecting the coast with the interior of New Granada, and with Santafé, the capital of the Audiencia. Fernando Gutiérrez de Tena, and Francisco de Llerena, for instance, were two *vecinos* of Cartagena who owned packs of mules, which they rented to merchants, along with the labor of the enslaved workers who guided the mule train and took care of the cargo. Prior to 1650, Cartagena had no direct water access to the Magdalena River.



Map 3. Cartagena, Tolú, Mompox, and the Magdalena River, reaching Honda and Santa Fe. by A.M. Silva

For that reason, Francisco de Llerena and Fernando Gutiérrez de Tena explained that their mules and their drivers were a crucial link in the transportation chain between the river banks and the city, as they transported “all kinds of fruits and provisions that come and go from this to other provinces and from those provinces to this one.”⁶⁰

Navigation, both along the coast and through the Magdalena River, was crucial for slave traders seeking to sustain captives lodged in the barracoons of Cartagena. This economic activity also offered opportunities for profit to a range of individuals. Cartagena and Mompo residents made an income by renting canoes, usually operated by enslaved *bogas* (rowers), for transportation of goods and passengers. In one occasion, for instance, twelve canoes “for the navigation of the Magdalena River” brought wheat flour from the interior of New Granada via the Magdalena river. While single individuals owned each of six canoes, the other six belonged to only two individuals: four to a Lima merchant named Francisco de Biera, and two to a doña María Adame.⁶¹ Opportunities for profit would only increase after 1650, with the construction of a canal connecting the Magdalena River to the Bay of Cartagena, as shown in Map 4.⁶²

⁶⁰ “vecinos de esta ciudad dueños que somos de recuas de mulas que con esclavos nuestros traemos en el traxin desta ciudad a las barrancas del Rio grande de la Magdalena y de allí hasta esta ciudad conduciendo mercaderías y todo género de frutos y mantenimientos que ban y bienen de esta a otras provincias y de aquellas a esta.” Pleito de la ciudad de Cartagena de Indias con Gonzalo de Herrera sobre el paso de Mahates y Patilla, 1664, ff. 1-1v, número 2, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI. The canal that later connected Cartagena to the Magdalena River was built in 1650. See: Cartas y expedientes de Pedro Zapata sobre haber hecho navegable hasta Cartagena el Río Grande de la Magdalena, leg. 199, Santa Fe, AGI.

⁶¹ Visitas de la gobernación de Cartagena, pieza 66, leg. 637C, Escribanía, AGI. In the 1660s, one canoe for the navigation of the Magdalena could be sold for five hundred pesos, and renting the labor of *bogas* could yield around two thousand pesos annually (that same year, a cross made of gold and decorated with emeralds could cost one hundred pesos). Doña Ana María Cid Ximénez de Enciso vecina de la ciudad de Cartagena, mujer legítima de Don Diego Pretel sobre

Access to the Magdalena was so crucial to Cartagena residents that the maintenance of public roads and navigation canals going towards the river was managed and paid for by the *cabildo*, or city council, of Cartagena. Since these access routes were located in low lying grounds where reedbeds abounded, the roads usually became swampy and blocked by fallen branches during rainy seasons. The *cabildo* employed local taxes to maintain navigation canals flowing and to open the roads during dry seasons. The three main public roads connecting Cartagena to the river were known as "la barranca de Mateo Rodríguez," the road of "Tierra Adentro," and the "road of María, for the cattle that come from the savannas of Tolú."⁶³ The *cabildo* obtained part of these funds from taxes imposed on goods that passed through important ports along the Magdalena, such as Mompox and Honda, at the last navigable leg of the river before Santafé (the rest of the journey, from Honda to Santafé, had to be traveled by land). People who transported African captives for sale in the interior of New Granada also paid internal taxes per captive at each of these ports.⁶⁴

los alimentos que pide de los bienes y hacienda que llebó en dote quando casó por no hacer vida maridable con la sobredicha, 1666, f. 8, Tomo XVI, Asuntos Civiles de Bolívar, S:C, AGN.

⁶² On the construction of the Canal del Dique, as it is known today, see: Cartas y expedientes de Pedro Zapata, gobernador de Cartagena, sobre haber hecho navegable hasta Cartagena el Rio Grande de la Magdalena (1648-1652), leg. 199, Santa Fe, AGI.

⁶³ "El camino real de la barranca de Mateo Rodríguez es camino propio de la ciudad y ésta lo mantiene con sus rentas [...] El camino de María para los ganados que vienen de las sabanas de Tolú hasta llegar al puerto que llaman de reje[?], donde se embalsa dicho ganado y así mismo se abre todos los años el camino de la tierra adentro por ser también público [...] con que es manifiesto que los dhos tres caminos referidos con solos los públicos y reales," El *cabildo* de Cartagena, sobre si el camino de Mahates y Patilla había de ser común o particular, 1662, ff. 73-74, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI.

⁶⁴ f. 52, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI. The tax was one and a half pesos per captive in 1652. For a detailed account of the different routes followed by slave traders from Cartagena to the interior provinces of New Granada, see Navarrete, *Génesis y desarrollo*, 126-128.



Map 4. Provinces of Cartagena and Santa Marta (1766). Notice the Canal del Dique and the roads, delineated in brown, connecting Cartagena to the Magdalena River. Source: AGI, Mapas y Planos, Panamá, 174.

Many people made an income by providing storage spaces, lodging, and food for travelers, *bogas*, mule conductors, fishermen, and other workers on longer journeys upriver. The cabildo mandated that storage *bohíos* on the river banks, for instance, had to be adequate for "loading and unloading goods" and "fruits of the land" from canoes, and that no one be allowed to reside within two *leguas* of the storage spaces and supply stores or *pulperías*. Entrepreneurial individuals saw opportunities to make an income by building bridges, corrals for the cattle, and lodging spaces, and charging a fee to merchants who wished to use them. They also rented out the labor of enslaved workers and provided mules "for the use of the merchants of New Granada, Popayán, Quito, Anserma, Antiochia, and all of its *gobernación*."⁶⁵

⁶⁵ ff. 49, 53, 92, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI.

The networks in which the trade in captives was embedded were formed and run by people of very different provenance, including the Spaniards who owned haciendas outside of Tolú, local and African-born enslaved workers, and free people who made an income by renting out canoes or storage spaces, or by running *pulperías* on the banks of the Magdalena river. In the 1630s, the engine of all this economic activity was located in Cartagena, where Portuguese traders purchased many of the products that came into the city from the hinterlands and from the interior of New Granada to feed and sustain the African captives whom they later sold for higher prices to buyers in New Granada, the Caribbean, Portobelo, and Lima. While the inquisitors of Cartagena (following the example set by the tribunal in Lima) had the opportunity to dislodge and confiscate property from twenty-two merchants involved in the trade in captives, they refrained from doing so. Many of those acquitted, including the wily trader Luis Gómez Barreto, managed to remain crucial participants in the economic life of the city until their deaths.

Conclusion

The inquisitors of district tribunals such as the one in Cartagena were required to submit to the Suprema in Madrid periodic reports of the faith trials carried by each tribunal. The Suprema soon found irregularities in the trials carried out against Portuguese New Christians in Cartagena, especially in the cases in which Cartagena inquisitors had declared suspects innocent or suspended their trials. To determine what was going on, the Suprema commissioned a *visita*, or inspection, of the Cartagena tribunal in 1647. The *visitador* was an important personage: the inquisitor of Seville, Pedro de Medina Rico.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Visita de Pedro de Medina Rico*, exp. 2, leg. 1602, Inquisición, AHN.

During his inquiry, in which he interrogated witnesses and carefully reviewing the legal and financial records of the tribunal, Medina Rico asked witnesses a series of questions. One of them was whether the witness knew “that the mentioned inquisitors, as a favor, or out of friendship or interest [...], had failed to arrest or to proceed against, or to punish” anyone who deserved to be punished in the eyes of the Inquisition.⁶⁷ Witnesses testifying in the investigation suggested that in the past, when some Portuguese merchants (including Juan Rodríguez Mesa and Luis Gómez Barreto) had met behind closed doors, presumably in order to practice what they took to be the rituals of Judaism, scandalized neighbors wondered why the inquisitors had failed to punish those who attended the meetings.⁶⁸ After several investigations, Medina Rico brought charges against some of the Cartagena inquisitors, including inquisitor Juan Pereira. *Visitador* Medina Rico found several irregularities in inquisitor Pereira’s legal proceedings, which Medina Rico explained as the product of the “affection” towards the Portuguese that Pereira displayed, and his intent “to passionately favor those of this [the Portuguese] nation.”⁶⁹

Once in Cartagena, Medina Rico heard multiple other rumors about alliances and negotiations between Inquisition officials and suspects of heresy. The rumors converged around

⁶⁷ “Yten Si Saben que los dichos Ynquisidores o alguno de ellos por favor, o amistad, o interés, por algún otro respecto aya dexado de proceder prender o castigar algunos o algún culpado vivo o difunto que lo mereciese.” f. 7v, exp. 2, leg. 1602, Inquisición, AHN.

⁶⁸ “En prueba de lo qual y como tal judío ha acudido a las juntas que los tales hacían en casa de cierta persona portugués, vecino de esta ciudad, deteniéndose en las dichas juntas que se hacían a puertas cerradas, unas veces de noche, y otras de día, por cuatro o cinco horas, escandalizando con dichas juntas a los vecinos de la calle donde se hacían diciendo que no sabían como dormían tanto los señores del Sto Oficio pues no castigaban a los de estas juntas, porque en la tal casa se hacía sinagoga,” Visita de Pedro de Medina Rico, f. 33v, exp. 18, leg. 1601, Inquisición, AHN.

⁶⁹ “Por el común afecto que tiene y suele tener a los portugueses,” f. 22; “lo qual se entiende hizo en atención de ser portugués el duo Rafael de Abreu por favorecer a los de esta nación apassionadisimamente,” Visita de Pedro de Medina Rico, f. 31v, exp. 4, leg. 1603, Inquisición, AHN.

an Inquisition notary, Juan de Uriarte Araoz, who was suspected of offering legal advice to wealthy merchants on trial in exchange for economic benefits.

Juan de Uriarte Araoz did indeed do much more than inspect the ships of the slave trade and read the sentences to those accused in the *auto de fe* of 1638. His signature appears also in many of the faith trial records of the men accused of “Judaizing” and on the inventories of their property at the time of their arrest.⁷⁰ Juan de Uriarte Araoz had adroitly developed a strategy that allowed him to become rooted and establish a lineage in the city, using the Inquisition’s legal operations to acquire wealth illegally and to insert himself in the networks that sustained the trade in captives in Cartagena.

Despite the disruption of economic life in Cartagena after the Inquisition declared nine of the most prominent traders in African captives in the city guilty of “Judaizing” and confiscated their property, the economic networks in which the accused were embedded survived. When the *asiento* contract with Portuguese companies for the trade in African captives came to a close as a result of Portugal’s separation from Castile, Spanish migrants who had sought to open up space for themselves and their descendants in Cartagena moved to take control of some of the economic nodes that the Portuguese had previously dominated. Later generations would continue to profit from the trade in African captives, the main source of wealth in the city of Cartagena. The evolution of Inquisition notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz’s symbiotic relationship with the accused New Christian Luis Gómez Barreto shows how the stage was set for this transformation of the parties that dominated the local economy of the trade in African captives.

⁷⁰ See for instance: Discurso de vida de Luis Gómez Barreto, signed by notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz: Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, ff. 17v-19, exp. 18, leg. 1620, Inquisición, AHN. See also the inventory of the property confiscated from Blas de Paz Pinto, also signed by Juan de Uriarte Araoz: Inventario y almoneda de los bienes secuestrados a Blas de Paz Pinto, exp. 5, leg. 4822, Inquisición, AHN.

Chapter Four

Conspicuous Alliances: The Portuguese New Christian and the Inquisition Notary

Introduction

In 1638, the tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias acquitted Luis Gómez Barreto, a Portuguese trader in African captives, of the crime of “Judaizing.” The outcome of the trial was unusual because since 1635 Inquisition tribunals in Lima, Mexico and, to a lesser extent, Cartagena, had been prosecuting Portuguese merchants of New Christian origins in situations similar to that of Gómez Barreto, and systematically declaring them guilty. Earlier that same year, in an *auto de fe*, the inquisitors of Cartagena had declared nine Portuguese traders guilty of “Judaizing” and sentenced them to confiscation of all their property and banishment from the Cartagena province, among other punishments. Gómez Barreto, however, had somehow beaten the charges.¹

The 1638 trials were the first time that the tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena applied the punishment of confiscation of all property to a group of members of the local economic elite. After the first inquisitors of Cartagena established a tribunal in the city in 1610, they applied confiscation of property gradually in order to avoid upsetting local power groups. In this broader

¹ For an overview of the confiscation activity of the tribunal of the Inquisition between 1610, when it was founded, and 1636, see Chapter One. On the confiscation of property belonging to women of African descent whom the Cartagena Inquisition declared guilty of “witchcraft,” see Chapter Two. For the limits on confiscation from other New Christians in Cartagena, see Chapter Three.

context, the confiscations against the nine merchants represented the considerable success that the tribunal of the Inquisition had achieved in Cartagena in terms of acquiring income to support itself. This success would have a direct impact on the lives of individual Inquisition officials whose salaries were to come from confiscated property.

The nine sentences of confiscation highlight the limits of the Inquisition's ability to operate at its full institutional capacity. But Luis Gómez Barreto was not alone in his acquittal; the Inquisition had tried and acquitted twelve other merchants. As news of the unusual acquittals reached Madrid, the Suprema commissioned a *visita*, or inspection of the Cartagena tribunal. In 1652, inquisitor Pedro de Medina Rico reopened Luis Gómez Barreto's faith trial, and this time Gómez Barreto was declared guilty of "Judaizing." He was sentenced to confiscation of one half of his property and two years of banishment from Cartagena, among other punishments. Subsequent records, however, show Gómez Barreto notarizing documents such as powers of attorney in Cartagena, suggesting that the banishment sentence was never executed.² Why had Luis Gómez Barreto been acquitted in the first place, and why was he later able to remain in Cartagena even after his trial was revisited?

This was one of the main questions that *visitador* Pedro de Medina Rico had to answer in order to understand the irregularities he uncovered in the functioning of the Cartagena tribunal. Multiple rumors about alliances and negotiations between Inquisition officials and those suspected of "heresy" had motivated the Suprema to commission the *visita* in the first place. The rumors converged around an Inquisition notary, Juan de Uriarte Araoz, who was suspected of offering legal advice to wealthy merchants on trial in exchange for economic benefits.

² For the powers of attorney that Luis Gómez Barreto signed in Cartagena in 1653 and 1654, see: Pleito fiscal de Luis Gómez Barreto con el Real Fisco de la Inquisición, ff. 3-3v, 17v, exp. 18, leg. 4817, Inquisición, AHN.

Visitador Pedro de Medina Rico, however, soon found out that the irregularities in the Cartagena tribunal were far worse than occasional bribery. Instead, he uncovered a murky web of legal and illegal transactions that had allowed both Luis Gómez Barreto and Juan de Uriarte Araoz to accumulate wealth and to wield power that enabled them to manipulate the local administration of justice by the Inquisition tribunal. In the end, connections in social and economic networks allowed Luis Gómez Barreto to remain in Cartagena until his death.

Economic alliances and material connections shaped cross-cutting loyalties and power struggles that challenged the Holy Office's objective of imposing Christian orthodoxy in Cartagena de Indias. The material exchanges described by witnesses make it possible to examine the economic relationships between Luis Gómez Barreto and Juan de Uriarte Araoz, reflected both in testimony in the former's faith trial and in the latter's criminal trial. While the faith trial records present both men in terms of religious and institutional antagonism, the criminal record suggests deeper social and political relationships between Gómez Barreto and Uriarte Araoz.

Together, the two men would generate great personal wealth by exploiting nodal points in the city's economy. While Luis Gómez Barreto used his position as General Depositary of the city to multiply the wealth he had already gained from direct investment in the trade in captives, Juan de Uriarte Araoz offered to trade legal and administrative favors for bribes. These strategies were key to the local economic and political power that would allow both men and their families to remain in Cartagena. Those strategies, however, undermined the Crown's aspirations to obtain profits while maintaining religious orthodoxy, ultimately putting both men on a collision course with the incoming *visitador* from the metropole.

Luis Gómez Barreto: Itineraries of a Trader in African Captives Between Portugal, West Africa, and Cartagena

Luis Gómez Barreto was born in the village of Viseu, in the kingdom of Portugal, around 1570. His parents, Francisco Rodríguez Barreto and Isabel Gómez, were both natives of the same village, as their parents had been.³ In his testimony before the inquisitors of Cartagena sixty-five years later (1636), Luis Gómez Barreto recalled that his father had been known as a descendant of “Old Christians,” while his mother descended from Jewish ancestors who had converted to Christianity. However, he clarified, he was not able to certify this as the truth, because his parents had both died when he was a very young child. He added that he had been baptized, but he did not know if his parents had baptized him in Viseu or in Cerrojos, a village half a league away.⁴

Viseu, in the central region of Portugal, was one of seven towns where Jewish communities had been led by a representative of the rabbinate of Lisbon until king Don Manuel prohibited the practice of Judaism in the kingdom in 1497. The other six towns, Oporto, Torre de Moncorvo, Corvilhã, Santarém, Évora, and Faro, as well as Viseu, figure prominently in the genealogies of New Christians persecuted by the Inquisition in the Americas.⁵

³ Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto. ff. 16-16v, exp. 3, leg. 1620, Inquisición, AHN (hereafter “Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto”). This is the narration of Luis Gómez Barreto's life as he recounted it to the inquisitors in Cartagena. It is impossible to determine its accuracy, since, as Arlette Farge has shown, the voice of the accused in judicial records was constrained by the limits of interrogation and confession. Still, the general outline of the story provides a frame for understanding, if not Luis Gómez Barreto's life story, at least the way he wished to portray it before the inquisitors. See: Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁴ Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, f.f. 17, 17v.

⁵ Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes en América española (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2008), 35, 37.

Some New Christian families nonetheless remained in Portugal, as Isabel Gómez's family apparently did. After she married "Old Christian" Francisco Rodríguez Barreto, they had four children in Viseu, named Manuel de Lira, Joan de Olivera, and Clara and Luis Gómez Barreto. Luis was probably the youngest. All the siblings eventually left Viseu and resided in Lisbon.⁶

Luis recalled that when he was five years old, his father took him from Viseu to Lisbon, where he stayed with his brother Joan while his father traveled to São Tomé, off the coast of West Africa. The island of São Tomé had gained strategic importance for Portuguese ships returning from the *feitoria*, or trading post, of São Jorge da Mina, which they had founded in 1482. Initially uninhabited, São Tomé became a settler colony in the 1490s, similar to Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verde, and devoted to sugar cultivation with the labor of enslaved captives from West Central Africa.⁷ By the 1550s, São Tomé had become one of the two major destinations for the slave trade from the region referred to generically as "Angola."⁸ After 1595, however, the sugar economy in São Tomé declined and fewer captives were imported to the island for local labor.⁹

⁶ Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, f. 16v.

⁷ Gerhard Seibert, "São Tomé's Great Slave Revolt of 1595: Background, Consequences and Misperceptions of One of the Largest Slave Uprisings in Atlantic History," *Portuguese Studies Review* 18:2 (2011): 30. On the early New Christian diaspora in Western Africa, especially Cabo Verde see: Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 120-148.

⁸ David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 74.

⁹ Even as its own sugar production declined, São Tomé continued to have a role in the Atlantic slave trade. Between 1597 and 1628, at least twenty-five slave ships departed the island to ports in the Americas. The first documented voyage carrying captives from West Central Africa to the Americas sailed from São Tomé to Santo Domingo in 1575. Some slave ships reached Cartagena de Indias from São Tomé as early as 1588. Wheat, *Atlantic Africa*, 75, 76, 78.

Luis Gómez Barreto's father apparently died in São Tomé, and his mother passed away in Viseu soon after. Luis remained in Lisbon, where Joan paid for his brother's education with two tutors, Rafael Ferrera and Francisco Hernández, who taught Luis to read and write. Luis would later describe his tutors before the Inquisition of Cartagena as "Old Christians."¹⁰

At the age of twelve, Luis embarked on what would be the first of many transatlantic voyages with his brother Joan. They sailed from Lisbon to Santo Domingo, and went back to Spain with the *flota*, the annual convoy of ships that carried American gold, silver, and precious correspondence to the Peninsula. While the purpose of this first voyage to Santo Domingo is obscure, Luis and Joan's subsequent travels indicate that they became involved in the trade of captives from West Africa to Brazil and Spanish America. From Spain, the brothers went to Angola, where they remained for around six months before continuing to Brazil, presumably on board a ship for the trade in captives. In Brazil, they bought a cargo of sugar that they brought back to Lisbon. Three months later, they moved to São Tomé, where they remained for about a year. There, Luis and Joan parted ways and Luis continued to Brazil, carrying four or five hundred *ducados* that his brother had given him "so that he could find his own life."¹¹

From São Tomé, Luis Gómez Barreto traveled twice to Brazil before settling in the region referred to as "Angola" for three years. Unfortunately, his testimony does not provide insights into his economic activities or the exact place or places where he lived. What seems clear is that after three years, he was able to fund a voyage to take captives from Angola to New Granada. He recalled that while his final destination was Cartagena, he had stopped in the nearby

¹⁰ Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, f. 17v.

¹¹ "para que buscase su vida." Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, f. 18.

port of Santa Marta first.¹² He traveled between Angola and Cartagena at least two more times, trading in captives, before he decided to settle in Cartagena in the 1590s, "around the time when don Pedro de Acuña was governor," presumably in the last decade of the sixteenth century or the first years of the seventeenth.¹³

A year after he decided to remain in Cartagena, Luis Gómez Barreto married doña Bárbara Pereira, herself a native of Portugal. Bárbara and her parents, Beatriz Gómez and Andrés Fernández, were said to be Old Christians from the southern region of Algarve.¹⁴ She was established in the city with some members of her family, among them her brother the archdeacon Francisco Pereira and her sister Gracia.¹⁵

Luis Gómez Barreto's business activities in Cartagena included selling African captives to business partners in Lima. The revenues that this business provided were significant, and in 1607 he bought the title of General Depositary of the city of Cartagena, a position that entitled him to receive and control all the goods seized by the port authorities in cases of contraband, including African captives. Gómez had additional sources of income: corn, cassava and cocoa

¹² "y truxo negros a su quenta." Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, f. 18. Since Cartagena was the only port legally authorized for the trade in African captives, the stop in Santa Marta could suggest Luis Gómez Barreto's early involvement in contraband, as Santa Marta was one of the epicenters of the illegal slave trade to South America.

¹³ "vino a esta ciudad con negros en tiempos del gobernador don Pedro de Acuña y deste último viaje se quedó de asiento en esta ciudad." Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, f. 18. Don Pedro de Acuña was governor of Cartagena and its province between late 1593 and May, 1601. Acuña promoted the first fortification project of Cartagena, and sponsored the design proposed by Juan Bautista Antonelli. He was later promoted to governor of the Philippines, where he died in 1606. Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu, *Los gobernadores de Cartagena de Indias (1504-1810)*, (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1998), 36-39.

¹⁴ Proceso de fe de Luis Gómez Barreto, ff. 16v-17, 18.

¹⁵The archdeacon was one of the highest Church officials in a Cathedral. "Proceso de fe," nums. 9 and 18. It is unclear why the siblings had moved from Portugal to Cartagena.

plantations, and a sawmill.¹⁶

Given the nature of his business, Gómez Barreto developed commercial ties with many members of Cartagena's elite social groups, and also with Portuguese merchants and commercial agents in different cities around the Atlantic rim. The fact that these relationships were not always peaceful is evident. For instance, in 1637 one Simón Rodríguez Bueno brought a civil lawsuit against his business partner Luis Gómez Barreto.¹⁷ Rodríguez was a Portuguese New Christian who had established himself in Seville after two confrontations with the Inquisition of Lisbon, which suspected Rodríguez of "Judaizing." He was a successful businessman who held an active trade in African captives with the Indies, where his connections with other New Christian compatriots such as Jorge de Silva –who conducted business activities in Panama and Lima- and Juan Rodríguez Mesa –one of the richest slave traders of Cartagena- were crucial. Besides their employment as prominent slave traders, all these men had one thing in common. They were all accused of secretly practicing Judaism and were tried by the Inquisition tribunals of Lisbon, Lima, or Cartagena at some stage in their lives.¹⁸

¹⁶ "Proceso criminal contra Juan de Uriarte Araoz," AHN, Inq., leg. 1616, num. 4, cuaderno 3, f. 57r (hereafter "Proceso criminal JUA").

¹⁷"Pleito civil de Simón Rodríguez Bueno contra Luis Gómez Barreto," AHN, Inq. 1636, num. 5.

¹⁸ For more on Juan Rodríguez Mesa and his own experience with the Inquisition of Cartagena, see Chapter Three. Escobar Quevedo, *Inquisición y judaizantes*, 261. Escobar Quevedo has worked with Simón Rodríguez Bueno's faith trial records, which can be found at: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (ANTT), Inq. Lisboa, num. 7580, accessible through Torre do Tombo portal <http://ttonline.dgarq.gov.pt>.

Notary Juan de Uriarte, “who was poor and bankrupt and about to run away”

When he was 24 years old, in 1619, Juan de Uriarte Araoz left Spain as a *criado* (servant) of the incoming governor of Santa Marta and Río de la Hacha, Francisco Núñez de Ribamontán Santander. In order to receive authorization to travel to the Indies, the young Juan de Uriarte Araoz submitted *informaciones de limpieza* to the Casa de la Contratación. Such documents contained the applicants’ (alleged) genealogical information to prove their ‘purity of blood,’ or “the absence of Jewish, Muslim, and (in the Americas) black ancestors.”¹⁹ In this document, he declared that his parents, as well as his maternal and paternal grandparents “have been and are Old Christians, clean of all *raza* and stain of Moors, Jews, or [descendants of people] sentenced by the Holy Office of the Inquisition.” To the contrary, he added, his ancestors had sustained a good reputation in their natal Vizcaya. Juan ended his statement by declaring that he had no legal obligations binding him to his native land: he was single, he was not a member of any religious order, he had not committed any crimes, and he had no debts to pay in Spain. Years later he would indeed be bound to a distant place, Cartagena de Indias, through marriage, debts, and crimes.²⁰

A personal declaration, however, was not enough for the Casa de Contratación to grant permission to travel to the Indies. Petitioners had to produce further evidence of their *limpieza*,

¹⁹ This is María Elena Martínez’s definition in *Genealogical Fictions. Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2008), 282-283.

²⁰ Licencia de pasajero como gobernador de Santa Marta a Francisco Martínez de Ribamontán Santander, March 20, 1619, f. 1; Informaciones de Juan de Uriarte Araoz, Madrid, February 28, 1619, f. 16, no. 14, leg. 5364, Contratación, AGI (Hereafter “Informaciones de J. U. A”). “Como yo y ellos y mis abuelos paternos y maternos y demás nuestros antepasados han sido y son Cristianos viejos limpios de toda raza y mácula de moros, judíos, ni penitenciados por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición,” f. 16, Informaciones de J. U. A.

which typically consisted of testimonies of people who knew the interested party and their ancestors. The declarations were made under oath and recorded by a notary.²¹

In 1628, almost ten years after leaving the Iberian Peninsula as a *criado*, Juan de Uriarte Araoz requested his genealogical information again. This time, the institution conducting the inquiry into his ancestry was not the Casa de la Contratación, but the Inquisition, as Juan de Uriarte Araoz was applying for the position of *nuncio* (which combined the functions of doorman and messenger) of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Cartagena de Indias. Tribunals of the Holy Office in the Basque province of Logroño and in Madrid submitted information about Juan de Uriarte Araoz's paternal and maternal lineages to the Suprema. His paternal ancestors had come from the Basque village of Oñate to Madrid, where Juan's father (also named Juan de Uriarte Araoz and also a notary) had married a local woman named Úrsula Muñoz. She had been born in Madrid, as had her parents. As witnesses in Madrid recalled, the Uriarte Araoz-Muñoz family had lived in a rented house located in Lavapiés neighborhood, a modest artisan district on the southern edges of the city, where unsavory enterprises such as the slaughterhouse and tanneries were also located.²²

Juan de Uriarte Araoz's life story reappears in the historical records of Cartagena through a request that Cartagena inquisitors submitted to the Suprema, asking authorization to grant him the position of Inquisition notary in 1632, and later, through the recollections of witnesses

²¹ Informaciones de J. U. A, ff. 17-24v.

²² Testimony of Diego de Altable, Madrid, October 16, 1628, in "Información genealógica de Juan de Uriarte Araoz y Antonia Márquez, su mujer," exp. 6, leg. 1478, Inquisición, AHN. For a social study of seventeenth-century Lavapiés, see: Julio Vidaurre Jofre, *El Madrid de Velázquez y Calderón. Villa y corte en el siglo XVII. Tomo II: El plano Texeira: lugares, nombres y sociedad* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid y Fundación Caja Madrid, 2000), 112-113.

declaring in the context of a 1648 criminal trial against him.²³ That year inquisitor Juan Ortíz remembered that Uriarte Araoz had lived in the village of Tenerife, in the neighboring Santa Marta province, before he moved to Cartagena to become an Inquisition official.²⁴ He had married doña Antonia Márquez, a native of Tenerife who was the daughter of a Sevillian captain and his wife, a woman from Tolú named Juana Ramírez. Juana Ramírez herself was the daughter of a conquistador and his legitimate wife, both from Seville. Antonia Márquez's courtesy title of doña probably signaled her higher social status as a descendant of Spanish migrants and local women who came from Iberian lineages, just like Antonia Márquez herself. Juan de Uriarte Araoz's marriage to doña Antonia Márquez was an alliance that likely helped him establish a firm footing in Tenerife. Indeed, there were rumors that Juan de Uriarte Araoz had first acquired property across the Atlantic only through his wife's dowry.²⁵

²³ In the 1632 request, the inquisitors argued that they needed a new notary in order to process the growing number of faith trials for supposed witchcraft, as shown in Chapter Two.

²⁴ Juan Ortíz had been the secretary in charge of the seizure and confiscation of property of the women of African descent that the Inquisition tried for witchcraft between 1632 and 1634. See chapters One and Two. Ortíz was promoted to the post of inquisitor in 1638, after inquisitor Damián Velázquez y Contreras left Cartagena for Logroño, where the Suprema had appointed him. José Toribio Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1899), 233.

²⁵ Antonia Márquez's parents were captain Nufio Martín, from Almonte (district of Seville), and Juana Ramírez, from Tolú. Juana Ramírez's parents were the conquistador Juan Jaimes, from Ayamonte (district of Seville) and Francisca de Rivera, born in the city of Seville. "Información genealógica de Catalina de Uriarte Araoz," Cartagena, August 7, 1634, exp. 768, leg. 1575, Inquisición, AHN. Captain Nufio Martín was the son of Pedro Márquez and Catalina Ximénez, both from Almonte. "Información genealógica de Francisco de Uriarte Araoz," Cartagena, August 1, 1667, exp. 1, leg. 1232, Inquisición, AHN. Two later Inquisition notaries in Cartagena, requesting higher salaries, wrote to the Suprema explaining that since their income was insufficient for supporting their wives and children, and for acquiring slaves, they had been forced to spend resources from their wives' dowries. They reported that they had spent half their wives' dowries in order to acquire enslaved persons for the service of the notaries' houses. See: Don Miguel de Echarri y Daoiz and Don Mateo de León y Serna to the Suprema, Cartagena, May 29, 1677, leg. 1607, Inquisición, AHN.

Inquisitor Juan Ortíz also remembered that Juan de Uriarte Araoz had been so poor that he lived in a room that he rented from one Gregorio de Castellar when he came to Cartagena to take a post as notary of the Inquisition in the city.²⁶ Juan Ortíz had often lent him money so that Uriarte Araoz could go back to Tenerife to see his wife, who had stayed in Tenerife. Juan de Uriarte Araoz and doña Antonia Márquez would eventually have several children, including Catalina de Uriarte (likely named after her paternal grandmother), Juan de Uriarte Araoz, Francisco de Uriarte Araoz, and a daughter who entered the Santa Clara nunnery, in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood.²⁷

As inquisitor Juan Ortíz recalled, Juan de Uriarte Araoz's financial situation had changed around 1635, when he bought an *estancia* (a farm or ranch) in Matunilla, a small ranch in Mahates, and a larger one near Tolú, on which he apparently had five thousand cows, and which was worked by eighteen to twenty slaves. In addition, he had a hand in the pearl business, with twelve enslaved pearl fishermen, and another large *estancia* in the district of María. Between 1635 and 1640, Juan Ortíz recalled, notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz had acquired “many jewels of gold, pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and silver,” which were worth twelve thousand pesos. Ortíz

²⁶ Declaración de Juan Ortíz, May 15, 1648, *bloque 3, expediente 4*, leg. 1616, Inquisición, AHN. I will hereafter refer to the file that contains the declaration as Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

²⁷ The genealogical information of the children and grandchildren of Juan de Uriarte Araoz and Antonia Márquez can be found in the Inquisition's archives in Madrid: Información genealógica de Francisco de Uriarte Araoz (1669), exp.1, leg. 1232, Inquisición, AHN. Información genealógica de Catalina de Uriarte Araoz y Márquez (contains also the *información* for her brother Juan de Uriarte Araoz) (1634), exp. 768, leg. 1575, Inquisición, AHN. For the grandson, a franciscan friar requesting a post in the Inquisition of Cartagena (son of Francisco de Uriarte Araoz and his wife doña Manuela Suárez del Águila) see: Información genealógica de fray Sebastián de Uriarte Araoz (1678), exp. 25, leg. 1360, Inquisición, AHN.

did not, however, hazard a guess at the source of the notary's sharp change in fortunes, beyond a reference to his wife's dowry.²⁸

Apparently, the Inquisition trials against Portuguese New Christians had been the turning point in Uriarte Araoz's career. That, at least, was the impression of one of the witnesses, who stated, "Juan de Uriarte is a bad man, a thief who was poor and bankrupt and about to run away, and after the Portuguese were arrested in this Tribunal he found himself very rich with the property he had seized from them." Many witnesses remembered the year 1635 as a turning point, not only in Juan de Uriarte's economic status, but also as the year when the Inquisition of Cartagena initiated in their campaign to uncover and extirpate the alleged Great Plot of Portuguese New Christians.²⁹

To follow up on this accusation, *visitador* Pedro de Medina Rico interrogated notary Juan de Uriarte's son, also named Juan. Following the questionnaire he had employed in other interrogatories, Medina Rico asked the son whether he knew of any members of the Inquisition whose fortune had been moderate around the time of the Great Plot ("the Great Plot of Judaizers," as Inquisitors referred to the 1636-1638 prosecutions) "and who once the said Great Plot happened enriched themselves greatly and very quickly." Juan responded that he had heard that his father's fortune was small ("tenía poco caudal") at the time of the Great Plot, and that he had become very rich soon after. Possibly following up on rumors he had heard, *visitador* Medina Rico asked Juan whether it was true that notary Uriarte had acted against the law by extracting one of the "old books" from the Inquisition's archive and taking it home with him.

²⁸ "Muchas joyas de oro, perlas, diamantes, esmeraldas y plata labrada." Declaración de Juan Ortíz, May 15, 1648, Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

²⁹ "Juan de Uriarte era un mal hombre, ladrón que estaba pobre quebrado y para huirse y después que se fueron presos los portugueses en este Tribunal se hallaba muy rico y sobreado con la hacienda que les había quitado." "Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz," f. 7v, *cuaderno* 3.

Moreover, Medina Rico wished to know whether it was true that Uriarte had asked his son to falsify (“contrahacer”) “some inventories of suspects [of heresy], taking amounts of silver out of them.”³⁰

The son, also now trained as a notary, responded that his father had given him “a manuscript book covered in parchment” that came from the tribunal’s archive. Juan said that when he had opened the book, he had seen that it contained “partidas de negros” (accounts of African captives), similar to those drawn “during the inspections of ships” that arrived in Cartagena bringing captives. He added that he remembered that the book and accounts contained his father’s signature. While notary Uriarte’s son claimed that he did not know what his father had done with that book, he added that his father had asked him to make a copy of a different inventory, imitating the handwriting in the original, but recording smaller amounts of silver than the original contained. The son had complied, he said, out of fear of disobeying his father and inciting his anger. He also offered details about the procedure to the *visitador*: Juan and his father had used three or four types of ink, “some darker, some whiter,” so that they would resemble those in the original inventory. To add credibility to the forgery they had also grabbed and touched the paper in order to give it the appearance of usage.³¹ Juan concluded by declaring

³⁰ “si save que algún miembro desta Inquisición se hallase con moderada hacienda al tiempo de la Complicidad de presos y que luego que sucedió la dha complicidad enriqueciese mucho y muy en breve,” and “un cuaderno antiguo del tribunal para que lo escondiese, y si es verdad que su padre le pidió que contrahiciera unos inventarios de reos, sacando plata labrada de estos,” Testimonio de Don Juan de Araoz, Cartagena, May 31, 1648, Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

³¹ “entregó a este su padre un libro manuscrito aforrado en pergamino;” “y este lo abrió y vio que contenía partidas de negros como las que suelen poner quando se hace vissita de navíos de negros que se traen a vender;” “Y para assimilar más el dho traslado al dho original se escribió con tinta blanca, manoseando y ultrajando el papel [...] tenía su padre deste sobre la mesa tres o quatro tinteros con diferentes tintas unas más negras y otras más blancas y escribía con las unas y otras.” Underlined in the original. Testimonio de Don Juan de Araoz, Cartagena, May 31, 1648, Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

that he recalled that the inventories included the property that the Inquisition had seized from slave traders and merchants, including Juan Rodríguez Mesa and other men whom the Inquisitors had declared guilty of “Judaizing” in 1638.³²

In four notebooks, *visitador* Pedro de Medina Rico provided the Suprema with the details regarding Juan de Uriarte Araoz’s exceptional criminal file. According to Medina, Juan de Uriarte had “committed very serious crimes of concealment in faith trials, maliciously and treacherously instructing the prisoners in the ways they should defend themselves,” receiving in exchange “large sums of bribes in serious prejudice of the administration of Justice in such faith trials, leaving crimes against it without punishment.”³³ In addition, *visitador* Medina accused Juan de Uriarte Araoz of forgery of tribunal records, and of defrauding the Inquisition’s treasury of large sums of money.³⁴

Luis Gómez Barreto figured prominently in the correspondence of *visitador* Medina Rico with his superiors in Madrid. Since Gómez Barreto’s 1638 faith trial had resulted in his acquittal, his property had not been confiscated. Rumor spread that this acquittal was the outcome of Gómez Barreto’s negotiations with notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz.³⁵ Gómez Barreto’s wife

³² Juan de Araoz, Jr., declared that he remembered that the inventories contained lists of the property seized from Francisco Rodríguez de Solís, Francisco Piñero, Manuel Díaz Franco, and Luis Fernández Suárez, all of whom appeared in the *auto de fe* of 1638. The witness also mentioned Manuel Alvarez Prieto, Álvaro López Mesa, Antonio Rodríguez Ferrerín, Francisco Rodríguez Carnero, and Manuel López de Noroña, whom the Inquisition had prosecuted and acquitted of the charge of “Judaizing.”

³³ “A cometido gravissimos delitos de fautorías en causas de fe, instruyendo a los presos en los modos con que se habían de defender maliciosa y falsamente [...] y por ello haber recibido grandes sumas de sobornos en grave perjuicio de la administración de Justicia en dichas causas de fe quedando sin punición ni castigo delitos cometidos contra ella.” “Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz,” f. 1, *cuaderno* 2.

³⁴ “Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz,” f. 4, *cuaderno* 2.

³⁵ According to a witness, “Luis Gómez Barreto había salido bien de la Inquisición por

Bárbara Pereira and his daughter, Josefa Barreto, had apparently paid large sums of money to notary Uriarte Araoz, who, in addition, demanded other valuables as part of the agreement. According to witnesses, Bárbara and Josefa had provided the notary with a set of pillows with gold buttons that Josefa had made, diamond rings, gold chains, and rich textiles.³⁶

The transfer of domestic goods between both families brings female labor and the social implications of redistribution of wealth through women to the fore. Indeed, the exchanges between the families of Gómez Barreto and Uriarte Araoz had effects that went beyond the embellishment of the notary's house and bed. Some of the material wealth that the Uriarte Araoz family acquired through the notary's negotiations with Luis Gómez Barreto helped Uriarte to secure the position of his lineage within the higher ranks of Cartagena society.

While the *informaciones de limpieza* that notary Uriarte had secured through his family's paper trail in the archives of Inquisition tribunals in the Peninsula had allowed him to obtain formal authorization for his daughter's marriage in 1634, his economic situation seems to have been an obstacle to the actual realization of the union in Cartagena. Juan de Araoz, the notary's son, recalled that his sister doña Catalina de Uriarte had married Inquisition notary Luis Blanco de Salcedo during the time when Luis Gómez Barreto was in the Inquisition's jails, on trial for "Judaizing" (between 1636 and 1638). Juan added that the utensils, furniture, linens, and clothes (*ajuar*) that his sister had brought to the marriage as part of her dowry had come from the household of Luis Gómez Barreto. On the day of the wedding, moreover, the family had received "many gifts of food" from the house of Luis Gómez Barreto. Juan concluded by saying that everyone in his father's household knew about the provenance of those items, especially a

negociación grande que había tenido y que el medianero y tratador de la dicha negociación había sido Juan de Uriarte Araoz." Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz, cuaderno 3, f. 5v.

³⁶ Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz, cuaderno 3, f. 7r.

woman named Juana Criolla, whom his father held as a slave, and who was familiar with those gifts in particular.³⁷

During the *visita* conducted by Pedro de Medina Rico, more than ten years after Luis Gómez Barreto's first trial, notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz continued to receive benefits from his relationship to Gómez Barreto. Enslaved workers declared in testimony given to Medina Rico that the wood they were using in the construction of Uriarte Araoz's new house (in Cartagena's Los Jagüeyes neighborhood) came from Gómez Barreto's sawmills "at very low prices." Another witness said that he recalled that the wood that Juan de Uriarte acquired from Gómez Barreto was mahogany, but that he did not know whether Uriarte was using it for the construction of his new house.³⁸

Notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz's own declarations confirm, if not his change in fortunes, at least the large amounts of wealth that he had acquired by the time of the *visita*. In addition to luxury household objects, jewels, fine textiles, and urban real estate, Juan de Uriarte Araoz had acquired eight hundred and fifty heifers and bullocks from a Felipe de Zabaleta y Heredia, which he kept in his ranch in Tolú. He bought another ranch from one Catalina de Monreal.

³⁷ "Y ahora se ha acordado que en el tiempo que estuvo presso en este tribunal Luis Gómez Barreto depositario general inviaron a su padre deste mucha ropa blanca de diferentes labores para el servicio de la persona del dho su padre y para el ajuar de doña Catalina de Uriarte su hermana cuando casó con don Luis Blanco de Salcedo [...] porque esto lo supo por oír a todas las personas de su casa entonces que la que la dha ropa venía de cassa del dho Luis Gómez Barreto [...] Y también save que para la boda de dha su hermana inviaron de cassa del dho Luis Gómez Barreto o de su cuñada muchos regalos de comida." Testimonio de Don Juan de Araoz, Cartagena, May 31, 1648, Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

³⁸ "Supo que por orden del dho Luis Gómez Barreto sus esclavos estaban sacando mucha madera de caoba para dar a Juan de Uriarte, no sabe si vendida como para las casas que el dho Juan de Uriarte está labrando en la plazuela de los jagueyes," Testimony of Don Francisco Blanco de Salcedo, Cartagena, April 27, 1648, cuaderno 3, f. 8v, Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

Moreover, Juan de Uriarte's list of debts shows his ability to secure loans and credit from private individuals and from traditional credit institutions, particularly religious organizations such as lay brotherhoods and convents.³⁹ In total, Juan de Uriarte Araoz claimed that his debts amounted to over sixty thousand pesos. Uriarte owed a *censo* to the brotherhood of San Pedro Mártir, a loan he had taken in order to buy "small houses" (*casillas*) located in Getsemaní.⁴⁰ He also owed a debt to the Franciscan convents of Tenerife and Mompo, for another *censo* on the "estancia y negros" of Caracolí. He had additional "small houses" in Getsemaní, for which he claimed that he owed 4,100 *pesos* to the brotherhood of Santísimo Sacramento, to the convent of Santo Domingo, and to the brotherhood of San Pedro Mártir. He had also received loans from the nuns of Santa Clara and from the San Sebastián Hospital for the plot of land where he built a new house, located on La Merced street, within the city walls. He also owed three thousand *pesos* to Santa Clara for the dowry of his daughter, who was in that convent, and five thousand *pesos* to his daughter Catalina de Uriarte Araoz, for her own marriage dowry.⁴¹

If the accusations against notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz were true, he had acquired wealth in Cartagena after arriving as a *criado* in his youth through a combination of strategies. These strategies included marriage to a local woman, service to the Inquisition, and acquiring credit for investments in land, cattle, and real estate from different individuals and institutions. The strategy also included taking advantage of the Inquisition's success in applying confiscation of

³⁹ As Jane Mangan has shown for the case of Potosí, people sought credit through a variety of mechanisms, "but the ability to obtain it depended on one's position in the colonial society." Connection to social networks was critical to both obtaining and collecting loans. Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 107.

⁴⁰ The members of brotherhood of Saint Peter Martyr, "founder of the inquisition," were officials of the Holy Office. More available in "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Pedro Mártir," exp. 1, leg. 1605, Inquisición, AHN. *Censos* were financial instruments similar to mortgages.

⁴¹ Proceso Criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz, ff. 183-186.

property as a punishment against wealthy members of Cartagena's commercial elite. This entailed illegal appropriation of funds (silver) through forgery of confiscation inventories and favoring suspects on trial in exchange for economic favors.

Those strategies not only allowed Juan de Uriarte Araoz to acquire income, but also to generate more wealth by inserting himself in the main economic activities in the city and beyond, including the agricultural and commercial networks that sustained the trade in African captives. Juan de Uriarte acquired enslaved workers to run these operations directly from slave traders in Cartagena.⁴² For example, he had a foot in the cattle business, as he had acquired a ranch, through credit, in Tolú, and a smaller ranch in the area known as Mahates.⁴³

Juan de Uriarte also participated in the transportation business that supplied Cartagena, both on land and water. For instance, he owned a *fragata* (probably a light vessel for rowing) that navigated between Cartagena, Mompox, Santa Marta, and Zaragoza, transporting corn between those ports on the Magdalena river. The captain of the boat was a man named Antón Biojó, whom Juan de Uriarte Araoz claimed as a slave.⁴⁴

⁴² See for instance the testimony of Juan Marcos Martín, “esclavo de Juan de Uriarte Araoz,” in a 1649 lawsuit against Uriarte: “dijo que [...] vino a esta ciudad a comprar una partida de negros esclavos [...] y de allí fueron todos cuatro a la posada de un armador de un navío de negros que no sabe como se llama, a los barrios de San Diego.” Cartagena, March 5, 1649, Pleito civil de don Vicente de Villalobos Tovar con Juan de Uriarte Araoz, por la posesión de una esclava, ff. 85, 86, exp. 7, leg. 1612, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴³ For the latter ranch, see: Testimonio de Juan López de Rivera, Cartagena, May 2, 1662, f. 221, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI, El cabildo de Cartagena con Gonzalo e Herrera, sobre si el camino de Mahates y Patilla había de ser común o particular: “bio este testigo que Pedro de Herrera traxo una partida de ganado vacuno suyo para entregarla al secretario Juan de Uriarte que tenía hatillo en Mahates.”

⁴⁴ Testimonio de Juan Marcos Martín, Cartagena, March 5, 1649, Pleito civil de don Vicente de Villalobos Tovar con Juan de Uriarte Araoz, por la posesión de una esclava, ff. 85v, 88, exp. 7, leg. 1612, Inquisición, AHN.

In addition, Juan de Uriarte Araoz owned trains of mules that transported agricultural products and other goods to Cartagena and Mompox. Fifteen years after the *visita*, in 1662, two of Juan de Uriarte's sons testified in a lawsuit in which Cartagena residents debated whether some of the roads that connected Cartagena to the Magdalena were public, or if they instead belonged to a wealthy man named don Gonzalo de Herrera. Francisco de Araoz, born in Cartagena, declared that he recalled that his father's mules transported the wine that he sold in other villages, along the banks of the Magdalena, and that his father always traveled the road of Mahates "with his mules," transporting the products of "the haciendas that he had by the [Magdalena] river."⁴⁵

Conclusion

During the *visita*, notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz escaped Cartagena and went back to Spain. Whether he subsequently faced any consequences as a result of the *visita* of Pedro de Medina Rico to the tribunal of the Inquisition in Cartagena remains unknown.⁴⁶ However, the family's connection to local administration continued through the children's marriages and professions. Catalina de Uriarte Araoz's marriage to Luis Blanco de Salcedo, Jr., for instance,

⁴⁵ "que su padre siempre tenía por uso el andar por el dho camino con sus mulas y que lo que traya de las haciendas que tenía en el río lo trajinaba por el dho camino." Testimonio de don Francisco de Araoz, Cartagena, May 11, 1662, f. 233v, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI, El cabildo de Cartagena con Gonzalo e Herrera, sobre si el camino de Mahates y Patilla había de ser común o particular.

⁴⁶ See: Testimonio de Alonso de Arce, Cartagena, March 10, 1648, and Testimonio de Juan de Araoz, Cartagena, May 31, 1648, Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz.

created an alliance of families of notaries in Cartagena.⁴⁷ Juan de Uriarte Araoz's son of the same name also became an Inquisition notary and participated in the local government as *procurador*, while Francisco had the post of *nuncio* of the Cartagena Inquisition, the same post his father had filled back in 1628.⁴⁸ In order to access these posts and marital alliances, notary Juan de Uriarte Araoz and doña Antonia Márquez's sons and daughters (and later at least one grandson) requested genealogical information from the Inquisition. Despite Juan de Uriarte Araoz's modest rank within the Inquisition, his deep paper trail in the archives of the Holy Office in Logroño, Seville, and Madrid, alongside his marriage into a distinguished local family, was an important factor in allowing his descendants to find work and form families of higher social status in Cartagena de Indias.

In 1664, notary Juan de Uriarte's son, in his role of *procurador*, filed a petition before the lieutenant general of Cartagena. Juan de Uriarte Araoz, Jr., informed the local authorities of the intentions of one Vicente de Peñalosa, a man from Cádiz, who wished to receive the title of notary in Cartagena. However, Juan de Uriarte Araoz considered that local authorities should refrain from granting the position to Peñalosa. "If he becomes a notary in these kingdoms of the Indies where the Audiencias are distant and where there are so few lettered men, [he] will cause quarrels, antipathies, and differences," argued Uriarte. "He has always wandered from one place

⁴⁷ Catalina's husband was the son of the first Inquisition notary, with the same name, who had died around 1627 and whose post Juan de Uriarte Araoz had filled in 1630. Doña Antonia de Vitoria was the wife of the first notary Luis Blanco de Salcedo. In a 1627 lawsuit, she appears as a widow. See: Proceso criminal contra Pedro de Angola por lesiones a Diego, esclavo negro de la viuda de Luis Blanco de Salcedo, *expediente* 10, *leg.* 1616, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴⁸ See: *leg.* 771B, Escribanía, AGI.

to another without house or fortune, without any movable or immovable property, owning no other wealth beyond that of his own person.”⁴⁹

As for Luis Gómez Barreto, *visitador* Medina Rico revisited his faith trial and declared him guilty of “Judaizing” in 1658. He was sentenced to banishment from Cartagena for two years and to confiscation of one half of his property. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the sentence was fully carried out. Luis Gómez Barreto died in his home in Cartagena on April 12, 1663. Another notary, Manuel López Nieto, certified: “On today’s date I saw Luis Gómez Barreto, general depositary of this city, dead naturally, in the houses where he dwelled and shrouded in the habit of Saint Francis.” Following Gómez Barreto’s death, the Inquisition confiscated the title of General Depositary that Gómez Barreto had acquired in 1607 for ten thousand *ducados*. To obtain liquid income from this confiscation, the Inquisition attempted to sell the title at auction. However, the sale was delayed by lengthy disputes among Gómez Barreto’s heirs, including his entrepreneurial neighbor, land and tannery owner don Gonzalo de Herrera. The Inquisition finally sold the title to one Diego de Mirafuentes in 1674, “twelve years after the position was put on sale.”⁵⁰

Despite the antagonistic positions that Luis Gómez Barreto and Juan de Uriarte occupied in the religious hierarchy of the city, their families had become deeply intertwined through their

⁴⁹ “Que si es escribano en estos reinos de Indias donde están lejos las audiencias y donde hay tan pocos letrados, [...] ha de ser causa de muchos disgustos, pleitos, y diferencias;” “que siempre ha andado vagando de un lugar a otro sin que se le conozca cossa ni hacienda, ni bienes muebles ni raíces, ni otro caudal más que su persona.” Don Juan de Uriarte Araoz con Vicente de Peñalosa, 1664, ff. 9v, 17, leg. 575B, Escribanía, AGI.

⁵⁰ “Yo Manuel López Nieto teniente de escribano [...] certifico y doy fe como oy día de la fecha vi muerto naturalmente [...] a Luis Gómez Barreto depositario general desta ciudad y estando en las cassas de su morada y amortajado con el ávito de San Francisco.” Fe de muerte de Luis Gómez Barreto, April 12, 1663, f. 5v. “Después de doce años de estar el oficio en venta,” f. 77, Diego de Mirafuentes con el fiscal sobre oficio de depositario general de Cartagena, leg. 577B, Escribanía, AGI.

respective economic pursuits. Luis Gómez Barreto was one of many individuals who had arrived in Cartagena seeking to create wealth and secure positions at their new home. A Portuguese New Christian, Gómez Barreto developed Atlantic connections through the slave trade that allowed him to accumulate wealth in Cartagena. But now he had become vulnerable because of the Inquisition's suspicions of individuals of Jewish ancestry. On the other side, Juan de Uriarte Araoz, an Old Christian from a modest background, lacked connections or fortune. However, he held a crucial position within an institution that was becoming increasingly successful in targeting people like Luis Gómez Barreto. The two men each had an interest in an alliance that would enable Gómez Barreto to remain in Cartagena until his death and Uriarte Araoz to insert himself in Cartagena's most important economic networks. Even though Uriarte Araoz fled the city during the investigations of *visitador* Pedro de Medina Rico, in the long run his alliance with Luis Gómez Barreto had allowed him to establish a lineage of higher status in Cartagena. As suspicions of Judaizing had not truly derailed Gómez Barreto's ascent, evidence of unlawful enrichment had not reversed the process of accumulation in the Uriarte Family. The symbiosis that allowed an economy of graft was, in the long run, nearly unassailable.

Chapter Five

Between Barrio and Arrabal: Debates Over Urban Space and Nuisance Industries in the Island of Getsemaní

When Don José Alvaro Evangelista complained about the unpleasant smells produced by Don Gonzalo de Herrera's tannery located across the street from his home in 1659, Getsemaní was already a populous and diverse area of Cartagena de Indias. The street known as calle de la Media Luna, or Half Moon Street, buzzed with carriages, riders on horseback, and rich and poor travelers who went in and out of the city through the Media Luna gate that crossed the estuary to reach the royal road on the mainland. Once a year, this street became the stage for the civil processions that the *cabildo*, or city council, had promised to honor San Roque in exchange for his favor in preventing the arrival of the plague that had ravaged Havana and Santo Domingo. Priests crossed through the gate to Santísima Trinidad Parish to take the Blessed Sacrament to the gravely ill. Enslaved men brought corn and cattle into the city from the surrounding *estancias*, and unloaded canoes carrying gold, silver, and flour from the interior of the New Kingdom of Granada.

Surrounded by water, Getsemaní was the gateway to Cartagena. Anyone coming to or leaving the city through the *Camino Real* (number 6* on Map 5) that went inland toward Santa Fe had to pass through the Media Luna gate in Getsemaní. The San Francisco bridge, located in front of the Franciscan convent (number 8 on the map), then connected the island to Cartagena. Given its location outside the city walls, Getsemaní was commonly described as an *arrabal*, a

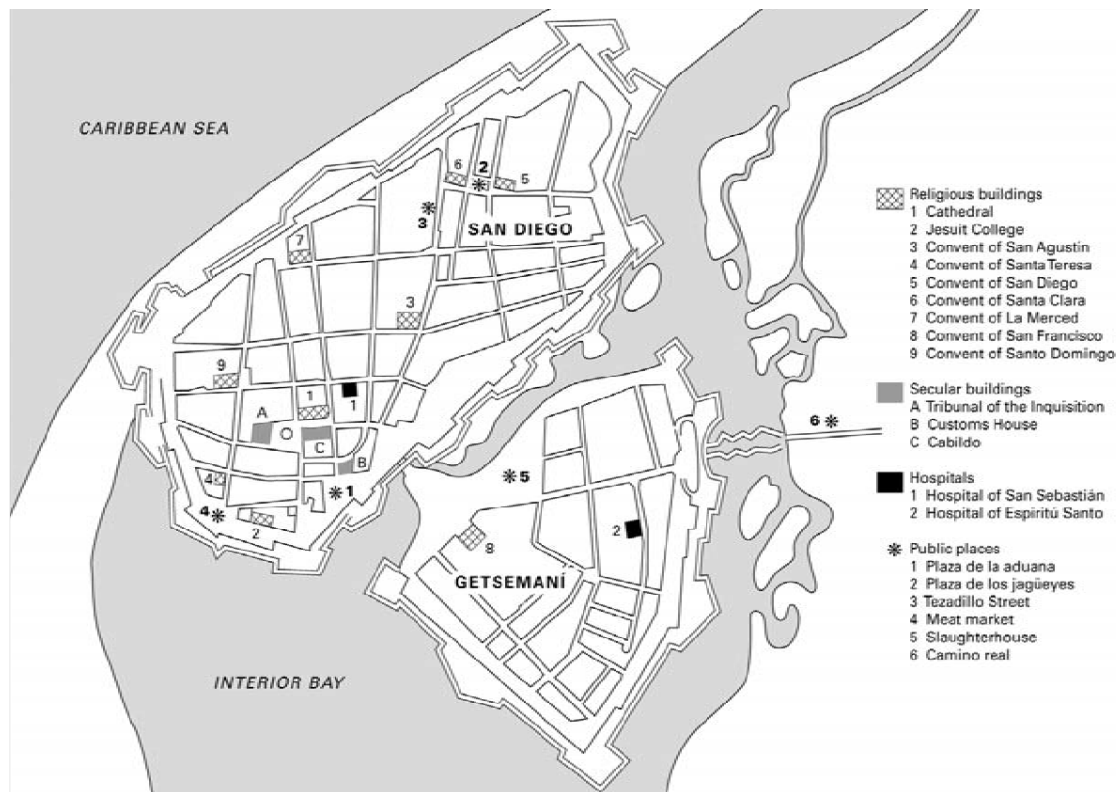
word that can be roughly translated as “the outskirts,” or more pejoratively, as “the slums.”¹ In the 1570s, the *cabildo* had attempted to stimulate Cartagena’s growth by urging landowners to “fence and construct” in Getsemaní, apparently without success. Maps made a decade later still showed only two buildings in Getsemaní: the Franciscan convent and the slaughterhouse.²

In the 1620s, the constant fear of pirate attacks and the reality of contrabanding had forced the authorities to build a limestone wall around Cartagena. Later in the seventeenth century, Antonio Franco Pariente, a priest who lived in Getsemaní, remembered that when these walls were built, people started to move their homes to “the other side” (a way of referring to Getsemaní) in search of the fresh air and open spaces that the walls had taken away from

¹ The internal dynamics of this area during the colonial period are still largely unexplored, although scholars have studied some of its social dynamics through a 1620 census. See Antonino Vidal Ortega, “‘Relación del sitio asiento de Getsemaní’ en el año 1620,” *Historia Caribe* II:6 (2001): 123-135; David Wheat, “*Nharas* and *Morenas Horras*: A Luso-African Model for the Social History of the Spanish Caribbean, c. 1570-1640,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 119-150, 134-135; Margarita Garrido dedicates a section of “Vida cotidiana en Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII” to Getsemaní. In *Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII*, eds. Haroldo Calvo Stevenson and Adolfo Meisel Roca (Cartagena: Banco de la República, 2007), 460-463. Aims McGuinness has studied conflict between *arrabal* dwellers and city elites in nineteenth century Panama. See: *Path of Empire. Panama and the California Gold Rush* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 25. For a study of the way in which city walls reproduce colonial patterns of inclusion and exclusion (“intramuros” and “extramuros”) on into the twentieth century, see Guadalupe García, *Beyond the Walled City: Colonial Exclusion in Havana* (Oakland, University of California Press, 2016).

² “A once de enero del año de 1577 se ordenó en cabildo, que por quanto en la parte llamada Jetsemaní... están proveídos solares, [hace] muchos días a diferentes personas, y no los edifican, y los dejan estar hechos arcabuco, y es causa de que la ciudad no aumente por aquella parte, se ordenó que todas las personas... lo cerquen y edifiquen dentro de seis meses primeros siguientes, so pena de que si no los edificaren dentro de este término, quede el solar vaco, para que se pueda proveer a otras personas.” Ordenanza 17, Libro 5 de cabildo, Ordenanzas de buen gobierno dictadas por el cabildo de Cartagena de Indias, in Vila Vilar, *Cartagena de Indias*, 496. See Map 2: Plano de las murallas y fortalezas de Cartagena, 1588, no. 10, *fondo* Mapas y planos de Panamá, AGI.

Cartagena.³



Map 5. The urban area of Cartagena de Indias in the early 17th C. Notice the bridge connecting Getsemaní to Cartagena. Source: Linda Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale. The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007, p. 138.

The litigants José Alvaro Evangelista and Gonzalo de Herrera were each part of the most important social and economic networks of Cartagena and its province. Herrera was a *familiar* (or informant) of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. He was also an established businessman and a landowner who resided in the city center and made money from a business located on the unsavory margins. Evangelista, having moved to Getsemaní, sought to have Herrera remove the noxious tannery from across the street from his new residence. If Evangelista succeeded, he

³ Testimony of Antonio Franco Pariente, November 28, 1669, José Alvaro Evangelista con Gonzalo de Herrera, sobre que demoliese una tenería en el barrio de Getsemaní, 1660-1671, leg. 574A, Escribanía, AGI. I will refer hereafter to the lawsuit as Evangelista vs. Herrera.

might advance his own social and economic status while expanding the boundaries of the respectable city. Over the course of the lawsuit against Gonzalo de Herrera, José Alvaro Evangelista and his supporters employed arguments about public health, morality, population growth, and construction materials in order to persuade the authorities adjudicating the case that Getsemaní had become a *barrio*, or neighborhood, and was no longer an *arrabal*. If authorities ruled in Evangelista's favor and declared Getsemaní a *barrio*, nuisance industries and the enslaved and free people of African descent who sustained them with their labor would have to be removed beyond the new city limits.

Evangelista seemed to be in possession of all the tools necessary to win the case. Distinguished members of Cartagena's society supported his claims, and the authorities would have been familiar with his central arguments, which drew on early modern ideas about olfaction and urban planning. Nonetheless, in this debate about the meaning of urban space, the courts eventually decided that Getsemaní and the people of African descent who lived there should remain legally excluded from the city but economically connected to it. It turned out that local commitment to the Atlantic networks in which the tannery was embedded and access to the labor of Africans and their descendants far outweighed the individual interests of the aggrieved plaintiff. Local officials viewed the economic benefits of the tannery as a more robust criterion for permanence than the older arguments about the impropriety of such unsavory enterprises.

The legal battle between Evangelista and Herrera about the location of the tannery in Getsemaní lasted for twelve years. First, the Governor, adjudicating the case in Cartagena, allowed Herrera to maintain the tannery where it was. Evangelista then appealed the verdict to the Real Audiencia in Santa Fé in 1664. The decision again favored Herrera. Evangelista, however, seemed determined to have the tannery removed from his street. In 1669, he again filed

a complaint, this time subjecting the matter to the bishop's jurisdiction. The bishop then submitted the complete file to the Council of the Indies in Seville. Unfortunately for Evangelista, the Council's prosecutors concluded that the previous verdicts could not be reversed.⁴

Evangelista and Herrera's strategies to "stay and reside in Cartagena"

According to the tanner, his problems with the aggrieved José Alvaro Evangelista had begun after the latter built his home across from the tannery in Media Luna Street. Evangelista was the treasurer of the Santa Cruzada and member of the *cabildo* of Cartagena. He lived in one of the "casas principales," or distinguished houses, on Media Luna Street, probably inherited from his father, Julio Evangelista.⁵ Born in the Italian Peninsula sometime in the early 1560s, his father had submitted a *Relación de méritos* to the king in which he listed his services to the Spanish crown to support his request for naturalization. Julio Evangelista described his participation in Castile's military campaigns in Europe and in the Americas. "Of the Roman nation," he had served the Spanish crown in Cyprus and Portugal as captain of an Italian infantry company. He lived in the Iberian Peninsula for nine years before embarking for Cartagena de Indias in 1590, where he then defended the city against corsair attacks and captained the Santa Catalina galley against English ships that threatened the slave trade frigates passing through Santa Marta and Río de la Hacha. His most significant accomplishment, he argued, had occurred

⁴ "No se puede volver a pedir lo que ya se ha denegado." Note of the Prosecutor, 1671, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁵ The *Bula de la Santa Cruzada* was a Papal concession of spiritual benefits such as plenary and partial indulgences in exchange for economic donations destined to the defense of the Holy Land. See: José Fernández Llamazares, *Historia de la bula de la Santa Cruzada* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Eusebio Aguado, 1859), accessed through Google Books.

on land. As the captain of four hundred men, Julio Evangelista had led a military campaign against “a large number of blacks who had run away to the woods” where they had built a fortified *palenque*, or maroon community. Evangelista’s troops vanquished the runaways, “killing many of them and capturing others.” As a reward for these services, the king granted him a “carta de naturaleza de estos Reynos de Castilla,” or naturalization papers, in 1618. As a *natural*, Julio Evangelista was now allowed to engage in commerce between Castile and the Indies and to “stay and reside in Cartagena or any other place.”⁶

With his legal status in order, Julio Evangelista was able to secure his social and economic standing in Cartagena, his new home. He married Doña Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, and had one child with her.⁷ By 1620 he owned four plots of land with at least seven huts, made of *bahareque* and roofed with straw, which he rented to *morenos* and other poor people. All the properties were located in Getsemaní.⁸ Three years later, Julio Evangelista seemed determined to

⁶ Carta de naturaleza of Julio Evangelista, December 30, 1618, Evangelista vs. Herrera. Julio Evangelista submitted additional information regarding his services to the crown to support his request for a position in the local government and a stipend of two thousand pesos. Informaciones de Julio Evangelista, 1620, N. 19, leg. 131, Santa Fe, AGI. David Wheat has calculated that a total of 18 galleys were used in the Spanish Caribbean between 1578 and 1603, including two built in Cartagena. The Santa Catalina was one of the latter. David Wheat, “Mediterranean Slavery, New World Transformations: Galley Slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, 1578-1635,” *Slavery & Abolition* 31, no. 3 (2010): 327-344.

⁷ We know relatively little about Doña Catalina. In 1649, José Alvaro Evangelista submitted *informaciones de oficio y parte* to the king. He included *informaciones de limpieza* of his parents, Don Julio Evangelista and Doña Catalina Pimienta Pacheco. Informaciones de oficio y parte, José Alvaro Evangelista, June 5, 1649, f. 2, N. 3, leg. 137, Santa Fe, AGI. Doña Catalina was the sister of Augustinian Provincial Don Joseph Pacheco, who also testified in favor of José Alvaro Evangelista in the lawsuit against Gonzalo de Herrera. In 1641, as a widow, Doña Catalina Pimienta Pacheco lent 4,400 *pesos* to Francisco Caballero and Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera “por hazerme amistad y buena obra.” Pleito civil de Ambrosio Arias de Aguilera, 1650, f. 2v, exp. 14, leg. 1611, Inquisición, AHN.

⁸ “bahareques... donde vive pobre gente;” “donde viven morenos que los alquilera.” Relación del sitio y asiento de Getsemaní, July 24 1620, N.7, R.2, leg. 39, Santa Fe, AGI. Julio Evangelista owned properties number 75, 78, 108, and 109. The census suggests that José Alvaro Evangelista

keep adding value to his properties and status in the area. He petitioned the king to sponsor the creation of a new parish “in the Getsemaní neighborhood.” When the king asked the ecclesiastical authorities’ opinion on the matter, they asserted that such a parish was unnecessary. According to them, Getsemaní was too poor to afford tithing and the population was too small to justify the expenses of a new parish. The reason behind Julio Evangelista’s petition, they argued, was his own personal benefit, since a new parish would increase the value of a house and garden he owned in the “neighborhood.”⁹

When Julio’s son José Alvaro Evangelista filed the lawsuit against Gonzalo de Herrera forty years later, he seemed to be following his father’s footsteps: “[The tannery’s] bad smell makes the houses around it uninhabitable and decreases their value,” one of Evangelista’s allies said.¹⁰ José Alvaro had married Doña María Arias Cabeza de Vaca, the daughter of a wealthy landowner and *encomendero* named Don Nicolás de Barros. After Don Nicolás’s death in 1658, José Alvaro and Doña María inherited part of his properties, including the extensive *hacienda* Nuestra Señora de Altagracia del Majagual, along with the enslaved men who worked there.¹¹

built his house in one of these plots. Modern architects translate *bahareque* as wattle and daub. This building technique consists of a structure made of wood—usually *guadua* bamboo (*Guadua angustifolia*)—which is filled or plastered with a mixture of soil, straw or twigs, and water. Julio Evangelista also owned rural property in the Province of Cartagena, including a large ranch (*hato grande de vacas*) and sawmill near Tubará. José Agustín Blanco Barros, *Obras completas. Tomo I* (Barranquilla, Universidad del Norte, 2011), 61, 205.

⁹ Cartas y expedientes del cabildo eclesiástico de Cartagena, August 22, 1623, no. 55, leg. 232, Santa Fe, AGI.

¹⁰ “...mal olor que haze inhabitables y de menos valor las casas de su vecindad.” Petición del maestro Fray Joseph Pacheco, 1663, Evangelista vs Herrera.

¹¹ Don Nicolás de Barros was born in Coro, in Venezuela Province. He owned *estancias* and enslaved men, women, and children. He also owned four houses within Cartagena’s walls, in the Plazuela de la Yerba (later renamed Plaza de los Coches). Doña María’s two sisters Catalina de San Nicolás and Josepha de San Carlos were *monjas profesas* of Santa Clara. See: Testament of Don Nicolás de Barros y de la Guerra, published in Blanco Barros, *Obras completas*, 360-365.

The offending tanner himself, Gonzalo de Herrera, had arrived in Cartagena around 1621 from Seville, where he was born.¹² By 1638 he had married Doña Francisca Pérez Maldonado, also born in Seville. That year, both of them applied for the title of familiares (informants) of the Santo Oficio, Cartagena's Inquisition, a post that could convey special privileges.¹³ The trail left in the archives by Herrera indicates that he rose to become one of the richest men in the city. In 1644, he bought seventy-two enslaved persons whom Alvaro Gil Muñoz had brought from "Guinea" to Santa Marta four years earlier in the caravel *San Antonio*.¹⁴ By 1647, Gonzalo de Herrera had received the title of "Caballero de la Orden de Calatrava,"¹⁵ and a year later, Herrera's next-door neighbor was Doña Josepha Barreto, daughter of one of Cartagena's most prominent merchants, the Portuguese Luis Gómez Barreto. Doña Josepha and Gonzalo de Herrera lived in houses near the Inquisition headquarters, in one of the most prominent areas within Cartagena's walls.¹⁶

José Alvaro and Doña María acquired the *hacienda* through a lawsuit against Doña Josefa de Simancas, Don Nicolás's second wife and legitimate heiress of the property as established by Don Nicolás in his will.

¹² Don Gonzalo de Herrera, sobre los fraudes que hizo en 72 piezas de esclavos negros que compró, 1644, leg. 1025A, Escribanía, AGI.

¹³ Informaciones de Gonzalo de Herrera y Francisca Pérez Maldonado, su mujer, 1638, exp. 18, leg. 1245, Inquisición, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, AHN. The *familiares del Santo Oficio* were local functionaries whose main duty was to spy and denounce possible transgressors. The *familiares* were exempt from taxes and were allowed to carry weapons. They did not receive a salary but the position gave them prestige. See Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años*, vol. 4, 45.

¹⁴ Herrera paid the considerable sum of 34,000 pesos to Gil Muñoz. Don Gonzalo de Herrera, sobre los fraudes..., 1644, leg. 1025A, Escribanía, AGI.

¹⁵ Expediente para la concesión del título de caballero de la orden de Calatrava a Gonzalo de Herrera, August 1647, N. 10383, OM-Expedientillos, AHN.

¹⁶ Proceso criminal de Juan de Uriarte Araoz, notario del Secreto de la Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias, 1648, bloque 3, exp. 4, leg. 1616, Inquisición, AHN. Gonzalo and Luis were at least close to each other. In 1662, Luis Gómez Barreto renounced to his title as General Depository

By 1652 Herrera was engaged in trans-Atlantic commerce between Cartagena, Seville, and Cadiz. He shipped local products such as tobacco, indigo, emeralds, and leather through his agent and brother-in-law Antonio Ramírez de los Reyes.¹⁷ Part of the profits went to Gonzalo de Herrera's father, who still lived in Seville. By the 1660s, Herrera was also the owner of considerable amounts of land in the nearby areas of Mahates and Patilla, where men he held as property raised cattle, grew corn, and transported the products on Herrera's mules through the Media Luna gate in Getsemaní on their way to Cartagena's markets and *pulperías*, or general stores.¹⁸ After delivering cattle to the slaughterhouse in Getsemaní, the enslaved workers would probably collect the hides that other men Herrera held as property would then transform into leather at the tannery a few blocks away.

Gonzalo de Herrera's tannery was located within a larger property that included a house with a tower, covered with tiles. The foundations of the house were of stone and it had three arches made of "rubble and ballast." A wooden door opened on to Media Luna Street. The tannery itself was situated outside the house under a tile and wood awning. There was a water tank, an open sewer for drainage, and some *noques*, small wells where Francisco Angola, chief tanner, and a group of enslaved and free men of African descent processed the hides.¹⁹

and ceded it to Herrera. Diego de Mirafuentes con el fiscal sobre el oficio de depositario general de Cartagena, 1675, leg. 577B, Escribanía, AGI.

¹⁷ Proceso criminal contra Antonio Ramírez de los Reyes, por alzamiento de bienes, 1653, exp. 2, leg. 1616, Inquisición, AHN.

¹⁸ El cabildo de Cartagena con Gonzalo de Herrera, sobre si el camino de Mahates y Patilla ha de ser común o particular, 1664, leg. 771B, Escribanía, AGI.

¹⁹ "Tres arcos de cantería y lastre," Inspection of Herrera's tannery, March 6, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera. According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, *cantería* was a construction made with *cantos* and their mixture. *Canto* refers to workable stone, usually extracted from a quarry; ballast. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Tomo II (1729), accessed July 26, 2016, <http://web.frl.es/DA.html>.

The dangers of proximity: air, smell, and contagion

Evangelista and his supporters built their first set of arguments around the detrimental effects that living in proximity to the tannery could have on both health and morality. In the early stages of the lawsuit, the main argument presented by the plaintiff in order to prove that the tannery should be relocated had to do with ideas of disease and public health associated with the relationship between foul smells and contagion. In 1659, Juan de Esquivel wrote a petition to the governor of Cartagena in the name of José Alvaro Evangelista, explaining that the bad smells of the tannery would cause serious diseases if it continued to operate in Getsemaní. Contagion posed a real threat to many Cartagena residents who had witnessed episodes of plague in the city during the seventeenth century, including the deadly 1651 pestilence. However, the origin and nature of contagion remained unknown.²⁰

The proximity of the tannery to distinguished properties, Evangelista argued later, was detrimental not only to people's health, but also to morality; the nauseating smells that the process of treating hides to produce leather produced were the cause of great indecency and scandal in Getsemaní's main street. When Evangelista transferred the case to the Bishop's jurisdiction, he included several declarations attesting to the harmful effects of the tannery on religious and moral life. City councilman Pedro de Zárate, for instance, considered that it was

²⁰ "si se executa el hacer dha tenería pueden resultar grandes enfermedades con el mal olor que de dha tenería ha de salir." Petition of Juan de Esquivel in the name of José Alvaro Evangelista, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera. On plague, contagion, and pestilence in the Caribbean, see Pablo F. Gómez, *The Experiential Caribbean. Creating Knowledge and Healing in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), chapter 2.

unfair and indecent to have a tannery located on the same street as the Franciscan convent and the parish church of Santísima Trinidad.²¹

The testimonies of priests and clergymen who resided in Getsemaní provided the authorities with more insights into the moral necessity of having the tannery removed. They explained that with a tannery nearby, the Body of Christ in the Eucharist was constantly exposed to indecency, irreverence, and scandal, especially when they had to take the consecrated Host through the city to bring communion to the ill. Juan de Salas, a priest and resident of Getsemaní, affirmed that he never took the Blessed Sacrament through the street where the tannery was located in order to avoid causing disgust and irreverence to the faithful who followed in procession, and that he only passed near the tannery if the person in need of communion lived on the same street.²²

Originating in Plato's and Aristotle's theories of olfaction, early modern ideas about smell were centered in the belief that scents could alter the physiognomy of the body and even influence inanimate objects. In classical thought, the senses served as lenses to read the world in moral terms: good smells came from good things, and foul smells from bad ones.²³ In the

²¹ "no es justo ni decente que esté la dha tenería." Testimony of Pedro de Zárate, February 6, 1668, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

²² "El mal olor da perjuicio a dhos conventos e iglesia, y en particular a dha ayuda de parrochia por la frecuencia del passo por dha calle del santissimo sacramento quando se lleva a los enfermos caussando fastidio e irreverencia a los fieles que van acompañando que se escandalizan de que que se haya consentido fundar dha tenería en la parte tan frecuente y ordinaria que es preciso se tenga por dha calle." Testimony of Juan de Salas, November 25, 1668, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

²³ Holly Dugan explains that for Plato, smells "emerged during states of transition (or what we might term elemental shifts between solids, liquids, and gases) such as liquefaction, decomposition, dissolution, or evaporation. As such, they had the power to radically influence the body, refreshing or, more likely (given the deformed state of smell), harming it." Aristotle went a step further, arguing that smells "could even affect inanimate objects." Following Aristotle, Theophrastus concluded that "bad smells originated from bad things and good smells

Christian Mediterranean, the association of incense and perfumes with the divine went back to liturgical developments of the fourth and fifth centuries in which incense offered a taste of heaven's eternal fragrance.²⁴ Since early Christianity, one of the signs of a person's exceptional participation in God's divinity was the presence of a pleasant smell emanating from the person's body after death.²⁵

Similar ideas had also taken root in Cartagena. When Jesuit priest Pedro Claver died in the city on September 8, 1654, his reputation for sanctity attracted many people to see his body and honor his remains. Some of them later served as witnesses in his beatification process. In their declarations, the witnesses highlighted the pleasant scent they had perceived near his body. After hearing the news of Claver's death, Doña Agustina Zapata de Talavera, as many others, approached the Jesuit convent attempting to get a glimpse of, or even touch, Claver's body. After many difficulties, she was able to enter the room. When she kissed his left foot—bare after someone had removed his shoe and sock to keep as relics—"she observed that it was soft and fragrant, as if it were made of cotton." Priest Bartolomé del Pilar went further, declaring that although he had been in close proximity to the body, the smell never bothered him. He found the

from good things." Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume. Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 11-12. I thank Roxana Aras for this reference. In her study of the meanings of smell in ancient Christianity, Susan Ashbrook Harvey describes as "olfactory codes" the systematic association of foul and pleasant smells with negative versus positive phenomena and values. "To the ancient mind, then, odors fair and foul could order and classify human relations in the social or political spheres, as well as human-divine interaction." *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 2.

²⁴ Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 201-202.

²⁵ Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 203.

lack of an odor strange because in the high heat and humidity of Cartagena, “in less than half the time since the *padre* had died, one cannot bear the bad smell that dead bodies expel.”²⁶

By contrast, stench was not only the manifestation of sin, decay, and mortality, but also a vehicle for contagion, especially of diseases associated with fetid smells such as leprosy and smallpox. In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), Sebastián de Covarrubias defined *peste*, or plague, as a “contagious disease, that is usually engendered from corrupt air.”²⁷ One method to identify potentially unwholesome places was to notice the behavior of sparrows, “little birds” that abandon an area when they feel the “corrupt air of pestilence, and where they stay is a sign of salubrity.”²⁸ The association between corrupt air, bad odors, and disease, appears a third time in Covarrubias’s *Tesoro*. In his entry for *cárcava*, a cavern or hollow where armies placed dead bodies after a battle, or where people deposited dead animals, Covarrubias explained that these places were usually located “in the cities outside the city walls” because of the corrupt and contagious air that they produced. “These places are so fetid that they cause headaches to

²⁶ “Al final, después de muchas dificultades, entró y le besó el pie izquierdo que lo tenía descalzo porque por reliquia le habían quitado el zapato y la media; y cuando se lo besó esta testigo observó que lo tenía suave y oloroso como si fuese de algodón.” “También en cuanto al olor, nunca sintió que lo fastidiara, siendo una de las personas que más de cerca lo asistieron. Y por la gran humedad y calor de esta tierra, en menos de la mitad del tiempo desde que había muerto el padre, no se puede soportar el mal olor que expiden los cuerpos muertos.” Splendiani et al., *Proceso de beatificación*, 483, 484.

²⁷ “Peste. Enfermedad contagiosa, que comúnmente se engendra del aire corrompido.” Covarrubias, *Tesoro*.

²⁸ “Gorrión. [...] Plinio li. 10. c.36. dize que este paxarillo el luxuriosissimo [...]; en sintiendo ayre corrupto de pestilencia desamparan el lugar, y donde se conservan es señal de sanidad.” Covarrubias, *Tesoro*.

bypassers,” and their smell is “heavy for the head and stomach, it alters the senses, and the brain, and it is extremely harmful.”²⁹

Fear of contagion in the presence of pestilent diseases was such that daring to go near ill people voluntarily was considered a heroic act. In his declaration for Claver’s beatification process, Jesuit priest Nicolás González interpreted Claver’s willingness to minister lepers in close proximity to their bodies as a sign of his sanctity. In particular, he observed that Claver did not take any precautions when he went to the San Lázaro leprosarium “outside the wall of this City, where the smell of that disease’s contagion is vehement.” He did the same, González continued, “in the houses where the blacks who have recently arrived from Guinea are lodged, where there is great stench caused by the large number of contagious sick persons as well as by the nature of the blacks themselves.” It is unclear, however, if Claver’s contemporaries interpreted his actions as exceptional because he was supernaturally able to tolerate unpleasant smells, or if he was motivated to practice self-mortification by enduring them. In his declaration, priest González narrated Claver’s patience as an act of mortification in the presence of unpleasant smells, sometimes so intense that he asked the witness to pour a drop of wine on a

²⁹ “Cárcava. [...] Acostumbran en los exércitos, quando de alguna sangrienta batalla han quedado muchos muertos, hazer unas grandes hoyas, donde echar sus cuerpos, assi por darles algún género de sepultura, porque no sean pasto de las fieras y de las aves, como porque no inficionen el ayre, y causen pestilencia: [...] por la muchedumbre de cuerpos que recibía dentro de sí; y de allí se estendió a sinificar los lugares hondos, y cavas que suele aver en las ciudades fuera de los muros, a donde echan las bestias muertas: si los perros no hiciessen dellas anotomia, y dexassen modos los escheletos, serían perjudiciales, y es parte de la pulicía de la salud, porque podría causar un ayre corrupto en el lugar, perjudicialissimo, y contagioso, y por estar estos lugares tan hediondos, que a los que passan cerca suelen causarles con el olor grave y tetro, dolores de cabeza, formaron el verbo encarcavinar, que es dar de sí un olor de cárcava hediondo, y pesado a la cabeza, y al estómago, que altera los sentidos, y el cerebro, y es sumamente perjudicial.” Covarrubias, *Tesoro*.

piece of cloth that he would then smell to refresh his nose “because of the bad smell of the blacks that is pestiferous and unbearable.”³⁰

“Utility Demands One Thing, and Dignity Another”

Early modern theories supported José Alvaro Evangelista’s claims that proximity to foul-smelling places and people was dangerous in medical and religious terms, especially in urban settings. After all, living in proximity and enclosure was one of the elements that made urban life distinct from other types of living. The thirteenth century legal code of the *Siete Partidas* defined a city as “any place that is enclosed by walls, with the *arrabales* and the buildings that they have.”³¹ In this definition, *ciudad* is distinct from *pueblo* (people, town), which is “a communal

³⁰ “En particular observó que no tomaba ninguna precaución aun cuando iba al hospital de San Lázaro fuera de la muralla de esta Ciudad, donde es vehemente el olor del contagio de esa enfermedad [...]. Hacía lo mismo en las casas donde alojaban a los negros recién llegados de Guinea donde hay gran hedor, tanto por la gran cantidad de enfermos contagiosos que suele haber entre ellos, como por la naturaleza de los negros.” Splendiani et al., *Proceso de beatificación*, 232.

“Y sólo cuando se sentía muy cansado o fatigado, sea por las muchas confesiones que había escuchado, como por el mal olor que tienen los negros que es pestífero e intolerable, sacaba del pecho un gorro de tela y pedía a este testigo [...] que echase en él una gota de vino para olerlo, y refrescando con él las narices pudiera tolerar mejor y soportar el mal olor y hedor. [...] Era tan grande la mortificación que tenía en el tiempo de Pasión [...]” Splendiani et al., *Proceso de beatificación*, 344.

³¹ Cibdad [ciudad]: “Todo aquel lugar q es cercado de los muros, con los arrabales et los edificios q se tienen con ellos.” Ley 6, Título 33, Partida 7, Tomo III. *Las siete partidas del rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*. (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807), accessed October 5, 2016, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/las-siete-partidas-del-rey-don-alfonso-el-sabio-cotejadas-con-varios-codices-antiguos-por-la-real-academia-de-la-historia-tomo-3-partida-quarta-quinta-sexta-y-septima--0/html/01fb8a30-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_731.htm. Richard Kagan and Fernando Marías suggest that this definition echoes that of Isidore of Seville’s *Etimologías* (c. 560-636). Richard Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 10.

gathering of people - the old, those of middling age, and the young.”³² Following the Aristotelian tradition, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined the city by distinguishing between the Latin words *urbs* and *civitas*: “City. From the Latin noun *civitas* [...] a city is a collection of citizens who have congregated together in order to live in the same place under the same laws and government. City is sometimes understood as buildings; this corresponds to the Latin noun *urbs*.”³³

In practice, however, the question of how should the *urbs* fit the *civitas* was more complicated than Covarrubias’s clear-cut definition suggests. In his treatise on architecture, Genoese humanist Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) affirmed that if the purpose of cities was to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful life, “as free from any inconvenience or harm possible, then surely the most thorough consideration should be given to the city’s layout, site, and outline.”³⁴ He suggested that the charm of a city would be enhanced if workshops were organized in distinct zones, according to their respectability. While silversmiths, jewelers, and painters should be located on the forum, followed by spice shops, clothes shops and other

³² “Pueblo llama el ayuntamiento de todos los omes comunamente, de los mayores e los medianos e de los menores.” Ley 1, Título 10, Partida 7, Tomo III. *Las siete partidas*. Kagan and Marías suggest that Spanish writing on cities was influenced by the Aristotelian definition of the *polis*: “An association of households and clans in a good life, for the sake of attaining a perfect and self-sufficient existence.” Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Ernest Barker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), XII. ix. 12, cited in *Urban Images*, 10. Kagan and Marías continue by saying that “the city, in short, was a *res publica*, a commonwealth, whose ultimate purpose was to promote civic justice and individual virtue.” *Urban Images*, 10.

³³ “Ciudad. del nombre Latino *civitas* [...]. De manera que ciudad es multitud de hombres ciudadanos, que se han congregado a vivir en un mesmo lugar, debajo de unas leyes y un gobierno. Ciudad se toma a veces por edificios: y respondele en Latin *urbs*.” Covarrubias, *Tesoro*. The translation is from Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images*, 11.

³⁴ Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 95. Alberti’s ideas circulated in Iberia and the Americas. See: Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

workshops considered respectable, “anything foul or offensive (especially the stinking tanners) should be kept well away in the outskirts.”³⁵

Furthermore, the material layout of a city went hand-in-hand with a distinction of its inhabitants. Alberti explained that, in his view, what was appropriate for the people as a whole was not necessarily appropriate for the few important citizens or for the many less important ones.³⁶ Deciding what “appropriate” meant and for whom was difficult. On the one hand, the city existed so that citizens could enjoy a life free of harm. On the other, feeding and clothing the city required the presence and labor of common people, including the “stinking tanners.” Alberti was well aware of this tension and of the contradictory opinions about how the city should connect or separate citizens of high social status from those who provided them with food, clothes, and leather for their shoes. He explained “some might prefer the residential quarters of the gentry to be quite free of any contamination from the common people. Others would have every district so well equipped that each would contain all its essential requirements; thus, it would be quite acceptable to have common retailers and other shops mixed in with the houses of the most important citizens.” In the end, the ideal degree of proximity between the gentry, the workshops, and the common people was hard to determine, because “utility demands for one thing, and dignity another.”³⁷

Dignity was the organizing principle in José Alvaro Evangelista’s claims about the tannery in Getsemaní. In Cartagena, the tension between the ideal distance that nuisance industries and the common people who sustained them should have from the rest of the city, and

³⁵ Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 192.

³⁶ Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 94

³⁷ Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 192.

its application in practice, came up in the questionnaires that the plaintiff and his supporters produced for their witnesses. In 1659, attorney Fernando Rodríguez Chiquillo, representing Evangelista, asked witnesses if they knew that tanneries were usually established outside the cities and not within them because of the detrimental effects these workshops could have on public health.³⁸ The witnesses' answers, however, were not exactly what Rodríguez Chiquillo was looking for to support his argument against the tanner. Juan Antonio Bermudo, a native of the Feria neighborhood in Seville, declared that he knew that in that city, the tanneries were within the city walls but distant from respectable districts, in neighborhoods "where no gentlemen nor distinguished people live, only common people."³⁹ Similarly, Sevillian Luis de Arocha testified that in his native city "the tanneries are near the city walls, in neighborhoods where poor people live." Finally, Bartolomé Matheos, from Sanlúcar de Barrameda, confirmed that in Seville, the tanneries were located at the fringes of the city, "where no distinguished people live" and that the smells were not bothersome because few people lived around them.

Fernando Rodríguez Chiquillo quickly realized that arguments about location alone would not convince the authorities of the detrimental effects that the tannery's foul smells could

³⁸ "Si saben que oficinas de tenería se suelen formar fuera de las ciudades y no dentro de ellas por los perjuicios que causan a la salud pública." Questionnaire by Fernando Rodríguez Chiquillo, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera. Rodríguez Chiquillo did not invoke legal dispositions about the location of nuisance industries. Instead, his questions reflected customary practices. The Laws of the Indies, which regulated urban life in Spain's colonial domains, indicated that the location of slaughterhouses, fisheries, tanneries, and other activities that cause filth and bad odors should be located near a river or the sea, so that settlements would be kept clean and sanitary, with no other specifications. Ley 5, Título 7, Libro 4, Tomo II, *Recopilación de las leyes de los reinos de Indias* (Madrid: Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1774), accessed July 11, 2016, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hxg1a8;view=1up;seq=192>.

³⁹ "[...] en cuyos barrios no viven caballeros ni gente principal sino gente común." Testimony of Juan Antonio Bermudo, 1659. "Que las tenerías están cerca de los muros, en barrios donde vive gente pobre." Testimony of Luis de Arocha, 1659. "Que las tenerías de Sevilla están al remate de la ciudad, donde no habita gente principal y no dan fastidio a nadie por la poca vecindad que ay alrededor." Testimony of Bartolomé Matheos, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

have on decency, morality, and public health. After all, the implication of the witnesses' declarations was that the location of tanneries was irrelevant, as long as the people living near them were not *gente principal*. Rodríguez Chiquillo, then, modified his questionnaire. Instead of asking about the location of tanneries in other cities, he asked the witnesses if they knew that in Seville, some tanneries were located within the walled city, but not in neighborhoods considered respectable. *Barrio San Lorenzo* was one of these neighborhoods, "where no distinguished people live." The following questions, however, still conveyed the ambiguity of the situation. In questions two and five of the new questionnaire, he asked witnesses: "if they know that in the neighborhood of Santiago de los Caballeros in Seville tanners are far away from the convent, and that the same is true in the neighborhood of the nuns of Santa Ana," and "if they know that there are no tanneries in the neighborhood of San Bartolomé and Santa María la Blanca, and the ones that exist there are very distant from the churches, near the city walls, around the *puerta de la carne* [meat gate] and the Carmona gate."⁴⁰

Despite the deep roots of ideas about how proximity to noxious odors could lead to contagion of both physical and moral disease, what mattered in practice was who the people were who lived close to these industries and workshops. The questions and answers to the questionnaire seem to echo Alberti's idea that bad smells did not affect poor and common people

⁴⁰ "1. Si saben que en la ciudad de Sevilla están algunas tenerías dentro de los muros, pero no en barrios principales ni con privilegiadas vecindades como el Barrio San Lorenzo, en que no habita gente principal.

2. Si saben que en el barrio de Santiago de los Cavalleros de Sevilla los curadores están distantes del convento, y que lo mismo pasa en el barrio de las monjas de Santa Ana.

5. Si saben que en el barrio de San Bartolomé y Santa María la Blanca no hay tenerías, y las que hay están muy distantes de las iglesias, cerca de las murallas, por las puertas de la carne y de Carmona." Addendum to the questionnaire by Fernando Rodríguez Chiquillo, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

in the same way in which they affected *gente principal*. The arguments that built upon the detrimental effects of proximity to the tannery, then, were not about a general spatial relationship between people and the tannery, but about which people were supposed to live near noisome industries. In Evangelista's view, his arrival in Getsemaní meant that the composition of the area needed to change in order to match his status and that of his family and new neighbors. In his view, Getsemaní's dignity should prevail over its utility.

Getsemaní: neighborhood or arrabal? People, materials, and history

As his arguments about contagion and decency failed to convince local authorities, Evangelista essayed alternative ones in which the status of Getsemaní in relation to the city of Cartagena became the crux of the matter. Witnesses' accounts of Getsemaní's history became indispensable in order to establish whether the settlement was technically within the city limits or not. Both sides of the debate produced arguments based on conceptual and physical evidence that involved ideas about the intersections between the material, geographical and social boundaries of Cartagena. Some of the arguments were based on the erasure of previous inhabitants of Getsemaní, as well as the dismissal of certain forms of construction deemed transitory or temporary.

For witnesses such as priest Joseph Pacheco, Getsemaní was the largest and most populated area of Cartagena at the time, and it could even be considered "one of the main cities in the Indies" on its own, given that it was inhabited by plenty of "distinguished and prestigious

people.”⁴¹ By 1660 Getsemaní’s population had grown. The rate of its demographic growth is impossible to determine since the available sources do not provide reliable numbers. However, witnesses calculated that at least three hundred people lived in Getsemaní at the time. According to some of them, the number of “distinguished” people and houses in the area had increased noticeably. The tannery, priest Don Christóbal de Castro affirmed, was located in one of the most desirable areas of Getsemaní.⁴²

Many witnesses in the lawsuit against Gonzalo de Herrera’s tannery had lived in Getsemaní for several decades. Their declarations seemed to confirm that forty or fifty years earlier, depending on the witness, the plot of land where Herrera had his tannery had been only *monte*, or woods, with “no houses, only huts.” To describe Getsemaní in general and Herrera’s plot in particular around 1620, other witnesses used expressions that conveyed vacancy, such as “despoblado” and “sin población alguna.”⁴³ In 1620, however, military engineer Cristóbal de Roda had drawn a *Relación* of Getsemaní as part of Cartagena’s fortification project. In the *Relación*, Roda registered one hundred and sixty-seven plots and a considerable number of huts and houses made of wood, masonry, and *bahareque* that were home to both property owners and tenants. According to the *Relación*, the previous owner of Herrera’s plot was Don Juan de Simancas, who had a tannery and small houses where people he held as property lived at the

⁴¹ “Lo más avecindado y estendido de Cartagena.” Petition of Maestro Fray Joseph Pacheco de la Orden de San Agustín, 1663; “Una principalísima ciudad de estas Yndias.” “Gente de calidad y lustre.” Residents of Getsemaní to the King, February 26, 1663, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁴² “en lo mejor de dicho barrio.” Report by priest Don Christóbal de Castro, October 25, 1669, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁴³ Testimony of Martín Torres Tercero, May 29, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

time.⁴⁴ The census, then, confirms what Gonzalo de Herrera claimed in his defense: that a tannery had been located in the same place for over eighty years, and that previous owners had never received complaints. Besides, Getsemaní was already outside Cartagena's main walls, connected to it only by the San Francisco bridge.

For José Alvaro Evangelista and his supporters, the "empty space" narrative of Getsemaní's past suggested that if no one had complained about the tannery in over eighty years, it was simply because back then there was no one to be bothered by the smells. At the same time, this narrative emphasized change: from an unpopulated area outside the city Getsemaní had become a populous neighborhood with distinguished inhabitants, important buildings, and a surrounding wall. For these reasons, they argued, Getsemaní had become a *neighborhood* of the city of Cartagena and as such, no tannery should be allowed within its boundaries.

On the other side of the debate, witnesses coincided in declaring that Getsemaní had been nearly empty when the tannery was first built. In these declarations, the initial absence of population served to prove that new settlers who had established their domiciles near the tannery had not considered its proximity a problem. It was true that the area had expanded and its population had grown, they affirmed, but it was not true that the tannery posed any problems to its neighbors. Getsemaní, however, was still an *arrabal* because the wall around it was provisional, nothing like Cartagena's sturdy fortification. Thus, Gonzalo de Herrera's defenders argued, he had no reason to take his tannery elsewhere.

The narrative of Getsemaní as empty space in the first two decades of the seventeenth century was reinforced by evidence of buildings made of materials less permanent than stone.

⁴⁴ Property no. 59, Relación del sitio y asiento de Getsemaní, July 24, 1620, N.7, R.2, leg. 39, Santa Fe, AGI.

The material composition of the properties was another factor in determining whether Getsemaní was a neighborhood or an *arrabal*. In 1659, an enslaved man named Juan del Cid recounted his memories of what the area looked like forty years back: “Getsemaní was an *arrabal* because there was no other house of stone besides Pedro de Ávila’s, and everything else was unpopulated.”⁴⁵ As explained by del Cid and other witnesses presented by José Alvaro Evangelista, “there were no houses made of stone; only some *bohíos*.”⁴⁶ Witnesses on Herrera’s side of the debate made similar declarations. Juan de Simancas’s daughter Doña Jerónima de Saavedra told the authorities that when her father owned the tannery all that area was an *arrabal* with only one house made of stone. There only used to be “*bohíos*, trees and uncleared woods.”⁴⁷

Ideas of permanence linked to material constructions were thus part of the debate around the status of Getsemaní and the process by which the area had become a stable component of Cartagena’s colonial *urbs*. According to the 1620 *Relación*, there were at least ten *bohíos* on the one hundred sixty-seven plots registered by captain Cristóbal de Roda and his crew. The exact number is hard to determine, since most entries only indicate that a given plot had more than one *bohío*. As described in the document, the main structure of these huts could be made of wood

⁴⁵ “dixo que en tiempo de Francisco de Jaén [Getsemaní] era arrabal porque no había más cassa de piedra que la de Pedro de Ávila y todo lo demás estaba despoblado.” Testimony of Juan del Cid, May 29, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁴⁶ “ni avía cassas de piedra sino algunos buhios.” Testimony of Rodrigo de Berdecia, *moreno libre*, May 29, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁴⁷ “bohíos, árboles y monte.” Testimony of Jerónima de Saavedra, 1659, Evangelista vs. Herrera. Given the scarcity of systematic sources related to Cartagena during the seventeenth century, it is hard to determine the places where construction materials came from and when. However, the existing archival materials offer some clues. Stone and wood came from areas surrounding the city. Around 1645, enslaved men extracted these materials from Carex, an island located about a mile southwest of the city and brought them to Cartagena. See: Testimonio de autos sobre la propiedad de las tierras de Carex, 1675, leg. 577B, Escribanía, AGI. Carex had been a place of production of construction materials for the Spanish at least since 1603. Borrego Plá, “El abastecimiento,” 5.

(either boards or sticks), *bahareque*, or “mampostería.”⁴⁸ They were roofed with tiles (probably made of clay), palm leaves, or straw. For those who lived in them, these constructions were home -even if some would live in them only temporarily. For some of the witnesses declaring forty years later, however, these constructions seemed ephemeral and unstable. They had not left the indelible trace of stone in Getsemaní’s landscape and history, nor in the memory of the witnesses. Thus, witnesses affirmed, the place had been unpopulated.⁴⁹

The economic networks of Getsemaní

In 1663, the President of the Real Audiencia of Santa Fe submitted the complete file of the lawsuit to the king in Spain. He wrote a letter in which he summarized the case and explained the reasoning behind his decision to allow Gonzalo de Herrera to maintain the tannery in Getsemaní: “The lawsuit is more debate than substance, because even though it is true that the neighborhood of Getsemaní has grown [...], it cannot be denied that it is outside the city walls and must be called an *arrabal*.”⁵⁰ Don Diego de Portugal, the governor of Cartagena, added in

⁴⁸ Masonry. However, the document does not provide further details on which additional materials were used for this kind of construction, which was different from cut stone.

⁴⁹ Alberti’s discussions about stone suggest that he considered that its durability and ability to offer protection gave this material a certain imperial character, evocative of Roman constructions: “In Tuscany and Vilumbria, and also in the territory of the Hermicians, ancient towns may be seen, constructed of huge, irregular blocks of stone; I approve of this form of construction very much: it has a certain rugged air of antique severity, which is an ornament to a city. This is how I would build the city walls, that the enemy might be terrified by their appearance and retreat, his confidence destroyed.” Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 192-193.

⁵⁰ “La causa es más tema que entidad, porque aunque es así que el barrio de Gigimaní a crecido en becindad de algunos años a esta parte no puede negarse que está extramuros de la ciudad y que debe llamarse arrabal.” President of the Audiencia to the king, 1663, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

another letter that the tannery was “beneficial for the republic.”⁵¹

Public health, morality, location, population, and materials were not the only factors intervening in the formation of ideas of what constitutes a city. Tax and census records, notarial documents, maps, and other lawsuits show that the area was the point of intersection of economic networks that were essential to the tanning industry. To be successful, a tannery required access to transportation circuits, wood, salt, water, and labor.

Most notably, the business was a necessary concomitant of butchery. Since cattle raising for consumption was one of the main economic activities in the rural areas of the province, and the slaughterhouse was located nearby, the tannery had a constant supply of hides. In Cartagena, the market for the hides was relatively small, with probably only two tanneries in the area. The sale of these hides was regulated by a Real Cédula, or royal decree, that established that the hides coming from the slaughterhouse were to be sold one half to Herrera’s tannery, and the other to Gregorio de Vanquésel.⁵²

The transformation of these hides into workable leather then required abundant water for rinsing and submersion in different solutions at several stages of the process. Access to fresh water, preferably a stream, or even a well, was a crucial factor in the selection of a location for a tannery. Since Getsemani was surrounded by an estuary (*ciénaga*) and by the ocean, it was

[The signature is illegible. It is likely that the President was Diego de Egües y Beaumont, in office between February 1662 and December 1664.]

⁵¹ “De bien para la república.” Diego de Portugal to the king, May 4, 1663, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁵² The Real Cédula responded to a petition submitted by Doña Ana de Porras, the widow of Andrés de Vanquésel, on October 30, 1651, in the context of a dispute about access to hides that went back to the time when Diego Matute and Francisco de Jaén owned each of the two tanneries. Diego Matute sold his tannery to Andrés de Vanquésel and his heirs in 1643. Evangelista vs. Herrera.

probably an ideal location for industries of this kind.

The use of bark for giving color to the leather was another essential component of the tanning process. Archeological evidence for tanneries in medieval England and Iberia has shown that oak bark was widely used for this purpose, while legislation from the eighteenth century shows that varieties of oak were also used in the Americas, especially holm oak (*Quercus ilex*) and cork oak (*Quercus suber*).⁵³ Archival evidence from Cartagena suggests that people obtained tannin from the bark of red mangrove (*Rhizophora mangle*), a common species in the *ciénagas* that surround Cartagena and Getsemaní. In a 1651 inspection of Ana de Torres's tannery, the local authorities found "a mill to grind the bark of the mangrove [...], a canoe to store the ground mangrove, and two large piles of a large amount of mangrove rind."⁵⁴

Salt was used to dry the hides after removing the flesh and washing the blood from them.

It is unclear whether the salt mentioned in the documents came from the mines in nearby Guajira

⁵³ Claire Burns, "The Tanning Industry of Medieval Britain" *The Collegiate Journal of Anthropology* 1 (2012) [no page number available], <http://anthrojournal.com/issue/october-2011/article/the-tanning-industry-of-medieval-britain>. And "Real Provisión de los señores del Consejo por la qual se manda que con ningún pretexto ni motivo se permita que en las cortas y entresacas de montes de propios, ó de dominio particular, se quemé la corteza de encina, roble, alcornoque, y demás que sean útiles y a propósito para el uso de las tenerías, antes se separe de la leña ó madera, en la conformidad que se expresa." In *Pandectas hispano-megicanas. O sea código general comprensivo de las leyes generales útiles y vivas*, comp. Juan Nepomuceno Rodríguez de San Miguel (Madrid: Imprenta de Pedro Marín, 1785). It is still unclear whether the bark of a tree known as purple oak, *Tabebuia rosea*, a species commonly found in the northern coastal areas of South America, was also used in the tanning industry.

⁵⁴ "un molino en que se muele la cáscara del mangle la piedra de molino con seis peltrechos, dos mulas con que se labora, una canoa en que se echa el mangle molido, dos pilas grandes en que había mucha cantidad de cáscara de mangle." Inspection of Ana de Porras's tannery, October 5, 1651, Evangelista vs. Herrera. For a study of tannin extract production in *Rhizophora mangle*, see: Luis Bocanegra Dávila and Jorge Bueno Zárate, "Contenido tánico de la corteza de *Rhizophora mangle* y del fruto de *Caesalpinia paipai* provenientes del bosque del noroeste," *Revista Forestal del Perú* 15, 1 (1988): 1-6. For a study of *Rhizophora mangle* and other mangrove species in Colombia in general and in Cartagena in particular, see: Juan Carlos Villalba Malaver, *Los manglares en el mundo y en Colombia. Estudio descriptivo básico* (Bogotá: Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, Academia de Ciencias Geográficas, 2006).

Province, whether salt water sufficed, or whether tanners used the salt that black mangrove, another species present in the area, usually traps in its leaves.⁵⁵

The tanning industry relied heavily on transportation circuits and infrastructures, both on land and water. Canoes and the men who paddled them were essential to cattle breeders and traders, as well as for the functioning of the tanning workshops. Canoes also provided a relatively stable platform for the operation of extracting the rind from the red mangroves in the estuary that surrounded Getsemaní, for storing it, and for transporting it back to the tanneries. Notarial records indicate that the sale of tanneries generally included the land, the buildings, and the equipment to operate them, including canoes.⁵⁶

The sale of tanneries also included the enslaved laborers who worked there. The tanning process itself was complex and required the labor of skilled workers. From what we know about tanneries in Cartagena, these workers were typically enslaved men. For example, in the same inspection of Ana de Porra's tannery, the notary identified Lucas Angola as official tanning captain (*capitán oficial de curtidor*), while Roque Angola, Francisco Cape, Manuel Folupo, Francisco Biáfara and others were described as "oficiales." The tannery also required non-specialized labor for the extraction and transportation of mangrove, for example. The notary

⁵⁵ "En un aposento dentro de la tenería se halló cantidad de mochilas de Arina de Castilla y en otro aposento mucha cantidad de cal cernida y un rimero grande de sal. Debajo de la cassa de la tenería, que está cubierta de teja, enseñó el mayordomo de la tenería lo siguiente: tres pelambres, 1 alberca grande, 6 cubos, dos embudos, 3 bancos en que se labora, 25 tejas, 4 pelambres, dos en que se afrecha y otros dos en que se lava la corambre que viene del matadero para descarnar, salar, y quitar la sangre." Inspection of Ana de Porras's tannery, October 5, 1651, Evangelista vs. Herrera. For black mangrove and control of salinity, see: Villalba Malaver, *Los manglares*, 3.

⁵⁶"la dha tenería, varco, y tierra, cassa y buhíos que oy tiene y les pertenece [a Ana y sus herederos] según ba declarado con todas sus entradas y salidas, usos y costumbres pertenencias y serbidumbres y por mi parte libres de censo e ipotecas y otra enagenación empeño ni obligación y los dhos negros por esclavos sujetos a servidumbre y por precio de quantía de seis mil pesos de a ocho reales que me da y paga la dha Ana de Porras en seis barras." Deed of sale of Fernando Gutiérrez's tannery, to Ana de Porras, Evangelista vs. Herrera [include date in the next revision].

indicated that other enslaved men such as Agustín Angola, Sebastián Congo and Sebastián Cocoli were not present at the time of the inspection because they were “on board the boat in which the mangrove bark is brought to tan the hides.”⁵⁷ The notary did not describe any of these men as “oficiales,” which means that they were not necessarily especially trained as tanners.

Access and availability of materials and labor, however, were not the only economic advantages of setting up a tannery in Getsemaní. There was also considerable demand for hides with fur, and for finished leather, which was essential for the production of shoes, saddles, harnesses and furniture for local markets and for export. Even though there is not sufficient evidence at this time to determine what the overall significance of Cartagena’s hide exports was in the mid-seventeenth century, they certainly represented a large percentage of Gonzalo de Herrera’s own Atlantic commerce. In 1651 and 1652, he sent 29,051 *pesos* worth of merchandise from Cartagena to Europe onboard different ships of the *flota*. Hides, both with and without fur, were the main portion of that amount (33.3%), followed closely by tobacco leaves (31.4%), which were arranged in bundles tied with a leather string. A chain of intermediaries then sold the hides in Cadiz and Genoa.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ “El mayordomo dijo que había más en un barco en que se trae la cáscara de mangle para curtir los cueros, el qual dicho barco tiene los esclavos siguientes que al presente están en esta tenería: Agustín Angola Arraez del dho barco de 33 años, Andrés Yolofo de 50, Sebastián Congo de 38, Sebastián Angola de 32, Sebastián Cocoli de 40, Cristóbal Angola de 41, con lo qual se acabó de hacer la vista.” Inspection of Ana de Porras’s tannery, October 5, 1651, Evangelista vs. Herrera.

⁵⁸ The remaining third of the merchandise was a combination of indigo dyes (*tinta añil*), tortoise shells (*careyes*), gold and emeralds. Memoria y cuenta de las mercaderías de Gonzalo de Herrera, Cartagena, March 17, 1653, ff. 5-6v, exp. 2, leg. 1616, Inquisición, AHN. The leather string was mentioned by Diego de Santiago, “contra maestre del patache nombrado El Santísimo Sacramento ... [que las petacas de tabaco] van todas aforradas en cañamazo y liadas con cuero.” Conocimiento de Diego de Santiago, Cartagena, January 22, 1652, f. 10v, exp. 2, leg. 1616, Inquisición, AHN.

Fragmentary archival evidence suggests that Gonzalo de Herrera's trade in hides had been substantial at least since 1651. However, it does not provide enough information to determine whether he exported his own hides, bought some of them from someone else, or a combination of both. Tax records from a crossing point that connected Cartagena with the Magdalena river (the main route to the interior of New Granada) show that in 1652 Herrera received hides with fur on several occasions, in batches of ten or so. His slaves delivered some in canoes of his property.⁵⁹

Regardless of Herrera's personal involvement in the economic networks that made the tannery viable, this evidence suggests that, as a business, the tanning workshop was successful operating from its base on the Media Luna street. The scale and scope of the networks in which the tannery was embedded seem to suggest that the notion of what constituted a *bien público* was not necessarily limited to the model of ideal functioning of public and religious life in a growing city, as his indignant neighbor had tried to portray it. Instead, the public interest of the tannery stemmed from the fact that it provided economic benefits on a local, regional, and Atlantic scale. By allowing for the production and flow of goods, Getsemaní's integration into regional and Atlantic economic networks was crucial to sustain Spain's colonial interests in Cartagena.

Getsemaní was increasingly populated by men and women from lineages that had become powerful or distinguished through acquisition of wealth, military service, or marriage, and who claimed European ancestry. What was now at stake in the lawsuit were the implications

⁵⁹ "para el gasto de su casa y familia." In this period, the term *familia* included blood relatives as well as free and enslaved servants. It is difficult to conclude from the records if these were the same hides that Herrera sold overseas, since these records have survived as copies in the context of a lawsuit against him for avoiding tax payments. His defense argument was that he did not pay the tax because the hides came from his own *haciendas* and were not for sale but for satisfying the needs of his large home and family. Causa de oficio contra Gonzalo de Herrera por los libros del Dique, Cartagena, September 23, 1662, pieza 69, leg. 637C, Escribanía, AGI.

of this change for the management of urban growth. Throughout the lawsuit and the subsequent appeals before the Audiencia in Santa Fe and the Council of the Indies in Seville, José Álvaro Evangelista and his supporters employed a variety of strategies to argue that removing the tannery would properly adjust the function of Getsemaní to serve the needs of its new inhabitants.

For the defendant and for the authorities adjudicating the case, by contrast, the degree of transformation that new people and houses of stone had produced in the area did not outweigh Getsemaní's function as a hinge for multiple economic networks. In addition, Getsemaní was home to the enslaved and free people of color whose labor and proximity to nuisance industries was necessary to sustain their economic success. Geographically and legally separate from Cartagena but economically connected to it, Getsemaní seemed to provide most of Cartagena's elites with just the right balance between utility and dignity. Their discomfited colleague Evangelista would have to manage his own dignity as best he could.

The debate over the tannery at different jurisdictional levels raised broader questions about the meaning of a neighborhood and its status within the political and economic divisions of empire. Getsemaní's integral role in linking different modes and sites of production throughout coastal New Granada meant that it could not –for the moment- be considered part of the city itself. In the end, the invisible effects that bad odors had on Cartagena's religious and civic life still blocked Getsemaní from acquiring the official status of neighborhood. It would remain an *arrabal*, shaped by its swamps and its gateway location. For Cartagena to thrive, Getsemaní would have to stink.

Chapter Six

Through the Gate at Media Luna: Cimarrones and the Geographies of Legal Status in Cartagena de Indias

Around August of 1692 an enslaved man named Marcelo de Morales crossed the island of Getsemaní and left the city of Cartagena through the gate known as Media Luna (“Half Moon”). Once outside the gate, he was met by his father and another man. Together, the three men headed towards the hills and forests that surrounded Cartagena. There, they joined other men and women who had fled slavery and who had settled in a *palenque*, or runaway community. On the edges of settlement in Cartagena, as elsewhere throughout the Americas, communities of fugitives from slavery had formed, generally entrenching themselves behind defensive palisades.¹

¹ Declaración de Marcelo de Morales, May 6, 1693, f. 707v, Expediente sobre la pacificación y reducción de los negros fugitivos y fortificados en los palenques de Sierra María, 1691-1695, leg. 213, Santa Fe, AGI, hereafter “Pacificación y reducción.” Known also as *quilombos*, *mocambos*, *cumbes*, and *ladeiras*, these settlements ranged from small, transitory communities to large and powerful states that lasted for several generations. See: Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies. Rebel Communities in the Americas*, 3rd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). For quilombos in Brazil, see: Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *A hidra e os pântanos: mocambos, quilombos e comunidades de fugitivos no Brasil (séculos XVII-XIX)* (São Paulo: Polis-UNESP, 2005); João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, eds., *Liberdade por um fio: história dos quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Palmares has received wide scholarly attention. See for instance: Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *Palmares: Escravidão e liberdade no Atlântico* (São Paulo: Contexto, 2005); Silvia Hunold Lara, “Marronage et pouvoir colonial. Palmares, Cucaú et les frontières de la liberté au Pernambouc à la fin du XVIIe siècle,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 62:3 (2007): 639-662.

The fortified gate of Media Luna marked the entry and departure point from Cartagena and the suburb of Getsemaní. All commerce and passengers heading towards the city and to the ships that would take them to Seville, Havana, Portobelo, or Santo Domingo had to cross through the gate. In the same way, anyone going from Cartagena to the interior of New Granada traversed the gate on their way towards the roads that led to neighboring provinces and to the main fluvial artery connecting the coast with the interior of the Audiencia: the Magdalena River (see Map 6).



Map 6. Cartagena de Indias in 1735 (detail)

The circle indicates the road and gate named Media Luna, connecting Getsemaní with farmlands and *palenques*. "Plano de la ciudad de Cartagena de las Indias ... / Cs. Bargas delineavit ; Cs. Casanova Cxt" (1735) Bibliothèque Nationale de France, accessed through Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8596464z>

In the stream of people and goods that ran through the gate, Marcelo de Morales passed unnoticed, and so did his intention of running away from enslavement. Free and enslaved people of African descent were common crossers at the gate. Many of them conducted packs of mules carrying agricultural products such as corn from the surrounding farmlands (*estancias*) or flour from the interior provinces into Cartagena. Others brought cattle to the slaughterhouse, located in the island of Getsemaní. Similarly, enslaved and free workers transported goods and merchandise from the docks of Cartagena to the markets of the interior, including textiles and clothes from Castile and elsewhere.

Cartagena residents and colonial authorities labeled people like Marcelo de Morales with the term *cimarrón* (maroon). This term, of possible indigenous (Taíno) origins, was used in the New World to describe animals that defied domestication by running away from human industry and culture towards areas considered “wild.” The term also applied to the offspring of such animals. In the early days of Spanish rule in the Caribbean, the term was used to refer to indigenous runaways from settler control, and later to African captives who fled enslavement. The term *cimarrón* appeared for the first time in a Spanish-language dictionary in 1729. The entry, in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, elided the human aspect of the term and focused on animals: “wild, indomitable, rustic [...]. These bulls and cows are commonly named *cimarrones*.”²

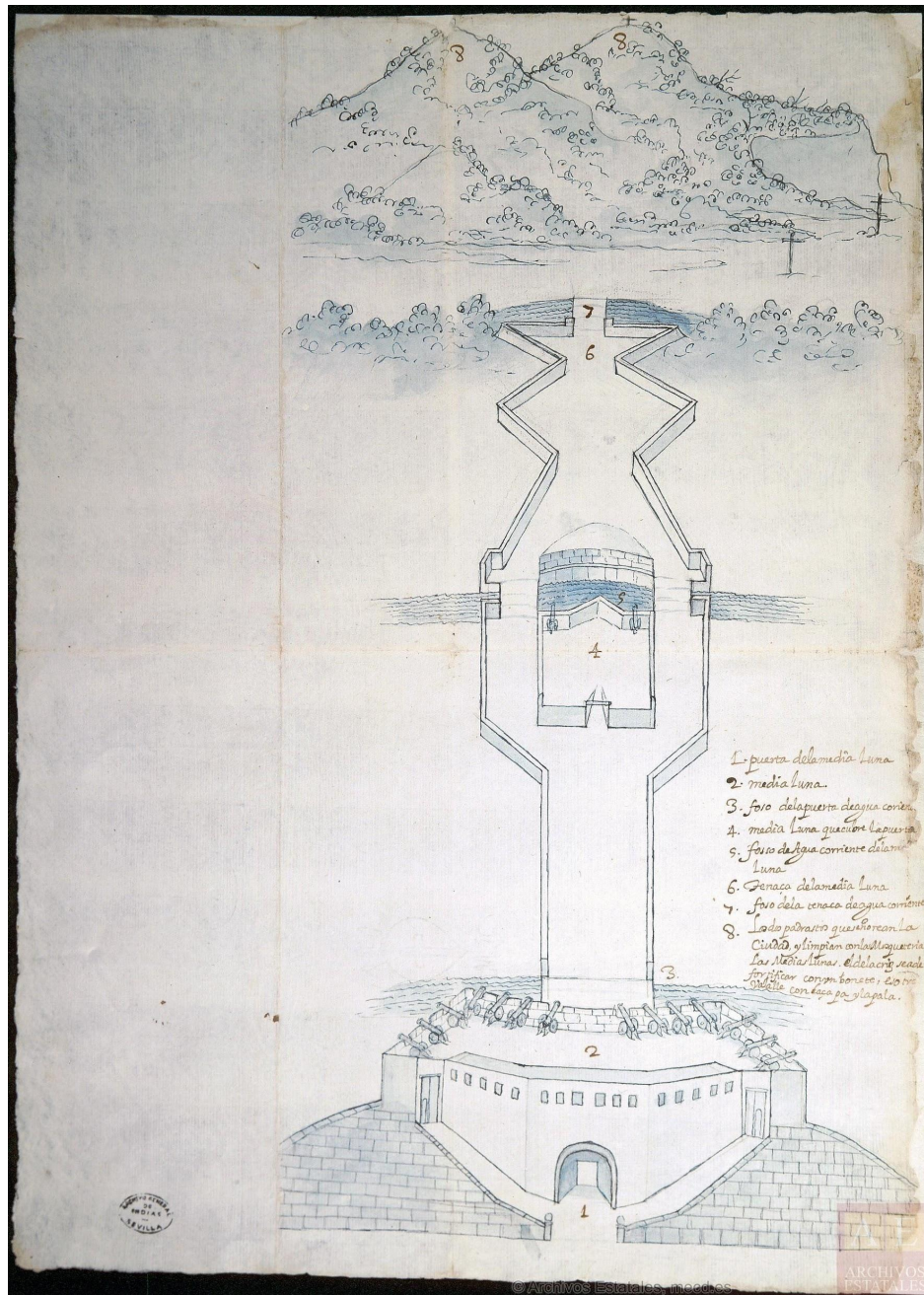
By using the term *cimarrón*, with its association with departure from the domestic or familiar into the wild, to describe people who fled enslavement, Cartagena residents and colonial

² “Cimarrón. adj: sylvestre, indómito, montaráz [...]. Llámense por común nombre estos toros y vacas *cimarrónes*. [...] Hai gran suma de vacas, y yeguas *cimarrónas*, que se crían por aquellos montes.” Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Tomo II (1729), accessed July 26, 2016, <http://web.frl.es/DA.html>. On the possible indigenous origins of the term, see Price, , *Maroon Societies*, 2. The English term ‘maroon’ as well as the French ‘marron’ derive from *cimarrón*.

authorities implicitly categorized the spaces that runaways inhabited as external to the colonial order. Throughout Spanish America, *cimarrones* were often associated with the hills and forests (often described with the generic term *el monte*) in which they sought refuge. Thus, for a colonial official facing the gate at Media Luna from the city, the forests and hills beyond the gate represented a wild, uncontrolled, and sometimes inaccessible space (see Map 2).

For those who had fled and settled in the forests, locating their communities in these seemingly impenetrable landscapes was a strategy for hiding from colonial authorities. However, most palenques were not self-sufficient for feeding, clothing, and reproducing their population. For that reason, palenques relied on ties with colonial communities and spaces around them. Palenque residents often acquired some food, clothes, supplies, and new residents through strategies that included not only raiding and stealing, but also establishing relationships of mutually beneficial exchanges with nearby *estancias*. Similarly, the population of palenques increased as friends and relatives joined runaways, as runaways brought people to palenques against their will (this was the case for many women), and as fugitives gave birth to children in the palenques.³

³ It is now broadly accepted by scholars that palenques were not isolated from other communities. For palenques in present-day Colombia, see: María Cristina Navarrete, *Cimarrones y palenques en el siglo XVII* (Cali: Universidad del Valle, 2003), Antonino Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe, 1580 – 1640* (Sevilla: CSIC; Universidad de Sevilla; Diputación de Sevilla, 2002). For Brazil, see: Stuart Schwartz, “The Mocambo: Slave Resistance in Colonial Bahia,” *Journal of Social History* 3:4 (1970): 313-333; Thomas Flory, “Fugitive Slaves and Free Society: The Case of Brazil,” *The Journal of Negro History* 64:2 (1979): 116- 130; Flávio dos Santos Gomes and H. Sabrina Geldhill, “A ‘Safe Haven’: Runaway Slaves, Mocambos, and Borders in Colonial Amazonia, Brazil,” *Hispanic American Review* 82: 3 (2002): 469-498.



Map 7. Media Luna gate and defensive structures. "Media luna y defensas de la Puerta de la Plaza de Cartagena de Yndias" (1628). Mapas y Planos, Panamá, 47, Archivo General de Indias, Seville

Runaways from slavery had formed communities in forests and hinterlands throughout the Americas since the sixteenth century. In the provinces of Cartagena and neighboring Santa Marta, the mountainous area known as Sierras de María was an epicenter for the formation of

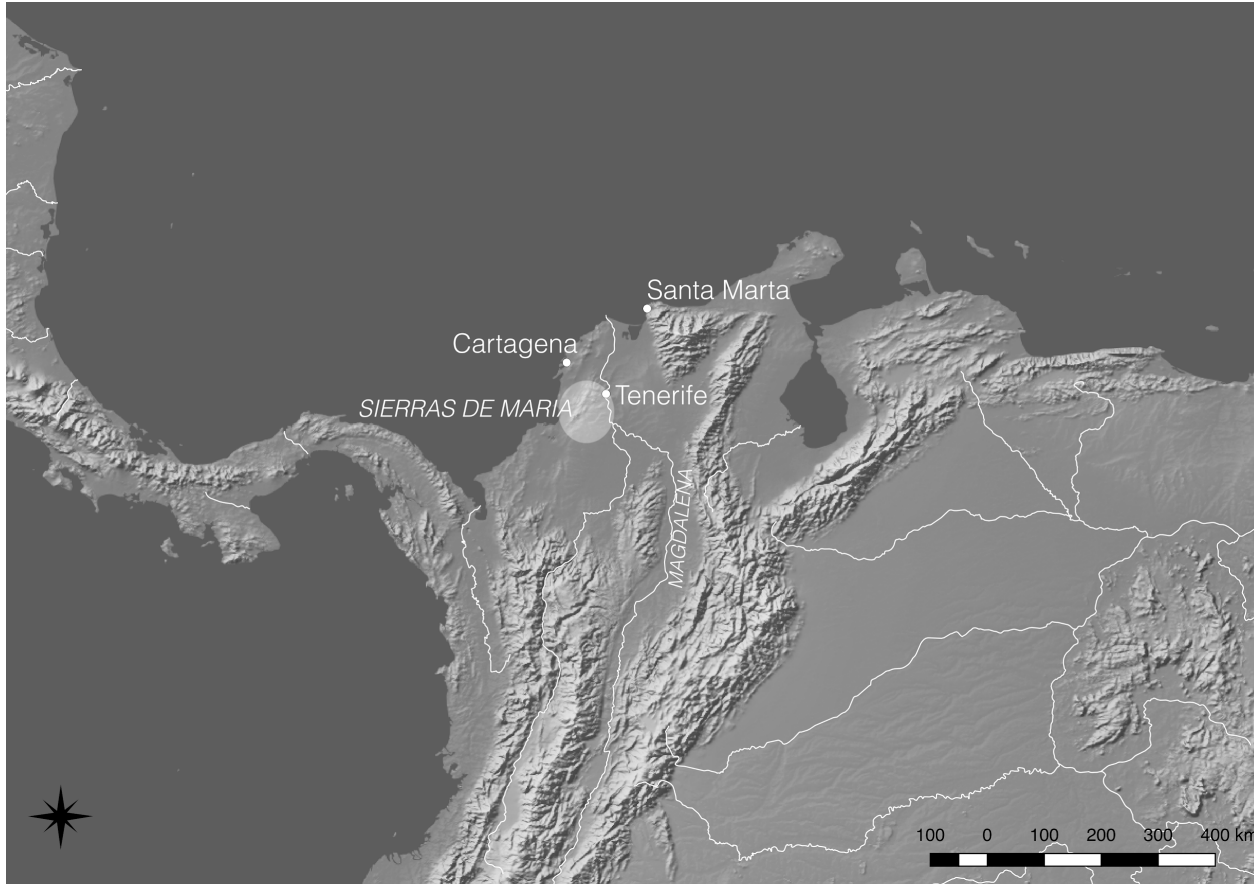
communities of runaways, as were the banks of the Magdalena River (see Map 3). By the beginning of the seventeenth century, colonial authorities and slaveholders saw fugitives from slavery as a threat to rights to property, not only because they had fled enslavement but also because they raided nearby farmlands and villages.⁴ As early as 1540, the King of Spain attempted to solve the threat that *cimarrones* posed to the colonial order by offering a royal pardon to the fugitives of Cartagena and its province, on condition that they submit to royal authority. The crown later employed similar strategies to negotiate with maroons in New Spain, Panama, Venezuela, and again in Cartagena. The peace terms often included the possibility of legal freedom from slavery to palenque residents in exchange for their obedience to the crown and their help in containing other fugitives. However, colonial officials often used their local judicial authority to decide whether to implement the royal decrees or to attempt to suppress palenques militarily. In Cartagena, they usually chose the latter.⁵

As the number of captives who arrived and remained in Cartagena as slaves increased, so did the number of fugitives. This correlation between arrival of captives and increase of runaway activity was obvious to local authorities, who petitioned the King to establish a new tax destined exclusively to fund military operations against *cimarrones*. In 1624, the King granted a Real Cédula that allowed Cartagena authorities to charge *asentistas* (holders of charters allowing them to import captives) six *reales* per each captive they brought to Cartagena. This money was

⁴ Navarrete, *Cimarrones*, 115.

⁵ Jane Landers, “The African Landscape of Seventeenth-Century Cartagena de Indias and its Hinterlands,” in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, eds. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 154. For the 1540 royal pardon, see: Roberto Arrázola, *Secretos de la historia de Cartagena* (Cartagena: Hernández, 1967), 242.

exclusively to pay for “the conquest, imprisonment and pacification of the black fugitive *cimarrones*.”⁶



Map 8. Relief map of Cartagena, Santa Marta, and the Sierras de María. Map by A.M. Silva

Cartagena authorities found it hard to acquire these funds because slave traders usually tried to make as much profit as possible by evading taxes. Correspondence from the subsequent decades suggests that local authorities tried hard to find funds to fight against the maroons. They

⁶ “Su Mgd que Dios guarde hizo merced a esta dha ciudad de que pudiese cobrar y cobrase seis reales de cada cabeza de negros esclavos que entrasen en este puerto para la conquista, prisión, y pacificación de los esclavos negros cimarrones fugitivos.” Real Cédula, September 3, 1624. Juan de Uriarte contra Joseph Bustanzo, por el pago de derechos de esclavos, f. 1, exp. 2, leg. 575B, Escribanía, AGI.

had to pay for salaries for the soldiers, in addition to the food and weaponry necessary for these weeks-long campaigns. Since the military campaigns against *cimarrones* were indispensable in the eyes of both colonial officials and Cartagena residents, many of them contributed their own funds when taxes alone were insufficient. Whenever these campaigns were successful in their objective of capturing runaways, the expeditionaries would bring them back to the city. In Cartagena, those who had claimed rights to property in any of the recaptured men, women, and children were supposed to pay a sum to the local authorities for bringing the captive back. Sometimes, as we will see, competing claims to property over those recaptured led to lengthy and complicated legal procedures.⁷

Military campaigns against *cimarrones* figured prominently in narratives that celebrated the resilience of the city and its inhabitants against external enemies. In a 1685 account that the city council of Cartagena sent to the Council of the Indies as part of a request for additional Crown funds, for instance, the authors recounted the history of Cartagena as a series of efforts and sacrifices in which bravery and loyalty—expressed through the residents’ monetary donations—had allowed the city to defend itself against English and French pirates, and against *cimarrones*. They reported that the city had spent 14,000 *pesos* “in the pacification of four hundred and more black fugitives” who had threatened the city “for over twenty years.” The main accomplishment in this narrative had been the dismantling and removal of the fortification, “the palenque the *cimarrones* had made for their defense and protection.”⁸

⁷ For the correspondence, see for instance: Memorial del cabildo de Cartagena, March 28, 1685, leg. 207, Santa Fe, AGI.

⁸ “Otro de catorce mil pesos que dha ciudad dio al gobernador Francisco de Murga y se gastaron en la pacificación de 400 y más negros fugitivos que había más de veinte años traían alborotada e ynquieta a aquella provincia [...] quitando y desbaratando el palenque que tenían hecho para su resguardo y defensa.” Memorial del cabildo de Cartagena, March 28, 1685, leg. 207, Santa Fe, AGI.

Military expeditions launched from Cartagena and Santa Marta throughout the seventeenth century were indeed numerous and sometimes successful, forcing runaway leaders and survivors to form new palenques in different places or to join another existing palenque.⁹ For this reason, the Sierras de María, for instance, were home to palenques that appeared and disappeared in response to attacks by colonial authorities. Many runaways and their descendants lived in one of those palenques, known as La Magdalena, during the decades of 1630 and 1640. A military campaign led by Cartagena governor Pedro Zapata in 1650 forced the surviving *cimarrones* to relocate to palenques called San Miguel and Arenal.¹⁰ Other palenques coexisted with San Miguel and Arenal or were founded as a result of the destruction of other settlements. In the Cartagena province, there is evidence of several palenques that emerged during the seventeenth century, including Arroyo Piñuela, Limón, Duanga or Luanga, Joyanca, María Angola, Manuel Embuyla, Sanagual, and Matudere or Tabacal. Many *cimarrones* spent part of their lives in several of these palenques. Descendants of runaways who settled in La Magdalena in the 1630s, for instance, still lived in nearby palenques in the first half of the 1690s. Despite the constant communication among some palenque residents, *estancias*, and even the city, other residents, especially those who were born in these palenques, might only see the city of Cartagena for the first time in their lives if they were captured by colonial authorities and brought from the forests through the gate at Media Luna.¹¹

⁹ Jane Landers sees the military campaigns against maroons as characterized by the language and character of Christian crusades. Landers, "The African Landscape," 152.

¹⁰ Roberto Arrázola, *Palenque. Primer pueblo libre de América* (Bogotá: Todo Impresores, 1986), 17, 58. Navarrete, *Cimarrones*, 115.

¹¹ Navarrete, *Cimarrones*, 116. For other palenques in the region, see: Orlando Fals Borda, *Historia doble de la Costa, Tomo I, Mompo y Loba* (Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1980), 52-54.

The military campaigns against palenques

At the end of February 1693, the priest Baltazar de la Fuente returned to Cartagena de Indias after a long stay in Madrid. He brought with him a document that generated a series of rumors, legal disputes, a war, and public executions in the city. The document was a Real Cédula in which the King of Spain granted legal freedom to the runaways from slavery who had settled years earlier in the palenques of the Sierras de María.¹² The King's cédula responded both to the failure in defeating the runaways militarily, and the maroons' apparent desire to end the fighting and obey the Church and the crown. The local authorities of Cartagena were reluctant to obey the King's orders, fearing that runaways from other palenques in the province would also embrace the freedom decree. The authorities were especially concerned about the recent hostilities between Cartagena's soldiers and some runaways from palenque Matudere, also known as Tabacal.¹³

After Baltazar de la Fuente arrived in Cartagena with news of the alarming cédula, the governor of Cartagena commissioned a Jesuit priest named Fernando Zapata to survey the palenques, meet their leaders, and evaluate their reaction to the freedom decree. In his report to the governor, the priest offered a description of one palenque named San Miguel Arcángel. Father Zapata had begun his journey from the village of Tenerife. From there, he traveled about five *leguas*, one along the Magdalena River, one across the riverbanks, and

¹² Carta del Teniente General Pedro Martínez de Montoya, July 19, 1693, folio 315, legajo 212, fondo Santa Fe, AGI.

¹³ Real Cédula dada por Carlos II, ordenando la reducción de los negros que se hallan fortificados en la Sierra de María, August 23, 1691, ff. 21-23, L. 11, leg. 994, Santa Fe, AGI.

three through the *monte*. Upon arrival, he identified “a large *fundación*” (“reconocí fundación grande”), about four blocks long and one block wide, with many *bohíos*, or huts.¹⁴

Father Zapata’s description of palenque San Miguel Arcángel is striking. In contrast with the Spanish ideas of *cimarrones* as inseparable from the “wild” spaces that they inhabited, Zapata employed the term *fundación* to describe the palenque. This term usually referred to the process by which Spanish conquerors consolidated their rule over a settlement, officially incorporating a given territory—including its people and buildings—into the jurisdiction of the Spanish crown.¹⁵ The built environment of the palenque as described by Zapata is also striking. The regular “cuadras” forming a long and narrow rectangle are more evocative of the gridded urban centers of Spanish America than of the savage environments that colonial authorities imagined palenques to be. It is impossible to know whether Zapata’s description conveyed what palenque San Miguel Arcángel actually looked like. However, his description did evoke European ideas of civility, perhaps because Zapata was himself in favor of granting freedom to the inhabitants of this palenque. Throughout his report, father Fernando Zapata referred to the residents of San Miguel Arcángel as *negros*. He never used the term *cimarrón* to describe them.¹⁶

¹⁴ Representación del padre Fernando Zapata, Tenerife, April 21, 1693, f. 609, Pacificación y reducción. For a study of the political organization and forms of leadership in the palenques of Sierras de María, see: María Cristina Navarrete, "De reyes, reinas y capitanes: los dirigentes de los palenques de las sierras de María, siglos XVI y XVII," *Fronteras de la Historia* 20:2 (2015): 44-62.

¹⁵ Germán Mejía P, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604* (Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2012), 23-24

¹⁶ See Representación del padre Fernando Zapata, Tenerife, April 21, 1693, ff. 608-615, Pacificación y reducción. In her study of the maroon community of Amapa in Mexico, archaeologist Adela Amaral has characterized “maroon groups as self-constructing architects of a colonial built environment, as people constructing their histories within a world of power they did not completely control, but whose limits they nonetheless partially integrated.” Adela

According to Zapata, the inhabitants of San Miguel Arcángel worked as agricultural laborers in nearby *estancias* in exchange for weapons and ammunition. He also reported that he had seen many armed men guarding the palenque and its surroundings. Zapata wrote that most of San Miguel Arcángel's male inhabitants always carried weapons with them, whether they were going to do agricultural work in the *rozas* that surrounded the palenque, or whether they were just going out from their *bohíos*. Zapata described the weaponry as consisting of shotguns, bows, arrows, and spears.¹⁷

Father Zapata's estimates indicate that around 250 people lived in palenque San Miguel Arcángel. During his stay, he talked to some of them, especially to those who had been born in Cartagena (*criollos*). He described them as people of a "very domestic, sincere, and gentle nature."¹⁸ Adding yet another layer of markers of "civility" to both people and space, Zapata wrote that the residents of San Miguel Arcángel had built a spacious church where they prayed (instructed by a priest who visited them occasionally) and which they had decorated with religious images—which he did not describe—painted on paper.¹⁹

While father Zapata visited and reported on palenque San Miguel Arcángel, local authorities in Cartagena debated whether they should obey the King's *cédula* or not. In the midst of growing rumors of a slave uprising to be led by runaways, the governor and city

Amaral, "Social Geographies, the Practice of Marronage and the Archaeology of Absence in Colonial Mexico," *Archaeological Dialogues* 24:2 (2017): 223.

¹⁷ Representación del padre Fernando Zapata, Tenerife, April 21, 1693, f. 613, Pacificación y reducción. For a detailed description of the military formation of the palenque, see: Landers, "The African Landscape."

¹⁸ "De un natural muy doméstico, sincero y apacible," Representación del padre Fernando Zapata, Tenerife, April 21, 1693, f. 609, Pacificación y reducción.

¹⁹ Representación del padre Fernando Zapata, Tenerife, April 21, 1693, f. 612-612v, Pacificación y reducción.

council or *cabildo* of Cartagena decided to launch a military campaign against palenque Matudere. Local notaries copied and certified these debates, decisions, and ordinances. They also joined the soldiers and officials on the battlefield, recording the events of each day of the campaign and taking testimony from both soldiers and recaptured runaways. These records were compiled and shipped back to Spain when the Council of the Indies inquired about the governors' proceedings, which seemingly went against the King's *cédula*.²⁰

The instability of the term "cimarrón"

Despite constant use of the term by authorities and enslaved and free people of

²⁰ These records are now in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville in two 900-folio *legajos*, Santa Fe 212 and 213, where they stand as *expedientes y testimonios sueltos*. Historians have drawn on them to study the history of maroon communities in Cartagena. See Hélène Vignaux, "L'organisation interne des *palenques* de Noirs dans la région de Carthagène des Indes au XVIIIe siècle: conditions de vie, structures sociales, réseaux et défense," in *Villes et sociétés urbaines en Amérique coloniale*, ed. Bernard Grunberg (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), 101-126; Vignaux, "Los cimarrones del palenque de Tabacal en la región de Cartagena de Indias: estrategias de adaptación y resistencia, siglo XVII," in *Poblar la inmensidad: sociedades, conflictividad y representación en los márgenes del Imperio Hispánico (siglos XV-XIX)*, ed. Salvador Bernabéu Albert (Rubi-Madrid: Ediciones Rubeo-CSIC, 2010) 259-282; Jane Landers, "Cimarrón Ethnicity and Cultural Adaptation in the Spanish Domains of the Circum-Caribbean 1503-1763," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery (Second Edition)*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy, (London; New York: Continuum, 2009), 30-54; Landers, "Maroon Women in Colonial Spanish America: Case Studies in the Circum-Caribbean from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 3-18; Julián Ruiz, "El cimarronaje en Cartagena de Indias: siglo XVII," *Memoria- Bogotá, Archivo General de la Nación* 8 (2001): 10-35; María Cristina Navarrete, "Los cimarrones de la provincia de Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII: Relaciones, diferencias y políticas de las autoridades," *RITA Revue Interdisciplinaire de Travaux sur les Amériques* 5 (2011), accessed April 2015, <http://www.revue-rita.com/dossier/los-cimarrones-de-la-provincia-de-cartagena-de-indias-en-el-siglo-xvii-relaciones-diferencias-y-politicas-de-las-autoridades.html>; Navarrete, *Cimarrones*; María del Carmen Borrego Plá, *Palenques de Negros en Cartagena de Indias a Fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos, 1973); Roberto Arrázola, *Palenque, Primer Pueblo Libre de América* (Bogotá: Todo Impresores, 1986); Sandra Beatriz Sánchez López, "Miedo, rumor y rebelión: la conspiración esclava de 1693 en Cartagena de Indias," *Historia Crítica* 31 (2006): 77-99.

African descent, the category *cimarrón* meant different things for different people in different circumstances. In the administrators' report, they used *cimarrón* in broad terms, with no distinction between long-term settlers of palenques and more recent arrivals, between those who ran away out of their own free will and those who were taken by others, or between runaways who settled down in runaway communities and those who did not. The local governor, city council members, and scribes sometimes used the term arbitrarily as a label for all the men, women, and children apprehended during the military campaigns. At other moments, they referred to the same people as *esclavos fugitivos* ("fugitive slaves"), *negros fugitivos* ("fugitive blacks"), or *negros del palenque* ("blacks from the palenque"). The terms *negros del monte* ("blacks from the forest") and *criollos del monte* ("creoles from the forest") broadly referred to people born in—or just vaguely from—the hills and forests that surrounded the colonized areas of Cartagena province. These terms suggest layers of indeterminacy around the legal status of people of African descent born in the palenques—that is, who had never "fled."

The instability of the term *cimarrón* had concrete implications in the lives of the men, women, and children captured by Cartagena's military troops between April and May 1693, during the war against palenque Matudere. As the troops brought in captives, the Governor took the declarations of men and women in the presence of a notary. Most of them provided replies to questions about how long ago they had run away and who had shown them the way to the palenque, who were its leaders, who were their allies in the surrounding *estancias* or in the city, and if they had participated in thefts and attacks. The questions were aimed at

identifying the possible charges the runaways would face in the subsequent trial.²¹

According to the laws in the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*, runaways faced punishments such as whipping and banishment according to the amount of time they had been away from their masters and to the intentionality of their departure, while runaways who had committed serious crimes such as theft or murder were to be punished with death.

Collaborators faced the same punishments as the runaways. In Law 26 (1619) King Felipe III ordered that in case of mutiny, sedition, or rebellion, *cimarrones* should receive exemplary punishment without trial.²²

The Governor received the declarations of those captured over the course of approximately one month, after which he formulated an *auto de culpa y cargo*, a legal document in which he officially charged the group of captives with high treason (*lesa majestad*), marronage, theft, and violence against indigenous settlements and *estancias*, including murder. This *auto* marked the official opening of the trial that ensued.²³

²¹ The declarations are spread out throughout the *expediente*. The governor questioned men and women between May 3 and May 10, 1693, *Pacificación y reducción*.

²² *Leyes 21 and 22, 1574, Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*. Título 5, Libro 7, Leyes XX-XVI (Madrid: Iulian de Paredes, 1681), accessed December 9, 2016, <http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/752/1211/recopilacion-de-leyes-de-los-reynos-de-las-indias/?desplegar=8193&desplegar=8190&desplegar=8353>. Exemplary punishment without trial might explain the execution of Paulo Negro “esclavo de don Fernando Padilla” at the entrance of Cartagena (see: *Auto condenando a muerte a Paulo Negro*, May 10, 1693, ff. 728-728v, *Pacificación y reducción*). The declarations and trial record are dispersed throughout the Governor’s report to the Consejo de Indias: *Carta del gobernador de Cartagena, Martín de Ceballos y la Cerda, remitiendo otras de 29 de mayo de 1693 en que daba cuenta, con testimonio de autos, de lo sucedido a consecuencia de la Real Cédula de 23 de agosto de 1691 que se despachó a favor de los negros de Sierra María, y entrada y derrota que hizo a los del Palenque de Matudere*, July 2, 1693, ff. 261-885, *Pacificación y reducción*.

²³ After the Governor produced the *Auto de culpa y cargo*, the most relevant suspects ratified their previous declarations. After this procedure, the Governor designated a *defensor de los*

If found guilty of the charge of *cimarronaje*, defendants faced punishment such as whippings, banishment, and execution and dismemberment. In the face of these potential punishments, defendants attempted to distinguish themselves from what colonial authorities understood as “*cimarrones*.” Recounting their itineraries of escape and recapture, some gave concrete meaning to the term in the pursuit of their own particular objectives.

In the trial records, the questions posed by governor Martín Cevallos y la Cerda, at least as copied by the scribe, suggest that the authorities assumed that most of the residents of the palenque had effectively broken the law by running away from their masters and were thus *cimarrones*. One of the most common themes in the interrogation template was, in fact, “How long ago did you run away?” Some of the defendants reinforced this assumption by asserting their runaway identity. Francisco Congo, for example, said “that five years ago he ran away and no one took him to the palenque.”²⁴ Juana Padilla, one of the alleged founders of the palenque said that “she ran away with her husband and two children and they stayed in different places until the palenque was founded.”²⁵

However, a formerly enslaved person’s presence in the palenque was not necessarily the result of running away from a master. Some men and women captured at palenque Matudere used the declarations as a means to distance themselves from the term’s implications of criminality by suggesting that their presence at the palenque was

negros who had three days to prepare the defense. See: Auto de culpa y cargo, June 5, 1693, ff. 826v-827, Pacificación y reducción.

²⁴ “Dijo que a 5 años que se huyó sin que nadie le llevase al palenque.” Declaración de Francisco Congo, May 15, 1693, f. 771, Pacificación y reducción.

²⁵ “Dijo que desde que vino a esta ciudad el Conde de Tren se huyó con su marido y dos hijos y estubieron en diferentes partes hasta que se fue fundando el palenque.” Declaración de la negra virreina del palenque,” May 15, 1693, f. 775, Pacificación y reducción.

unintentional. Antonio Lucumí, Sebastián Congo, and Joseph Arará, three men whom second lieutenant Manuel Díaz had previously held as slaves, for instance, declared that *cimarrones* had taken them by force after attacking their master's farm.²⁶ On May 15, another prisoner named Joseph, who self-identified as *mulato*, declared to the authorities in Cartagena that "eight months ago he went to the farm Santa Catalina, where he encountered some *cimarrones* and they took him to the palenque."²⁷ Similarly, María Cañete declared that "while going through the Canapote road three years ago, two black *cimarrones* took her by force to the palenque," and she insisted that "her master and mistress were good and they [the *cimarrones*] took her by force."²⁸

The definition of the category *cimarrón* also opened spaces for the formation of unusual alliances between masters and runaways. Some time at the end of May, second lieutenant Manuel Díaz used the same logic to formally request the acquittal of nine individuals he claimed as slaves (six adult men, two children, and one woman) who had been captured in the same palenque. Díaz argued that these men and women had not left him out of their own volition. Instead, they had been taken by force by *cimarrones* who had attacked and robbed his farm two months earlier. Hence, the authorities should not consider them *cimarrones*, because, as Díaz put it, "they were with me in my farm, still and

²⁶ Declaración de Joseph Arará, May 9, 1693, f. 723v; Declaración de Antonio Lucumi, May 15, 1693, f. 773; Declaración de Sebastián Congo, May 21, 1693, f. 803v, Pacificación y reducción.

²⁷ "Dijo que abrá ocho meses que se fue a la estancia de Santa Catalina en donde halló unos cimarrones y le llevaron al palenque." Declaración de Joseph, mulato esclavo que fue de doña María Baca, May 15, 1693, f. 768, Pacificación y reducción.

²⁸ "Dijo que abrá tres años que yendo por el camino de Canapote la cojieron dos negros zimarrones y la llevaron de por fuerza al palenque porque su amo y ama eran buenos y la llevaron de por fuerza." Declaración de María Cañete, May 9, 1693, f. 723v, Pacificación y reducción.

peaceful...[and] I always trusted that they would return to me and leave the palenque.”

Furthermore, Díaz explained that these nine people had not yet returned to him “because of the fear and oppression in which they were held, as they had already sent someone to tell me.”²⁹ By emphasizing the criminality of the palenque’s inhabitants, whom he considered “real” *cimarrones*, Díaz helped to establish the innocence of the people he claimed as slaves, in spite of the fact that they had been members of the same runaway community. In the end, the six men, the two children, and the woman, were spared from whipping. Governor Cevallos y la Cerda sentenced them instead to banishment from the province, which meant that Díaz had to sell them outside Cartagena. However, the documents do not tell us whether this part of the sentence was carried out.³⁰

Some of the recaptured residents of the palenque actively participated in the process of constructing *cimarrón* as a legal category defined by the intentional action of departing from the boundaries of Cartagena’s colonial society.³¹ Under this definition, then, not all runaways were *cimarrones*. At the height of tensions, amidst rumors of a slave uprising generated by the war against palenques, soldiers in charge of guarding Cartagena’s walls captured three enslaved men who had just entered the city through the Santa Catalina gate and who seemed to them to be runaways. Anxious neighbors quickly assumed that the three prisoners were spies who came to coordinate the uprising with the local enslaved population. On May 1st,

²⁹ “pues ellos estaban en mi estancia conmigo quietos y pasíficos [...] Siempre estuve con la confianza de que dhos negros se avían de bolver a salir del palenque y benirse conmigo que no lo avían ya executado por el miedo y opresión con que los tenían como ya me lo avían embiado a decir.” Petición del alférez Manuel Díaz, May 31, 1693, f. 819v, Pacificación y reducción.

³⁰ Sentencia del Gobernador, June 16, 1693, f. 880, Pacificación y reducción.

³¹ While the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias* provided a legal framework for punishing runaways from slavery, it did not define the term *cimarrón*, nor did that text distinguish between *cimarrones* and other types of absentees.

lieutenant general Pedro Martínez de Montoya interrogated each of them. Juan Bernal Congo, Agustín Arará, and Manuel Congo explained that they “arrived in Cartagena running away from the *cimarrones*” who had just set fire to their master’s farm.³² It is impossible to know whether the men were actually telling the truth. In any case, Martínez de Montoya could not find any evidence with which to press charges against them.

On this occasion, the three men had apparently traveled from the farm into the city, suggesting that the movement of enslaved and free people of African descent generated by runaways from slavery was not exclusively directed *away* from colonial society. In some instances, *cimarrones* also generated movement *toward* spaces internal to the colonial order. By conveying fragments of their experiences and itineraries to the authorities, the recaptured inhabitants of palenque Matudere both reaffirmed and destabilized the assumptions behind the authorities’ conceptions of the term *cimarrón*. As used by the authorities, this term elided a broad range of experiences and itineraries that went beyond an intentional and one directional movement that transgressed the boundaries of the colonial order. The testimonies suggest instead that many runaway itineraries were multidirectional, and that the boundaries of colonial society were more flexible than the authorities chose to recognize.

Geography and perceptions of legal status

As used and defined by colonial authorities (and strategically by runaways themselves), the legal category *cimarrón* carried implications of criminality and identified

³² “Que llegaron a Cartagena huyendo de los cimarrones que quemaron la estancia de su amo.” Carta del Teniente General Pedro Martínez de Montoya, May 25, 1693, ff. 110- 135, *Pacificación y reducción*.

runaways with spaces considered wild and impenetrable, such as *el monte*. However, runaway testimonies and declarations in the wake of the military expeditions challenged assumptions about spaces inhabited by *cimarrones* as wild and in opposition to colonial ideas of order and domesticity. After being captured by Cartagena's military forces, palenque captain Domingo Angola (also known as Domingo Padilla) was interviewed by the governor. On May 11, 1693, Domingo Padilla's responses were recorded by notary Ignacio Sanchez de Mora. His answers conveyed spaces and practices of domesticity that must have been legible and familiar to colonial authorities, especially regarding family life, dwelling practices, and agriculture.³³

According to the records, Domingo Padilla said that he had run away with his wife, named Juana, and three of their children (named Santiago, Vicente, and Tomé) about twelve years previously. Their first destination had been an *estancia* named Santa Cruz. There, he had built a bower or arbor (*enramada*) where he and his family had stayed for six months. After that, they had moved to lands that he vaguely described as "de doña Clemencia," making it unclear whether this was the name by which a certain area was known or if the land was the property of one Doña Clemencia. In any case, he is said to have recounted that he apparently built two *bohíos* "in a place where they had little comfort." For that reason, they had then moved to the place where they eventually settled, which they named Matudere. New residents who arrived each built their own *bohíos*.³⁴ The new location of the community not only was more comfortable for Domingo Padilla, his family, and the newcomers, but also allowed the community to grow their own food (as opposed to

³³ Declaración de Domingo Padilla, Cartagena, May 11, 1693, ff. 733-738v, *Pacificación y reducción*.

³⁴ "hizo dos buxíos en un sitio donde tenían poca comodidad," f. 733v, *Pacificación y reducción*.

gathering wild fruits, for instance). According to notary Sánchez de Mora's rendition of the declarations, palenque captain Domingo Padilla also described some of the agricultural practices of Matudere. These included harvesting products that were common in Cartagena's markets and households, such as corn, rice, beans, plantains, yucca, "and other things." Asked what the palenque residents did with the products that they harvested, Padilla responded that they were consumed in the palenque itself ("dijo se gastaban en el mismo palenque"). When the governor inquired whether the fruits of the land were produced communally, Padilla responded that "each *negro* harvested for himself."³⁵

The means by which palenque residents were able to survive and to reproduce the life of the palenque were of special interest to colonial authorities. One of the recurrent questions in the interrogation template was "say with which people the blacks of the palenque have or had communication" ("diga con qué personas tienen o tenían comunicación los dhos negros del palenque") and sometimes they specified "within or outside Cartagena" ("dentro de Cartagena o fuera"). The communication that residents of palenque Matudere had with enslaved and free people of African descent in the farms surrounding the palenque was well known. The question of communication itself, however, was a product of assumptions about palenques as spatially and legally removed from the colonial social order. For colonial authorities, communication between insiders to the social order and cimarrones transgressed ideas of clear-cut distinctions between urban space, rural space, and the unknown *monte*. This communication also suggested social bonds and networks among enslaved and free people, a contradiction between spatial boundaries through social connections of which the authorities were nonetheless aware. In the

³⁵ "Preguntado si la siembra de dhos frutos era de comunidad o no, dijo que cada negro hacía su siembra para sí," f. 733v, Pacificación y reducción.

interrogatories, the governor was able to gather specific information about some of the *estancias* where the residents of the palenque had support. It was harder, however, to gather concrete details about communication between urban Cartagena and the palenque.

An alternative approach to the declarations, nevertheless, may provide insights into the urban spaces in which runaway experiences were sometimes inscribed. By mapping the points of departure and entry to Cartagena it is possible to see that runaway testimonies concentrate around specific landmarks of the city, potentially encompassing sites where runaways had networks of social support or where for one reason or another they had better chances of passing unnoticed by the authorities.

Some of the points of arrival and departure mentioned by the palenque prisoners in their declarations to the authorities were located in the urban area of Cartagena. A considerable number of testimonies refer specifically to the Media Luna gate. María Josefa Conga, for instance, “said that three years ago some blacks took her from the Media Luna to the palenque.”³⁶ Joseph de los Santos stated that “he ran away with his wife named María Antonia ten months ago and that they were taken to the palenque by captain Domingo, who found them passing the Media Luna.”³⁷ The Media Luna was prominent in the declarations of other defendants, either as a point of voluntary escape or as a place where they were vulnerable to “negros del palenque,” as suggested by Antonio Popo’s declaration, at least as registered by the scribe: “he said that two months ago some blacks from the palenque took

³⁶ “Dijo a 3 años que desde la media luna la llevaron unos negros al palenque.” Declaración de María Conga, May 14, 1693, f. 762, Pacificación y reducción.

³⁷ “Dijo que habrá 10 meses que se huyó con su muger nombrada Maria Antonia y que les llevó al palenque el Capitán Domingo quien les encontró pasado la media luna.” Declaración de un negro nombrado Joseph de los Santos, May 15, 1693, f. 771, Pacificación y reducción.

him by force from the Media Luna.”³⁸ María Arará claimed that the same had happened to her seven or eight years ago.³⁹ Nevertheless, other declarations suggest that the Media Luna could also be a meeting place for pre-arranged escapes, such as Miguel Antonio Angola’s or Mateo Congo’s. The former declared that “three months ago he encountered [or met with] some blacks outside the Media Luna and they took him to the palenque.”⁴⁰ The latter, in a similarly vague language, recounted that near the same place he had “run into some blacks from the palenque and left with them” two years previously.⁴¹

The Media Luna was not only a point of departure in the itineraries of these prisoners. It was also a place many palenque residents returned to after escaping from governor Cevallos y la Cerda’s forces, and where they were eventually recaptured. Even though this information does not emerge explicitly in the defendants’ declarations, Ignacio Sánchez de Mora, the notary in charge of copying and certifying the records related to this military campaign and subsequent trials, specified that some of the prisoners had been recaptured near or around the Media Luna.⁴²

³⁸ “Dijo que habrá 2 meses que desde la media luna le llevaron unos negros del palenque por fuerza.” Declaración de un negro nombrado Antonio Popo, May 15, 1693, f. 772v, *Pacificación y reducción*.

³⁹ “Dijo que abrá 7 o 8 años que estando junto a la media luna la cojieron unos negros y la llevaron de por fuerza al palenque porque andaban buscando negras.” Declaración de María Arará, May 9, 1693, f. 724, *Pacificación y reducción*.

⁴⁰ “Dijo que abrá 3 meses que encontró fuera de la media luna con unos negros y le llevaron al palenque.” Declaración de Miguel Antonio Angola, May 15, 1693, ff. 773v- 774, *Pacificación y reducción*.

⁴¹ “Que habrá más de 2 años que más allá de la media luna topó con negros del palenque y se fue con ellos.” Declaración de Mateo Congo, May 18, 1693, f. 789v, *Pacificación y reducción*.

⁴² Notary Ignacio Sánchez de Mora reported that Miguel Congo, “slave of Francisco Callo,” for instance, was apprehended outside the Media Luna on May 13, 1693, f. 755, *Pacificación y reducción*.

The declarations of some of the prisoners from palenque Matudere suggest that into the 1690s Getsemaní, adjacent to the Media Luna, was an intermediary space where the histories of urban Cartagena and of palenques overlapped. There the legal status of individual people of African descent could blur.⁴³ For instance, palenque captain Domingo Padilla declared in his testimony that “he came to Cartagena to buy pots, tobacco, and soap,” and that he spent the night “in a big plot to the left of the Media Luna where people thought that he was a *negro del monte* (“a black from the forest”) and not a *negro huido* (“a black fugitive”) and thus let him stay.⁴⁴ The governor of Cartagena declared Domingo Padilla guilty of *cimarronaje*. He was sentenced to death on May 13th1693 and executed the next day. His body was dismembered and his head placed at the gate of the Media Luna.⁴⁵

The aftermath of the war against palenque Matudere

On June 16, 1693, the governor of Cartagena pronounced sentences against the other Matudere residents who had been captured, interrogated, and charged with *cimarronaje* and civil

⁴³ See Jane Mangan’s pioneering study of the ways in which trade created interactions between people from different backgrounds that defied Spanish attempts to categorize people from different groups in colonial Potosí. Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ “[...] y que durmió este en un solar grande que está a mano izquierda como se entra por la media luna en donde la gente no sabía que era negro huido sino del monte por lo qual le consentían [...]. Preguntado a qué efecto entraba este declarante a Cartagena, dijo que entraba a comprar ollas, tabaco, jabón y que quando lo tenía comprado se volvía.” Declaración de Domingo Padilla, capitán del palenque, May 11, 1693, f. 736v, Pacificación y reducción.

⁴⁵ “Y fecho será colgado en la horca en donde estará colgado dos horas y cumplidas se descolgará y partirá en 5 divisiones poniendo como se pondrán los 4 quartos en diferentes caminos que vienen a esta ciudad y la caveza a la entrada de la puerta de la media luna.” Auto sentenciando a muerte al cpn del palenque Domingo Padilla, May 13, 1693, f. 758, Pacificación y reducción.

crimes that included arson, murder, theft from surrounding estancias, and kidnappings. The governor declared fourteen men guilty and sentenced them to death. The rest of the men who were captured were sentenced to two hundred lashes and time in jail. Juana Padilla, one of the founders of Matudere, was also sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. After the sentences had been executed, the men and Juana Padilla were to be returned to those who claimed rights to property over them. Other women and children who had been captured were to be returned as well, in exchange for a fee that masters were supposed to pay. The masters were then expected to sell them outside the Audiencia of New Granada within two months.⁴⁶

For local authorities confronting palenque residents, things did not end with war, capture, and punishment. After all, as palenque residents had done for decades, those who managed to escape from the 1693 military expedition against Matudere were incorporated into other palenques. As news of the military attack against Matudere reached palenque María, its leaders and residents grew suspicious of the intentions of the Cartagena authorities who had been ordered to comply with the dispositions of the freedom decree that the king had granted to them back in 1691.

Recurring rumors about a general slave uprising led by *cimarrones* worsened the existing tensions between authorities in Cartagena and palenques in the Sierras de María. As tensions escalated, the new (interim) governor of Cartagena, Sancho Jimeno, launched a military campaign against palenque María and other nearby palenques (named Bongué, Arenal, and Duanga) on February 11, 1694.⁴⁷ Sancho Jimeno reported later that his forces had apprehended

⁴⁶ See “Sentencia,” June 16, 1693, ff. 877-880v, *Pacificación y reducción*.

⁴⁷ Expediente sobre la sublevación y pacificación de negros cimarrones en los palenques de Sierra de María, f. 367v, leg. 212, Santa Fe, AGI (hereafter palenques de Sierra de María). For the names of the other three palenques, see f. 370v.

ninety-two people and killed forty-three. The soldiers brought those they had captured to Cartagena. For those who had been born in the palenques, this was generally the first time they found themselves in Cartagena. After following a procedure of interrogation, charges, and sentences similar to the one that the previous governor had followed against people captured in palenque Matudere, governor Sancho Jimeno sentenced one person to death and the rest to lashings before they were returned to their supposed masters, who were to sell them outside Cartagena province.⁴⁸

When those recaptured were first or second generation palenque natives, only people who had inherited a recorded place in the documents of Cartagena's various institutions were able to make effective claims over the descendants of runaways whom their parents or grandparents had held as slaves. Moreover, it was very difficult to reconstruct the maternal line (by which sons and daughters of enslaved women inherited their mothers' legal status) of people of African descent born in palenques and map it onto the archives of claims to property in persons in Cartagena. For that reason, multiple Cartagena residents and authorities could make competing claims over captured palenque natives. These long proceedings were like threads by which Cartagena authorities attempted to weave together the histories of two spaces they had long considered separate.

The Inquisition itself became entangled in proceedings of this sort, for by the end of the seventeenth century it had developed deep archival roots in Cartagena. The officials of the Holy Office now tried to make claims over new generations of palenque natives. Doña Juana de Castro, a Spanish resident of Cartagena, for example, had in 1638 mortgaged a house located in

⁴⁸ Sancho Jimeno to the King, Cartagena, June 20, 1694, f. 370, palenques de Sierra de María.

the neighborhood of Los Jagüeyes to the Inquisition for 4,460 *pesos*.⁴⁹ After her death, the debt remained unpaid and the obligation passed to her children and grandchildren. In 1695, the Inquisition attempted to recover some of the funds owed by doña Juana de Castro's heirs by claiming property ownership over the grandchildren of Magdalena Malemba. Years earlier, Magdalena Malemba had run away from doña Juana de Castro's household, where she had been held as a slave. Her grandchildren had been born in a palenque, located in the forests of the Cartagena province. When military authorities captured the palenque natives in the course of their military campaign and brought them to Cartagena in 1695, both the Inquisition and several Cartagena residents made competing claims to property over the descendants of Magdalena Malemba. Lengthy legal procedures ensued in order to establish the status of and rights to dominion over those captured now that soldiers had brought them into the system of slavery. Giving their opinion on the matter, the members of the Suprema in Madrid considered it "extremely difficult" to prove claims to property rights in "the children and grandchildren of fugitive slaves [...] because it cannot be done with witnesses other than the *negros* who were dwellers of the *montes*." The competing claims to property in this case were never resolved.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This kind of mortgage credit operation was known as a *censo*. Libro becerro del Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias, doc. 24, *libro 97*, Inquisición, AHN. On *censos*, see: Quiroz, "Reassessing the Role of Credit."

⁵⁰ "Sumamente difícil el empeño de probar la pertenencia y dominio de los hijos y nietos de los esclavos fugitivos que se dicen fueron de Juan de Heredia y su mujer ya que no se puede hacer con otros testigos que con los negros moradores de los montes." Pleito civil del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Cartagena contra Juan de Heredia y su mujer, Juana de Castro, 1695-1698, ff. 1-1v, exp. 1, leg. 1612, Inquisición, AHN. The case file amounts to over five hundred *folios*. A similar civil lawsuit involving descendants of runaways from slavery in Cartagena during the same period is Pleito civil de Mateo de León y Serna contra Mario Betancourt, 1697-1702, f.4, exp. 14, leg. 1609, Inquisición, AHN. This *expediente* contains over three hundred *folios*.

Conclusion

Colonial authorities chose to use the category “*cimarrón*” to trace clear-cut distinctions between belonging and exclusion, emphasizing criminality and danger as a way to justify their departure from monarchical promises of legal freedom to fugitives from slavery who resided in the Sierras de María. Throughout the records drawn during the military campaigns against palenques, the term *cimarrón* was used by administrators to group together perceived agents of insurrection. In some cases, enslaved and free people of color themselves participated in the process of classifying “runaways,” attempting to establish distance between themselves and outsiders to avoid prosecution or secure better treatment by the authorities. In addition to involving criminality, the use of the term by the authorities also implied that so-called “*cimarrones*” were disorderly elements of the supposed “wild” and “inaccessible” spaces that they inhabited.

Many of the the fugitives’ physical movement back and forth across the edges of colonial society nonetheless suggests that maroon geographies reflected both inclusion and exclusion. When they came to Cartagena, Getsemaní, or the Media Luna gate to purchase goods or to meet new fugitives, runaways from slavery shaped the contours of spatial units that colonial authorities thought of as separate. In turn, a fugitive’s position in space could change perceptions and performances of legal status, making it possible for people like palenque captain Domingo Padilla to remain for short periods of time near the Media Luna gate, where people allowed him to stay because they perceived him as a *negro del monte*

rather than as a *cimarrón*. In those circumstances, the term *negro del monte* conveyed both connection and distance between Cartagena and *el monte*.⁵¹

While the geographic associations between *cimarrones* and *el monte* offered individuals such as Domingo Padilla the opportunity to pass unnoticed when they found themselves in the city, they also complicated the legal situation of people who were born in the *monte*, in the event that they were brought back to Cartagena. As was often the case for palenque residents coming to Cartagena in times of peace, ambiguity of legal status took shape at the gate of Media Luna. The military expeditions and captures, however, altered the rhythms of everyday life that had enabled people from the palenques to pass unnoticed. Through these expeditions and the subsequent legal proceedings, some palenque residents who had been transient in the city would become “*cimarrones*,” figures of danger inextricably tied to the *monte*.

⁵¹ Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). On social practices and attribution of legal status, see Rebecca J. Scott, “Social Facts, Legal Fictions, and the Attribution of Slave Status: The Puzzle of Prescription,” *Law and History Review* 35:1 (2017): 9-30.

Conclusion

During the first week of April 1697, a fleet of twenty-four warships carrying around five thousand men approached the bay of Cartagena de Indias. The sheer size of this fleet reflected the considerable material wealth that the city had come to symbolize for local and metropolitan elites and for Spain's colonial competitors alike. The fleet had sailed from the island of Hispaniola commanded by a subject of the king of France: Jean-Bernard Louis de Saint-Jean, Baron de Pointis. Pointis carried a *patente de corso*, or letter of marque, by which the French Crown authorized him to raid the Spanish port. The fleet initially approached the city from the west as a strategy to remain out of sight from the observation decks in Cartagena's formidable fortifications. Pointis was concerned that if the fleet were discovered far in advance of its arrival, the people of Cartagena would have enough time to flee the city and to take its wealth with them.¹

The only way to get close to the city, however, was to enter the bay through Bocachica, since the channel of Bocagrande had silted up. As the fleet approached Bocachica, the sails became visible to the garrison stationed at the fort of San Lu s. The first news of the enemy approach reached the governor of Cartagena on Easter day, April 7th, and spread quickly among the residents of Cartagena and the merchants who had traveled to the city to await the annual

¹ Enrique de la Matta Rodr guez, *El asalto de Pointis a Cartagena de Indias* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos; CSIC, 1979), 27, 34-35.

galeones from Portobelo. Cartagena had not faced a foreign attack since the one led by Francis Drake over a century earlier, and local authorities debated whether the ships approaching even posed a real threat to the city. Nevertheless, the governor sent emissaries to Mompox requesting reinforcements as a preventive measure.²

The officials of the Holy Office of the Inquisition had a more direct reaction to the news. They began to acquire boxes, chests, and suitcases in which to transport the papers and money of the tribunal out of Cartagena in the event of an attack.³ Six days later, the intentions of the approaching fleet became clear: The ships displayed the French flag and opened fire, unleashing panic in the city.⁴ The inquisitors and other Inquisition officials joined many others who crossed Getsemaní and fled through the Media Luna gate and towards the *montes*, following the same itinerary of the many individuals who had been labelled as “cimarrones” over the course of the seventeenth century. In addition to some of the tribunal’s records and funds, Inquisition officials transported the suspects who were awaiting trial in the jails of the Inquisition’s palace. They reached the canal that connected Cartagena to the Magdalena River, boarded boats there and made their way upriver towards Mompox.⁵

Pointis and his men launched their land attack through the relatively vulnerable *arrabal* of Getsemaní and they forced the local authorities to surrender after nearly two months of siege. The privateers remained in Cartagena across the month of May, and then set sail on the first of

² Matta Rodríguez, *El asalto*, 38-39.

³ “mandamos asimismo al Receptor previniere cajones, arcas, o petacas para sacar si combiniese los papeles del secreto, dinero del fisco, y depósitos,” Inquisición de Cartagena a la Suprema, Cartagena, August 4, 1697, f. 2v, exp. 9, leg. 5342, Inquisición, AHN.

⁴ Matta Rodríguez, *El asalto*, 40-41.

⁵ Inquisición de Cartagena a la Suprema, Cartagena, August 4, 1697, ff. 3v-9, exp. 9, leg. 5342, Inquisición, AHN.

June taking taking forty-six million *pesos* worth of gold, silver, precious stones, coins, and commodities with them.⁶

After the departure of the fleet, people returned to the city to move back to the houses and neighborhoods that they had left. The inquisitors arrived in Cartagena on the 18th of June and surveyed the damage that the Inquisition's houses had suffered during the attack. Even though they found many doors and windows broken and the treasury sacked, the building itself stood almost intact. To their surprise, the tribunal's documents pertaining to judicial matters had also survived. According to the inquisitors' report, however, many of the financial and confiscation records had been lost.⁷ In the subsequent days, the inquisitors walked around the streets of Cartagena and Getsemaní, surveying the damage that the French artillery had caused to the houses that the tribunal had gradually acquired over the course of the seventeenth century through its confiscation of the property of those convicted in faith trials.⁸

One of those houses, located near the monastery of Santo Domingo in the walled city, had been noticeably damaged. A man named Francisco de Gavilondo had lived in that house, which he rented from the Holy Office, since 1691. Like many others, Francisco de Gavilondo had fled when Pointis attacked the city. Gavilondo had returned twenty-nine days after the French had left, only to find that the only room that was intact was the living room. Despite all the damage, he said, he had returned to live there. When the time to pay the rent came, Gavilondo requested that the Inquisition lower the monthly fee of eight *pesos* until the house had

⁶ Matta Rodríguez calculated the loss in 46,000,500. *El asalto*, 3.

⁷ Inquisición de Cartagena a la Suprema, Cartagena, August 4, 1697, f. 13v, exp. 9, leg. 5342, Inquisición, AHN

⁸ Inquisición de Cartagena a la Suprema, Cartagena, August 4, 1697, ff. 14, exp. 9, leg. 5342, Inquisición, AHN

been repaired. Other tenants of Inquisition houses who had also returned to Cartagena negotiated rental agreements that would enable them to remain in the houses, even though many of them were in ruins. Perhaps cognizant of the flexibility that such trying times demanded, the Inquisition granted many of the tenants' requests.⁹

A free woman of African descent named María Rodríguez took a different path. At some point in her life, María Rodríguez had entered a long-term credit relation with the Inquisition. She owed the Holy Office twenty-two *pesos* and four *reales* for a *censo* (a type of mortgage) on two houses of wood on Calle de la Cruz, in Los Jagüeyes neighborhood. Her arrangement was a footnote to Inquisition's confiscations in Los Jagüeyes decades earlier, following the 1634 trials of the twenty-one women of color. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Inquisition continued to receive revenue from properties located on that street and neighborhood, where the women it had accused of "witchcraft" in 1634 had lived. Inquisition officials attempted to collect the payment from María Rodríguez in January of 1699, but they had not seen her since Pointis's attack. Apparently, she had left the two houses of wood and sailed away from Cartagena in the galleons that went to Portobelo.¹⁰ Like María Rodríguez, other long-time residents of Cartagena sought a future elsewhere.

Despite the damage left by the attack, those who went back to Cartagena likely saw potential for recovery in the physical structures that survived. The city walls had been damaged but not destroyed. Houses in ruins, like the one that Gavilondo rented, could still provide the

⁹ "Hallé la dha cassa arruinada de las bombas sin otra habitación que la sala y está mal tratado todo el techo [...] y no obstante de estar tan arruinada dha cassa bolví a posar en ella." Sobre el cobro de réditos y alquileres de solares y casas del tribunal, Cartagena, April 7, 1698, ff. 2-2v, no. 2, exp. 13, leg. 5342, Inquisición, AHN. For examples of other tenants, such as doña Merenciana Cruzate and Ana Batista, see ff. 3v-4v.

¹⁰ Sobre el cobro de réditos y alquileres, Cartagena, January 7, 1699, ff. 1-1v, no. 2, exp. 13, leg. 5342, Inquisición, AHN.

foundation for future homes, where residents could begin to reconstruct the regular patterns of daily life. Though many of the buildings around it had been nearly destroyed, the Media Luna gate stood where it had since the beginning of the seventeenth century, offering Cartagenos the chance to access the mainland, the *montes*, and the roads that had long connected this city on the water to the farmlands and markets of the interior of New Granada. Meanwhile, Cartagena remained open to the maritime routes connecting the city to Portobelo, the Caribbean islands, and beyond. In the wake of the privateer attack, Cartagena's permanence was now undisputed, even as it remained porous to the larger Caribbean and Atlantic world.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Confiscation Sentences in autos de fe, 1614-1634

Source: Splendiani et al., *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, vol. 2, 48-80; and *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, vol. 4, "Índice de Reos"

Auto de Fe	Name	Born in	Accusation	Confiscation
February 2, 1614	Luis Andrea	New Granada	Witchcraft	Yes
	Diego Piñero	Spain	"Religioso sin licencia"	No
	Andrés de Cuevas	Spain	Blasphemy	No
	Juan Mercader	France	Protestantism	No
	Martín de Carquizano	Spain	Fake official of Holy Office	No
	Juan Lorenzo	Peru	Sorcery	No
	Francisco Dominguez Cabral	Portugal	Propositions	No
	Jorge de los Santos	Greece	Propositions	No
	Marco Pacio	Naples	Blasphemy	No
	Cristóbal Solano, "Fernández"	Spain	Bigamy	No
	Juan Alberto	Germany	Blasphemy	No
	Antón Bañón	New Granada	Blasphemy	No
	Andrés Ordoñez de Parias	New Granada	Propositions	No
	Blas de Manjarrés	New Granada	Blasphemy	No
	María Ramírez	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Isabel Noble	Portugal	Sorcery	No
	Magdalena de Castellanos	New Granada	Blasphemy	No
	Francisca Mejía	New Granada	Sorcery	No
	Juana de Aranda	New Granada	Blasphemy	No
	Juan de Madalena	Spain	Blasphemy	No

March 13, 1622	Adán Edón	England	Protestantism	Yes
	Leonor Zape	Africa	Witchcraft	No
	Guimar Bran	Africa	Witchcraft	No
	María Linda	Africa	Witchcraft	No
	Jusepa Ruiz	Santo Domingo	Witchcraft	No
	Isabel Noble	Portugal	Sorcery	No
	Juan de la Cueva	Spain	Bigamy	No
June 17, 1626	Federico Cuperes	Flanders	Calvinism, Arrianism	No
	Francisca de Contreras	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Julio Cesar Capriano	Italy	Blasphemy	No
	Lucas González	Nicaragua	Sorcery	No
	Baltasar de Araujo Coronel	Galicia	Judaizing	No
	Jerónima de León	Gran Canaria	Sorcery	No
	Amaro Gómez	Portugal	Bigamy	No
	Miguel de Espinosa	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Luis Franco	Portugal	Judaizing	Yes (1/3)
	Ivan de Salas	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Dominga Nuñez		Blasphemy	No
	Pedro Sánchez Mansera	Spain	Married friar	No
	Pedro de Abreu	Portugal	Suspect of Judaizing	200 pesos
	Antonio Rodríguez	Portugal	Judaizing	No
	Jose Niño de Frías	Seville	Sorcery	No
	Mariana de la Peña	New Granada	Sorcery	No
	Diego Rodríguez Nuñez	Portugal	Not fulfilling previous sentence	No
	Domingo da Costa	Portugal	Blasphemy	No
	Alonso Mateus	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Isabel Bardajin	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Francisco de Luna	Portugal	Judaizing	No

	Juan Vicente	Portugal	Relapsed Judaizer	No
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August 6, 1627	José de Torres	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Isabel de Barrientos	Santo Domingo	Sorcery	No
	Andrés González	Portugal	Blasphemy	No
	Salvador	Cartagena	Blasphemy	No
	Pedro Ruiz	Panama	Blasphemy, Incest	No
	Antonio Méndez	Portugal	Judaizing	Yes
	Joan Rodríguez Pardo	Portugal	Judaizing	Yes
	Sebastián Rodríguez	Portugal	Judaizing	Yes
	Luis Rodríguez	Portugal	Judaizing	Yes
June 25, 1628	Diego Criollo	Cartagena	Blasphemy	No
	Domingo Criollo	Cartagena	Blasphemy	No
	Isabel González	Spain	Sorcery	No
	Beatriz de Oviedo	Cuba	Sorcery	No
	Isabel de la Mota	Cuba	Sorcery	No
	Ana de Mena	Puerto Rico	Sorcery	No
	Pedro Ramón	Spain	Bigamy	No
	Hernando López de Aguirre	Spain	Bigamy	No
	Andrés de Cuevas	Spain	Blasphemy	3000 pesos
	Isabel Hernández (Biáfara)	Africa	Witchcraft	Yes
	María Cacheo	Guinea	Witchcraft	Yes
	Antón Carabalí	Africa	Witchcraft	No

March 26, 1634	Ana de Ávila	New Granada	Sorcery	1000 pesos
	Ana de Mena	Puerto Rico	Sorcery, Witchcraft	1/3
	Justa	New Granada	Witchcraft	Yes
	Gerónimo		Blasphemy	No
	Theodora de Salcedo	Cuba	Witchcraft	Yes
	Domingo Canga		Blasphemy	No
	Juana de Mora	Africa	Witchcraft	Yes

	Domingo Pérez	Spain	Bigamy	No
	Catalina de Otavio	Africa	Witchcraft	Yes
	Rufina	New Granada	Witchcraft	Yes
	Lucía Biáfara		Witchcraft	No
	Angelina de Nava	Guinea	Witchcraft	Yes
	Ana María Caravali	Africa	Witchcraft	No
	Bárbara Gómez	Portugal	Witchcraft	No
	Juana de Ortensio		Witchcraft	Yes
	Bárbula de Albornoz	Venezuela	Witchcraft	Yes
	Ana Suárez de Zaragoza		Witchcraft	Yes
	María Méndez	Cartagena	Witchcraft	Yes
	Juana Fernández Gramajo	Cartagena	Witchcraft	Yes
	Ana María de Robles	Santo Domingo	Witchcraft	Yes
	Luisa Domínguez	Santo Domingo	Witchcraft	Yes
	Gerónima		Witchcraft	No
	Dorotea de Palma		Witchcraft	Yes
	Rafaela de Nava	Cartagena	Witchcraft	Yes
	Elena de la Cruz	New Granada	Witchcraft	Yes

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