

CHAPTER  
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On Her Deathbed, Maria de la  
Candelaria Accuses Michaela de  
Molina of Casting Spells  
(Guatemala, 1696)

Martha Few

INTRODUCTION

T

he Inquisition in Guatemala was officially established in 1572 with the appointment of its first commissioner, don Diego de Carbajal. Inquisition cases investigated and prosecuted by Guatemalan ecclesiastical authorities fell under the bureaucratic control of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, located in Mexico City.<sup>1</sup> Commissioners of the Guatemalan Inquisition heard complaints of religious deviance, including witchcraft and sorcery, pacts with the devil, blasphemy, concubinage, solicitations in the confessional, and the possession of prohibited books. The Inquisition's mandate to enforce religious orthodoxy included all peoples in New Spain, with the important exception of the colony's majority—the indigenous population—who had been formally removed from its jurisdiction by order of King Phillip II in 1571.<sup>2</sup> But while the Holy Office could not prosecute Indians for religious crimes, it still regularly called them to appear in inquisitorial proceedings as witnesses.

The following document is an excerpt from an Inquisition case of sorcery prosecuted against Michaela de Molina, a *mulata* resident of Santiago de Guatemala, in 1696. Guatemalan commissioner Dr. don Joseph de Banos y So-tomayor had heard rumors that Michaela de Molina, a candy seller, had cast a spell on Maria de la Candelaria, an Indian servant, causing her to become extremely ill and expel and vomit numerous items from her body.<sup>3</sup> Banos y So-tomayor decided to investigate the case and interviewed Maria de la Candelaria on her deathbed because she was too ill to leave her home. He also questioned two other witnesses, Maria's mistress dona Juana Gonzalez, and dona Juana's teenage niece, dona Rafaela Gonzalez. All three described Maria's illness in detail, including her symptoms of nausea, fainting spells, and body swellings, and the expulsion of various items through her nose and mouth, such as blood, rocks, and pieces of charcoal. They attributed Maria's illness to a series of arguments she had with Michaela de Molina and Michaela's two Indian friends, Geronima

Garcia and Teresa.<sup>4</sup> After assessing the evidence, Inquisition authorities convicted Michaela de Molina of sorcery in July 1696, seizing her house and goods, and imprisoning her in the public jail until May of the following year.

The witnesses in this case resided in the city of Santiago de Guatemala, a major urban center and the political and religious capital of the Audiencia of Guatemala.<sup>5</sup> In the late seventeenth century, Santiago de Guatemala had a population of about forty thousand inhabitants. In this multiethnic city, roughly 15 percent of the inhabitants were identified as Spanish, 20 percent as tributary Indians, and the remaining 65 percent as *gente ordinaria*, which included Africans (both free and enslaved) and *castas* (mixed-race groups).<sup>6</sup>

Included in this excerpt from Michaela de Molina's case is the *auto* (judicial decree) from commissioner Banos y Sotomayor and the three testimonies of Maria, dona Juana, and dona Rafaela.<sup>7</sup> While the commissioner deemed Maria's supernatural illness as serious enough to investigate, none of the religious and political officials who reportedly witnessed Maria's strange expulsions, including three priests, an *alcalde ordinario* (town council member and judge), a royal notary, and a constable, came forward to denounce the incidents nor were they called to testify.<sup>8</sup>

In analyzing this document, readers may want to consider the following questions. Why was Maria's illness seen as so important for the Inquisition to investigate? Could the illness have been related to pregnancy or childbirth? How do you explain the sworn testimony about its supernatural causes and highly unusual effects? What was the significance of Maria's illness, and the items that she expelled, for people in late seventeenth-century Guatemala?

## THE DOCUMENT<sup>9</sup>

### 13.1 Dr. Don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor Orders an Investigation into Acts of Sorcery

*Auto* concerning going to the house of dona Juana Gonzalez to take the declaration of an Indian woman sick from *maleficio* (sorcery).

In the city of [Santiago de] Guatemala, on July 2, 1696, senior Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor, dean of the cathedral of this city, apostolic commissioner, subdelegate general of the Apostolic and Royal Tribunal of the Holy Crusade in this court and its provinces, priest of His Majesty, first rector and professor of sacred theology in the Royal University of Saint Charles, judge provisor and vicar general of this bishopric, and commissioner and *calificador*<sup>10</sup> of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, said that inasmuch as it is public knowledge that a *mulata vecina*<sup>11</sup> of this city named Michaela de Molina, who sells candies, has put a spell on a female Indian servant of dona Juana Gonzalez, a *vecina* of this city, and as this Indian woman is in danger of dying from the spell and no one has appeared to denounce this event, it is necessary and proper to ascertain the truth and to take a statement from the sick Indian woman and from the rest of the people who know about this. Therefore, I resolved to personally go, with the assistance of the pres-

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Indian woman and through her determine that which is most necessary. I resolve, order, and sign it [this decree].

Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor Don Miguel de Carranza y Cordova, notary of the Holy Office

### 73.2 Testimony of Maria de la Candelaria

In the city of [Santiago de] Guatemala, on July 1, 1696, in the afternoon, a woman named Maria de la Candelaria was called to appear before Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor, dean of the Cathedral of this city, etc.<sup>12</sup> She swore to tell the truth. She is an unmarried Indian servant of dona Juana Gonzalez, a vecina<sup>13</sup> of this city. She says she is eighteen years old and she is in bed.

[Maria de la Candelaria] was asked if she knows or presumes why the senior commissioner of the Inquisition came to see her, and why she is called by the Holy Office.

She said that she presumes it is to learn from her about the things she has expelled and vomited, which she presumes are the result of an hechizo (spell). This evil was done to her by a mulata named Michaela de Molina, who sells candies in the streets, after she had some encounters with her over the past two years. The first time caused her mistress, dona Juana Gonzalez, to become annoyed, because [Maria] had gone to a holy day celebration in 1694 where she dragged the mulata Michaela de Molina by the hair.<sup>14</sup> A few days after the fight, Maria de la Candelaria began to suffer from fainting spells, and she expelled blood from her mouth and nose. And even though [Maria and Michaela] later became friends again, they fought a second time over some issues. While this witness walked by the mulata Michaela's door after midnight, [Michaela] provoked [Maria] so that . . . who had made a neighbor pregnant. . . ,<sup>15</sup> and the noise of their voices caused her mistress dona Juana Gonzalez to leave her house to [confront] the mulata. This fight occurred at the end of last October 1695. A few days later [Maria de la Candelaria] gave birth and immediately began to suffer constrictions in her chest, which caused so much anguish that she appeared to be in the throws of death, and she was deprived of her senses, her belly and heart swollen. She suffered from this for three months, and neither doctors nor midwives understood the illness. Two Indian women, with whom [Michaela] has a very close friendship, helped the mulata Michaela do evil to [Maria]. One of the Indian women lives in Michaela de Molina's house, and the other visits almost every day; her name is Teresa, and she is from the nearby town of San Cristobal el Bajo. Teresa is known to be a sorcerer,<sup>16</sup> and [Maria] has heard it said that the Indian Teresa killed a mulata woman with hechizos and was imprisoned in the public jail of this city. Maria de la Candelaria also presumes that the Indian woman, who lives in [Michaela's] house, is from the town of Amatitlan and is named Geronima Gar-da, also helped Michaela. This witness said that she had a fight with [Geronima]

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because she "carried on"<sup>17</sup> with a married Indian man whose wife is also a servant, with [Maria], in the house of dona Juana Gonzalez. The Indian Geronima later fled after ihejusticia (judicial officials) arrested the mulata Michaela de Molina and the Indian Teresa on the suspicion that they had done evil to the witness.

[Maria de la Candelaria] was asked with what maleficios (spells) or effects [Michaela, Teresa,

and Geronima] had experimented. She said that fifteen days ago, her mistress had sent her on an errand. She began to feel faint, and then suddenly she expelled blood from her mouth and nostrils; she was brought back to her house discharging blood. First she expelled through her mouth a lump of rags tied with string. Then she expelled through her mouth two jicaras (cups) of coal in the presence of her mistress dona Juana Gonzalez and Father Mathias Lobo de Uvilla, a secular priest.<sup>18</sup> Later, in the presence of the priest of Nuestra Senora de los Remedies,<sup>19</sup> don Francisco de Pontaza, the secular priest don Juan de Mon-cada, and her mistress, she expelled from her mouth another large lump of blue rags, inside of which was a large lock of hair; and then immediately three times she vomited from her mouth a huge amount of zacate (hay) and a small ball of soap. And from the Sunday of the feast of Corpus Christi,<sup>20</sup> almost continuously until the following Thursday, she expelled blood and many locks of hair through her nostrils. And finally, at the same time that a stone hit the window of the house of this witness, she expelled from her mouth many pieces of stone, of the same type that had been thrown [at her window], some large and others small. And on that occasion the alcalde ordinario of this city, Captain don Diego de Quiroga, was in her room, as was a royal notary.

[Maria de la Candelaria] was asked if she had any more suspicions that the mulata Michaela had done evil to her.

[Maria de la Candelaria] said yes, because after she began to feel the effects of the maleficio, which she attributed to her enemy Michaela, [Michaela] went to the house of dona Nicolasa Gonzalez, the sister of her mistress, to apologize. [Michaela] said that she hadn't done the maleficio but that the Indian woman Tereea from the town of San Cristobal el Bajo had done it. Teresa was angry with [Maria] for having had an illicit relationship<sup>21</sup> with her son-in-law, Pablo Vallejo, vccino of the town of Santa Isabel, located close to the city. And this witness says that it is true that she had an illicit relationship with Pablo Vallejo, the son-in-law of the Indian Teresa, but it happened after the three months that she was in bed SO ill after having given birth. [Maria] said that the mulata Michaela had also apologized to an Indian named Thomasa<sup>22</sup> and said that the Indian Geronima Garcia caused the Indian Thomasa to get divorced [and] she turned into a bird,<sup>33</sup> and that Juana de Monasteries (alias la Chunchu<sup>24</sup>) told her this. And [Maria] presumes that Michaela, together with the two Indian women, had done the evil to her that caused her to suffer. All three wished her evil, and she was not on good terms with them. And on one occasion, in the countryside, Michaela had wanted her to take off her clothes; [Maria] told a tall man about this, someone she didn't recognize as it was nearly nighttime.

And this is the truth by the oath made. And having it read, [Maria de la Candelaria] said that it is well written, and that she did not give [her testimony] out of hate but only to discharge her conscience. She promised to keep the [testimony]

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secret. And not knowing how to write, she did not sign [the document], and the commissioner signed it for her.

Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor Before me, don Miguel de Carranza y Cordova, notary of the Holy Office

### 13.3 Testimony of Dona Juana Gonzalez

In the city of [Santiago de] Guatemala, on July 2, 1696, in the afternoon, before Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor, dean of the cathedral of this city, etc., there appeared, having been called and sworn to tell the truth, a Spanish woman named dona Juana Gonzalez, who is a member of the Third Order of Saint Francis, is a *vecina* of this city, and is more than fifty years old.

[Dona Juana Gonzalez] was asked if she knows or presumes the reason that she has been called before this Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition.

She said she presumes it is to learn from her about her Indian servant named Maria de la Candelaria, who is in bed doing very poorly, expelling foul things through her mouth and nose, which she presumes is from the *hechizo* done by her *inulata* neighbor named Michaela de Molina, who sells candies. The reason that she presumes this is because her servant, Maria de la Candelaria, had some fights with [Michaela], and not with anyone else. The reason the two fought was because Michaela de Molina became entangled with her servant [Maria de la Candelaria] over an Indian man from the town of Santa Isabel named Pablo Vallejo. And when this witness heard this news, she punished her servant. She presumes that Maria de la Candelaria did not want to continue with the illicit relationship with Pablo Vallejo. [Michaela de Molina] did evil to [Maria] because one night, while her servant was going by [Michaela's] door, the *mulata* provoked her so much that [Maria] attacked her. At this [point] a neighbor left [her house], arguing with the *mulata*, and then told this witness [what was happening]. [Dona Juana] left [her house] with a stick in search of the *mulata*, who had fled. A few days later her servant gave birth, and became ill with shortness of breath, fright, and shock, and also her heart and belly swelled up from which she suffered for three months.

[Dona Juana] was asked if she knew if Michaela de Molina knew how to cast spells and what basis she had to presume that she, and not another, had done evil to her servant, other than what she has already declared.

[Dona Juana] said that even though she had never heard that the *mulata* had used spells, she based [her belief on the fact] that Michaela de Molina has very intimate friendships with two Indian women, one named Geronima Garcia from the town of Amatitlan, who lived most of the time with Michaela de Molina in her house, and who, immediately after the last time Maria de la Candelaria became ill, fled who knows where. And the other is called Teresa, from the town of San Cristobal el Bajo; she is the mother-in-law of Pablo Vallejo, with whom [dona Juana's] servant had an illicit relationship. The Indian Teresa is publicly known to be a *bruja* (witch), and she was held in the public jail of this city for two years

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Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor Before me, don Miguel de Carranza y Cordova, notary of the Holy Office

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[Dona Juana Gonzalez] was asked if she knows or presumes the reason that she has been called before this Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition.

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delaria began to expel many large and small pieces of the same rock from her mouth. And the royal notary told the *alcalde* to come look at what the sick woman expelled, but the *alcalde* said it wasn't necessary, but they showed it to him anyway. And this witness says that from the Sunday of the feast of Corpus Christ! until Thursday, [Maria] expelled a large quantity of locks of hair from her left nostril.

And having read [the testimony], [dona Juana] said that it was well written and that she didn't give it out of hate but only to discharge her conscience. And she promised to keep [her testimony] secret. Because she didn't know how to sign her name, [the testimony] was signed for her by the commissioner.

Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor Before me, don Miguel de Carranza y Cordova, notary of the Holy

### 13.4 Testimony of Dona Rafaela Gonzalez

In the city of [Santiago de] Guatemala, July 3, 1696, in the afternoon, before Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor, dean of the cathedral of this city, etc., there appeared after being called, a Spanish woman named dona Rafaela Gonzalez, who swore to tell the truth. She is a *doncella* (maiden), the natural daughter of dona Josepha Gonzalez, in whose domain she lives; she is a *vecina* of this city and more than eighteen years of age.

[Dona Rafaela] was asked if she knows or presumes why she has been called before the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

She said that she presumes it is to know what happened with a servant of her aunt, dona Juana Gonzalez, and the things that [Maria de la Candelaria] had expelled from her mouth and nostrils, which she presumes to be from a spell that a *mulata* named Michaela de Molina, who sells candies, had cast on the servant Maria de la Candelaria because she had a fight with the *mulata*. And this witness knew about this because she was often present in the house of her aunt, dona Juana Gonzalez. There she heard about how Maria de la Candelaria had fought over a long period of time with the *mulata* in the countryside, and that [she]<sup>28</sup> beat her. And even though [dona Rafaela] saw afterwards that Maria de la Candelaria suffered from long fainting spells, and from blood in her mouth and nostrils, she didn't have . . .<sup>29</sup> from which she could start similar accidents.<sup>30</sup> Also, [dona Rafaela] knew that about seven months later Maria de la Candelaria had fought one night with the *mulata* Michaela de Molina, and that a neighbor named Maria Antonia found them. This happened right about the time that Maria de la Candelaria was to give birth. After [Maria de la Candelaria] gave birth, she became ill from fright and fatigues, and she suffered for three months. And again, about fifteen days ago, more or less, she knew that they brought Maria de la Candelaria to her aunt's house very ill, expelling blood from her mouth and nostril>. After, this witness saw that [Maria] begin to expel some things from her mouth such as a blue bundle. [Dona Rafaela] went to the house of her aunt, dona Juana Gonzalez, to help, and she saw for the first time that Maria de la Candelaria had

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nausea; she then expelled from her mouth a bundle wrapped in a white **lag** and tied with string made from century plant fiber. Tied to the bundle was a **•nail** corn husk. Captain don Diego de Quiroga, the *alcalde ordinario* of this city, **and don** Diego de Arguello, a royal notary, went to her aunt's house and were **shown** the two bundles that the servant expelled. The notary untied both of them, and inside of the bundles this witness saw that he found a bit of *cebo* that was in a **husk** similar to that of the *chicozapote* seed, a tangle of hairs around a tobacco **cigar**, a small piece of rose-colored taffeta from Granada, a black ribbon, purple **thread**, a human tooth, half a clove of garlic, a piece of cacao tied with thread, and a small bit of charcoal. And on this occasion the

witness and the others were **in the** drawing room, and they heard a rock that was thrown with great force at **the** window in the bedroom of the sick woman. This witness went to see what it was, and found a large stone that appeared to be a clod of burned earth, and she **showed** it to the *alcalde* and notary. Right after, Maria de la Candelaria began to



**Figure 8** An indigenous woman, who works as a servant in a Spanish household, carries water from the community fountain. She is wearing a *huipil*. (Mexico, early nineteenth century) (Linati [1828] 1956, plate 26).

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have great nausea and she expelled from her mouth an enormous quantity of rocks, large and small, of the same type that was thrown at her bedroom window. [Dona Rafaela] also showed them to the *alcalde* and notary, and she told the *alcalde*, don Diego de Quiroga, to come and watch the sick woman expel rocks, but he responded that it was not necessary. Later, on a different occasion, [dona Rafaela] saw [Maria de la Candelaria] three times expel charcoal in pieces, as if it had been ground up. Judging that [Maria] was dying and had lost her senses, they asked for the *santo oleo* (holy oil).<sup>31</sup> The priest, don Francisco de Pontaza, from the church of Los Remedios, came and he anointed and absolved her according to the [Papal] Bull. And because the priest saw the things she expelled, he did not dare give her the sacrament. And after, this witness saw [Maria] expel crushed *zacate* from her mouth two or three times, and a small ball of soap and a chile in a tangle

of thread. One of the times that [Maria] expelled charcoal from her mouth was the Thursday of the feast of Corpus Christi, at about four in the afternoon, and when this witness was at the window in the bedroom of the sick woman looking out into the street. She didn't see anyone. This witness then felt a piece of charcoal hit her on the shoulders, and another fell to the floor. Also, during this time this witness saw Maria de la Candelaria expel many balls of paper and rags from her nostrils, and some pieces of *huipil*. The last two balls her aunt dona Juana sent to [Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor]. During many of these incidents the priest don Francisco de Pontaza, Father Mathias Lobo de Utila, and the priest don Juan de Moncada were present, as was Antonio Garcia, constable, Maria Manuela, *mulata*, and so many others, but with the fright caused by the incidents, she can not remember who they were.

And [dona Rafaela] was asked if she knew if Maria de la Candelaria had enmity with another person, or if the *mulata* Michaela de Molina knew about *hechizos* and used them, or if she consulted others to use them.

[Dona Rafaela] said she did not know nor had she heard it said that Maria de la Candelaria was enemies with another person other than the *mulata* Michaela de Molina [nor] if she uses or knows how to use *hechizos*. She has only heard that she [Michaela] has a close friendship with an Indian woman from the town of San Cristobal named Teresa, and she has also heard that [Teresa] is a witch. And she has [a close friendship] with another Indian woman from Amatitlan named Geronima, who fled when Maria de la Candelaria began to expel things, as she has already declared. And also, immediately after [Maria began to expel things], the *mulata* Michaela de Molina went to the house of her aunt dona Nicolasa Gonzalez to apologize, saying that it wasn't she who had done evil to Maria de la Candelaria, but the Indian Teresa.

And this is the truth by the oath given, and being read [the testimony] [dona Rafaela] said that it was well written, and that she didn't give it out of hate, but only to discharge her conscience. She promised to guard the secret [of her testimony]. Because she doesn't know how to sign her name the commissioner signed [the testimony] for her.

Dr. don Joseph de Banos y Sotomayor Before me don  
Miguel de Carranza y Cordova, notary of the Holy Office

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#### NOTES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS This chapter is based on archival research carried out with the aid of an Edward Turville Dissertation Research Fellowship from the Department of History at the University of Arizona. I would like to thank Kevin Gosner, Christopher Lutz, B. J. Bar-ickman, and Geoffrey Spurling.

1. Ernesto Chinchilla Aguilar, *La Inquisition en Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1953), 25, 33.
2. Before this date Indians were tried by the Inquisition; after the king's decree, Spanish officials created the *proviserato*, which functioned as an alternative to the Inquisition, to administer Indian religious orthodoxy.
3. In this essay, I follow the colonial racial-ethnic designations used to describe those who appear in Inquisition cases, such as "Indian" (*yndio/a*); "Spaniard" (*espanol/a*); and "Black" (*negro/a*). "*Mestizo/a*" was used to refer to a person of mixed Spanish and Indian parentage. In Central America, "*Mulato/a*" referred to a person of mixed parentage, part African and part Spanish and/or Indian. For more on racial/ethnic designations used in colonial Guatemala, see W. George Lovell and Christopher H. Lutz, eds., *Demography and Empire: A Guide to the Population History of Spanish Central America, 1500-1821* (Boulder and San Francisco: Westview Press, 1995).
4. Teresa's surname is not given in the documents.
5. The Audiencia of Guatemala formed part of New Spain, and roughly comprised present-day Chiapas, Guatemala (except the Peten), El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.
6. Christopher H. Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 110. *Genie ordinaria* was a term meaning "common people," and was used in parish registries to classify everyone except Spaniards and tributary Indians.
7. I have not included translations of the formal ratifications of the women's testimonies nor the final letter convicting Michaela de Molina because of space constraints and because the sections do not contain much new

- information.
8. Some scholars who have studied the Inquisition in New Spain have argued that colonial authorities did not take the use of love magic and sorcery among Indians, Africans, Spaniards, and *castas* very seriously. For example, in her pioneering work on love magic and witchcraft in late colonial Mexico, Ruth Behar stresses the skepticism of Inquisition authorities with regards to claims of women's witchcraft, pointing to the leniency of punishments and the tendency of women to make self-denunciations ("Sexual Witchcraft, Colonialism, and Women's Powers: Views from the Mexican Inquisition," Asuncion Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* [Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989], 178-206, and "Sex, Sin, Witchcraft, and the Devil in Late-Colonial Mexico," *American Ethnologist* 14 [1987], 35-55). This case, and other evidence from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Guatemalan Inquisition records, however, suggest that official attitudes toward women's love magic and sorcery in New Spain varied temporally and regionally. See Martha Few, "*Mujeres de Mal Vivir*: Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala, 1650-1750," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1997.
  9. This document comes from the Archive General de la Nacion (Mexico), Inquisicion, vol. 689, exp. 7, fs. 189-201v.
  10. Ecclesiastical official named by the Inquisition tribunal to censure books.
  11. Citizen, or in some cases just resident, of a particular municipality. In many colonial contexts *vecino(a)* was restricted only to those who could vote for and hold municipal office. Here, though, the term is used more loosely, applied to women as well as men, and to Indians and *castas* as well as Spaniards.
  12. The court records repeat all of Banos y Sotomayor's official titles, hereafter substituted with "etc."
  13. The attribution of *vecina* is ambiguous here, as it could refer to either Maria de la Candelaria or to dona Juana Gonzalez.
  14. "y el primero fue por (...) ocasionado disgusto con su ama dona Juana Gonzalez por haverla (. . .) como la dha decl. avia hecha una entrada en una fiesta (. . .) de la Cruz el ano pasado de 94." The translation is somewhat difficult here as a number of words are unreadable in

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- the text. The testimony appears to refer to a fight between the two women during the celebrating the Dm de Santa Cruz (Day of the Holy Cross). Cutting and pulling hail both insulting and degrading to women in colonial society; they signified attacks on personal honor. See Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "De Obra y Palabra: Patterns of Insults in M 1750-1856," *The Americas* 54(4) (1998), 511-39.
15. "que se venian a los ma(. . .), lo qual embarazo una vecina." The meaning of this sec ambiguous; as part of one word is illegible, it is difficult to offer a more precise transl
  16. "hechicera" in the original.
  17. The phrase used is "traia inquieto," which literally translates into "caused a disturbai worry"; it suggests that the two were having an illicit relationship. Later references to relationship confirm this interpretation,
  18. The secular clergy mainly administered among Spanish colonists, while the regular < worked to convert and administer indigenous groups. The regular orders active in thi version of indigenous groups in Guatemala were the Franciscans, Dominicans, and the cedarians.
  19. Nuestra Senora de los Remedies, or Our Lady of Sorrows, was the parish church a Remedies in Santiago de Guatemala.
  20. "infraoctova de Corpus" in the document. The feast of Corpus Christi celebrates the and blood of Jesus Christ, highlighting the redemptive effects of the sacrament. Richa McBrien, ed., *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (New York: Harper Collins Ushers, 1995), 369.
  21. "mal amistado" in the original.
  22. Thomasa must be a neighbor or friend of Maria de la Candelaria.
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23. "Y tambien dice se disculpa la dha mulata Michaela embiando a decir a casa desta d una yndia llamada Thomasa que la Yndia Geronima Garcia descasava a la dha \ Thomasa, se volbia pajaro, y que se (. . .) dicho Juana de Monasteries (alias la Chund This is a convoluted section of the document that makes translation difficult. \ol't jaro could be a colloquial expression; however, I have chosen to translate "se volbu jaro" as "she turned into a bird." Guatemalan Inquisition and criminal records show inhabitants of late seventeenth-century Guatemala believed that certain community n bers, especially Indians and women, had the power to transform their own bodies an< bodies of others into animals and birds through the practice of sorcery and witchcraft Martha Few, "Illness Accusations and the Cultural Politics of Power in Colonial Sant de Guatemala, 1650-1720," Working Paper, International Seminar on the History ol Atlantic World, Harvard University, August 1998. Kay Warren has noted that in ami porary Kaqchikel Maya accounts, rajav a'a, or shape-shifters,

- frequently women we gendered metaphor for betrayal of the community during the political violence in Guatemala in the 1970s and 1980s. See her essay "Interpreting La Violencia in Guatemalan Shapes of Maya Silence and Resistance," in Kay B. Warren, ed., *The Violence of Cultural and Political Opposition in Divided Nations* (Boulder and San Francisco: Westview, 1993).
24. The meaning of her alias is unclear. In pre-Columbian and colonial Peru, *chuncho*, a derogatory term (essentially meaning savage) that the Inkas and other Andean activists used for the forest peoples of the Amazon. This usage may have spread to all Central America.
  25. La Ginesa is her alias or nickname; its meaning is unclear.
  26. This is unreadable in the document.
  - of
  27. Unfortunately, there is no other contextual information in the document that may help in interpreting the references to Michaela de Molina wanting Marfa de la Carui off her clothes.
  28. It is unclear if Maria beat Michaela or vice versa.
  29. This is unreadable in the document.
  30. The meaning of this is unclear. The original reads "pero que no tubo (ma . . .) a drian original semejantes accidentes."
  31. Santo oleo is holy oil used for anointing the sick and the dying; the priest Iv. . . called to administer the last rites. This oil was generally consecrated by a priest on Thursday, but could be blessed by a priest in an emergency. McBrien, *The Catholicism*, 931.

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#### On Her Deathbed, Maria de la Candelaria

#### DOCUMENT THEMES

African/Afro-Latin American Peoples; Crime; Cultural Contact/Ethnogenesis/Resistance; Ethnicity; European-Mestizo Peoples; Gender; Gossip and Communication; Illness/Disease/Injury/Medicine; Indigenous Peoples; Inquisition; Insults; Popular Culture; Race; Religion; Sexuality; Town Life; Violence; Witchcraft; Women.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Behar 1991. Cope 1994. Farriss 1984. Few 1995. Gutierrez 1991. Lutz 1994. Perry and Cruz 1991. Silverblatt 1987.

