Introduction

Linguistic and Spiritual Mediations in the Earlier Black Atlantic

On a May morning in 1659 in the Caribbean port of Cartagena de Indias, a man from Angola named Andrés Sacabuche testified before a notary and a judge in the city's Jesuit church. Sacabuche was serving as a witness in a formal inquiry into the potentially saintly life of Jesuit priest Pedro Claver, his recently deceased supervisor. In his lengthy testimony, Sacabuche provided details about his own life as a survivor of the Middle Passage and an enslaved evangelical interpreter in Cartagena: after arriving in Cartagena as a young man on a slave ship, he was purchased by the city's Jesuit school to help its priests evangelize the new black arrivals from central Africa disembarking in the port by the hundreds almost every year during this period.[1] As a speaker of the languages of Kimbundu and Anchico, Sacabuche became an important member of a group of enslaved black interpreters owned by the Jesuits in Cartagena. Sacabuche's testimony and related Jesuit writings about missionary efforts in colonial Lima and Cartagena offer windows onto how black men and women in the diaspora used linguistic and spiritual mediation to communicate with each other and adapt to their New World surroundings.

[1] *Proceso de beatificación de Pedro Claver* [hereafter *Proceso* 1676], Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, manuscrito 281 [1658–1669], trans. Claudio Louvet [1676], Andrés Sacabuche, 99v–109v. For a transcription and translation of a selection from Sacabuche's testimony, see Appendix B. For details regarding numbers and places of provenance for slave ships to Cartagena, see David Wheat, "The Afro-Portuguese Maritime World and the Foundations of Spanish Caribbean Society, 1570–1640" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2009), 252–56.

While Sacabuche narrated his testimony in 1659, some 1,050 miles away in the Pacific coastal city of Lima, Úrsula de Jesús, a Peruvian-born black religious servant in the Convent of Santa Clara, was fashioning another kind of testimony. Úrsula's narration took the form of a spiritual diary about her visions and conversations with holy voices and souls in purgatory that she related out loud to nuns in her convent at the request of her confessor.[2] Úrsula was a different kind of intermediary than Sacabuche: rather than translate between distinct languages, she served as a respected visionary and relayer of messages between God, souls in purgatory, and the living. Two posthumous biographies written about her shortly after her death in 1666 use her spiritual diary to fashion their own accounts about her. The biographies selectively repeat her diary's portrayals of how black men and women should be perceived in and beyond her religious community.

Andrés Sacabuche and Úrsula de Jesús are two of the black intermediaries from colonial Spanish America who are the focus of this book. By examining texts by and about them, *Beyond Babel* highlights the influence black men and women had on the production of written texts in their respective communities through the work of linguistic and spiritual mediation. In the case of the evangelical interpreters in Cartagena such as Sacabuche, linguistic mediation describes the transposition of messages across the many different languages spoken by the black men and women disembarking from slave ships to facilitate their arrival in the port as well as their catechisms and baptisms. In the case of Úrsula de Jesús in Lima, spiritual mediation describes the labor of relaying messages communicated to her by God and other otherworldly interlocutors to her spiritual community and to serve as an advocate for the salvation of the souls of the living and the dead. This book will demonstrate that these black intermediaries used linguistic and spiritual mediation to shape notions of blackness in written texts that have been overlooked by previous scholarship on colonial Latin America and the African diaspora. Specifically, these intermediaries helped document and circulate notions of black

[2] *Diario espiritual de la venerable Úrsula de Jesús, escrita por ella misma*, Archivo de Santa Clara de Lima, 8r–60r. This document has been edited and published by Nancy van Deusen in Spanish and English. Nancy van Deusen, *Las almas del purgatorio*: *El diario espiritual y vida anónima de Úrsula de Jesús, una mística negra del siglo XVII* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 2012); *Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic, Úrsula de Jesús* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004). Úrsula's diary dates from 1650 and concludes in 1661.

virtue and black beauty even as racial hierarchies stigmatizing blackness were increasingly cohering in seventeenth-century Spanish America.

Men and women of African descent first arrived in the territories that would become Peru and New Granada along with the first Spanish expeditions to these areas in the sixteenth century. In some cases, they were conquistadors themselves, and in others they were servants to conquistadors.[3] The importation of large numbers of enslaved Africans to the Caribbean for commercial purposes began in 1518 after the Spanish Crown authorized the first large shipment to Hispaniola.[4] Then, when the Spanish Crown assumed control of Portugal in 1580, the volume of the transatlantic slave trade to Spanish America increased significantly until 1640. The enslaved black men, women, and children who survived the sea voyage during this period were taken to work in farms, fields, and mines or to serve as servants in domestic spaces and convents. Some already knew skilled trades on arrival in Spanish America; others learned

[3] Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 4–6. A trickling arrival of enslaved Africans as personal servants in the early years of the Peruvian viceroyalty resulted from the permits for the importation of African slaves from Iberia that the Crown awarded Pizarro and his men for the conquests in Peru. For example, when Pizarro returned to Spain and signed the Capitulations of Toledo in 1529, the Crown authorized him to import duty-free fifty African slaves into the land. Other men who went with him were granted similar permits for a modest fee. Then, between 1529 and 1537, the Crown granted more people to import at least 363 slaves. Black servants were coveted in the early viceregal period, as they would be throughout the following centuries, because they were considered a symbol of prestige for their owners (8). On the prestige of owning black slaves in the Andes, see also Tamara J. Walker, *Exquisite Slaves: Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 26–42. For a recent synthesis of historiography on Iberian and Mediterranean antecedents to the transatlantic slave trade, see William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 10–78. On black soldiers in the early European settlement of the Spanish Caribbean, see Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 21–23; Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayans, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 6–13.

[4] In 1518, the Spanish Crown agreed to the shipment of 4,000 captive African laborers from western Africa to the Caribbean over an eight-year period. On the early history of the trade to Spanish America, see David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–461; José Luis Cortés López, *Esclavo y colono: Introducción y sociología de los negroafricanos en la América Española del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 2004), 1–44; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery from the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (New York: Verso, 1997), 134–37; Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 26–30.

them afterward.[5] Some became free through their owners' selective manumission, their own supplemental work as day laborers, or physical escape.[6] Many more stayed enslaved. By the early seventeenth century, free and enslaved black men and women came to form a significant percentage of the population in these regions.[7]

The texts examined in this book were produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the urban centers of Lima and Cartagena, two coastal cities connected by empire, commercial routes, and evangelical projects.[8] Together, as ports, Lima and Cartagena were tied to other cities across the globe such as Seville, Luanda, Lisbon, Veracruz, Portobello, Buenos Aires, and São Tomé. Colonial Peru and New Granada, the broader areas surrounding Lima and Cartagena, are usually studied separately, but by focusing on both in conversation in this book I can

[5] On black men and women in the skilled trades, see Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 125–146.

[6] For recent scholarship on the varying forms of access to freedom throughout colonial Spanish America, see Bianca Premo, *The Enlightenment on Trial: Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 191–223; Michelle McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Sherwin Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 115–42; Jane Landers, "The African Landscape of Seventeenth-Century Cartagena and Its Hinterlands," in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 147–62; Alejandro de la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 170–79.

[7] For scholarship on Lima as a majority black city for most of the seventeenth century, see Bowser, *African Slave*, 340–41; José Ramón Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: Esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima, 1650–1700* (Lima, Peru: IEP, 2005), 21–52. On the changing demographics of blackness in Lima toward the end of the seventeenth century, see Nancy van Deusen, "The 'Alienated' Body: Slaves and Castas in the Hospital de San Bartolomé in Lima, 1680–1700," *The Americas* 56, no. 1 (1999): 1–30. According to David Wheat, for all of the seventeenth century Cartagena's free and enslaved black population outnumbered its native and Spanish/white populations (*Atlantic Africa*, appendix 1, 277–81).

[8] Travel between these two cities during this period was typically realized by sailing from Cartagena to Portobello, crossing the Panamanian isthmus by land, and sailing south from Panama to Lima. For Iberians seeking to reach Peru as well as west African captives forced to travel the same route, stopping in Cartagena was often the first stop after crossing the Atlantic. See Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu, *La llave de las Indias* (Bogota: El Tiempo, 1981); Wheat, *Atlantic Africa*; and Linda Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Brill, 2007). For a narrative of a voyage from Iberia to Peru via Cartagena, see Gerónymo Pallas, *Misión a las Indias* [1619], ed. José Hernández Palomo (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006).

attend to some of the ways the movement of people, material goods, and evangelical projects between them were frequent and mutually influential.[9] For example, most of the routes of the legal and illegal slave trades to Peru during this period passed through Cartagena such that the black men and women who arrived in Peru from Iberia or western Africa had to stop in Cartagena before resuming their voyage. As I will show in Chapter 2, people, materials, and evangelical projects also went in the other direction: missionary strategies that were first developed for indigenous populations in Peru in the late sixteenth century then served as models for Jesuit missionary efforts among black men and women in Cartagena when the order expanded northward into New Granada from Peru in the early seventeenth century. Focusing on both areas in this book allows me to examine a shared discourse about blackness produced in collaboration with distinct kinds of black intermediaries across different areas of colonial Spanish America. The juxtaposition demonstrates that the notions of black virtue and black beauty that circulated in each city were not merely local phenomena. They were shared across regions as well as among recent arrivals from Africa *and* black men and women born in the Americas. The bifocal frame of my study also offers an alternative to "Atlantic-only" readings of the African diaspora by foregrounding ways in which policies and practices developed to incorporate black men and women into colonial societies in the Atlantic were directly connected to precedents established in the Andean highlands and the Pacific littoral.[10]

The time period covered by this book begins in the late sixteenth century and closes toward the end of seventeenth century, a stretch of time that coincides not only with the demographic boom of Africans in

[9] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Peru corresponded to the contemporary territories of Peru, northern Chile, and Bolivia, whereas New Granada corresponded to today's Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela. The Spanish began their conquests in the Andes in 1532 and incorporated Peru as an official viceroyalty in 1542. The region of New Granada took on its name starting in 1539, although sometimes it was also referred to as Tierra Firme. Santa Fe (Bogota) became the seat of the Audience of New Granada in 1550, but the Spanish Crown did not officially incorporate the "New Kingdom of Granada" as a separate viceroyalty (from that of Peru) until 1718.

[10] While Paul Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" and Joseph Roach's "circum-Atlantic world" trace important geographies of New World blackness, they emphasize English and French Atlantic iterations of the diaspora from the eighteenth century forward and therefore omit earlier and concurrent Iberian-controlled geographies of the slave trade that connect the early Atlantic world with the Pacific Ocean. See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

colonial Spanish America, but also with the onset of the influence of Iberian Renaissance humanism and Counter Reformation theology in these areas.[11] As I will show in Chapter 1, the confluence of Renaissance humanist ideology and Counter Reformation theology had a profound effect on the way written texts began to codify blackness in early and mid-colonial Spanish America. In particular, I identify and analyze the work of a pervasive set of interlocking associations between black men and women and the uncivilized body, a limited capacity to speak, and a redeemable soul. Important alternatives to this set of stereotypes appear in the textual portrayals of black intermediaries who are described or describe themselves as masters of language, models of Christian virtue, and privileged relayers of religious signs. Their texts offer a set of aesthetic and moral valences that blackness held in this period that have gone unrecognized by scholarship on racial hierarchies of the more secular eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

For this analysis, it is crucial to note that one of the key ways blackness took shape in Spanish America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was through comparisons with indigeneity. Especially in the first two chapters, this book engages how attitudes and policies developed by Spanish missionaries to evangelize black and indigenous populations helped structure colonial ideas of race. In taking this approach, I join a growing number of scholars integrating the study of Africans and their descendants with that of indigenous peoples in Latin America, examining these groups' social and political histories side by side or examining interactions between them.[12] While mine is not a full comparative study,

[11] The period of the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns (1580–1640) gave Spanish America immediate access to the Portuguese slave trade. For more on the demographic changes of black populations in Spanish America during this period, see Wheat, *Atlantic Africa*, 267–81. The Bourbon takeover of the Hapsburg reign at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the British assumption of political and economic primacy in the Atlantic changed the demographics of the slave trade and the distribution of military and economic power on all sides of the Atlantic.

[12] For studies adopting comparative social and political histories of indigenous and black populations, see Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012); Marcela Echeverri, "Popular Royalists, Empire, and Politics in Southwestern New Granada, 1809–1819," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (2011): 237–69; Aline Helg, *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and James Sanders, "'Citizens of a Free People': Popular Liberalism and Race in Nineteenth-Century Southwestern Colombia," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (2004): 233–312. For studies that focus on the interactions between the two groups, see Patrick J. Carroll, "Black-Native Relations

it demonstrates that the Jesuit missionary strategies among black men and women in the Americas grew out of and then in distinction from evangelical projects among indigenous populations in the same regions. More specifically, I show that the roles assigned to and adapted by black linguistic and spiritual intermediaries in colonial evangelical projects were initially based on and then expressly different from those assigned to indigenous intermediaries.

The unique roles assumed by the black intermediaries examined in this book relate to the different treatment of black populations compared with indigenous populations in early colonial Spanish America. Key to this difference were the distinct juridical categories given to black and indigenous populations based on their perceived relationships to territorial possession by the Spanish Crown.[13] While the Crown made efforts to legally protect indigenous populations of the Americas and to establish a separate governing system of *la república de los indios* to function parallel to *la república de los españoles*, there was no comparable legal space created for black political collectivities in Spanish American colonial governments.[14] As has been noted by several scholars, black men and women

and the Historical Record in Colonial Mexico," in *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Pres, 2005), 245–68; Andrew B. Fisher, "Creating and Contesting Community: Indians and Afromestizos in the Late-Colonial Tierra Caliente of Guerrero, Mexico," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006); Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle*; O'Toole, *Bound Lives*; Pablo Miguel Sierra Silva, "From Chains to Chiles: An Elite Afro-Indigenous Couple in Colonial Mexico, 1641–1688," *Ethnohistory* 62, no. 2 (2015): 361–84.

[13] O'Toole, *Bound Lives*, 64–87; Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 212; Laura Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 49–54; Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto, 2010), 27; María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 100 and 143.

[14] While in the case of the indigenous populations, there was a bureaucratic mechanism (*protector de indios*) established to protect native subjects, there never existed a *protector de negros* in the American viceroyalties (Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada*, 100). Laws from the Spanish American viceroyalties frequently discouraged association between indigenous and black populations due perhaps to a perceived threat posed by the development of a collective consciousness among the two groups as well as the fact that black populations were often cast as aggressors to indigenous communities. See Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 150; Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors*, 99; and Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, 27–28. O'Toole's *Bound Lives* provides an excellent study of the limits of those perceived divisions between black and indigenous populations.

were thus legally included as part of Spanish American viceregal societies without giving them means of collective representation and protection within them.[15] Indeed, the Spanish Crown debated and defended indigenous rights by the mid-sixteenth century, making native slavery mostly illegal in principle (if not in practice) precisely at a time when black slavery began to grow. Contrary to the critiques of indigenous enslavement and violent evangelical methods that characterized the mid-sixteenth-century debates about Spanish treatment of New World natives, before the late seventeenth century few comparable critiques were made of the ownership of and trade in black men and women in the Iberian empire.[16]

As religious subjects in Spanish America, black men and women also differed from indigenous men and women. The Church in Spanish America administratively considered black men and women to be Old World peoples who had at least technically already converted to Christianity before crossing the Atlantic, whereas indigenous peoples were considered neophytes. Historians have attributed this phenomenon to the many Iberian contacts with Ethiopians, North Africans, and sub-Saharan Africans before and after Iberian colonization of the Americas began.[17] (Ethiopia had long been an independent Christian kingdom and the

[15] Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 61, no. 3 (July 2004): 479–520; Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada*, 53–74; O'Toole, *Bound Lives*, 122–25; Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage*, 8; Graubart, *Republics of Difference*. On indigenous slavery in the Iberian world after the mid-sixteenth century, see Nancy van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

[16] See Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, 110–24; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* [1966] (Oxford University Press, 1988), 165–96. On the late seventeenth-century critique of black slavery by two Capuchin priests in Cuba, see José Tomás López García, *Dos defensores de los esclavos negros en el siglo XVII: Francisco José de Jaca y Epifanio de Moirans* (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1982); Miguel Anxo Pena González, *Francisco José de Jaca. La primera propuesta abolicionista de la esclavitud en el pensamiento hispano* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 2003), among other secondary studies.

[17] Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946), 8–9, 455; Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 220–21; Herman Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Herman Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 4, 54; Joan Cameron Bristol, "The Church and the Creation of Christian Subjects in Spanish America," in *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 64.

Kongo had become Christian by the early sixteenth century.)[18] Before and during the sixteenth century, it was not uncommon for peoples from what we now consider the African continent to arrive in Iberia as royal visitors, diplomats, servants, or slaves.[19] Many of these were already Christian; others, especially if they were servants or enslaved, became Christian soon after arrival due to evangelization efforts inside the homes in which they worked.[20] These precedents contributed to the fact that black men and women in the early modern Iberian world were often rarely *categorically* identified as New Christians.

Indigenous populations of the Americas, in contrast, were cast as neophytes. The missionaries, theologians, and Crown officials committed to evangelizing New World populations generally agreed on the need to use different policies and practices than those developed for the Old World populations of Jews and Muslims, many of whom were forcibly converted to Christianity in Iberia in the fifteenth and early sixteenth

[18] On the early history of Christian Ethiopia beginning in the fourth century, see Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa: United Printers, 1972). On advent of Christianity in the Kongo, see John Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of the Kongo, 1491–1750," *The Journal of African History* 25, no. 2 (1984): 147–67; Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), especially 254–62; Linda Heywood and John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 60–67; and Cécile Fromont, *Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of the Kongo* (University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[19] On the travelers and diplomats to Europe from Africa, see Kate Lowe, "'Representing' Africa: Ambassadors and Princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal, 1402–1608," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (2007): 101–28; Matteo Salvadore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations, 1402–1555* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Paul H. D. Kaplan, "Italy, 1490–1700," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art from the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Revolution: Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 93–190; Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 109–71; Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*. On free black men and women who requested permission to travel to and from Iberia and the Spanish American territories in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Chloe Ireton, "'They Are Blacks of the Caste of Black Christians': Old Christian Black Blood in the Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Iberian Atlantic," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (2017): 579–612.

[20] See Bianca Premo, "Familiar: Thinking beyond Lineage and across Race in Spanish Atlantic Family History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 295–316, on the slave as a part of the Iberian family.

centuries.[21] One important perceived difference between the Old World conversions of Jews and Muslims and those of the New World natives was that, unlike Old World Jews and Muslims, New World natives had not known of Christianity before the arrival of the Spanish and therefore could not be considered guilty of rejecting it or descending from those who had rejected it.[22]

The black men and women in Spanish America who arrived with the boom in the trade to the region in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were caught in between these distinct models. Some missionaries sought to evangelize black men and women using the coercive practices employed for Jews and Muslims in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Iberia, but others looked to accommodate policies and techniques developed for indigenous evangelization.[23] To complicate matters further, the Inquisition in Spanish America had jurisdiction over black men and women but not over indigenous populations.[24] This policy, historians

[21] For a study of the policies and practices developed to convert Jews and Muslims at the end of the fifteenth century and through the sixteenth century, see Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). Kimmel explains that a key moment occurred in 1525–26 when the Council of Madrid agreed that while no more forced conversions should happen in the future, those of the past should be considered legitimate. This ruling, according to Kimmel, was largely about defining jurisdiction for the governing of New Christian populations. It brought the forcibly converted under the purview of the Inquisition, who would then be in charge of monitoring New Christian beliefs and behaviors.

[22] On the emergence of such prejudice against descendants of New Christians in Iberia, see Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition* (New York: Random House, 1995); David Nirenberg, "Race and the Middle Ages," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilliagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 71–87; Nirenberg, "Was There Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 232–64.

[23] For a critique of the Old World model of mass baptisms, see José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute*, vol. 2, 367–69; and Alonso Sandoval, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada*, book 3, chap. 4, 242v–249r.

[24] See Bristol, *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches*, 63–91; J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls: The Failure of the Indian Inquisition and the Rise of Penitential Discipline," in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 3–23; Nicholas Griffiths, "Inquisition of the Indians?: The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 19–38. Bristol notes that in 1518 King Charles I required all enslaved Africans imported to the New World to have already become Christians before arrival (68).