

Transatlantic Afro Medicinal Power in the Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias and the Supreme  
Court of Madrid:

Intersectionality, Hybridity and Transculturation

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McKnight notes that in 1630, about 1,800 to 2,000 Europeans lived in the city of Cartagena de Indias, one of the main points of entry of African slaves to the Americas in the 17th century and the seat of one of the Spanish Crown's Inquisitions in the Americas. Among the Europeans, 90% were Spanish and about 10% were Portuguese. Most of the Portuguese were slave traders and suspected of practicing Judaism (McKnight, "En su Tierra" 66), a religion persecuted by the Catholic Holy Inquisition. As for the indigenous people, it was reported that in the early 1600s, there were about 3,191 in the district of Cartagena. While the number of Afro people and their descendants living in the city is believed to be about 1,400, and between 8,000 to 10,000 in the region. In the 17th century, between 1610 and 1650, 33 cases of sorcery were registered in the Inquisition of this port (McKnight, "En su Tierra" 66).

Given all the above, one of the interesting elements, from an intersectionality point of view, is the interaction of different conditions (race, ethnicity, sex, class, geography, migration status, religion, among others). Within a context of connected systems and power structures (political, laws, government, economy, religious institutions, among others) (Hankiusky 2), sex and race in America, and ethnicity in Spain, for example, were the main reasons for somebody to be accused of acts of witchcraft, or the less serious charge of sorcery. Because of the above, the

definition of Afro-descendant in this essay will be that of those who reflect the African heritage modified by their experiences in the Americas (Cobb 147).

Thus, among those accused of sorcery between 1610 and 1650, 19 were Afro-descendants, 11 “mulattoes”, 2 “mestizos”, and 1 “zambo” (McKnight, "En su Tierra" 66). Additionally, beyond charges related to sorcery, of the 400 individuals accused in the Cartagena Inquisition in the 17th century, between 1610 and 1650, 16% were blacks, 11% slaves, with 30% of the cases of accusations related to sorcery or witchcraft (McKnight, "En su Tierra" 63).

In the category of sorcery, the case of the Afro-descendant Paula de Eguiluz, survives in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (McNight, "Performing" 1). She was born as a slave on the America's island of Santo Domingo and tried three times by the Inquisition in Cartagena de Indias. That happened after she was deported from Cuba. The first trial took place in 1624, at the age of 33, when she arrived from the Caribbean Island. She was sentenced to 200 lashes, to wear the habit of reconciliation and to work in the city hospital (Maya 101). The second trial was eight years later in 1632, when she had among her judges the bishop of the city (Ramirez 649). In the last trial, resolved in 1638, she was finally accused of witchcraft and condemned to the death penalty, in an *auto de fe*. However, she was saved thanks to the dispute started by the Suprema, the governing body of the Inquisition in Madrid, Spain (McKnight, "Performing" 1).

According to the records of the Inquisition of Cartagena, Paula “negra criolla” was born in Santo Domingo, where she lived until the age of thirteen. Her mother, Guiomar Biáfara, came from the “rivers of Guinea.” The records say nothing about her father. However, thanks to Paula's statements, it is known that she had two sisters who also lived in Santo Domingo: Ana, who was free, and Juana, who was a slave owned by Antonio de Jaques. At the age of thirteen, Paula was given away as a payment for a debt to Juan Nieto Criollo. He then sold her to Ynigo de

Otaco. The latter took her to live in Puerto Rico. She stayed there for four years, until Otaco's wife could not bear the jealousy towards the young girl and managed to send her to the city of Havana to get rid of her. In Havana, she was bought by Joan de Eguiluz, who, at that time, was the mayor of the Copper Mines in the vicinity of the city of Santiago. She had three children with him (Maya). This essay examines the Eguiluz witchcraft case, with a transatlantic approach, since her reputation keeps Paula alive until nowadays, due to her prominence throughout history, that made part of her story into a Netflix series called "Siempre bruja." Even though, she was judged and sentenced to death, in a colonial society that believed in her "magical" or healing power, to be saved later by the Suprema in Spain.

Therefore, although almost everyone in colonial and inquisitorial Cartagena de India's and its surroundings, regardless of race, sex, or economic and social position, practiced and believed in sorcery to cure their ills. Only one group was judged slaves, and, in the case of witchcraft, just women, were prosecuted for these crimes (McKnight, "En su Tierra" 66). Then, after 1650, there were no cases of witchcraft in Cartagena, since the Spaniards, in contrast to other Europeans, did not believe in it. According to Kamen, they cataloged it as deceptions or superstitions, with not much rational validity or evidence, "The discussion paper offered to the meeting stated that 'the majority of jurists in this realm agree that witches do not exist, because the impossibility of the acts they claimed to do' (294). The colonizers learned more about the religion and magical practices of Native Americans and African Americans, distinguishing them from the European ones (McKnight, "In Their Land" 65).

The Spaniards, were more skeptical about wizards than the rest of Europe, as Kamen indicates:

Villages had their wise men or women (curanderos) who could offer medicinal ointments, find lost objects, heal wounded animals, or help a girl win the affection of her loved one. Cures might take the form of potions, charms, spells, or simply advice. It was a subculture that coexisted with and did not try to subvert official Catholicism, though in certain New Christian regions the Christian content of the spells was doubtful (292).

Thus, this essay will analyze how witchcraft existed in a process of hybridization, as a subculture, both in Spain and in its colonies in America. However, in the Peninsula, there were many cases of gypsies accused of sorcery before the Inquisition (Parello). Meanwhile, in America, particularly in the port city of Cartagena de India's, the African slaves suffered most trials and subsequent convictions. Women, in the case of witchcraft, associated with marginalized population, were called by the religious court the most, even though many people believed in their remedies or practices. A very hierarchical, macho society did not give equal or similar opportunities to its population. Women were economically marginalized, and to solve their problems, in different ways, they needed magic.

This witchcraft hybridization will be conceptualized in America. The Latin American writer and anthropologist Néstor García Canclini (Larsen 195) defined it as a "third space." This third space has de-centered the parameters of aesthetic value, homogeneity, and pragmatism, in which meaning is created (Moraña 2). As for sorcery, it is defined, according to McKnight, as "an accusation leveled at an individual; it pertains to the use of spells and remedies for both negative and positive purposes and often involves the use of natural materials" ("In His Land" 65). On the other hand, the charge of witchcraft was usually related to the danger of a direct call of the devil, "where the charge of witchcraft – as opposed to sorcery – was used to stigmatize groups that threatened the social order" (McKnights, "Performing" 1).

According to Palma, witchcraft has three central aspects. The first consists in the meaning that this female practice seeks to reverse women's subordination to men. The second aspect references the fact that sorcery powers were believed to be inherent to women's nature. Women could awaken them at any time for subversive purposes. Finally, the third aspect highlights the mediating role of the Church inside sexual matters (56).

Other authors differentiate witchcraft from sorcery in the seventeenth century, in terms of behaviors or beliefs. The inquisitors describe sorcery as superstitious prayers used for magical purposes, unorthodox healing practices in which the devil could be invoked. Witchcraft, meanwhile, pertained to groups that made pacts with the devil. These pacts were made during nocturnal ceremonies that included dancing around a goat, sexual activities, and renouncing Jesus, Mary, and the saints (Silva 199).

Both the Spanish or Portuguese healers' doctors, called sometimes witches, especially in the case of women, the Afros of Angola, Guinea, and those of West and Central-West Africa (under a hybridization Canclini's third space) would use mixed remedies and plants as in the famous Paula de Eguluz's case. She had a very active role in creating a spiritual and physical environment to promulgate her healing techniques. She worked even in the hospitals of the city and pharmacies. Her work was sometimes part of the punishment given to slaves or Afros found guilty by the Cartagena's Inquisition (Gómez 390).

McKnight indicates how Paula de Eguluz was sentenced for witchcraft in 1638 ("Performing" 154). Race, together with the juridical, socio-economic positioning of the slaves, always played fundamental intersectional roles, for medicinal treatments with objects, plants, or animals (McKnight, "In their land" 65). In this process of intersectionality, along with transatlantic regional beliefs, all the settlers and races, in a multiethnic unequal community, were

united by healing practices, or love magic (Few 302). Consequently, a conflictive transculturation between two or more cultures existed in this south port of America, as Larsen indicates (198). This term of transculturation originated in Cuba, with the ethnographer Fernando Ortiz (Beverly 2) and it refers to a culture under constant negotiation and hybridization, across multiple ethnic, political, and economic divides. This has always occurred in Latin American societies (Larsen 207).

Therefore, considering cases such as the one of Paula de Eguiluz, who, during her eight years of life in Cartagena, sold her knowledge to attract lovers and to make herself well-loved, by clients who were the free white and mulatto women of that city, and who paid up to 50 pesos for her work (Maya), it can be affirmed that these slaves or Afros, shared botanical knowledge from Africa and the New World:

This knowledge and skills were exchanged among European, African, Afro-American, and indigenous women. According to the documents, African American women like Paula had a great reputation in these arts... From this perspective, the art of well-wishing can be considered as a trade from which women who, like Paula, lived as “slaves” in urban environments, managed to subsist. The Spanish women were afflicted with lovesickness, and the African women and their daughters seem to have played an important role in mitigating their sorrows... The analysis of this type of transaction allows us to inquire about the forms of social mobility of Afro-Caribbean “slaves” and “free” women in the heart of the slave-owning society (Maya).

Given this reality, the transculturation indicated above, carried out by the Inquisition, is reflected in the Eguiluz’s case, through her three trials, in which she accepted Christian beliefs, but also maintained her African identity. It is a culture under constant negotiation across multiple ethnic

and racial groups. In her testimonies trying to save herself from the Inquisition, Paula combined her own beliefs with the Christian religion, “the declarations of Paula contained these two variants, represented in the figures of the devil and the virgin of the rosary” (Maya). However, a great aggravation was when Eguiluz’s declarations in front of the holy tribunal, turned into heresies in acts contrary to the Catholic dogma, when she made, for example, in the last trial, invocations to the devil to predict the future (Maya).

In contrast, in Spain, the Suprema had become skeptical of denunciations of witchcraft, instructing its districts to investigate more and seek rational explanations. Then, what I want to call attention to, as McKnight indicated, is that “The split between Cartagena and Madrid was ultimately what saved Paula’s life” (“Performing” 1). Since, as it was explained at the beginning of this text, the Suprema saved Eguiluz's life. She was not sentenced to death. But this case also proves how the Inquisition itself would lead its defendants to say what they wanted to hear, to continue to control the fear of the Christian devil, combined with African acts or convictions, which were used even by the priests themselves:

...the world of magic even entered the Church, with many clergies incorporating folk practices-rites, prayers, offerings, dances into the normal liturgy. All this, as we shall see, was stamped on firmly by reforming bishops, post-Tridentine clergy and the Inquisition. In the process of contrasting the dark world of primitive superstition with the illuminated world of the gospel, unfortunately, preachers and learned men unduly simplified the forces at work and helped to create fears of “witchcraft.” (Kamen 292)

Moreover, Afro practitioners in colonial times, with many emotional, mental, and physical health needs, contributed by testing the elements they found in the new world, and began to study the native plants around them. These empirical methods used by Eguiluz, and other *curanderos* in

the 17th century, are today's scientific methods, as Gómez indicates, since the body is united with the soul and their environment, "to test medicinal substances were based on epistemological systems that involved an understanding of human physicality as intrinsically connected to moral, spiritual and socio-political events" ("The Circulation" 400).

It was, in short, the union of health's mind and body, so widespread even in the present twenty-first century. In summary, beliefs in these early diasporas were heavily influenced, not only by these traveling ritual specialists, but also by a population that was mobile and exposed to influences from all over the world. But in the American colonies, the "Spanish Caribbean communities had become increasingly 'Africanized' throughout the seventeenth century; the social milieu of Cartagena, Havana and San Juan had much more in common with Benguela, Salvador da Bahia, Cacheu and São Jorge da Mina than with Santa Fé de Bogotá, Lima or Mexico City" (Gómez, "The Circulation" 402).

This happened because the regional populations ended up mixing to survive. During these centuries, there were difficulties in scientific and medicinal advancements. Eguiluz and the practitioners of Afro rituals were condemned to work in the hospitals of the port city, as well as being in charge of preparing medicines in the pharmacies of the Caribbean (Gómez, "The Circulation" 399). Many also worked in health centers from a young age, finding an opportunity for subsistence, and even later freedom from slavery. These were centuries of many challenges, both for Afro people, indigenous people, women, and even in the case of powerful men or religious leaders.

Hence, as clarified above, one of the medicinal treatments of the Afros included the soul, not only that of the sick, but also the one of the healers, since both must feel well and in good condition. This is yet another example of the hybridization of all these cultures in the colonial era



of the Inquisition. However, despite this union, and the social service provided by the *curanderos*, Paula Eguiluz was found guilty by the Inquisition, due to her intersectionality of gender, race or social class. Kamen states, that despite the reputation of the Inquisition, it did not necessarily persecute women as witches, but rather the community accused them. Paula de Aguiluz was saved by the Suprema, since the evidence, according to this historian, consistently indicated pressure from villagers, denouncing witchcraft simply because of family tensions.

The inquisitors in Spain were quite aware of the part played by a persecuting community in cases of alleged witchcraft, and the vulnerability of women in the community. When Pascuala Gil, aged twenty-eight and wife of a shepherd, came before the inquisitors of Saragossa in 1679 on a charge of witchcraft brought by her neighbors, they “recognized her great truth and innocence.” When María Pérez, aged forty-five, came before them on the same charge, they agreed unanimously that all twenty-one of her accusers (including the parish priest) were motivated by malice, and “recognized her innocence.” (299)

Paula de Eguiluz indicated that she was accused by her Cuban community due to envy. She insisted that she was neither a witch nor had bewitched her master: “but as they see that she loves this one very much they raise this testimony...and that everything was falsehood, and they raise it to her that everyone loves her badly because her master loves her well and they see her well-dressed” (Maya). Therefore, Paula de Eguiluz, famous in her time and even today, just tried to survive in a society where being a slave, Afro and woman, life was not easy for her, since she was a child. She found the fame of the African heritage, with plants as medicines, a way to freedom and to have a position within her community, despite her hard life.

Consequently, the same religious tribunal sponsored the beliefs in sorcery since, as McKnight affirmed, they were part of the process of transculturation, or resignification of

cultures ("En su Tierra" 74). That is to say, the Inquisition itself, by forcing its accused to admit their guilt and by promoting changes in testimony, helped to perpetuate the beliefs or acts it claimed to combat. Hence Maya, quoting Ruth Behar, indicates, "the Church was meddling to find out. It was the Church that encouraged this kind of discourse by requiring confession and making public the edicts of faith in which superstition, witchcraft, and magic were denounced as sins." Therefore, Paula de Eguiluz, in her first trial gave rational testimony as to why she was accused from Cuba, partly out of envy and jealousy, being the mistress of her master, who gave her fine clothes among his gifts (McKnight, "Performing" 1). For example, at the Cartagena de India's Inquisition, she stated, "She did not bilocate as charged or go out into the night as a witch, but rather left her room at night to meet with her lover" (McKnight, "Performing" 1).

Then, transculturation and hybridization worked very well, to find among all a cure for their ills, at a time when medicine was not very advanced, and in which especially women, being vulnerable and without much legal support to protect themselves, used sorcery in part to solve personal problems, such as the constant infidelities of their husbands (McKnight, "Performing" 162). Also, these frequent accusations about the devil, or the fear of him, were for McKnight, a control mechanism for those who strayed from Christian norms ("In His Land" 74).

Paula de Eguiluz had to navigate in all these dangerous waters of Cartagena de India's port. For this reason, Maya states in her conclusions that Eguiluz was a singular woman since her life as a "slave" took her from Santo Domingo to Puerto Rico, Cuba, and then to the Caribbean mainland in Cartagena de Indias. In her travels, according to Maya. She learned the arts of three worlds: from Africa, the manufacture of amulets; from America, the properties and uses of plants; from Europe, the Solomonian heritage. This Solomonian heritage refers to knots that were made in the past, even in underwear, to bind unfaithful partners or husbands. These knots were

used in another very important seaport in Spain, that of the Canary Islands, and were recorded in a book of magic of the sixteenth century, attributed to King Solomon (Maya 1). Thus, it was a multi-ethnic community in the slave port of Cartagena de Indias, which included even the indigenous people, where terms such as *mohán*, were used by the inquisitors to indicate a sorcerer (Ramírez 648). All were united by diverse methods of healing, or love magic (Few 302).

This union of cultures brought together the people who were marginalized, such as the Afros or the Indians, mixing their practices. In the case of Eguiluz, she affirmed before the inquisitors, how she was taught by an Indian Domingo, on the Epiphany, and so she narrated it:

...that the pascoa de los reyes that happened a year ago that having the said domingo yndio that died suddenly that she should take the yerva del tostón which the said yndio gave her and that when she wanted to go to see the man she loved so that he would love her very much she should use some feathers to spread the water from the said calvasillo on her breasts, the boards of her back where the said man would embrace her and that she should try to hug him before the water dried, which she did. She also anointed her face and before the water dried up she tried to embrace him, which she did many times when she went to see the said man and for the said pascoa de rreyes she did the same, going to his house and coming to his house, anointing herself when she saw him coming so that he would not dry up and get her wet with the water.... (Maya)

Consequently, it is an adoration or idolatry, as Maya indicates that, “it is not a separate territory separated from the political, economic, religious or cultural.” This Afro-Caribbean veneration of the 17th century, used by women or the sick, was intended to be effective for success in love or healing, through potions, ointments, amulets, prayers, and incantations. This botanical knowledge from the New World, combined with that brought from African lands, was traded

among European, Creole, African, African American, and indigenous women; therefore, women of African descent such as Paula had a great reputation (Maya). In the 17th century, Africans were respected for their medical knowledge, as Gomez points out, in the face of the shortcomings of science, unlike later centuries ("The Circulation" 402). Thus, in the Spanish Caribbean of this century, culture was not framed by the ideas of the Enlightenment, which were later, but rather by biological, political, or economic survival imperatives, among all the actors of different origins, in an era of transformations (Gómez, "The Circulation" 401).

Economic aspects, which also influenced the decisions of the Holy Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias, as Silva points out, described the denunciations made by Paula de Eguiluz in her trials. These aroused the interest of a group of Afro-descendant women who owned houses in a neighborhood near the center of the city in the seventeenth century, Los Jagüeyes (today, the San Diego neighborhood in Cartagena). The *curanderos* used the water wells of this neighborhood. Subsequently, their belongings and homes were expropriated when they became part of the trial (199).

The Cartagena Inquisition redistributed the modest wealth that some Afro-descendant healers and ritual specialists had in the Jagüeyes, “transforming them into outcasts on the grounds of moral and religious deviance. In the process, the inquisitors benefited people of all ranks by offering luxury goods and everyday items at reduced prices, and by creating opportunities for wealthy buyers to expand their real estate holdings in the city” (Silva 208). The buyers of these houses were men, the port city's elite. They acquired these lands at auctions, even with credits that benefited the religious court, destroying minority communities, “the Inquisition's prosecution and confiscation of the property dispossessed the individual women and

disrupted a tight-knit community of free people of African descent living in an increasingly desirable area of the city” (Silva 198).

Thus, these women accused of witchcraft, had acquired part of their properties, for their healing services, in high demand in Cartagena, to treat ailments and even repair broken relationships (Silva 203). In 1627, Paula de Eguiluz had among her clients, the bishop of Cartagena de Indias (Ramirez 649). Even the inquisitors themselves were cured by her; the city's elite even hosted her in their homes so that she could cure them (McKnight, "Performing" 170).

However, given the double standards and hypocrisy of a colonial caste society, some of Paula's clients were the ones who accused her and brought her to trial before the Inquisition. It was the “white” woman, Doña Ana de Fuentes, married to Don Francisco de Guerra, who accused her of deception, since none of her spells were effective in resolving their marital discord. Moreover, Paula’s potions were not effective with Ana’s husband. Doña Ana then accused her of having relations with the devil and of offering him substances to kill her husband. While Paula affirmed this, it was Dona Ana who wanted to kill her husband and keep him away from adultery (McKnight, "Performing" 162).

Even a governor, Francisco de Murga, at odds with the Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias, was attacked and excommunicated, proving that idolatry was linked to power and politics. This governor was part of Paula's third and last trial initiated in 1634. The great antagonist, the mulatto and surgeon Diego Lopez, the Afro lover of the governor's faithful lieutenant, was denounced for sorcery (McKnight, "Performing" 167). Paula, therefore, through her three trials, had to blame or name others to try to save herself. She had to admit to witchcraft and meetings with other *curanderas* or witches, who were tortured. To save herself from a death sentence, Paula was forced to accommodate their testimonies with what the Inquisition of

Cartagena wanted to hear (McKnight, "Performing" 170). "Paula faced a delicate balancing act. She had to admit guilt to conclude her story with convincing remorse" (McKnight, "Performing" 170).

The case of Paula was very well known, "Paula de Eguiluz, who as a witch had already been reconciled by the Tribunal and whose cause could not be read in its entirety, 'because it could not be heard over the great murmur of the people'" (Medina 225). Her goods were confiscated, she was imprisoned, she was flogged, she distributed alms from the money she earned as a healer, and she was condemned to work in the local hospitals of Cartagena. In these local hospitals, Paula was considered a doctor, she was authorized to leave the jail to cure the sick, and among them, the Inquisitors themselves or the bishop Fray Cristóbal de Lazárraga (Medina 226).

In conclusion, the seventeenth-century Caribbean communities seemed not very concerned with the orthodox origins of their treatments, but rather about the efficacy of the cures they received. This is due to the large number of illnesses that drove the rhythm of their lives (Gomez 401). These treatments included sentimental ones, due to the need for survival and control, among more vulnerable groups such as women, especially if they were single (Vollendorf 147), as in the case of Paula. Given the above, people of African descent took a very active role in the exploration of substances in nature, to create a healing spiritual and physical environment, and to promulgate their healing techniques in all areas, both body and soul. They even worked in city hospitals and pharmacies as part of their punishment (Gomez, "The Circulation" 390).

Thus, as Graubart states, "This resulted in a society where differential pieces of knowledge were easily shared despite political infrastructures (such as the Inquisition) intended

to promote orthodoxy” (207). Quoting Pablo Gómez, the author goes on to indicate, as her studies have proven and contrary to what some historians claim, Europeans did not use different or dangerous rites but practiced similar aspects:

Gómez shows otherwise. West African Bissau and Bran healers sacrificed oxen for protection against disease; French peasants applied the skin of newly killed sheep to sick bodies to cure them. In 1627, the archbishop of the New Kingdom of Granada was not healed by his physicians, and turned to *Mohanes* who wrapped his arm in the body of a freshly killed bull. The archbishop and the healers might have told different narratives about the metaphysics of this practice, but they shared a belief in the power of the bull's body to heal the man's arm. And if the cure worked, so might the narratives converge, even temporarily. (208)

Given this reality, Gómez's research work ("Bodies of Encounter" 2) shows that most of the Spanish Caribbean population in the seventeenth century valued African rituals and healing practices in terms equivalent to European health traditions:

Early modern inhabitants of Spanish locales in the Caribbean did not treat African ideas and beliefs about the body, health, and death as retrograde or "uncivilized" superstitions. This view would become normative in eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century Western narratives. (Gomez, "Bodies of Encounter" 290).

Gomez finds that “the scientific revolution took place on the margins of the seventeenth-century Atlantic world, in the hands and minds of people of African descent” (Graubart 209). For Gomez, early modern African and European traditions share an ontological conception of health and disease based on ideas of the balance of the body with itself and its natural and supernatural

surroundings in the world ("Bodies of Encounter" 5). It was not the idea to impose Western or Central West African cultural traditions, or to make resistance against European social and cultural normative structures since, "Black ritual practitioners and communities in the Caribbean were more interested in producing competitive healing techniques, explanations and rituals" (Gómez, "Bodies of Encounter" 290).

Moreover, some scholars claim that the Inquisition, in trying to regulate the area of health and even sentencing those accused of sorcery, contributed to the integration into scientific research of the Afro's popular treatments. The Inquisition aimed to control bad medical practices to create the beginnings of the Enlightenment (Lara 38):

This study [...] argues that the victims of medical malpractice employed available political and ideological mechanisms of the Inquisition, using accusations such as sorcery, witchcraft, heresy, or Lutheranism, as a means to claim justice. At the same time, it argues that the Inquisition tried to identify alternative levels of knowledge and distinguish skillful healthcare professionals from impersonators, which require a systematic inquiry into the healing process. (Lara V)

Consequently, this was a process of transculturation, hybridity, and intersectionality (not only of race, ethnicity, gender, class, geography, migration status, or religion), but also of bodies, space, castes, love, health, nature, soul, slavery, idolatry, sorcery, witchcraft, law, chauvinism, torture, or death. Along with the power structures mentioned at the beginning of this work, such as the Inquisition, the Caribbean communities of the Spanish Empire, as Gómez stated, were Africanized in the colonial era of the Inquisition ("The Circulation" 401).



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