

CONDEMNING *MESTIZAJE*: SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND THE  
RACIALIZATION OF SEX IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

by

Olimpia E. Rosenthal

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Olimpia E. Rosenthal, titled *Condemning Mestizaje: Spatial Segregation and the Racialization of Sex in Colonial Latin America* and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 25, 2013  
Dr. Kátia Bezerra

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 25, 2013  
Dr. Laura Gutiérrez

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 25, 2013  
Dr. Abraham Acosta

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 25, 2013  
Dr. Mónica Morales

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 25, 2013  
Dissertation Director: Dr. Kátia Bezerra

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: November 25, 2013  
Dissertation Director: Dr. Laura Gutiérrez

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## ABSTRACT

The central objective of this project is to chart the relationship between early-modern notions of race that developed in the Iberian-Atlantic world and systems of colonial racialization that emerged in the Americas in relation to *mestizaje*. By analyzing three case-studies from Latin American's early-colonial period, I show that as anxieties about racial mixture got intertwined with the Iberian notion of purity of blood, spatial segregation and the curtailment of interracial sex became two of the main issues around which early-colonial discourses on *mestizaje* were articulated. In chapter one, I justify the use of the term race for analyzing this period by drawing from current scholarship whose aim is to historicize this notion as a means to better theorize it. Moreover, I explain the specific elements that inform the theory of race that I develop throughout this project, including Bernasconi's formulation of race as a border concept, JanMohamed's notion of racialized sexuality, and Foucault's account of how biopower can help us theorize the interconnections between race and reproductive sex. In the second chapter, I examine Vasco de Quiroga's decisive influence in the formation of the Dual Republic model of spatial segregation in Mexico, and I show how the racialization of space during this period led to a dualistic conception of society that by definition left no place for the liminal figure of the *mestizo*. In chapter three, I examine a policy adopted by the Portuguese Crown during the sixteenth century whereby white Portuguese women were taken to Brazil in an effort to reduce interracial sex and miscegenation. Lastly, in chapter four I analyze Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's abject characterization of *mestizos* in Peru, and I demonstrate that two of the key issues around which he organized his demand for colonial reforms were spatial segregation and the curtailment of interracial sex. By

examining these three cases-studies comparatively, and further incorporating a transatlantic perspective that situates them within broader developments that were taking place during the early-modern period, I emphasize the importance that the study of colonial Latin America has for current efforts to historicize the notion of race.

## INTRODUCTION

*¿Pero qué es la historia de América toda sino una crónica de lo real-maravilloso?*<sup>1</sup>  
Alejo Carpentier 12

The theme of socio-cultural and racial mixture has had a major influence in the formation of ethno-national identities in post-independence Latin America. Not only did the figure of the *mestizo* become a key symbol around which many projects of state formation and national identity got articulated, a series of successive and highly prominent terms have sought to account for the ways in which various types of mixture have influenced the national character and cultural production of several countries in the region.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as cultural critic Joshua Lund argues, the myriad theories and narratives that address the general theme of hybridity have become the generic mark of Latin America's self-ascribed geocultural singularity (*The Impure Imagination* x). Now, while these developments are, to a large extent, a direct result of the historically unprecedented levels of miscegenation that took place in Latin America after 1492, the discourses on *mestizaje* that emerged during the early-colonial period have not received anywhere near the same amount of critical attention as their postcolonial counterparts. What is particularly striking about these earlier accounts of *mestizaje* is that, on the one hand, they clearly indicate that as processes of miscegenation intensified as a result of Iberia's

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<sup>1</sup> As Carpentier explains it, "lo real-maravilloso" is both characteristic of, and autochthonous to, Latin America. It is a concept that, according to him, can be used to describe the empirical hybridity of Latin America (Carpentier 3-8).

<sup>2</sup> When I make general references to processes of miscegenation in Latin America (including in the title of this project), I have privileged the Spanish terms *mestizaje* and *mestizo* instead of their terminological equivalences in Portuguese; that is, *mestiçagem* and *mestiço*. I made this choice based on the fact that two out of the three case-studies that I examine come from Spanish-America. Throughout the project, however, I acknowledge the historical differences between processes of miscegenation in Spanish-America and Portuguese-America and, in my chapter on Brazil, I use the Portuguese terminology.

Among the series of successive terms that have been used to account for the various types of mixture in Latin America, we can include the following: transculturation, syncretism, *mélange*, *antropofagia*, *lo real-maravilloso*, magical realism, and hybridity. The literature on these terms and their similarities/differences is vast. For a comprehensive summary on the history of some of these terms see Abril Trigo.

conquest of the New World, the emergence of new, indeterminate, socio-racial categories gave way to deep anxieties about racial mixture. Moreover, as these anxieties got intertwined with Iberian notions of purity of blood, we find that spatial segregation and the curtailment of interracial sex became two of the main issues around which these earlier discourses on *mestizaje* got articulated. What this suggests is that, as the notion of *mestizaje* developed within the context of colonialism, nascent systems of racialization informed its historical trajectory. One of the central objectives of this project is precisely to chart the relationship between early-modern notions of race and the systems of colonial racialization that we see emerging in relation to *mestizaje*.

In order to develop an argument about race in the early-modern period, I draw from current scholarship whose aim is to historicize this notion as a means to better theorize it. These studies have helped established both the validity and importance of examining the concept of race prior to the rise of modern Enlightenment science. Moreover, they have allowed us to question racism as a linear, transhistorical, process, by focusing instead on the cultural variability of different types of racisms and on the changing epistemological foundations that have provided racism's conditions of possibility. Of particular importance for the present study are two key developments in the history of race that took place during the early-modern period. First, I discuss a series of studies that examine the way in which the mid-fifteenth-century Iberian notion of purity of blood concretized a critical transition whereby religiously-based discrimination was superseded by biologically-based forms of differentiation grounded on the belief that genealogy had a deterministic role in shaping a person's character and behavior. As ideas about purity of blood made their way to the Americas as a result of Iberia's colonial

expansion, they influenced –and were influenced by– emerging systems of colonial racialization. Not only did ideas about purity of blood help shape the segregationist spatial politics of colonial Latin America, they perpetuated the representation of women as key sources of impurity.

A second development that has rightly attracted the attention of scholars historicizing the notion of race is the role of Iberian overseas colonialism in the development of this concept. On the one hand, Portugal's mid-fifteenth-century colonial explorations into Africa led to the inauguration of the African slave trade –first to the Iberian Peninsula and, subsequently, to the Americas. Concerning the latter, new figures from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database have allowed us to determine that the extent of the slave trade to colonial Latin America greatly surpasses what was previously acknowledged. As a consequence of the consolidation of the African slave trade, we see the emergence of increasingly negative discourses about blackness that helped create marked distinctions between people based on skin-color. In turn, this development shaped early-colonial discourses on *mestizaje*. On the other hand, the process of Iberian colonial expansion in the New World entailed the overt dispossession of Amerindians' land, and it established systems of labor exploitation that temporarily enslaved the natives. As the legality of both of these matters began to be challenged, however, the Spanish Crown launched a series of debates that, ultimately, went back to the issue of how to define the "true nature" and genealogical origin of the indigenous. Most famously, these disputations can be typified by the mid-sixteenth-century Valladolid debates between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda where, essentially, the main contentions revolved around two key questions: whether or not Amerindians

possessed reason, and whether or not they were actually servile by nature. The crucial importance of these debates is that they led to the creation of a juridical differentiation between the Spaniards and the Amerindians. Though some might hesitate to call this type of differentiation racial, its racialized character becomes more apparent by examining how the perceived difference between Europeans and Amerindians influenced anxieties over miscegenation.

Since the central focus of this project is to examine how the notion of *mestizaje* operates in relation to the reification of racial categories, it is also important to clarify the specific elements that inform the theory of race that I expand on throughout this project. I draw primarily on the work of three theorists in order to develop this part of my argument. First, my analysis is premised on the fact that, as philosopher and race scholar Robert Bernasconi contends, although it is sometimes claimed that the idea of a mixed race category can disrupt or serve to overturn racial systems because of its resistance to dominant racial binaries, it is hard to find any historical support for this view ("Crossed Lines" 211). Instead, as Bernasconi argues, race operates as a border concept whose very existence is premised on the creation of borders (understood both in geographical and sexual terms) but whose operations are never actually reliant on the fixed essentialisms it seeks to establish through those borders ("Crossed Lines" 207-208, 213). Secondly, I use literary critic Abdul JanMohamed's notion of racialized sexuality in order to analyze how *mestizaje* was seen as the result of the violation of the racial/sexual border on which racial distinctions are premised. By doing so, I am able to articulate how miscegenation operates in relation to both race and reproductive sex. Lastly, in order to further theorize the complex interrelations between race and sex that are the heart of ideas about

*mestizaje*, I draw on philosopher Michel Foucault's theory of biopower. According to Foucault, the power over life (or biopower) evolved in two basic forms. On the one hand, biopower encompasses disciplinary technologies that center on the individual body by seeking to increase its usefulness and docility, as well as its integration into systems of efficient economic controls. This first form of biopower is what Foucault terms "an anatomo-politics of the human body" (*The History of Sexuality* 139). On the other hand, biopower also focuses on what Foucault calls he calls "a biopolitics of a population," that is, regulatory controls aimed at the population as a whole (ibid). The specific connection that Foucault establishes between race and sex is that they are both related to biopower. Though I reconfigure his theory based on recent critiques of it, Foucault's insights into how biopower links together race and sex is an important guiding-post for some of the main arguments I develop.

In the first chapter of the dissertation, I discuss in detail each of the positions outlined above. I begin by offering a contextualized reading of the rise of purity of blood statutes in Iberia, and I discuss the historical setting in which these statutes developed. I also do a close reading of the anonymous text *Alborayque* in order to demonstrate how race, as a social construct, helped fuel acts of racialized violence. Additionally, I address the polemic regarding the interpretation of purity of blood as a racial concept and I clarify my own position on this matter. In the second part of the chapter, I examine how the notion of purity of blood influenced the development of racialized ideas about Amerindians and black Africans in the New World. I discuss the debates that ensued about the nature and enslavement of the American indigenous, and I chart the institutionalization of the transatlantic African slave trade in order to show how the

notion of race developed outside of the Iberian Peninsula in relation to slavery and colonialism. Finally, in the last section of the chapter I deepen my explanation of the specific elements that inform the theory of race on which I base my analysis.

I then move to the analysis of three-case studies from early-colonial Latin America in order to illustrate the relationship between early-modern notions of race and the systems of colonial racialization that we see emerging in relation to *mestizaje*. In chapter two, I examine the formation of the Dual Republic model in sixteenth-century New Spain in order to show how the racialization of space during this period led to a dualistic conception of society that by definition left no place for the liminal figure of the *mestizo*. Premised on the need for segregation (which in turn implies the racialization of space), the Dual Republic model was an official Spanish policy whereby the Spaniards and the indigenous were to be congregated in separate republics: the *república de españoles* and the *república de indios*. While it is true that miscegenation soon undermined this policy, it is also evident that the intensification of efforts to police space during this period was directly tied to increasing anxieties over the liminal status of the growing number of *mestizos*. In the first part of the chapter I discuss Vasco de Quiroga's motives for founding two *pueblo-hospitales* in New Spain where only indigenous were allowed to live, and I demonstrate that Quiroga's spatial experiments were instrumental for the formation of the Dual Republic model. I also discuss how the formation of this dual spatial order influenced the progressively more negative views about *mestizos* that are evinced during this period, and I analyze what this implies for Bernasconi's argument about race as a border concept. In the second part of the chapter I describe Quiroga's *pueblo-hospitales* and I point out how their organization was based on Thomas More's

fictional text *Utopia*. I then examine the disciplinary measures that Quiroga imposed upon the indigenous members of these communities, I show how these are tied to his characterization of Amerindians, and I discuss the relation between discipline and space.

In chapter three I examine a policy adapted by the Portuguese Crown during the sixteenth century whereby they authorized and actively promoted the importation of white Portuguese women to the colonies in an effort to curtail interracial sex and miscegenation. This practice begun with the importation of women to Portuguese colonies in Brazil and India and it was later expanded to Africa. Though the implementation of this policy had a shorter lifespan in Brazil, the practice continued elsewhere until the eighteenth century. In this chapter, I focus on Brazil and I discuss the central role played by the Jesuit priest Manuel da Nóbrega in instituting this policy. In the first section of the chapter I do a close reading of the three letters in which Nóbrega petitioned the importation of white women and I analyze the implications of these documents for the development of systems of colonial racialization. In the second part of the chapter I address what this case-study implies for the study of women in colonial Latin America. I discuss not only how women were objectified by this transatlantic marriage scheme, but also how female reproduction was appropriated in order to satisfy the imperial needs of Portuguese society.

Lastly, in chapter four I analyze Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's abject characterization of *mestizos*. With the exception of his half-brother Martín de Ayala (who he describes as a "mestizo santo"), Guaman Poma categorically characterizes *mestizos* as exploiters, drunks, arrogant, bad Christians, and enemies of the indigenous. Moreover, he denounces interracial sexual relations by appealing to notions of purity of blood, he

vehemently criticizes the continued reproduction of *mestizos* (which he correlates with the decline of Amerindians), and he insists on spatial racial segregation as one of the cornerstones for the colonial reforms he proposes. The aim of this chapter is precisely to highlight Guaman Poma's negative views about *mestizos* in order to analyze what his letter-chronicle reveals about early-modern processes of colonial racialization. Unlike the two previous chapters, each of which concentrated on either spatial segregation or racialized sexuality, in this chapter I show the confluence of both of these aspects in Guaman Poma's work.

As the description of these case-studies indicates, spatial segregation and the curtailment of interracial sex became two of the main issues around which early-colonial discourses on *mestizaje* were articulated. By examining these three cases-studies comparatively, and further incorporating a transatlantic perspective that situates them within broader developments that were taking place during the early-modern period, I emphasize the importance that the study of colonial Latin America has for current efforts to historicize the notion of race. Though it is not my intention to minimize the differences between the process of colonization in Spanish-America and Portuguese-America, by establishing that there are similar dynamics in the way in which emerging notions of race were conceptualized within both empires (specifically in regards to *mestizaje*) I endeavor to show the productiveness of studies that focus on comparative colonialisms. Moreover, by looking at how the theme of socio-cultural and racial mixture was first articulated in Latin America, we can better perceive the radical postcolonial re-signification this notion went through in order to become the mark of the regions' marvelously-real singularity.

## I. HISTORIZING RACE IN THE IBERIAN ATLANTIC WORLD

### Introduction

As a social construct, the concept of race has a historical trajectory. The mapping of such a trajectory sheds light on the cultural variability of different types of racisms; on the relations between racism, the formation of hierarchically-codified social relations and processes of exclusion; and on the changing epistemological foundations that have provided racism's conditions of possibility. Historicizing the notion of race, moreover, allows us to question racism as a linear, transhistorical, process, while accounting for the specificities of its functioning in relation to broader transatlantic developments (such as Iberian colonialism and the institutionalization of the African slave trade).

In recent scholarship, efforts to historicize the concept of race have led to a renewed discussion on the racialized character of the early-modern Iberian notion of purity of blood and its ideological transmutations in Iberia's colonial possessions. The specific points of contention in this debate revolve around three interrelated issues. To begin with, scholars disagree on whether or not it is anachronistic to speak of race in studies dealing with early-modern Iberia and its colonies. Central to this issue is determining whether the emergence of modern, Enlightenment, science is an indispensable factor for defining racialized processes. While some still maintain that the modern, scientific, understanding of race is the only way in which the myriad manifestations of this notion can be conceptualized and analyzed, a growing number of studies emphasize instead the historical trajectory of this concept and the varying ways in which it has operated in relation to culture and in accordance to different regimes of truth.

A second source of disagreement has to do with the characterization of purity of blood as a racial concept. Since the institutionalization of purity of blood statutes developed in order to differentiate between Iberian's of "pure" Old Christian ancestry and so-called New Christians (that is, Christians descendants of Jewish and Muslim converts known as *conversos* and *moriscos* respectively),<sup>3</sup> some scholars argue that the religious foundations of this notion disqualify it from being thought of as a racial concept. This position, however, has been challenged by contemporary studies that point out that the discrimination against *conversos* in early-modern Iberia is evidence of a racially-based anti-Semitism, not simply of religiously-grounded anti-Judaic sentiments. Similarly, the role of genealogy in determining a person's status as Old Christian or New suggests that ideas about the transmission of religious beliefs were explicitly linked to naturalistic understandings about biological inheritance. Thus, rather than dismiss the notion of purity of blood as irrelevant to the study of race because of its religious foundations, recent studies are beginning to trace and theorize some of the complex interrelations between ideas about race, blood ideologies, lineage and religious faith.

The final point of contention in this polemic pertains to the development of the notion of purity of blood outside of the Iberian Peninsula, specifically in Iberia's overseas colonies. On one side of this polemic stand a number of scholars that argue that the problem of purity of blood never spilled out of Iberian borders, and who maintain that this concept was used exclusively against *conversos* and *moriscos*. In contrast to these views, a series of recent studies examine the influence that the concept of purity of blood had in the development of Iberian systems of colonial racialization. To begin with, this

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<sup>3</sup> In my analysis I have focused exclusively on the category of Jewish-heritage *conversos* in order to narrow the scope of my analysis while still providing a detailed account of early-modern processes of racialization. For studies on the discrimination against *moriscos* and their descendants see Seth Kimmel.

scholarship shows that the notion of purity of blood deeply influenced the way in which ideas about purity and impurity –and thus also about inclusion and exclusion– were conceptualized in the Americas. Not only did these ideas shape the segregationist spatial politics of colonial Latin America, they perpetuated the representation of women as key sources of impurity. Recent scholarship, moreover, has helped identify some of the transformations that the concept of purity of blood underwent in the Americas as it influenced –and was influenced by– processes of colonial racialization. Among these transformations was a critical shift in the production of notions of (im)purity. Whereas the role of religion was central to the ideology of purity of blood, in the colonial setting we find an increasing emphasis on skin color as a visual marker of impurity. As a result, the type of Iberian anxieties over the alleged biological transmission of religious impurity –often expressed in the explicit condemnation of sexual reproduction between Old and New Christians–, were beginning to be rearticulated in relation to widespread processes of miscegenation, where phenotype and cultural practices contributed to the solidification of the perceived racial difference between black Africans, Amerindians, and Europeans.

In the first section of this chapter I discuss in detail each of the positions outlined above. I begin by offering a contextualized reading of the rise of purity of blood statutes in Iberia, and I discuss the historical setting in which these statutes developed. I also do a close reading of the anonymous text *Alborayque* in order to demonstrate how race, as a social construct, can help fuel acts of racialized violence. Additionally, I address the polemic regarding the interpretation of purity of blood as a racial concept and I clarify my own position on this matter. In the second part of the chapter, I examine how the notion of purity of blood influenced the development of racialized ideas about

Amerindians and black Africans in the New World. I discuss the debates that ensued about the nature and enslavement of the American indigenous, and I chart the institutionalization of the transatlantic African slave trade in order to show how the notion of race developed outside of the Iberian Peninsula in relation to slavery and colonialism. Finally, in the last section of the chapter I explain the specific elements that inform the theory of race on which I base the analysis that I offer throughout this dissertation. I discuss the theorists whose work I draw on, and I clarify the key terms that I utilize throughout this project.

### **The rise of Purity of Blood statutes in Iberia**

Iberian history has long served as a focal point for arguments about race considering that from 1391 through the first half of the sixteenth century, there were massive attempts to eliminate –through massacre, segregation, conversion, Inquisition, and expulsion– the religious diversity that had characterized the peninsular kingdoms since 711. Between 1391 and 1492, the efforts towards homogeneity appeared to have succeeded in Spain in that all Jews either converted or were expelled (Niremberg, “Race and the Middle Ages” 75). Portugal, on the other hand –because of its geographical proximity, cultural likeness, and linguistic similarities–, became one of the main destinations for both Jews and converts fleeing from Spain. In response to the influx of this population, Portugal also implemented a series of harsh measures targeting these groups, including entrance fees punishable by enslavement, coerced conversion, expulsion edicts, and eventually the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1537 (Levine Melammed 53-60). In the course of these years, a critical transformation occurred in that the religious differences between these groups was superseded by a

process of differentiation based on ideas about the role of biological inheritance in determining a person's identity. It is this transition that has justifiably attracted the attention of researchers working on historicizing the notion of race.

In 1391, a series of anti-Jewish riots broke out in Seville on June 4, and from there they spread to Cordova, Cuenca, Madrid, Toledo, Segovia, Burgos and other cities (Levine Melammed 10). As historian Renee Levine Melammed explains, there was no master plan behind the riots and rioters moved from one place to another with no systematic direction and acting with varying degrees of violence (ibid). In some places, the mobs forced Jews to convert; in others, they massacred them or destroyed their property (ibid). According to historian David Nirenberg, "[t]housands, perhaps tens of thousands, of Jews were killed, and many thousands more converted to Christianity" ("Figures of Thought" 399).<sup>4</sup> In the city of Valencia, parishes were so overwhelmed by the number of Jews who sought baptism after the violence, that the city council wrote to the king stating that these events could only be "the work of the Almighty" (ibid). The direct result of these riots was the sudden creation of a new category of Christians: a group of coerced converts who began to be referred to as *conversos*, *Cristianos nuevos* (New Christians), and/or *marranos*. Though the violence temporarily abated, by the 1440s conditions grew progressively worse for *conversos*.

On the afternoon of July 21, 1467, the parish bells of Toledo began ringing throughout the city (except in *converso* districts) inciting the population to take arms. As historian Angus MacKay recounts,

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<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the number of Jews that converted after the violence, but as historian Benzion Netanyahu estimates that it was around 400,000 (in Levine Melammed 19).

One thousand armed men gathered at the cathedral and, joined by others from outside the town, began a systematic attack on *converso* property. The fires lasted for more than twenty-four hours. *Converso* patricians were killed and then strung up naked and upside down as a public spectacle. Interventions by the royal authorities failed to prevent the excesses. 62

Similarly, on April 19, 1506, after certain remarks by a *converso* in Lisbon incensed a crowd who proceeded to beat him to death and then kill his brother, Dominican friars close to the scene helped fuel the animosity by encouraging the populace to commit acts of violence against New Christians. According to Levine Melammed, "approximately six hundred New Christians were slaughtered in Lisbon in one day!" (60). The violence continued for three days, killing perhaps as many as two thousand *conversos* of all ages (ibid).<sup>5</sup>

The crucial difference between the type of mob violence illustrated by the riots of 1391 and those of 1467 and 1506 is that the targets of violence in the latter cases could not have been seen as a separate identity based on their common religious affiliation. Legally, *conversos* were Christians, and –at least initially– their religious status was no different from the so-called Old Christians. Yet, as the very impetus to nominally differentiate between Old and New Christians indicates, the demarcation between these groups was of central importance from the very moment the category *converso* emerged. The explicit concern to differentiate between these two groups led to a series of escalating measures that culminated with the institutionalization of purity of blood

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<sup>5</sup> Other major anti-*converso* riots occurred in Toledo (1449), and Córdoba (1474). In the case of Portugal, literary critic Lúcia Helena Costigan argues that the radical policies towards Jews and *conversos* were due to the Portuguese monarchs succumbing to the pressures of Spain (13). Either way, the fact that violence occurred cannot be disputed.

statutes throughout the Iberian Peninsula. In the process, the role of genealogy became a fundamental factor in determining a person's religious and cultural identity, a view based partially on the belief that "Jewishness" was an inheritable condition. It is apparent, then, that there is a clear shift between the religiously-based anti-Judaism of the 1391 riots and the more complex processes of differentiation that later fueled the mob violence against *conversos*.<sup>6</sup> It is precisely this transition –and the processes associated with it– that has long served as a focal point for arguments about race in early-modern-Iberia.

As historian Yoseff Hayim Yerushalmi argues, throughout the Middle Ages the "Jewish problem" had been perceived essentially as one of conversion. It was assumed that, once converted, the Jews as a distinct entity would disappear, and thus, by definition, the problem would cease to be (Yerushalmi 10). Yet, with the overnight conversion of thousands of Jews following the 1391 riots, a new critical juncture was reached. As Yerushalmi puts it "[t]he traditional mistrust of the *Jew as outsider* now gave way to an even more alarming fear of the *Converso as insider*" (ibid; emphasis added). For one, *conversos* were technically legal Christians and, as such, the entire corpus of anti-Jewish legislation was no longer applicable to them (Yerushalmi 10). Moreover, given the situation of duress under which many Jews had converted, there was also –understandably– wide-spread skepticism that Jews' conversion had been sincere. Consequently, the fear that crypto-Jews were infiltrating Christian society became an increasingly prevalent concern. Yerushalmi's insight is thus crucial for understanding the type of transition in relation to the figure of the Other that we see happening towards the

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<sup>6</sup> Though religious/racial animosity were the central driving force of anti-*converso* riots, we should not overlook that other factors also influenced their development: such as the deterioration of economic conditions, political tensions, and fears of contagion following outbreaks of the plague (see MacKay 60-61, Levine Melammed 54-60).

middle of the fifteenth century, but, contrary to what he suggests, the figure of the Jew was never in a position of "outside" in relation to Christian identity, but rather in a relation of inclusive exclusion. What we have here, then, is a historical instance that renders transparent the operations of the logic of the exception. As philosopher Giorgio Agamben explains it, "[t]he exception is what cannot be included in the whole of which it is a member and cannot be a member of the whole in which it is always already included" (25). In other words, the figure of the Jew –as that outside element within Iberian society that did not belong to the whole– was actually a constitutive exclusion by which the very notion of a whole was made possible. Yet, with the emergence of the figure of the *converso* –as a non-member of the whole which was nevertheless included in it– the inclusive exclusion by which the whole is constituted was rendered explicit. Since religious identity was thus no longer sufficient as a marker of difference between Old and New Christians, other mechanisms of (inclusive) exclusion had to be developed.<sup>7</sup>

One of the ways in which *conversos* began to be distinguished from Old Christians was by emphasizing the role of genealogy in shaping a person's identity. As

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<sup>7</sup>According to Agamben, moreover, "[t]he relation of exception is a relation of ban. He who has been banned is not, in fact, simply set outside the law and made indifferent to it but rather *abandoned* by it, that is, exposed and threatened on the threshold in which life and law, outside and inside, become indistinguishable. It is literally not possible to say whether the one who has been banned is outside or inside the juridical order" (28-29; emphasis in original). Agamben argues that the original political relation is the ban (the zone of indistinction between outside and inside, exclusion and inclusion), and that the fundamental activity of sovereign power is the production of *bare life* as originary element and as threshold of articulation between *zoe* (the simple fact of living common to all living beings) and *bios* (essentially politically-qualified life). This pure relation of abandonment (that is the production of bare life) is the necessary correlative of biopolitics, that is, to the multiplying and fostering of life. While I would argue that the figure of the *converso* is crucial for thinking through this relation of abandonment in relation to biopolitics, as Judith Butler argues, Agamben's general claims about bare life "do not yet tell us how this power functions differentially to target and manage certain populations, to derealize the humanity of subjects who might potentially belong to a community bound by commonly recognized laws" (*Precarious Life* 68). In other words, Agamben's work does not directly account for the function of racism within the dynamics of biopolitics. This is one of the reasons why I find it necessary to supplement his theory with Michel Foucault's argument about biopower, as I explain later on.

Niremberg contends, towards the middle of the fifteenth century a “genealogical turn” was taken that proved to be of extraordinary power (“Race and the Middle Ages” 81). Categories that had previously been legal and religious were replaced by the genealogical notion that Christian descendants from Jewish converts were essentially different from Old Christians –or “Christians by Nature” as they were also called (Niremberg, “Race and the Middle Ages” 75). The ideological underpinnings of these new distinctions were codified by the doctrine of *limpieza de sangre* (or purity of blood), according to which:

Jewish and Muslim blood was [believed to be] inferior to Christian; the possession of any amount of such blood made one liable to heresy and moral corruption; therefore any descendent of Jews and Muslims, no matter how distant, should be barred from church and secular office, from any number of guilds and professions, and especially from marrying Old Christians. *ibid*

As the quote indicates, not only was the role of lineage linked directly to the development of a person's character, this belief was used as a means to justify the exclusion of *conversos* from positions that could help ensure their upward social mobility. Moreover, fears of impurity and contamination were explicitly associated with marriage, and thus implicitly with sex and reproduction. This suggests that anxieties produced by the idea of intermarriage and intersexual relations between Old and New Christians were grounded on the belief that “religious impurity” was an inheritable trait, an impurity that even God's grace failed to eradicate by means of baptism. As historian María Elena Martínez suggests, “[a]mong Old Christians, the newly invigorated concern with lineage was rooted in the idea that ‘Jewishness’ was transmitted in the blood, that it was a natural, inheritable condition” (*Genealogical Fictions* 28). The conflation of culture and biology that these

views imply was, as Martínez explains, derived from both religious texts and from the main physiological theories of the Middle Ages, which –heavily influenced by Ancient Greek science and medicine– tended to accord semen, breast milk, blood, and food a part in the creation and function of life (*Genealogical Fictions* 47-48).<sup>8</sup> A central feature of this "genealogical turn," then, was the belief that biological inheritance was a deterministic factor in shaping a person's character, one that even conversion (sincere or otherwise) could not help overcome.

Significantly, the naturalization of differences between Old and New Christians based on ideas about biological transmission happened to coincide with the etymological emergence of terms like race and lineage. As Nirenberg points out, words like *raza* and *linaje* (as well as their cognates in other Iberian romance languages) were, by the first half of the fifteenth century, already embedded in identifiably biological ideas about breeding and reproduction ("Race and the Middle Ages" 81). Not by accident, as Nirenberg argues, "the sudden appearance of this vocabulary and its application to Jews precisely coincides chronologically (the 1430s) with the appearance of anti-*converso* ideologies that sought to naturalize religious categories and hierarchies and to legitimate their reproduction" ("Race and the Middle Ages" 79). Similarly, historian Max S. Hering Torres argues that during the second half of the fifteenth century the word race was used to describe both lineage and defect. According to him, "[b]y the mid-sixteenth century,

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<sup>8</sup> There is a striking similarity between the way the transmission of blood was thought about during the early-modern period and the way it was conceptualized, within scientific discourse, during the nineteenth century. As Robert Young explains about the latter, "the appeal of the argument about maintaining racial purity through 'blood' was increased by the popular acceptance in the nineteenth century of the idea of *pangenesis*, that is that 'each part of the body contributed a fraction of itself to the sperm by way of the blood'" (Young "Foucault on Race and Colonialism" 14). In the context of nineteenth-century works on heredity, sperm in Darwin, Galton and Spencer got identified with blood. Semen thus became the essence of blood and of man, so that controlling the patriarchal dissemination of sperm became the literal means of preserving the purity of the blood (ibid).

these two meanings had become joined, in the discourse of purity of blood, to express a conceptualization about a hereditary defect, that is, a genealogical impurity, an imperfection that was like a hereditary disease" (Hering Torres 18-19). Once purity of blood was associated with the "stain of race," moreover, Hering Torres contends that this expanded the meaning of impurity to the body (19). Consequently, as both Hering Torres and Martínez maintain, the possibility of transmission of this perceived hereditary impurity led to heightened concerns that breast milk from Moorish or converted Jewish wet nurses could contaminate Old Christian children (Hering Torres *ibid*, Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 56). Additionally, these ideas further confirmed the dangers of intermarriage and intersexual relations, and it led to an increased association of women with impurity. Indeed, as feminist anthropologist Verena Stolke confirms, the increase concern with lineage and legitimate marriage that resulted from the institutionalization of purity of blood statutes ultimately led to more controls over women's bodies and their sexualities (23). To a large extent, this is due to the fact that, as feminist sociologist Joane Nagel suggests, racial boundaries are always/already also sexual boundaries which must be patrolled, policed, and protected (107). Thus, we can begin to appreciate how the notion of race begins to be intertwined more overtly with the question of procreative sex.

The transition from anti-Judaism to more biologically-based notions of difference that appeared in Iberia later is eloquently represented by an anonymous text from the period that helps elucidate the power of race as a discursive construct. Published around 1465, the *Alborayque* offers unique insights into the way in which New Christians were conceived of as a corrupt, mixed-lineage species, and the dangers that this was thought to imply. In this text, *conversos* are compared to the hybrid beast al-Burāq (or *alborayque*

in its hispanicized form). That is, they are compared to the fabled animal that according to the Koran carried Muhammad to heaven. The *alborayque* was considered of a kind not found in nature, it was an unclassifiable, mixed-lineage species; and, by extension, so too were the *conversos*, whose moral attributes and cultural practices are associated throughout the text with different body parts of that composite beast (Netanyahu 848, Niremberg 82, Carpenter 21-22).

In a version of the *Alborayque* found recently in Barcarrota, the text is accompanied by a visual representation of the fabled animal. Cultural critic Dwayne Eugene Carpenter describes the image in the following way:

Lo más llamativo de esta imagen es su carácter híbrido: sobre una forma esencialmente ecuestre, el Alborayque exhibe cualidades tan inconcebibles como una boca de lobo, un rostro de caballo, una cola de serpiente, una pierna de águila con uñas, una pierna de león sin uñas, un pelaje multicolor, una ambigüedad sexual, estribos de muchos metales y riendas de espada acicalada; en fin, una amalgama de veinte atributos, mayoritariamente zoomórficos. 24

Following this image, the narrative begins by stating that in the village of Erena (a small town in Extremadura known for its numerous population of *conversos*), the name *alborayco* was first given to the "convertedizos neófitos judayzantes, ... a los conversos que se tornaron christianos" (in Carpenter 67-68; sic). The anonymous author/narrator then distinguishes between two types of *conversos*: *anus*, which is the Hebrew term for forced, and *meshumad*, that is Jews who converted by choice (Carpenter 68). This distinction, as literary critic David M. Gitlitz points out, had been an important theme in Jewish *responsa* literature, which indicates that the author of the *Alborayque* probably

knew Hebrew and that s/he was familiar with an important Jewish polemic of the period (3-4). After these brief introductory remarks, the author/narrator offers a list of twenty characteristics that are said to typify the *alborayque*, and s/he describes in detail how each of these traits correspond to ones found in *conversos*. In these descriptions, three dominant themes are stressed, each of which offer particularly important insights into the way *conversos* were perceived during this period.

One of the first main themes that we find in the *Alborayque* has to do with the deception of appearances and the (in)visibility of *conversos*. As the narrative states, the third trait that the *alborayque* and *conversos* have in common is that each of them have human eyes, or "ojos de ombre" (Carpenter 76; sic). Yet, the author/narrator qualifies this statement by adding that "Assí, los neófitos alboraycos miran como ombres humanos, piadosos, falagueros, e ellos son inhumanos e crueles. Avía el Alborayque ojos de ombre, pero no era ombre. E assí, estos alboraycos parescen ombres en la parescencia, e son diablos en las obras" (Carpenter 76-77; sic). The fact that vision and (in)visibility is one of the first themes to appear in this narrative is hardly surprising. With the conversion of the Jews, what had previously been visible markers of their difference (such as their dress, their religious rites, and their dietary practices), was suddenly made invisible by making their cultural practices illegal. Their otherness, in other words, was camouflaged. It was only by ensuring that *conversos* would continue to be marked as different –by recurring to their alleged tainted heritage– that their complete invisibility was averted. As the author/narrator of the *Alborayque* emphasizes, *conversos* might look like humans, but indeed they are inhumane. It is clear that s/he uses the word inhumane (*inhumano*) in relation to their cruel and diabolic actions, but by comparing them to the *alborayque* (a

species which is clearly not human but whose human eyes can be deceiving in this regard) the author/narrator seems to also be questioning the very humanity of *conversos*. The play on the theme of vision, moreover, is completed by the creative imagery used by the author/narrator, in which the eye becomes a symbol for deceit. For one, the human-looking eyes of both the *alborayque* and the *conversos* are deceiving in that they allow them to see, but more importantly be seen, as humans. Furthermore, the point of the quote is to warn Old Christians not to be visually deceived by the human appearance of *conversos*. The main purpose of the passage is thus to emphasize that vision is misleading when it comes to *conversos* since, after all, their difference is something more intrinsic, something that eludes the visible.

A second important theme found in the *Alborayque* has to do with the idea that *conversos'* conversion was insincere. Listed as the fourth characteristic that the *alborayque* and *conversos* have in common, the author/narrator maintains that they are both like dogs. This comparison allows the author/narrator to use a particularly demeaning image since s/he contends that, just as a dog returns to its own vomit, so too do *conversos* return to Judaic practices. As s/he states in the narrative "E otrosí, como el perro torna el vómito a comer lo que bossó, assí, estos canes tornan al sabad, e adafina, e caçuelas, e circuncisión, e cerimonias que usaron ya quando se baptizaron .... E eran locos los judíos en guardar aquellas cosas judiegas; agora tornaron después de baptizados a fazer otra vez" (Carpenter 77-78; sic). This passage has two central objectives. On the one hand, it reiterates and disseminates a highly negative view of Judaism, in which Judaic cultural practices are portrayed as vomit and where former practicing Jews are labeled as crazy. On the other hand, by depicting *conversos* as dogs who return to that

same Judaic vomit, the author/narrator uses a particularly evocative image of uncleanness while stressing that *conversos* have unabashedly gone back to those practices. According to the narrative, moreover, all *conversos* are the same. The author/narrator essentializes this group by arguing that they are all deterministically the same, and s/he asserts repeatedly that Jews and *conversos* all come from the same "vil linaje" (Carpenter 81, 83). In other words, the problem is not simply that *conversos* return to Judaic practices, there vile lineage seems to predispose them to do so. This implies that "Jewishness" is here conceived of, and represented as, an inheritable condition, a type of hereditary disease.

Finally, the theme of intermarriage is also one that the author/narrator expounds upon in the *Alborayque*. The ninth characteristic that the *alborayque* and *conversos* are said to have in common is that parts of both are made-up of various types of metals. In some cases, the composite nature of the *conversos* is related directly to extensive cases of intermarriages dating back to biblical times and then moving forward to instances from the author's contemporary sources in Castile (Carpenter 97). In contrast to the history of rampant intermarriage among *conversos*, the author/narrator stresses that among Old Christians "ésta es la más limpia generación que Dios en la tercera ley escogió" (Carpenter 98). At other times, the theme of intermixture is more broadly construed and it goes beyond intermarriage to include the hybrid cultural practices of *conversos*. As Gitlitz argues, though at the heart of the argument of the narrative is that *conversos* continue to practice Judaism, "in most respects the *conversos* are [portrayed as] hybrid, practicing not one law but rather an amalgam of all three. Nowhere is this clearer than in their dietary customs" (11). Indeed, as Gitlitz shows, the text represents *conversos* as

having no dietary restrictions, a point that would seem to undermine the argument that they continue to practice Judaism. This is a critical point because it allows us to perceive that, ultimately, it is the composite nature of *conversos* that the *Alborayque* seeks to highlight, and it is this quality above all that stands out as an affront. By choosing the hyperbolically hybrid image of the *alborayque* as the central emblem of this narrative –and then listing one negative trait after another in which this figure resembles *conversos*– it is quite clear that author/narrator's negative view about intermixture is the organizing principle that determines the narrative's structure. It is the hybrid nature of the *alborayque* –and by extension of the *conversos*– that fuels the resentment against them in this narrative. In contrast to views that see hybridity as a strategy for minimizing racialized differences, here we see the very opposite principle discursively come into play.

As the *Alborayque* reaches its culminating point, we see then that three main themes have been stressed in regard to *conversos*: their visual elusiveness, the filthy Judaic practices to which they can't help but return to, and their ambivalent hybrid nature. The power of this discursive construct reaches its zenith by concluding with a clear call to arms. As the author/narrator states, just as one of the traits of the *alborayque* is that it wears a fire rein around its neck, so too should *conversos* be reined in or, if not possible, simply executed. Near the end of the narrative, the author/narrator states "Esta gente, si freno no le pusiessen, sin rienda fueran a caer en mayores daños, pero dar les han una sofrenada, e seguir se á la muerte de espada cruel" (Carpenter 99-100; sic). As the quote indicates, the narrative reaches its conclusion by stating that *conversos* need to be sternly reined in, otherwise the only other solution offered by the text is cruel death to all.

In his introduction to this text, Carpenter argues that “*El Alborayque es testigo a –y participe en– la transición de un antijudaísmo centrado en diferencias teológicas a un antisemitismo basado en criterios raciales*” (35-36; emphasis added). This point of view, shared by some scholars and vehemently disputed by others, brings us back to the guiding question of this sub-section: determining whether or not the notion of purity of blood is a racial concept. As Hering Torres explains, this has long been a polemical issue. His succinct overview of these debates is worth building off of. As Hering Torres explains, in the 1940s historian Cecil Roth argued that the notion of purity of blood was racial anti-Semitism and he maintained that it should be seen as a precedent to the Aryan legislation of the twentieth century (in Hering Torres 12). His views were disputed by legal scholar and historian Guido Kisch, who claimed that racial concepts and doctrines had no foundation in medieval law (*ibid*). While Roth's position is problematic in that it implies a linear, transhistorical, view of anti-Semitism, Kisch's assertion is likewise unworkable given that the legal institutionalization of purity of blood statutes forces us to recognize that the deployment of exclusionary measures during the period went beyond religious anti-Judaic legislation, there was clearly discrimination based on racialized ideas about biological inheritance.

These contentious issues again surfaced in the 1960s. On one side of the debate were historian Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, who claimed that the doctrine of purity of blood was "pure racism," and cultural critic Albert A. Sicoff, who argued that the massacres of 1391 were motivated by a "racist feeling" (*ibid*). In opposition to these views, literary critic Francisco Márquez Villanueva insisted that the problem of the *conversos* was never racial since, he argued, it was not based on an unshakable biological

determinism but rather on religion (ibid). He further claimed that the problem of purity of blood never spilled out of Iberian borders. The problem with Sicroff' position is that it fails to make a distinction between the violent riots of 1391 and those of 1467 and 1506. If we neglect to perceive that there is a difference in the population that was being targeted in those riots, we will fail to recognize the crucial shift that took place during the mid-fifteenth century, whereby anti-Judaic sentiments were superseded by biologically-based forms of differentiation that are much more aptly described as anti-Semitism. Not loosing track of this shift is critical, for it also allows us to challenge Márquez Villanueva's claim. As we have seen, the notion of purity of blood was premised on the fact that *conversos* and their descendants were believed to be deterministically marked by their "impure" heritage; their religious conversion could not erase the "stain of race" that made them distinct from Old Christians. Though it is indisputable that the science of biology has evolved over the centuries, the epistemological foundations on which the physiological theories of the Middle Ages were grounded were no less true during that period, they were simply governed by different regimes of truth. This issue, however, continues to be at the very heart of the current polemic over purity of blood.

Despite the evidence that their research provides, both Yerushalmi and Niremberg are cautious about characterizing purity of blood as a racial concept. Yerushalmi opts for using the term proto-racism, adding that "[while] we have not quite arrived at the *modern concept of race*, I submit that we have come perilously close" (16; emphasis added).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Other examples offered by Yerushalmi on how we got perilously close to the modern notion of race include one in which ideas about blood percentages of Jewish blood can be seen as parallel to the one drop rule in segregationist United States (16).

Somewhat paradoxically, Niremberg too concludes a recent article by stating the following,

We have seen that fifteenth-century Spaniards utilized a vocabulary of race grounded on theories of animal husbandry that posited the biological reproduction of somatic and behavioral traits. We have also seen how this vocabulary underwrote a set of strategies that explained and legitimated the creation and perpetuation of certain hierarchies and discriminations through the language of reproduction. We cannot, however, therefore conclude that we are justified in speaking of *modern "race" and "racism"* in fifteenth-century Spain. "Race and the Middle Ages" 83; emphasis added

Considering that earlier in that same article Niremberg defines racism as “attempts to ground discriminations, whether social, economic, or religious, in biology and reproduction” (74), I find the conclusion he reaches in this passage simply contradictory. Clearly, the central problem of both Yerushalmi and Niremberg's views is that their understanding of race is inescapably tied to the *modern* definition of race. In other words, they both implicitly ascribe to the view that using the concept of race prior to the rise of Enlightenment science is anachronistic. However, if we consider that the modern definition of race has also been proven to be scientifically-groundless –indeed, a social construct often used to excuse anti-immigration laws, segregation, and extermination (Holt 200)– then the hesitation to examine the history of this powerful concept (calling it what it is) seems counterproductive to efforts that seek to counteract the effects that race continues to have on our societies. On this point, I believe that Martínez' argument offers a definitive answer. As she contends:

arguing that racial discourses took a particular form in the nineteenth century is one thing; contending that they did not operate in the early modern period, quite another....[T]he concept of race has varied across time, space, and cultures and ... even in modern times, it has not relied exclusively on biological notions of difference but rather has often been intertwined with culture and/or class.

*Genealogical Fictions* 11

This is not to say that race has been an ever-present phenomenon throughout history. The impetus to historicize this notion is grounded precisely on the premise that it is not.<sup>10</sup> Martínez has been a pioneer in bringing this debate back to the fore, but her research has also expanded its geographical parameters outside of the Iberian Peninsula. Her study not only charts the rise of purity of blood statutes in Iberia to show how they illustrate the development of precocious racial concepts and practices, it highlights the fact that this ideology journeyed to the Americas, where, as she explains, it went through a series of important transmutations. Following her lead, one of the central objectives of this project is to contextualize how the concept of race operated on a transatlantic scale during the early-modern period, where Iberian notions of race influenced –and were influenced by– processes of colonial racialization.

### **Slavery & Colonialism**

A second aspect that has rightly attracted the attention of scholars historicizing the notion of race is the role of Iberian overseas colonialism in the development of this

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<sup>10</sup> Aside from looking at early-modern Iberia, scholars working on the historization of race have also closely examined three aspects of ancient Greek thought: the concept of the barbarian, climate theories of national differences, and Aristotle's theory of natural slavery. While critics agree that Greek society was certainly not egalitarian –as is clearly reflected in their thinking about slaves and women– the dominant view among scholars today is that no concept truly equivalent to race can be detected in ancient Greek thought. See, for instance, studies by Julie K. Ward, Rachana Kamtekar, David T. Goldberg, and George Fredrickson.

concept. For one, the process of colonial expansion in the New World entailed the overt dispossession of Amerindians' land and it established systems of labor exploitation that temporarily enslaved the natives and that inaugurated the transatlantic African slave trade. Though each of these issues are indisputably linked to economic interests, this factor alone cannot account for the fact that, in the New World, fitness for enslavement was premised on a prior differentiation between the American indigenous and black Africans. In other words, this issue forces us to consider how factors such as skin color might have contributed to the perceived racial differentiation between these groups. Moreover, evidence suggests that the notion of purity of blood influenced the development of colonial systems of racialization, which in turn allows us to trace the history of this concept outside of the Iberian peninsula. In this section I examine some of the factors that contributed to the solidification of perceived racial differences between Europeans, Amerindians, and black Africans (including phenotype, cultural practices, and notions about purity of blood), and I address the intricate relations between slavery, colonialism and race within the geographical and temporal delimitations of this project.

What philosopher and historian Edmundo O'Gorman describes as the "invention of America" aptly captures the epistemological revolution that shattered the then-dominant conception of the *orbis terrarum* and that forced Europeans to grapple with the possibility that humans lived in what was previously thought of as uninhabitable lands (61-62). The conquest of Amerindians' territory –precisely because it was inhabited– presented a series of juridical problems that directly hinged upon the characterization of this group. As historian Silvio Zavala explains "[e]l título de primera ocupación del Derecho romano hubiera bastado a los españoles, jurídicamente, para adueñarse de las

tierras de América *si éstas no hubieran estado pobladas*" (*Las instituciones jurídicas* 44; emphasis added). The fact that the American continent was populated made it necessary to seek legal justification for dispossessing the indigenous of their land. Initially, the question of dominium was solved by the first Papal bull *Inter Caetera Divinai* (1493) –which, invoking the Pope's universal authority as Christ's vicar on earth, granted, in perpetuity, all land discovered and to be discovered to the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel (as well as to their successors) in exchange for their commitment to bring the Catholic faith to the inhabitants of the newly-found territories (in Giménez Fernández 343-361). In a series of subsequent bulls (also from 1493), Spain's sphere of influence over the Atlantic was slightly restricted by dividing up the newly-found lands between Spain and Portugal. These bulls also extended to Spain a right which had been previously granted to Portugal by the bull *Romanus Pontifex* of 1455; namely, the right to reduce to perpetual slavery all pagans encountered by the Portuguese in African territories who were considered to be "enemies of Christ" (in Pagden 30, Williams 72). In *Inter Caetera Divinai* the indigenous are described as "muchas gentes, que pacíficamente viven, y que según se dice andan desnudos y no comen carne; ... creen en un Dios Creador que está en los Cielos, y parecen bastante aptos para recibir la fe Católica y serles enseñadas buenas costumbres (in Giménez Fernández 347). Tied to the political and economic interests of colonial expansion, this representation is meant to highlight the idea that Amerindians were fit for religious conversion. Implicitly, then, this issue was also directly correlated to the question of purity of blood.

Since ensuring the religious conversion of the indigenous constituted the legal basis for dispossessing them of their land, it was imperative for Spain to try to prevent

"religious impurities" from contaminating the indigenous. To this end, Spain barred *conversos*, Jews, and Muslims from going to the colonies (Martínez, "Space, Order, and Group Identities..." 21). Though a significant number still managed to go, the creation of this policy suggests that anxieties about the alleged tainted blood of *conversos* continued to play a role in the Americas. That is, it indicates that their physical presence in the New World was seen as a potential source of contamination given the intrinsic religious impurities that, purportedly, *conversos* could help spread by means of exogamous sexual intercourse. This was seen as particularly menacing considering that, as Martínez explains, Amerindians who had successfully been brought under Spanish colonial rule were, by the second half of the sixteenth century, officially regarded as recently converted Christians *who did not have tainted blood in their veins* (*Genealogical Fictions* 96; emphasis added). As "gentiles no infectados," Amerindians were thus officially granted purity of blood status (*ibid*). Though this is a highly significant fact, it is critical to note that this did not however imply that the indigenous were seen, or treated, as equals to the Iberians. The begin with, a series of strategies were adopted in order to exclude the indigenous from seeking positions of power within the catholic church. In New Spain, for instance, officials adopted a policy of not ordaining Amerindians and they justified this by claiming that they were "tender plants in the faith." As Martínez says "this claim enabled the exclusion of native people from the priesthood and from certain religious offices and institutions without necessarily contradicting the official discourse regarding their 'purity of blood.' In other words, it allowed for their construction as not quite 'impure,' but also not quite 'Old Christians'"(Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions* 103). As the comment indicates, mechanisms for inclusive

exclusion continued to operate in the colonial setting in relation to the question of purity of blood. In this particular case, moreover, we see the operations of a key aspect of colonial discourse: what critic Homi K. Bhabha defines as colonial mimicry. According to him, "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (Bhabha 122). Indeed, though the central civilizing mission for the Spanish was to convert the indigenous to Catholicism (an endeavor for which the natives' purity of blood was not an issue), it is clear that the reformed colonial other was to remain marked by the ambivalence of colonial mimicry in which it was constituted: it was almost the same, but perpetually not quite.

A second way in which the discourse of purity of blood was rearticulated in colonial Latin America was through the theory that Amerindians were actually descendents of the Jews. In the course of establishing the pure-blooded status of the indigenous, this theory was in fact widely circulated. Here I will briefly outline two of the key sources on this topic. On the one hand, in his well-known *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1590) the Jesuit missionary Joseph de Acosta presents a synthesized version of this theory solely in order to refute it. He begins by explaining that one of the theories that were used to account for the fact that the American continent was populated drew from the apocryphal biblical source Esdras, which gives an account of the route followed by the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel on their way to new land (Acosta 60-61). As Acosta asserts, because Esdras provided a plausible account as to how people could have arrived in the New World, many learned men believed that the Amerindians were actually one of Israel's lost tribes (*ibid*). This theory, he claims, was in turn backed by the popular belief that the indigenous and the Jews were very much alike. As Acosta states,

according to popular belief, the Jews and the indigenous were seen as being very similar because both groups were seen as being easily scared, they were both considered to be liars, each was taken to be very ceremonious, and both groups supposedly wore similar clothing (Acosta 61). Acosta, however, refutes these allegations by arguing the following:

Mas todas estas son conjeturas muy livianas y que tienen mucho más contra sí que por sí. Sabemos que los hebreos usaron letras. En los indios no hay rastro de ellas; los otros eran muy amigos del dinero; éstos no se les da cosa. Los judíos, si se vieran no estar circuncidados, no se tuvieran por judíos. Los indios... ni han dado jamás en esa ceremonia. *ibid*

As Acosta states, the fact that Amerindians lack a writing system, are not greedy, and are not circumcised should be taken as definitive proof that they did not descend from the Jews. While his argument is clearly based on highly stereotypical and often incorrect information, Acosta's argument temporarily became the authoritative source on this issue. Not long after Acosta's refutation, however, the theory of Amerindian's Jewish origin resurfaced and gained prominence again.

In *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo mundo e Indias Occidentales* (1607), the Dominican friar Gregorio García presents an extensive scholastic argument as to why the Amerindians are descendant from the Jews.<sup>11</sup> As part of his introduction to this argument, García writes:

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<sup>11</sup>García was a Dominican friar who lived in the Americas for twelve years, nine of them in Peru and three of them in Mexico (Martínez Terán 122). There is some disagreement about when he was born and when exactly he traveled to the Americas. Philosopher Manfred Kerkhoff argues that he was born in Toledo in 1575, and that he died in Spain in 1627 (102). Critic Tera Martínez Terán contends that he was born in 1554 and that he died in 1633, she also suggests that he traveled to the Americas in 1586, arriving in Peru in 1587 (122-123) Though García wrote other texts, *Origen de los Indios* is his most important work.

Opinion ha sido de muchos, i la Gente vulgar Española, que mora en las Indias lo siente asi que los Indios proceden de los diez Tribus de los Judios.... El fundamento que para esto tienen, es la condicion, que en aquella Gente Indiana, experimentan, mui conformes à las de los Hebreos, i aunque Hombres doctos lo reprueban, i no quieren asentir à este parecer, pero Yo hice grande diligencia en averiguar esta verdad, i puedo afirmar, que he trabajado mas en ello, que en lo que escribo en toda la Obra. 103; sic

In this passage, García begins by making a distinction –similar to the one made earlier by Acosta– between what common Spanish people think and what learned men have to say about this issue. "La gente vulgar," as García calls them, particularly the Spaniards that live in the Americas, can see for themselves the alleged similarities between the indigenous and the Jews. And while learned men like Acosta dispute this claim, García maintains that he has diligently set out to discover the truth about this matter, and he emphasizes that he has worked on this issue more than on any other in his book. His project, then, represents an attempt to bring this discussion back to the fore despite Acosta and other learned men's dismissal of the theory. As a learned man himself, who also happened to have extensive first-hand experience with the indigenous, García begins his project with the premise that the theory of the Jewish origin of the Amerindians has not yet been satisfactorily debunked. He thus proceeds to offer two arguments that he considers to be corroborating evidence for the idea that the Amerindians were indeed one of Israel's lost tribes. On the one hand, García suggests that one of the lost tribes could have made their way to the Americas, by land, through what he describes as the "Estrecho de Annian," which he vaguely places in the far east of Mongolia (García 104).

On the other hand, he contends that the Ten Lost Tribes made their way to China, and he argues that "De la China pudieron ir por Mar à la Tierra de Nueva España, para donde no es mui larga la navegacion" (García 105; sic). By offering two possibilities as to how Israel's lost tribes could have arrived in the Americas –one by land, the other by sea– García seeks to reinstate the validity of this theory and to provide additional support in favor of it. After discussing the possible routes that Jews could have followed on their way to the Americas, García then offers a long list of socio-cultural and physical attributes that Jews and Amerindians supposedly have in common.

One of the characteristics that, according to García, Jews and Amerindians share is that they are both disbelievers. As he says,

Cosa es bien notoria à todos, quan incredulos eran los Judios, pues con haver visto tantos milagros, i señales, que Dios obraba con ellos, con todo eso no le daban credito..... Asi los Indios, con haverles predicado suficientemente la Fe, e Lei Evangelica, con todo eso no estàn mui firmes en ella: *pues particularmente en el Perú, donde esto mas se verifica*, ai algunos, i aun muchos, que no se quieren confesar, ni han confesado en toda su vida, *de lo qual pudiera ser Yo Testigo ocular..... todo lo que es bueno, i virtud, lo hacen por fuerça, por cumplimiento, i por miedo del castigo, que si los dejàran à su libertad, ni oieran Misa, ni acudieran à la Iglesia.* García 111; sic, emphasis added

Here, García reiterates one of his previous arguments about how both Jews and Amerindians are cowards. According to him, he has personally witnessed how, particularly in Peru, the indigenous only act virtuously out of obligation and fear. As he says, if they were actually free to choose, Amerindians would probably not attend mass

nor would they go to Church. While the implication is that the indigenous need to be forcefully compelled to be good Christians, García's central claim is that despite the extensive campaigns by the Spaniards to preach the Catholic faith and to teach evangelic law to the indigenous, the latter continue to be disbelievers. Yet, by claiming that this ineradicable disbelief is one of the characteristics which proves that Jews and Amerindians have a common lineage, García actually attributes the shortcomings of the Christian civilizing mission to the Amerindians' purported Jewish heritage. Hence we see that, in the same way as *conversos* could never quite be Old Christians because of their tainted blood, here too García reactivates the ideological underpinnings of purity of blood in order to explain why the indigenous can never quite be good Christians. In other words, he confirms the view that Jewish ancestry, by being transmitted through the blood, has a determining power over a person's behavior. As we have seen, this is basic premise on which the notion of purity of blood is founded.

A second characteristic that, according to García, Jews and Amerindians have in common is that they are both uncharitable. As he writes:

Los Judios, si bien se mira, aborrecian à los pobres, i no tenian caridad con ellos, i asi à este proposito dice....no tenian caridad para los pobres.... Los Indios es Gente de mui poca, ò ninguna caridad: i *si alguna cosa dàn, mas es por temor, ò por algun respeto particular, que no de caridad. Y no solo usan esto con los estraños, pero aun con los de su misma sangre. Las personas que los conocen a los Indios saben esto particularmente en el Perú.* García 114; sic, emphasis added

As his final comment evinces, García again singles out the indigenous from Peru for being particularly uncharitable. He also restates the fact that they are cowards and he

stresses that they are uncharitable even with members of their own blood. This emphasis on blood once more allows us to place his theory within the discourse of purity of blood, but it also clarifies that one of García's central moves is to establish that the indigenous' blood is tainted by their Jewish heritage, which in turn deterministically shapes their behavior. As these examples evince, it is clear that the discourse of purity of blood was rearticulated in the New World in relation to the alleged Jewish origin of the American indigenous. This indicates that Iberian racial notions influenced the development of colonial systems of racialization, particularly, as we will see in chapter four, in regard to the proliferation of *mestizos*.

Discussions over the nature and origin of the indigenous were also decisively tied to ardent debates about their fitness for enslavement. As political scientist and historian Anthony Pagden explains "the bulls of donation granted to Ferdinand and Isabel in 1493 by Alexander VI conceded them the right not only to conquer but also to enslave the inhabitants of the Antilles" (29). As Pagden points out, moreover, it would be nearly a decade before anyone challenged the legitimacy of these papal decrees (30). On December 1511, the Dominican friar Antonio de Montesinos delivered his famous Advent Sermon stating the following:

Tell me, *by what right or justice* do you keep these Indians in such a *cruel and horrible servitude*? On what authority have you waged a *detestable war against these people*, who dwelt quietly and peacefully *on their own land*?... Why do you keep them so oppressed and weary, not giving them enough to eat nor taking care of them in illness? For with the excessive work you demand of them they fall ill and die, or rather you *kill them with your desire to extract and acquire gold*

*every day. And what care do you take that they should be instructed in religion?... Are these not men? Have they not rational souls? Are you not bound to love them as you love yourselves?* (in Bradstock 63; emphasis added)

In this powerful denunciation, Montesinos emphasizes five issues: he describes the slave-like conditions in which Amerindians are made to labor, he questions Spain's sovereign right to wage war against them and to invade their land, he brings to the fore the economic interests that fueled the colonial enterprise, he criticizes the inadequacy of the project of religious conversion, and, rather significantly, he implores his listeners to recognize the humanity of the subjects which Spaniards so terribly mistreat. Following this sermon, the Spanish Crown began a long process of juridical debates concerning the treatment of Amerindians. What is particularly significant about these discussions is that they inevitably returned to the question of how to define the nature of the indigenous.

In their first phase, these legal debates produced a rather contradictory official stance. As historian Lewis Hanke explains, a group of king-appointed theologians concluded that the indigenous were in fact free; that is, that they were not slaves. Yet they qualified their position by stating that Amerindians were actually *too free*, and that their idleness was one of the greatest evils from which they suffered; hence, they argued, it was the *King's duty* to help them overcome it (Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle* 23; emphasis added). Conveniently for the Spaniards, it was accorded that the appropriate way to curtail Amerindians' "excessive freedom" was by granting the colonizers a group of natives from whom they could extract labor or tribute; in return, the *encomenderos* were obliged to provide religious instruction to their Amerindians (Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle* 19-20). As friar Bernardo de Mesa put it at the time, some kind of servitude was

necessary for the indigenous in order to “to curb their *vicious inclinations* and compel them to industry” (in Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle* 23; emphasis added). In other words, the predominating logic at the time dictated that it was the Spaniard's duty (a type of “white man’s burden”) to protect the indigenous –not against the colonizers, as Montesinos urged– but rather from themselves and their vicious natural inclinations towards idleness. This allowed the Crown to nominally proclaim that Amerindians were free while actually subjecting them to coercive labor (in some cases, this could mean living in perpetual *encomienda*, essentially as slaves for life). Despite Montesinos’ noble intentions, after this first series of debates it was determined that the *encomienda* system was sound. The Laws of Burgos (promulgated in 1512 and then amended in 1513) made these new policies towards the indigenous official (Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle* 24). These policies, however, continued to fluctuate. An anti-slavery edict was passed in 1530 and then revoked during that same year. Another edict from 1534, also banning indigenous slavery, met a similar fate (in Myers 116). In 1542, the New Laws were promulgated –which prohibited all forms of indigenous slavery and which were strongly in favor of indigenous' rights–, but these too were ultimately revoked after widespread rebellions from Spaniards living in the Americas (Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle* 91, Myers 116). It was not until 1573 that the Spanish Crown finally took control of the *encomienda* system, but, as literary critic Kathleen A. Myers suggests, by then “it was too late to undo the vast destruction of most of the indigenous cultures” (116).

Now, while it is true that Amerindians' skin color was not a particularly relevant fact in the long process of oscillating policies about their enslavement, there was a great deal of intellectual speculation about their “true nature” and status –including whether the

indigenous possessed reason and should thus be accorded full human status.<sup>12</sup> These series of debates over the nature of the Amerindians have been interpreted by several scholars as evidence of racialization in the early-modern world. Among others, in his influential book on the history of racism, historian George M. Fredrickson argues that Iberian colonialism played a major role in the development of this concept.<sup>13</sup> In his description of the (in)famous mid-sixteenth century debates between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda –which for many typify the kind of speculation that went on over the nature and treatment of Amerindians–, Fredrickson characterizes Sepúlveda's position as racist. As he puts it,

Sepúlveda, applying Aristotle's conception of “natural slavery” to all native Americans, argued in effect that Indians were nonrational beings who could be made useful to the Spaniards and amenable to Christianity only by the application of force –in other words, by being enslaved. They were, he said in a *classic*

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<sup>12</sup> This is not to say, however, that Amerindian's skin color was entirely irrelevant or that it went unnoticed. In most of the early descriptions of Amerindians, their skin color is always mentioned. Christopher Columbus, for instance, describes the inhabitants he first encountered in the Caribbean as neither white nor black but rather the color of the inhabitants from the Canary Islands (Colón 60,61). Likewise, Pêro Vaz de Caminha characterizes the natives he saw upon first reaching Brazil as "pardos, quase avermelhados" (125), and Amerigo Vespucci says about the indigenous he came across in Brazil that "their complexions tend towards the red" (48).

<sup>13</sup> Similarly, critics David T. Goldberg and Walter D. Mignolo highlight the importance that the colonization of America had for the emergence and development of racism, and both link this process to the beginning of modernity. Goldberg explains that after the colonization of West Africa and later the New World, a racial consciousness appears and is explicitly expressed in sixteenth-century politico-philosophical and economic debates, where, as he puts it, there materializes an "unquestioned *racial* difference between European, American Indian, and Negro" (24-26; emphases in original). Similarly, Mignolo contends that Western colonialism, racism, modernity, and capitalism are all interconnected processes. Adopting Anibal Quijano's notion of *coloniality*, he argues that "[c]oloniality names the underlying logic of the foundation and unfolding of Western civilization from the Renaissance to today of which historical colonialisms have been a constitutive, although downplayed, dimension" (*The Darker Side* 2). As Quijano explains it, the coloniality of power is based upon two factors: the racial classification of the world population into colonized and colonizer, and the establishment of a Eurocentric capitalist colonial/modern world system (171).

*statement of sixteenth-century racism*, "barbarous and inhuman peoples abhorring all civil life, customs and virtue." Fredrickson 36-37; emphases added.

As the quote indicates, the representation of the indigenous was central to the question of slavery; their characterization as nonrational, barbarous and uncivil, was the very basis for the justification of the use of force and enslavement. Yet, outside of providing evidence for how the (mis)application of Aristotle's theory of natural slavery helped justify the position of apologists for indigenous slavery, the debates over the nature and treatment of Amerindians offer little insight into the actual operations (or even conceptualization) of the notion of race. As I will argue throughout this project, it is only around the notion of *mestizaje* that the subtle operations of race in colonial Latin America become more apparent. The crucial importance of these debates for the history of race lies rather in the fact that they contributed to clear juridical demarcation between Europeans and Amerindians. As legal scholar Robert Williams suggests, from the very outset of colonization –because of the dispossession of Amerindians' land and later the issue of their enslavement– the American Indian emerged as a distinct problem in Western legal thought (6). The creation of the category "indio" was a direct result of colonization, and it essentialized the indigenous by minimizing the myriad differences between them. The emergence of this juridical category proves, in and of itself, that there was a clear demarcation between Europeans and Amerindians. Though some might hesitate to call this differentiation racial, its racialized character will become more apparent when we examine how the perceived difference between Europeans and Amerindians influenced anxieties over miscegenation.

In the case of Portugal, debates over the enslavement of Amerindians followed a slightly different path. As historian José Eisenberg explains, though these debates were heavily influenced by what was happening in Spain (particularly by the way in which theologians from the University of Salamanca drew on Thomas Aquinas for defining the natural rights of the indigenous), Jesuit theologians from the University of Coimbra made significant changes to thomist doctrine (7). The main difference was that, while for Dominicans the notion of rights were applicable only to those who conformed to natural law, for the Jesuits rights were a faculty which all men enjoyed (Eisenberg 8). Since rights could thus not be denied to Amerindians, the emphasis of these debates shifted to the notion of voluntary slavery (12). The first meeting to discuss this notion was convoked in 1556 by Mem de Sá, the Governor-General of the Portuguese colony in Brazil, and it featured the debate between the Jesuit priest Manuel da Nóbrega and Quirio Caxas, a professor from the Colegio da Bahía (Eisenberg 9, 12). The outcome of these debates was a law that, for the first time, sanctioned the voluntary slavery of Amerindians (Eisenberg 12). After a series of problems in Brazil, however –most notably a smallpox epidemic that in 1563 killed an estimated 30,000 indigenous– the Portuguese crown was faced with increased opposition to enslaving Amerindians, despite the fact that they claimed it was voluntary (Schwartz 58). As historian Stuart Schwartz explains, faced by the double-bind of wanting to appease this mounting opposition while also taking into account the growing demands of the nascent sugar economy in Brazil, the Crown turned its attention away from the indigenous to the Atlantic slave trade in order to solve its labor problems (Schwartz 60).

At the same time as the differences between Amerindians and Europeans were being consolidated, the importation of black Africans slaves to the New World added another element that helped shape the development of the notion of race. Recent research into the subject has allowed us to determine that the extent of the slave trade in colonial Latin America surpasses what was previously acknowledged. Figures from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database show that between 1502 and 1866, 11.2 million Africans landed in the New World as slaves, and of that number only 450,000 went to the United States (in Gates Jr. 2). This database also estimates that around 4.8 million Africans went to Brazil, and it has helped determine that during the earliest years of the slave trade, up until about 1600, Mexico had the largest African slave population in the New World. As the data demonstrates, approximately 700,000 Africans went to Mexico and Peru combined over the course of the slave trade (Gates Jr. 2, 60). The massive influx of this population allows us to better grasp the influence of black Africans on the cultural and ethnic makeup of colonial Latin America, and it forces us to re-evaluate the role of Iberian colonialism in the institutionalization of the transatlantic African slave trade. In terms of the historization of race, moreover, it allows to trace a critical shift in the production of notions of racial (im)purity.

Before the transatlantic African slave trade got institutionalized, the slave trade from Africa to the Iberian Peninsula was already a large scale phenomenon. This trade began with Portugal's colonial expansion into Africa during the mid-fifteenth century and, by 1492, it is estimated that between 80,000 and 150,000 slaves from sub-Saharan Africa were taken to Portugal (in Sweet 163). As historian James A. Sweet explains, "in many parts of Portugal, blacks quickly became the dominant source of slave labor"

(ibid). The slaves taken to Portugal were mainly sold to Castile, but later also to the Antilles, and it was a highly lucrative business for the Portuguese Crown. Likewise, by the 1470s the black population in some Spanish cities had grown so large that the crown elected to place them under greater royal supervision and control (Sweet 165). The importance of acknowledging this large presence of black African slaves in Iberia is that it adds another component to the question of how hegemonic Old Christian Iberian identity was constituted in relation to other groups that were inclusively excluded. According to Sweet, discriminatory attitudes and policies towards black African slaves are clearly discernible in fifteenth-century Iberian discourses and he argues that these “can only be characterized as racist” (165). As evidence for his claim, Sweet provides multiple textual examples from both medieval Portugal and Spain where strong anti-black sentiments abound. Among these, he examines Alfonso X's *Cantiga 186*, which essentially revolves around the transgressive nature of an alleged intersexual union between a white woman and a black moor. Moreover, Sweet shows that the growth in the black population that took place in Iberia as the African slave trade got consolidated, led to the legal circumscription of black's civil rights, as well as restrictions on how many black could assemble, sometimes, prohibiting slave gatherings altogether (Sweet 164-165). In addition, as Portugal's involvement in the slave trade expanded, a series of papal bulls issued between 1452 and 1456 sought to justify the enslavement of black Africans on religious grounds. Nonetheless, since no active steps were taken to ensure that blacks were baptized, nor that their bodies were properly buried, the alleged Christianization of blacks merely meant that the Portuguese, and later the Spanish, avoided subjecting the practice of black African slavery to debate, as they clearly did in

the Americas in relation to Amerindians (Sweet 156-158). As Pagden further notes, the Portuguese colonial experience in Africa was significantly different from the colonization of America. Among other factors, the presence of religious missionaries in African was nominal compared to colonial Latin America, which minimized the level of debates about the injustices of black African slavery (Pagden 30).<sup>14</sup> By focusing on both cultural and legal medieval discourses, Sweet is thus able to establish that fifteenth-century white Iberians clearly made distinctions between people based on skin color, and that they attributed less worth to human beings with darker skins (165). For him, by the time of the Columbian encounter, race had evolved into an independent and deeply etched element of the Iberian consciousness; race, and especially skin color, defined the contours of power relations (Sweet 165).

Sweet's argument about the negative connotations that black skin had in Iberia can be corroborated by examining how the notion of purity of blood was linked to ideas about skin color. The Benedictine priest and bishop of Pamplona, Prudencio Sandoval (1533-1620) argued that there was a resemblance between *conversos'* impurity of blood and the black skins of Africans. In a telling passage, he states:

No condeno la piedad cristiana que abraza a todos; que erraría mortalmente, y sé que en el acatamiento divino no hay distinción del gentil al judío; porque uno solo es el Señor de todos. *¿Mas quién podrá negar que en los descendientes de judíos permanece y dura la mala inclinación de su antigua ingratitud y mal*

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<sup>14</sup>As Pagden explains, most Portuguese colonies in Africa were *feitorias* that were used as ports in the slave trade, they did not involve the type of population settlement that occurred in the Americas. Moreover, the missionary presence, which might have served as a focus of protest against the slave trade was, because of the physical difficulty of surviving in West Africa, slight and dispirited (Pagden 30). This is not to say that the African slave trade did not have important detractors: most prominently the Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira, but later also Las Casas.

*conocimiento, como en los negros el accidente inseparable de su negrura? Que si bien mil veces se juntan con mujeres blancas, los hijos nacen con el color moreno de sus padres. Así el judío no le basta [ser] por tres partes hidalgo, o cristiano viejo, que solo una raza lo inficiona y daña, para ser en sus hechos, de todas maneras, judíos dañosos por extremo en las comunidades.* 319; emphasis added.

Despite the Pauline terms with which Sandoval begin his statement, it is clear that his views swiftly move away from the view that all men are the same towards speaking of a marked hierarchical division among them. For one, his views on *conversos* are premised on naturalistic understandings about the role of biological inheritance in transmitting the "stain of race." As Sandoval says, it is unquestionable that descendants from Jews inherit all the bad traits associated with that group and, notably, even if though intersexual relations *conversos* were to become three parts Old Christian, it is only a single race (the Jewish race) that continues irrevocably to infect and damage them. What is particularly remarkable about this passage, however, is that it signals a crucial transition from the belief that "Jewishness" could be transmitted through the blood, to the idea that "blackness" was also inheritable. This implies a significant paradigm shift from the type of invisibility that, according to texts like *Alborayque*, was one of the key menacing factors that defined *conversos*, to a view in which the visual markers of blackness ("el accidente de su negrura") was the key factor that made them immutably different. Furthermore, the passage evinces the activation of the binary black skin/white skin and it warns about the effects of miscegenation on skin color. As the Sandoval remarks, even if a black person were to reproduce with a white person –just as what happens with three-part Old Christian Jews– the "stain of blackness" would carry on to their descendants by

making them "*morenos*." Indeed, as historian Hebe Mattos confirms, beginning in the seventeenth century the category *mulato* started to be included in purity of blood regulations in Portugal (43). Whereas previously these regulations targeted only people of Jewish or Moorish background, by the middle of the seventeenth century the term *mulato* was added to most stipulations about purity of blood. According to Mattos, in Portugal and especially in Brazil, the formulation "with no race of Moor, Jew or Mulato" became a common phrase in countless documents (50). The question of (im)purity, then, is seen here as going through a major transmutation, where skin color suddenly becomes a crucial visual marker of impurity. Whereas the role of religion was central to the ideology of purity of blood in the Iberian Peninsula, we will see that in the colonial setting much more emphasis was placed on how the effects of miscegenation could affect the physical body.

The development of the notion of race in the Iberian Atlantic world has thus been shown to be inextricably linked to ideas about biological inheritance. Though these ideas were informed by both pseudo-biological and cultural conceptions of heredity, this section has shown that such beliefs were legitimized by different truth regimes that provided race with its conditions of possibility. What remains to be theorized is the way in which ideas about exogamous sexual unions operate in relation to the reification of racial categories. Since it is one of the central contentions of this project that notions of race and sex are intricately linked together, and that their interrelations are fundamental to the historization of race, we must now move to this analysis.

### **Race, Sex, and the Power over Life**

By historicizing the notion of race, my intention has been to highlight three

interrelated processes conterminously taking place within the Iberian Atlantic world. First of all, it is clear that towards the middle of the fifteenth-century there was a critical transition whereby religiously-based anti-Judaic sentiments were superseded by biologically-based forms of differentiation grounded on the belief that genealogy had a deterministic role in shaping a person's character and behavior. Secondly, we saw that as the African slave trade got consolidated there emerged increasingly negative discourses about blackness. Not only was blackness commonly associated with the condition of slavery, once it was linked to the discourse of purity of blood it was also seen as an inheritable condition that, like impure blood, deterministically shaped a person's behavior.<sup>15</sup> Unlike religiously-impure blood, however, blackness was also regarded as the visual marker of the stain of race, and this shifted the emphasis of the discourse of purity of blood towards the physical appearance of the body. Lastly, it is evident that with Iberia's colonial expansion to the New World, the category of the Amerindian emerged as a distinct legal problem within western thought. Despite the fact that the indigenous were granted purity of blood status, and that eventually their enslavement was legally prohibited, they continued to be seen as subjects of difference who were almost the same but perpetually not quite. Each of these processes have in turn helped establish both the validity and importance of using race as a category of analysis for understanding this historical period. Now, since the central focus of this project is to examine how the notion of *mestizaje* operates in relation to the reification of racial categories, it remains to

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<sup>15</sup> Though the association of blackness with slavery was consolidated by the institutionalization of the transatlantic slave trade, the origins for this idea come from the biblical story of Ham (or Cham in Spanish and Cam in Portuguese). As historian María Eugenia Chaves Maldonado explains "Según la historia bíblica, Cham, uno de los hijos de Noé, se burló de la desnudez de su padre ebrio, como castigo por su innoble acción, Dios maldijo a los hombres y mujeres de la generación de Cham y los condenó a servir como esclavos. Los exegetas tempranos pensaban que los pueblos que habitaban el continente africano eran los descendientes de Cham y explicaban su color oscuro como la marca de la maldición bíblica" (198).

be seen how ideas about miscegenation inform the theory of race that I develop throughout this project.

First of all, it is important to clarify that it is not my intention to question the fact that *mestizaje* occurred on a large scale in early-colonial Latin America. Indeed, as historian Magnus Mörner explains, no part of the world had ever witnessed the degree of race mixture that took place in Latin America after 1492 (Mörner 2, 4). Rather, by calling attention to this historical phenomenon, the purpose of my analysis is to show how early-colonial discourses about *mestizaje* evince that it is around this issue that the notion of race continued to develop in the Americas. In order to expound on this part of my argument, I draw from the work of philosopher and race scholar Robert Bernasconi.<sup>16</sup> As Bernasconi contends, although it is sometimes claimed that the idea of a mixed race category can disrupt or serve to overturn racial systems because of its resistance to dominant racial binaries, it is hard to find any historical support for this view ("Crossed Lines" 211). Instead, as Bernasconi argues, it is the fear of race mixing that has tended to dominate the history of racial thinking, even as miscegenation works to blur the borders between races, causing those borders to shift. The borders to which Bernasconi is referring to are, on the one hand, spatial, in the sense that the divisions between races oftentimes coincide with geographical borders. On the other hand, these are also sexual borders since, after all, racial boundaries are –from the moment that they are grounded on

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<sup>16</sup> In his earlier work, Bernasconi claimed that the concept of race only emerged in the late eighteenth century, specifically, he argues that Emmanuel Kant "invented" the concept. Nevertheless, in his earlier work, he cites both the statutes of purity of blood and the sixteenth-century debates on the nature of the indigenous as examples of racism that operated without the concept of race (Bernasconi "Who invented the concept" 11-12). In his most recent work, however, which is what I draw on here, he states about the Purity of Blood Statutes "These statutes are often referred to as the birth of modern racism" ("Crossed Lines" 224). As he develops his notion of race as a border concept, he discusses the malleability of racial concepts and uses the category of *linajudos* (those who investigated a persons' genealogy in order to establish a person's purity of blood) as a useful example for his argument.

biology and reproduction— also intrinsically sexual boundaries (Bernasconi, "Crossed Lines" 213-214, see also Nagel 107). Bernasconi thus proposes that we look at how race operates as a border concept whose conditions of possibility come from the creation of borders, but whose operations are never actually reliant on the fixed essentialisms it seeks to establish through those borders ("Crossed Lines" 207-208, 213). As I develop my argument about spatial segregation in colonial Spanish America, Bernasconi's theory will guide my analysis.

A second theorist whose work informs the theory of race that I develop is literary critic Abdul JanMohamed. What JanMohamed terms racialized sexuality is precisely the result of the violation of the racial/sexual border on which racial distinctions are premised.<sup>17</sup> Broadly construed, JanMohamed defines racialized sexuality as "the point where the deployment of sexuality intersects with the deployment of race" (94). The specific focus of his analysis are the draconian Jim Crow laws in the United States, which actually instituted the creation of a racial/sexual border. As JanMohamed argues, however, the racial mixture that resulted from the violation of the racial/sexual border simply lead to more juridical classifications, prohibitions, repressions, and ratios (99). For him, moreover, the series of juridical prohibitions that determine life on the racial and sexual borders are not ontological but socio-political constructs that are used to deny kinship across the color line (JanMohamed 101). JanMohamed also suggests that racialized sexuality is characterized by a relative paucity of discursive articulation (102). In fact, he claims that "[r]acialized sexuality has never been subjected to dense discursive

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<sup>17</sup> Though I draw from JanMohamed's work, I have opted in my analysis to use the term "racialized sex" instead of racialized sexuality because of Foucault's specific use of the term "sexuality" (which he dates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and on which JanMohamed's analysis is based. For arguments that support Foucault's insistence that sexuality be seen exclusively as a nineteenth-century phenomenon see Arnold I. Davidson's article "Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality" also Thomas Laqueur's *Making Sex*.

articulation” (103). As he sees it, racialized sexuality failed to develop a dense discursivity primarily because white patriarchy’s sexual violation of the racial border was an open secret (104). This open secret, he continues, led in the United States to the one drop black blood criterion –which simultaneously provided a way to deny miscegenation and to augment the slave labor force– and it resulted in the formation of an internally contradictory juridical discourse around racialized sexuality (104). Racialized sexuality is conceived by JanMohamed as a network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the formation of special knowledges, and the strengthening of controls are linked to one another (105). Though his theory needs to be reconfigured according to the timeframe, geography, and historical specificities that I examine in this project, JanMohamed’s notion of racialized sexuality allows me to analyze *mestizaje* as the result of the violation of a previously established racial/sexual border. By doing so, I am able to articulate how miscegenation operates in relation to both race and sex.

Lastly, in order to further theorize the complex interrelations between race and sex that are the heart of ideas about miscegenation, I draw on philosopher Michel Foucault’s theory of biopower. In Foucault’s work, the notion of race is a complex and, at times, elusive subject. Not only does his conceptualization of this term fluctuate, the chronology that he offers alternates between analyzing the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. His views on this matter appear explicitly in only two of his works: *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*, and his 1975-76 lectures at the Collège de France, published posthumously as *Society Must Be Defended*. While he originally anticipated that the final book of his six-volume project on *History of Sexuality* would be dedicated to the question of “Population and Races,” as Stoler explains, after 1977

Foucault abandoned his investigations on race altogether (25). A close associate of Foucault's has suggested that he was "deadlocked on thinking about race" (qtd. in Stoler 25). Nevertheless, during the relatively short period of time that Foucault dealt directly with this issue, he managed to point out that notions of race and sexuality are fundamentally interconnected through his notion of biopower.

Despite the temporal and geographical limitations of his work, Foucault insights on this matter are highly relevant to my study and must therefore be carefully contextualized.<sup>18</sup> In the last part of *The History of Sexuality. Volume I*, Foucault begins by explaining that during the classical age –which he dates from the middle of the

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<sup>18</sup>Despite Foucault's temporally-limiting definitions of racism and sexuality (both of which he dates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), his insights into how biopower links these notions together are useful for my own analysis. I justify my temporal reconfiguration of his theory on three grounds. First, it is important to note that Agamben's reformulation of Foucault's theory of biopolitics has been decisive in questioning its temporal specificity, as well as its relation to sovereign power. As literary critic Leland de la Durantaye explains, Agamben recognized Foucault's attempt to move away from sovereign power to a conception of disciplinary power, but, rather than follow him in this respect, Agamben radically intensified the emphasis on sovereign power (209). Indeed, according to Durantaye, the initial modification that Agamben proposed in regards to Foucault's historical schema is that the biopower Foucault saw as most distinctive of the modern age was actually as old as Western politics itself. Therefore, it cannot be seen as an effect of the shift from sovereign power to a disciplinary society (210). Secondly, it is important to note that Foucault's restrictive account of the emergence of sexuality has generated multiple and competing assessments about the analytical usefulness of this term. For one, the fact that the second and third volumes of *The History of Sexuality* focus on ancient Greco-Roman and early Christian culture, has led many scholars to question how this chronological displacement fits into Foucault's overall project. In other words, as Joel Black suggests, by arguing that sexuality was specifically a phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Foucault had shown the history of sexuality to be quite brief, and hence his shift to antiquity would seem to imply that he was rather writing a pre-history of sexuality (44-45). Lastly, Foucault's theory regarding the relation between sexuality and racism needs to be supplemented by a historiography that is not so narrowly focused on European discourses. As Stoler argues, Foucault's work systematically bypasses crucial colonial discourses on racialized sexuality. By doing so, his analysis of how biopower was deployed in the nineteenth-century around the issues of sexuality and race overlooks a key site: the colonial order of things (Stoler 4). Moreover, as both Young and Stoler have both pointed out, Foucault's work is conspicuously silent on the issue of colonialism. Although Foucault had a lot to say about power, as Young argues, it is striking that he was curiously circumspect about the ways in which power operated in relation to colonialism ("Foucault on Race and Colonialism" 57). Young finds this silence paradoxical considering that Foucault's writings provided the theoretical basis for the founding disciplinary text of contemporary postcolonial theory: namely, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Young "Foucault on Race and Colonialism" 57-58). Similarly, Stoler maintains that no single analytic framework has saturated the field of colonial studies so completely as that of Foucault, whose claims for the discursive construction of regimes of power prompted numerous studies on both the production of colonial discourses and their effects (1). Nevertheless, as Stoler explains, Foucault's historiography is so locked in Europe that it effectively elides the question of colonialism (60). As a result, Stoler maintains that Foucault's chronology regarding the emergence of both sexuality and racism needs to be reconfigured.

seventeenth-century to the end of the eighteenth— a major shift occurred in the mechanisms of power over life. Prior to the classical age, he argues, one of sovereign power's characteristic privileges was the right to decide life and death (*The History of Sexuality* 135). As Foucault puts it “[t]he sovereign exercised his right of life only by exercising his right to kill, or by refraining from killing...The right which was formulated as the ‘power of life and death’ was in reality the right to *take* life or *let* live” (*The History of Sexuality* 136; emphases in original). He argues, however, that “[s]ince the classical age the West has undergone a very profound transformation of these mechanisms of power” (ibid). For one, Foucault maintains that political power assigned itself the function of administering life, both at the level of individual bodies and in the general sense of the population and the race (*The History of Sexuality* 136, 139). In his words: “[t]he old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life” (*The History of Sexuality* 140). Moreover, he claims that a parallel shift occurred in the right to death, since wars were no longer waged in defense of the sovereign, but rather on behalf of the existence of everyone. As he puts it “entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity: massacres have become vital. It is as managers of life and survival, of bodies and of race, that so many regimes have been able to wage so many wars, causing so many to be killed” (*The History of Sexuality* 136, 137). Foucault summarizes the shift of power's hold over life by suggesting that “the ancient right to *take* life or *let* live was replaced by a power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death” (*The History of Sexuality* 138; emphases in

original).<sup>19</sup> Finally, Foucault also discusses the two separate but complementary ways in which this new power over life developed historically.

According to Foucault, the type of power over life which he dates to the seventeenth century and which he subsequently describes as “marking the beginning of an era of ‘biopower’” developed in two basic forms (*The History of Sexuality* 140). On this issue, it is worth quoting Foucault at length:

starting in the seventeenth century, this power over life evolved in two basic forms; these forms were not antithetical, however; they constituted rather two poles of development linked together by a whole intermediary cluster of relations. One of these poles –the first to be formed, it seems– centered on the body as a machine, its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the *disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body*. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their

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<sup>19</sup> In *Society Must Be Defended* Foucault also discusses this exact transformation, except that in this case he dates the shift to the nineteenth century. Introducing minor changes to the vocabulary –changes which in no way alter the content of the affirmation– Foucault states in his last lecture at the Collège de France “one of the greatest transformations political right underwent in the *nineteenth century* was precisely that, I wouldn’t say exactly that sovereign’s old right –to take life or let live– was replaced, but rather it came to be complemented by a new right . . . the power to ‘make’ live and ‘let’ die” (241; emphasis added). While this inconsistency is certainly striking, it is also illustrative of Foucault’s general impasse when it comes to theorizing how race and sexuality are linked together. Hence, rather than dismiss his argument altogether, I privilege his conceptualization of the power over life as beginning in the seventeenth century in order to show that at the center of Foucault’s deadlock, is a chronological problem regarding the way in which he describes the historical development of the power over life.

supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and *regulatory controls: a biopolitics of a population*. The setting up, in the course of the classical age, of this great bipolar technology –anatomic and biological, individualizing and specifying, directed toward the performances of the body, with attention to the processes of life– characterized a power whose highest function was perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest life through and through. *The History of Sexuality* 139; emphases in original

To begin with, it is crucial to emphasize that here biopower is conceived of as a type of umbrella-concept that encompasses both disciplinary technologies centered on the individual body –what Foucault terms “an anatomo-politics of the human body”– and regulatory controls aimed at the population as a whole –or what he calls “a biopolitics of a population.” As anthropologist Ann L. Stoler explains, what makes biopower unique is precisely the fact that it “joins two distinct technologies of power operating at different levels; one addresses the *disciplining* of individual bodies, the other addresses the ‘global’ *regulation* of the biological processes of human beings” (33; emphasis in original). This distinction, moreover, helps clarify it is highly important to distinguish both chronologically and conceptually between these two poles of biopower, since only by doing so can we understand why Foucault alternates between analyzing the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, as well as the way in which he theorizes the relationship between sexuality and race.

As we saw, the first form of biopower developed during the seventeenth century and it is described as a disciplinary power centered on the individual human body. Even though Foucault does not elaborate on the notion of disciplinary power in *The History of*

*Sexuality. Volume I* nor in *Society Must Be Defended*, much of his previous work is devoted precisely to this topic, and it has been widely commented by critics. According to Foucault, the aim of disciplinary technology is to create docile bodies that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved by means of a calculated manipulation of their behavior (*Discipline and Punish* 138).<sup>20</sup> This is done, as Paul Rabinow explains, “through drills and training of the body, through standardization of actions over time, and through the control of space. Discipline proceeds from an organization of individuals in space, and it requires a specific enclosure of space. Once established, this grid permits the sure distribution of the individuals who are to be disciplined and supervised” (“Introduction” 17). For Foucault, moreover, disciplinary technologies are unquestionably linked to the rise of capitalism; he considers them to be a precondition to modern capitalism. As Rabinow puts it, “[w]ithout the availability of techniques for subjecting individuals to discipline, including the spatial arrangements necessary and appropriate to the task, the new demands of capitalism would have been stymied” (“Introduction” 18). As I will show in chapter two, the organization of space during the early phases of Iberian colonialism in the Americas is a critical site for analyzing the way in which this form of biopower functioned alongside the production of racial differences and the organization of indigenous labor. Foucault’s conceptualization of this type of disciplinary technology thus represents an important theoretical framework to keep in mind: it discusses the creation of docile bodies that can be subjected, and it ties this process to the production of space and the social organization of individuals. The one

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<sup>20</sup> As Foucault puts it “[t]he classical age discovered the body as object and target of power” (*Discipline and Punish* 136). The body, however, as Paul Rabinow mentions, is approached “not directly in its biological dimension, but as an object to be manipulated and controlled. A new set of operations, of procedures –those joinings of knowledge and power that Foucault calls ‘technologies’– come together around the objectification of the body” (“Introduction” *The Foucault Reader* 17).

aspect missing from this theory, however, is precisely the way in which emerging notions of race inform this type of biopower.

Foucault dates the second form of biopower to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and he discusses how –through technologies of sexuality and the development of racism– the two poles of power over life were brought together, giving biopower its full constitutive force. On the one hand, Foucault contends that sexuality –being an eminently corporeal mode of behavior– is a matter for individualizing disciplinary controls that take the form of permanent surveillance. But because sexuality has procreative effects as well, it is also inscribed in broad biological processes that concern not the bodies of individuals but rather the perceived unity of the population (*Society Must Be Defended* 251-52). In other words, the specific historical construct that Foucault terms sexuality, established a powerful form of power-knowledge that prompted individuals to transform their very desire into discourse through a continual incitement to talk about sex (Foucault *The History of Sexuality* 21, 24). At the same time, however, as governments perceived that they were not dealing simply with subjects but rather with a population, sex became a public issue and a police matter (*The History of Sexuality* 25). This in turn, led to the emergence of a conception of the population as a political and economic problem (ibid). It is precisely for these two sets of reasons that, according to Foucault, sexuality became such an important political issue: it is directly linked to the propagation of the species body, and it is fraught with power relations operating at both the individual and societal levels. Again, though, by ignoring crucial colonial discourses on sex, Foucault's chronology on this issue overlooks important historical cases that undermine his temporal specifications. As will be shown in chapter two, the political

management of sex –involving both the individual disciplining of bodies (specifically female bodies), as well as political regulations regarding reproduction– was undoubtedly on the agenda of Iberian colonial administrators. Nevertheless, Foucault’s insights into the way in which sexuality is intricately tied to political calculations over life provide a powerful analytical tool to begin connecting this notion to the idea of the preservation of a race.

Racism, on the other hand, represents for Foucault a second point of confluence where the two forms of biopower are joined together. Like sexuality, he contends that racism involves both disciplinary controls aimed at producing docile bodies, as well as regulatory mechanisms targeting the population as a whole. Unlike sexuality, though, – which is linked to procreation and therefore to the perpetuation of life–, Foucault theorizes racism’s relation to the power over life almost exclusively in terms of racism’s connections to death. Racism, for him, is the precondition that makes killing acceptable in an age of biopower. According to Foucault, racism excuses colonizing genocide by using themes of evolutionism, and it justifies the death-function in the economy by appealing to the principle that the death of others makes one biologically stronger insofar as one is a member of a race or a population, that is, an element in a unitary living plurality (*Society Must Be Defended* 256-258). As Foucault puts it, “[o]nce the State functions in the biopower mode, racism *alone* can justify the murderous function of the State" (*Society Must Be Defended* 256; emphasis added). In this way, Foucault complements the definitions presented earlier by stating that racism is: “primarily a way of introducing a break into the domain of life that is under power's control: the break between what must live and what must die” (*Society Must Be Defended* 254). Thus, for

Foucault, the development of racism during the nineteenth century concretizes the radical transformation of the power over life by supplementing sexuality's stress on procreation with an emphasis on life's opposite principle: death. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Foucault's sole understanding of racism in relation to biopower has to do with death. As Rabinow and Nikolas Rose help clarify, while biopower can indeed lead to a type of thanatopolitics (that is, a politics of death), its characteristic function entails a relation between "letting die" and "making live," that is to say, strategies for the governing, not taking, of life (195). In part because of this, racism cannot be extricated from issues concerning the propagation of a race, a process intricately tied to reproductive sexuality. So, although Foucault predominantly discusses racism's relation to death in the lectures at the Collège de France, it would be incorrect to consider these views exhaustive. In fact, the undertheorized quality of some of his insights on this matter, seem to typify the type of conceptual deadlocks Foucault was encountering in his theorization of race.

To get back to the issue at hand here, we can say that the only concrete link that Foucault establishes between racism and sexuality is that they are both related to biopower. Both racism and sexuality involve a dual process aimed at producing docile disciplined subjects (including through the deployment of sexuality, and by controlling the insertion of bodies into the machinery of production) while also regulating the population's sexual reproduction, its life, growth, and demise. According to Foucault's theory, the full force of biopower would not have been possible without the consolidation of technologies of sexuality and the development of racism that occurred during the nineteenth century. That is, according to this schema, the gradual transformation that

Foucault traces in biopower's historical development (beginning in the seventeenth century), only truly reached its full constitutive force due to the emergence of sexuality and racism. Consequently, the connection that Foucault establishes between sexuality and racism is temporally quite limited, and, as such, its analytical usefulness appears rather constricting. As mentioned above, though I reconfigure Foucault's theory based on current critiques of it, his insights into how biopower links race and sex together will serve as an important guiding-post for some of the arguments that I will be developing.

### **Conclusion**

The historical and theoretical contextualization that this chapter presents is meant to give a general depiction of the types of arguments that will be developed in the subsequent three chapters. As I expand on the importance of examining Iberian colonialism as a way to better historicize race, the notion of miscegenation will be the key concept around which my analysis will revolve. The levels of *mestizaje* that took place in Latin America after 1492 is not only an historically unprecedented fact, it has served as a powerful metaphor for postcolonial nation-building. Throughout this study, Foucault's insights will be supplemented by the type of arguments presented earlier, but his theory will nonetheless frame some of the central claims present in this dissertation. As I move on to analyze the specific case-studies of this dissertation, I intend to establish not only the importance of colonial Latin America for the historization of race, but also how colonial discourses on *mestizaje* can help illustrate the intricate interrelation between discourses on race, sex, and the power over life.

## II. VASCO DE QUIROGA'S SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS: SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND THE NON-PLACE OF THE LIMINAL *MESTIZO*

*Race is always, more or less explicitly, the racialization of space, the naturalization of segregation. Race orders space, social space, from the common to the private.* Joshua Lund 75

### Introduction

In his most recent book, cultural critic Joshua Lund proposes that we examine the notion of race not as a self-evident reflection of reality, but rather as a philosophical and political category that impinges upon social relations (*The Mestizo State* xi). In particular, he is interested in the way in which the notion of race –as a theory for the organization of human difference that is inevitably premised on a structure of hierarchy– is tied to the question of space and, more specifically, of land (xiv). As the epigraph indicates, for Lund the notion of race is inextricably tied the racialization of space and the naturalizing of segregation; in other words, as an analytical category, race informs the production of space and hence impinges upon social relations. Though Lund analyzes these dynamics within the context of post-independence Mexico, as he admits, the central problematic that his book addresses has a much earlier historical trajectory (see note 1, 147). Indeed, in order to account for the racialization of indigenous space in modern Mexico, as well as its relation to the eventual consolidation of the *mestizo* state, we must first consider the historical basis that shaped the development of these processes, namely the organization of space during Mexico's early colonial period.

In this chapter I examine the formation of the Dual Republic in sixteenth-century New Spain in order to show how the racialization of space during this period led to a dualistic conception of society that by definition left no place for the figure of the *mestizo*. Premised on the need for segregation (which in turn implies the racialization of

space), the Dual Republic model was an official Spanish policy whereby the Spaniards and the indigenous were to be congregated in separate republics: the *república de españoles* and the *república de indios*. While it is true that miscegenation soon undermined this policy, it is also evident that the intensification of efforts to police space during this period was directly tied to increasing anxieties over the liminal status of the growing number of *mestizos*. In the first part of the chapter I discuss Vasco de Quiroga's motives for founding two *pueblo-hospitales* in New Spain where only indigenous were allowed to live, and I demonstrate that Quiroga's spatial experiments were instrumental for the formation of the Dual Republic model.<sup>21</sup> I also discuss how the formation of this dual spatial order influenced the progressively more negative views about *mestizos* that are evinced during this period, and I analyze what this implies for Bernasconi's argument about race as a border concept. In the second part of the chapter I describe Quiroga's *pueblo-hospitales* and I point out how their organization was based on Thomas More's fictional text *Utopia*. I then examine the disciplinary measures that Quiroga imposed upon the indigenous members of these communities, I show how these are tied to his characterization of Amerindians, and I discuss the relation between discipline and space.

### **The Formation of the Dual Republic: Spaces of (Im)Purity & the Non-Place of the Liminal**

During the first four decades of Spain's colonization of America, the drastic demographic decline of Amerindians, coupled with the considerable rise in the number of *mestizos*, forced colonial officials to adopt a series of regulatory measures aimed at

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<sup>21</sup> As Benedict Warren clarifies, the latter part of the term *pueblo-hospital* was not meant to convey merely the modern sense of hospital. Rather, Quiroga used the term hospital in relation to its connection to hospitality, that is in order to convey a site of refuge for the needy (*Vasco de Quiroga y sus Pueblo-Hospitales* 6). Though they are called *pueblo-hospitales*, these places are simply an early example of *pueblos de indios* as they were later known within the Dual Republic model.

monitoring the population as a whole. As part of this effort, the (re)organization of space, and the geographical distribution of racialized bodies, quickly became one of the chief concerns for colonial Spanish authorities. What ensued was a period of social experiments with profound and long-lasting biopolitical implications.<sup>22</sup> Among these experiments, Quiroga's two *pueblo-hospitales* stands out as a crucial precedent to the what later became known as the Dual Republic model. Yet in order to understand the formation of these exclusively-Amerindian communities, as well as their relation to increasing anxieties over the policing of space, it is imperative to first discuss the context in which Quiroga wrote and acted.

Quiroga is a renowned figure in the Mexican state of Michoacán. There are countless statutes in his honor –including in a city named after him–, and a case to beatify him is currently underway in Rome. Much of the scholarship on Quiroga is laudatory, and it tends to characterize him as an admirable protector of Amerindians. Although there is relatively little information about him prior to his work in New Spain, the aspects that are known about his life help contextualize Quiroga's worldview. He was born between 1478 and 1488 in Madrigal de las Altas Torres, in Ávila Spain, and he died in Uruapan, Michoacán, in 1565 (Warren, *Pueblo-Hospitales* 9-10, 149). As a young boy in 1492, Quiroga lived through three momentous events in Spanish history: the re-conquest of

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<sup>22</sup> According to Lewis Hanke, what he terms social experiments were authorized by the Spanish Crown during the first half of the sixteenth century in order to determine the correct administration in the New World. Each experiment revolved around one of the following issues: 1) could the indigenous live like Spanish Christians, 2) was it possible to colonize the New World with Spanish peasants (which were also thought to be particularly pure-blooded because they had less contact with other groups within Iberia), 3) could religious faith be taught through peaceful methods alone, 4) could the *encomienda* system be abolished (Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle* 39). As these guiding questions indicate, the central preoccupation was how spatial organization affected social relations. One of the specific social experiments that Lewis discusses elsewhere, as an example of what he terms Spain's social experiments, is Rodrigo de Figueroa's attempts to create villages of free Amerindians in Hispaniola (see Lewis, *The First Social Experiments in America* 40-48).

Granada, the expulsion of the Jews, and the discovery of the New World.<sup>23</sup> After that critical year –and in the span of Quiroga’s own lifetime– Spain rapidly consolidated into a unified, powerful, and vast European empire. As Spain expanded its colonial domination outside the peninsula, its emergent sense of self-definition in relation to Others continued to be an ongoing concern. Quiroga himself had an active role in shaping the nascent contours of Spanish colonialism and its policies towards its racialized colonial subjects.

Quiroga’s first official colonial post was as residential judge of Orán (in the current territory of Algeria) from 1525 to 1526. Spain had recently conquered that region and the instability caused by the occupation made relations between the colonizers and colonized tense and difficult to manage. As historian J. Benedict Warren suggests, Quiroga’s experience in Africa would prepare him for the type of work he would later undertake on a much broader scale in New Spain (*Vasco de Quiroga en África* 15). Part of Quiroga’s responsibilities in Orán included dealing with various types of complaints made by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish merchants that lived in the region. Though Quiroga was not directly involved in cases dealing with the African slave trade, the critical importance of maintaining amicable relations between these three groups was precisely to guarantee the continued success of the profitable slave trade to Iberia (Martínez Baracs 161). As a colonial administrator there, Quiroga thus had to be able to appease colonial social tensions while keeping in mind the economic and political interests of the Spanish Crown. Moreover, as a representative of the Spanish Crown, Quiroga was given the important task of participating in a peace treaty with the

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<sup>23</sup> In 1492 Elio Antonio de Nebrija also published the first treatise on Castilian grammar, which made Queen Isabella soon realize the connection between language and power via colonization. For an analysis of this relationship see Mignolo *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 29-68.

neighboring Muslim kingdom of Tremecén, then under the rule of king Abdulá. Notably, part of the treaty specified that Abdulá's subjects *were not* to be obligated to convert to Christianity (Martínez Baracs 161; emphasis added). In this sense, as philosopher Paz Serrano Gassent has pointed out, the peace treaty represents an important precedent in international law in which religious conversion was not deployed as a means to legally justify the conquest of other peoples' native territory (16). Quiroga's views on this topic, however, were to significantly change in the context of the New World.

After his time in Africa, Quiroga was given three career choices by Emperor Charles V: he could become governor of a Spanish province, he could accept a position as inquisitor or some other post related to the conversion of Jews, or he could be appointed judge for New Spain (Martínez Baracs 163). He chose the latter, and was named *oidor* for New Spain's Second Audiencia on January 2, 1530. The first Real Audiencia had been created by royal decree in 1527 and it operated from 1529 to January of 1531. It was a superior tribunal that represented an important step in the institutionalization and centralization of Spanish power in New Spain, but it had proven to be disastrous because of the indiscriminate and violent exploitation of the indigenous (Martínez Baracs 140-41, 169). Indeed, the transition from the first to the second Audiencia signaled the beginning of a significant change regarding the treatment of Amerindians, one that would in turn lead to a new series of debates concerning their very humanity. On their way to New Spain, Quiroga and other members of the Second Audiencia stopped in Hispaniola, where they met and discussed some of most pressing colonial issues with figures like Bartolomé de las Casas and Alonso de Zuazo.<sup>24</sup> It is clear

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<sup>24</sup> Alonso Zuazo was a colonial administrator who, in 1528, wrote a letter to the King in which he argued that, unless something was quickly done, the population of New Spain would suffer the same fate as it had

from Quiroga's writings that his experience in Hispaniola had a profound impact on his own social reforms and experiments in New Spain, where he finally arrived in December of 1530 (Martínez Baracs 167-68).

Within the first few years in New Spain Quiroga became an influential colonial administrator. In addition to being named bishop of Michoacán in 1538, his writings and actions played a decisive role in shaping one of the most distinctive aspects of Spanish colonial rule –namely, the institutional framework for the Dual Republic model (Moreno 37, Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions* 92). By August of 1531, a letter by Quiroga to the Council of the Indies signaled the beginning of a critical shift in the organization of colonial space. In the letter, Quiroga presents a series of arguments favoring the creation of separate indigenous communities. He specifies that these towns should be far apart from the old ones since, as he argues, otherwise young converted Amerindians would return to their parent's pagan ways (Quiroga, "Carta" 77-78). As Quiroga puts it "como sea cosa natural toda cosa volverse fácil a su naturaleza" ("Carta" 79). As this passage indicates, Quiroga here makes a conceptual conflation between a person's religious beliefs and their human nature, a view which implies a tacit concern regarding the alleged genealogical transmission of religious beliefs. Notably, however, Quiroga's key move here is to point out the instrumental role of space in shaping social relations. In this particular case he argues that by distancing Amerindians from their old communities, and congregating them in new, exclusively indigenous ones, the new spatial configuration could help prevent the return to paganism of the new generations. In this sense, he distances his views from deterministic accounts of the role of heritage in shaping a

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in the Caribbean Islands. Zuazo's letter was decisive in removing the First Audiencia and defining the new tasks for the Second (Martínez Baracs 169).

person's behavior, but notably he also ascribes to spatial organization an instrumental function for keeping at bay religious impurities. According to Quiroga's letter, moreover, the benefits of creating separate Amerindian communities were basically twofold: it would allow the indigenous to take advantage of cultivating vacant and sterile lands, and it would facilitate the friar's duty to convert them (Quiroga, "Carta" 78).

Quiroga also spoke of the chaos that at the time characterized Mexico City, but he added that the situation could be improved by founding the type of indigenous communities that he proposed in his letter. In a rather emotive segment, he states:

que será una grande obra pía y muy provechosa y satisfactoria para el descargo de las conciencias de los españoles que acá an pasado, que se cree que mataron e fueron cabsa de ser muertos en las guerras y minas los padres y madres de los tales huerfanos y de aver quedado así pobres, que andan por los tianguez e calles a buscar de comer lo que dexan los puercos y los perros, cosa de gran piedad de ver y estos guerfanos y pobres son tantos, que no es cosa de se poder creer si no se ve.

Quiroga, "Carta" 80; sic

It is quite remarkable that in this passage Quiroga speaks openly about the violent acts that Spaniards had committed against the indigenous. He contends that creating alternate Amerindian communities would help clear the Spaniard's guilty consciences, and he overtly places the blame on them for the exorbitant number of orphans that he sees rummaging for food in the streets. Quiroga's main rhetorical strategy thus consists in making Spaniards take responsibility for their actions in order to compel them to change the saddening situation they were involved in creating. The official response to the letter came in March of 1532: Spanish authorities felt that the project was risky but they left the

final decision in the hands of the members of the Second Audiencia (Warren, *Pueblo-Hospitales* 57-58). In the subsequent years, Quiroga and other members of the Audiencia initiated a series of socio-spatial experiments that would decisively transform the spatial configuration of colonial Spanish America.

When Quiroga first proposed –and later implemented– the creation of his two *pueblo-hospitales*, it is clear that one of his chief concerns was the preservation and proliferation of the indigenous population. Although there is significant disagreement regarding the number of indigenous that lived in the American continent prior to the Iberian conquest, all estimates indicate that this group's demographic collapse after colonization was catastrophic. For central Mexico, estimates of the pre-Hispanic population range between 12 and 25 million, with sources agreeing that only around 750,000 remained by the first half of the seventeenth century (Mörner, *Race Mixture* 11, Sánchez-Albornoz 4). In either case, the drop in the population size is over 90%. Similarly, the Amerindian population for what is today Peru is considered to have been at 9 million at the time of the conquest, a number that fell to just 1.3 million by 1570 (Sánchez-Albornoz 6). In the case of Brazil, it is estimated that the indigenous population by 1500 ranged between 2,431,000 and 5 million (Marcílio 39, Young *Postcolonialism* 1). As early as 1570, the population had already fallen to 800,000, that is, to just under a third of its original total (Marcílio 41). Today, it is estimated that only 330,000 Brazilian indigenous remain (Young, *Postcolonialism* 1).<sup>25</sup> As historian Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz puts it, "[i]n its extent this phenomenon is without parallel in the modern history of the world's population. Europeans colonized other continents –African and Asia– but contact

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<sup>25</sup> I have specifically given the data for central Mexico, Perú, and Brazil because these are the three countries that I examine in this dissertation.

with the inhabitants there never brought any decrease in the indigenous population nearly so disastrous as it had in America” (7). While the causes for this demographic collapse have generated a great deal of debate –above all in relation to the degree of culpability attributable to the violence of the conquerors and the wars they waged against the indigenous–, as Mörner suggests, the number of casualties generated by the Iberian conquest of America is comparable to the effects of an atomic war (*Race Mixture* 33).<sup>26</sup>

Not only was Quiroga aware of the massive loss of Amerindian life that ensued from the Spanish conquest, his project to found exclusively-indigenous communities represented his explicit predilection for one of the two dominant discourses that circulated during the time concerning the preservation of Amerindian life. The discursive tendency that Quiroga's project was overtly against was disseminated by men like the royal historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the Dominican friar Domingo de Betanzos, and Gregorio García (the proponent of the Jewish origin of the indigenous discussed in chapter one). For his part, Oviedo published two widely-read and circulated treatises about the New World: *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* (1525), and *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (1535). In their respective studies of these texts, both historian Josefina Zoraida Vázquez Vera and Kathleen Myers argue that Oviedo's views of the indigenous were truly appalling, he even participated unapologetically in the branding of newly captured Amerindians (Vázquez Vera 97, Myers 113-114). As Vázquez Vera explains, Oviedo never doubted that the indigenous were human, but as

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<sup>26</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, for example, lists epidemics among one of the last reasons for the indigenous' population collapse. Before that, he discusses the following factors, in this order: 1) the violence of the conquistadores in the wars of conquest, 2) hunger as a result of the confiscation of food stuff by the conquistadores, 3) the intense pressure of labor, among other thing in the mines, 4) change in diet as a result of a change in the production of food, mainly at the expense of the indigenous' property rights, 5) psychological factors leading to infanticide, abortion, and other changes in family size, as well as suicide, 6) epidemics (Sánchez-Albornoz 8-13). Other scholars list epidemics as the primary cause for the demographic collapse.

she points out, the fact that he felt compelled to repeat this so often indicates that he was still trying to persuade his public on this matter (48). For Oviedo, the real issue was about trying to determine *the degree* of humanity that could be ascribed to the natives. To determine this, he discussed amply the physical and moral differences between European Christians (who he considered to be the archetype of humanity) and Amerindians (who he described as having unusually thick skulls, being almost unexceptionally ugly, and having become irrational and bestial through their idolatry and other cultural practices) (Vázquez Vera 48- 54). Of particular importance for the discussion here, is that Oviedo ultimately argued that the indigenous were incapable of becoming Christians, and he concluded that the best solution was simply to *allow them to disappear*. As Oviedo put it: “[Dios] viendo quanta malicia estaba sobre la tierra toda, é que todas las cogitaciones de los corazones destes indios en todos tiempos eran atentos á mal obrar, *consintió que se les acabassen las vidas*” (in Vázquez Vera 110; emphasis added). In other words, Oviedo not only excused the loss of indigenous life, he argued that it was God’s will. His belief in divine providence also allowed him to justify the use of extreme violence, since he claimed that Amerindians could not be convinced through reason alone to accept Christianity. Hence he considered that using violence was unavoidable, and that it was simply a part of what he considered a just war. He seemed unconcerned by the fact that this attitude implied that all natives could potentially perish in the process (Vázquez Vera 112). Talking specifically about the devastating population decline in Hispaniola, Oviedo wrote: “Ya se desterró Sathanás desta isla: ya cessó todo con cessar é acabarse la vida á los más de los indios, y porque los que quedan dellos son ya muy pocos y en servicio de los chripstianos” (*Historia General Vol. I, 253*). As the quote indicates, here Oviedo goes

as far as to claim that by decimating the indigenous Satan himself would be vanished from the New World. He therefore presents their extinction as a positive prospect. Similarly, García also argued that it was God's divine providence that had caused so many indigenous to perish. According to him, because of the Amerindians' religious incredulity—a fact that for García was an ineradicable trait because of their tainted Jewish heritage—God had allowed the diminishment of this population to occur (García 112).<sup>27</sup> It is particularly important to note, moreover, that these type of discourses were deployed during the time to try to curtail indigenous' legal rights and to dismiss the type of rhetoric that called for their protection. Betanzos, for example, argued that all laws promulgated on the supposition that Amerindians were to continue to exist were “dangerous, wrong, and destructive of all good in the republic” (in Hanke, *All Mankind is One* 27). He preached instead that only those laws predicated on the assumption that the natives would soon perish were good (ibid). Betanzos was specifically responding to the passing of the New Laws (promulgated in 1542), which prohibited all forms of indigenous slavery and which, as Hanke puts it, “were so sweeping and so strongly in favor of the Indians that Las Casas himself might well have drafted them” (*The Spanish Struggle* 91).<sup>28</sup> What we see in Betanzos' case is the attempt to try to establish in law the type of discriminatory racial attitudes that were clearly espoused and circulated by figures like Oviedo and later García.

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<sup>27</sup> When García was in Mexico, it is clear that he visited the state of Michoacán because he makes an explicit reference to the indigenous communities that had been founded earlier by Quiroga (see García 129).

<sup>28</sup> As we saw in chapter one, the question of indigenous slavery had been long debated by the Spanish Crown. In August of 1530 a law passed prohibiting indigenous slavery, but it was revoked in February of 1534. Quiroga's *Información en derecho* addresses specifically the revocation of this law. It was not until the passing of the New Laws (1542) that indigenous slavery was definitively prohibited (Zavala *Instituciones jurídicas* 48). Though as we saw in chapter one, this legislation and its enforcement continued to fluctuate.

In contrast to the view that the Amerindian population should be simply left to die out, Quiroga followed an approach that had been recommended early on by Las Casas. After hearing Montesino's Advent Speech, Las Casas self-appointed himself to be a protector of the indigenous. In 1516 he published *Memorial de remedios para las Indias* as a way to poignantly denounce the abuses carried out under the *encomienda* system and to propose alternative indigenous communities, including some in which Spaniards and indigenous were to work together as equals. As an eye witness to the devastating population decline in Hispaniola,<sup>29</sup> Las Casas principal motivation in writing his *Memorial* was to prevent the complete annihilation of the natives, and, for this, he considered it essential to re-order spatial relations. Though he repeatedly mentioned the incommensurable loss of life, Las Casas was also optimistic that, by implementing his remedies, the indigenous population could recover. As he put it “multiplicarán y en poco tiempo se tornará la dicha isla a rehacer y poblar, porque en ninguna parte de las del mundo puede multiplicarse la gente que en aquellas tierras multiplica” (in Baptiste 26). It is clear that Las Casas’ hyperbolic description of Amerindian fertility was meant to convey a sense of confidence in the population’s recovery. In fact, a considerable part of his *Memorial* was meant precisely to spell out specific strategies to help incentivize indigenous’ reproduction. He suggested that those above twenty years of age should be married so that they could procreate, and, rather significantly, he also proposed that Christians and indigenous should intermarry to help multiply the population (in Baptiste 40, 18). Las Casas’ text thus signals the beginning of a series of colonial discourses dealing explicitly with managing the size and ethnic makeup of a population. As Las

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<sup>29</sup> The population in Hispaniola (now Haiti/Dominican Republic) is estimated to have been between 60,000 and 8 million before the time of the conquest. Only a few thousand survived the conquest (Livi Bacci, *Conquest: The Destruction of the American Indios* 95).

Casas remedies suggest, these issues were unavoidably linked to the management of sexual reproduction. Moreover, spatial reorganization, and the geographical distribution of racialized subjects, was also starting to be understood as a critical part of the general management of life. The profound impact that Las Casas' ideas had on Quiroga's own thinking was decisive in shifting the type of indigenist policies that, until then, had been sanctioned by the Laws of Burgos.

When Quiroga founded his two *pueblo-hospitales* –radicalizing Las Casas plans in his attempt to completely exclude Spaniards– he repeatedly stated that only by fundamentally modifying current spatial practices could the Crown prevent the type of drastic population decline that had been allowed to take place in the Caribbean islands. He wrote in *Información en derecho* (1535):

Porque tengo por muy cierto que para mí, que sin este recogimiento de ciudades grandes que estén ordenadas y cumplidas de todo lo necesario, en buena y católica policía y conforme a la manera de esto, ninguna buena conversión .... se pueden esperar.... Pues es más que verosímil que mientras de otra manera vivieren, nunca lo dejarán de ser ni de acabarse y consumirse cada día, como se han acabado y consumido en las Islas e Tierra Firme por lo mismo. 82-83

As the quote indicates, the spatial reorganization of indigenous groups was paramount to Quiroga's mission. Without it, he argued, Amerindians would neither successfully convert to Christianity nor, quite simply, would they survive. As part of his rhetorical strategies, Quiroga also insisted that it was not yet too late to act: "aún no es tarde; pues más tarde se vinieron a acabar en las Islas e Tierra Firme" ("Información" 86). By pointing this out, he sought to emphasize the timely intervention that his projects could

make in saving indigenous lives. Though ultimately the loss of Amerindian life in central Mexico was one of the most dramatic ones –with over 90% drop in the population size– it is indisputable that Quiroga’s projects helped improve considerably the lives of thousands of natives. The main point to highlight here, however, is that by founding his *pueblo-hospitales* Quiroga managed to put into practice what Las Casas had merely suggested. That is, he made the idea of separate indigenous communities a material reality. By doing so, Quiroga and Las Casas’s original intention to protect the indigenous population gave way to a much more sweeping type of transformation: namely, it brought about the type of shift in power’s hold over life that, according to Foucault, characterizes the age of biopower.

There are two aspects of Foucault’s theory of biopower that offer important insights for understanding the type of shift in the management of life that we see exemplified by the implementation of Quiroga’s spatial experiments. On the one hand, Quiroga’s project typifies what Foucault describes as the moment in which political power assigned itself the function of administering life, both at the level of individual bodies and in the general sense of the population and the race (*The History of Sexuality* 136, 139). As I discussed in the previous chapter, Foucault’s argues that during the classical age a major shift occurred in the mechanisms of biopower. Basically, he summarizes the shift of power’s hold over life by suggesting that “the ancient [sovereign] right to *take* life or *let* live was replaced by a power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death” (Foucault *The History of Sexuality* 138; emphases in original). Though Foucault argues that this shift took place around the middle of the seventeenth century, it is my contention that we can actually see this transformation already taking place by the

first half of the sixteenth century. For one, it is obvious from what was discussed earlier that the sovereign right to take life or let live is simply inapplicable for describing Las Casas' views about racialized human life. That is, it is clear that what he proposed in *Memorial* was in no way addressing the King's sovereign power to take life or let live; rather, his remedies dealt explicitly with the management of the indigenous population. Las Casas indicated the specific sources which were causing Amerindians to perish –primarily excessive labor, but also starvation– and he suggested very specific ways to remedy the situation –not only prohibiting the indigenous' virtual enslavement, but also ways to incentivize their sexual reproduction (in Baptiste 16-18, 40-42). In contrast to Oviedo, who simply justified Amerindian's decimation on the grounds that it was God's will (that is, His sovereign decision), what Las Casas proposed –and, more importantly, what Quiroga managed to implement– were concrete ways in which juridical power could intervene in the very management of human life. Considering that Quiroga's *pueblo-hospitales* were initially intended as alternate spaces where Amerindian's lives could be protected, it is clear that his political calculations were aimed at the indigenous population as a whole, not at individual bodies. Yet, as will be shown in the following section, his project also included techniques meant to administer life at the level of the individual body. What Quiroga's project ultimately accomplished, then, was precisely a means to *foster racialized life*. It was racialized life because his spatial project was clearly predicated on the binary division of society into Spaniards and Amerindians, and it was meant to foster life precisely because the key function of the indigenous communities he proposed were meant to protect the lives of Amerindians and to allow

this group to recover through endogamous reproduction. The two crucial poles around which this project to manage life revolved around are thus race and reproduction.

A second way in which Foucault's theory of biopower is relevant to the present analysis concerns his discussion of the two poles in which power's hold over life developed. As we saw, Foucault conceptualized biopower as a type of umbrella-concept that encompasses both disciplinary technologies centered on the individual body –what he terms “an anatomic-politics of the human body”– and regulatory controls aimed at the population as a whole –or what he calls “a biopolitics of a population.” The first form addresses the *disciplining* of individual bodies, the second addresses the ‘global’ *regulation* of the biological processes of human beings” (*The History of Sexuality* 33; emphases in original). While, according to Foucault, the second form of biopower did not develop until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I would again argue that this is something that we actually see exemplified in Quiroga's project. The management of Amerindian life –which came as a result of Quiroga's original intention to protect this racialized population– clearly implied regulatory measures aimed at the population as a whole. Among other things, these regulatory measures were meant to encourage the reproduction of the indigenous population, and they precisely revolved around a concern to protect and ensure the very survival of that population. While it is undeniable that Quiroga could not have even foreseen the type of scientific technology that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was used to assess the size, birth-rate, and death-rate of a population, it is also evident that these issues were in fact dealt with, politically, at a much earlier time than that suggested by Foucault. Quiroga's projects are thus a clear example of an overt concern for regulatory population controls in the sixteenth century.

Furthermore we see that in his case these regulatory mechanisms were also explicitly linked to socio-spatial organization.

Having thus established that fostering Amerindian life was one of Quiroga's central motivations in calling for the creation of exclusively indigenous communities, we must now examine the logic that informed his call for complete segregation, as well as the consequences that this fact had on the *mestizo* population. There are two ways in which Quiroga contributed directly to the consolidation of the Dual Republic model. First of all, Quiroga had a direct influence in shaping the formation of the dual model of spatial organization by actually founding two indigenous communities separated from the rest of colonial society. In this sense, rather than simply trying to shape policies through his writing, Quiroga managed to bring about a concrete transformation in the production of social space. In August of 1532, Quiroga purchased the land for his first *pueblo-hospital*, which he called Santa Fe de los Altos (it was in an area that is today considered part of metropolitan Mexico City). In the subsequent years, he continued to buy more land and he managed to considerably expand the communities' territory (Warren 58-59). As the reputation of his first project grew, moreover, Emperor Charles V endowed the Santa Fe inhabitants with an annual supply of corn, and a number of people –including the Emperor himself– commented on how well instructed the Amerindians from the town were on matters of Catholicism (Warren 69-70). There were, however, repeated complaints that runaway slaves (both black and indigenous), as well as other travelers, were stealing the corn from Santa Fe. Quiroga asked for protection, and in 1536 obtained a royal decree stipulating a hefty fine for anyone found in the *pueblo-hospital* who did actually “belong” there (Warren 73). It was precisely this question of belonging,

however, that soon gave way to increased concerns over racial classification, and it made the policing space a critical matter for the continued success of the dual spatial order. Quiroga's second *pueblo-hospital* was founded in the state of Michoacán, where land disputes between *encomenderos* had left that region in turmoil. The judges from the Second Audiencia had heard a series of complaints from the Tarascan Amerindians that live in that region and, in 1532, they decided to send Quiroga there in order to look into this issue further (Warren 105-111, Martínez Baracs 138-157). Quiroga left for Michoacán at the beginning of the summer of 1533, and by 1534 he had already obtained a royal decree to begin the construction of a new *pueblo-hospital*. He named his second spatial experiment Santa Fe de la Laguna (Warren 112-120). Each of Quiroga's two *pueblo-hospitales* were founded on land that he purchased with his own salary and they represented exceptional juridical institutions within indigenous law. As legal scholar Felipe Ramírez Tena explains, Quiroga legally managed to exempt their inhabitants (more than 30,000 at one point) from paying tribute to the Spanish Crown, and he granted these towns almost complete autonomy from Spanish law. While this transgression of colonial interests was repeatedly disputed –forcing Quiroga to return to Spain between 1547 and 1554 in order to settle the matter– the *pueblo-hospitales* managed to survive until 1872; that is, until after Mexico's independence from Spain (Ramírez Tena 104-111).

A second way in which Quiroga contributed to the formation of the Dual Republic was by changing the paradigm on which the model of spatial proximity between Spaniards and Amerindians was based. As Mörner explains, Quiroga's *Información en derecho* (1535) was decisive in changing the then-dominant idea that Spaniards were a

good example for Amerindians to imitate. This idea implied that a spatial proximity between these two groups was necessary and, until then, it had provided part of the ideological basis for the *encomienda* system (Mörner, *La corona Española* 27). Quiroga, however, helped change this paradigm by formulating instead the theory that Spanish colonists were actually a *bad example* for the indigenous to follow; hence, he argued, their communities should be spatially separated. In *Información en derecho*, Quiroga discusses three main ways in which the Spaniards were bad examples for the Amerindians. Above all, he stressed that Spaniards insatiable greed –in his words “la cobdicia desenfrenada de nuestra nación” (50, 55, 56, 62; sic)– was making it impossible to pacify the indigenous population (55). Since the actions of Spaniards were driven by greed, Quiroga argued, it was understandable that Amerindians mistrusted them and stayed away, even from well-intentioned Spaniards like himself (*Información* 56, 62). Interrelated with the question of greed, Quiroga maintained that a second way in which Spaniards were a bad example was by means of their inhumane treatment of the indigenous. In particular, he discussed the terrible conditions in which Amerindians were forced to work in the mines: “la confusión e infierno de las minas, donde no hay orden alguno, sino habita un horror sempiterno, donde estos pobrecillos miserables, que así han de ser herrados, han de ir a maldecir el día en que nacieron” (Quiroga *Información* 51). Here Quiroga describes the Amerindian’s situation as infernal, and he stresses the slave-like conditions in which they labored: not only were they branded as if they were someone’s property, the horror of the type of work they were forced to do made many of them wish they had not even been born. He later added that it was precisely in order to exploit the indigenous that many Spaniards described them as beasts or little more than

animals without reason. He disputed this stance, however, and he explicitly stated that Spaniards' oppressive treatment was unpardonable and tyrannical (Quiroga *Información* 81-82). Lastly, Quiroga also spoke against Spaniards' social behavior, arguing that their lustful, gossiping, and gambling ways would make the indigenous become bad Christians. In his words:

temo que piensan [los indígenas], y aún no sé se algunas veces lo han dicho y dicen, que jugar y lujuria y alcahuetar es oficio propio de cristianos....como ven los que con españoles conversan, la disolución que anda en esto, de pedirles indias hermosas a docenas y medias docenas, y tenerlas en sus casas paridas y preñadas, y traerlos a muchos dellos por alcahuetes dellas, y otras muchas cosas de aqueste jaez y de otros malos ejemplos que les damos, que sería largo de contar, que ven hacer a malos cristianos, en que mucho les daña y nada les aprovecha nuestra conversación. *Información* 164-65; sic

As the passage makes evident, Quiroga's central concern is that Spaniards' bad examples are detrimental to the indigenous' conversion. He is specifically troubled by the possibility that Amerindians will think all Christians are gamblers, gossipers, and lustful men since this is what they constantly see Spaniards doing. Additionally, his preoccupation with the exaggerated amount of indigenous women procreating with the Spaniards outside the institution of marriage adds a moralistic component to his previous depiction of Spaniards as a bad example, and it indicates that Quiroga was beginning to oppose interracial sex. It also highlights the importance that sexual norms had for Quiroga's conceptualization of a "good Christian." The most important thing to note here, however, is that ultimately for Quiroga his theory of the bad example was deployed

in order to persuade colonial officials that the spatial separation of Amerindians and Spaniards was a necessary precondition for the conversion efforts to be effective.

As Quiroga forcefully argues throughout his *Información en derecho*, converting the indigenous was Spain's principal duty in the New World. Like most of his Spanish contemporaries, he believed that the Papal bull *Inter Caetera Divinai* (1493) bestowed upon the Spanish monarchy the responsibility of converting the indigenous, and that it justified, without question, the conquest of their lands. As a means of persuasion, Quiroga used his theory of the bad example to show that if social configurations were not altered the very justification for Spain's conquest was going to be void. Speaking about how it is the Spaniards mission to edify the new, primitive church in the Americas, he stated: "Y nosotros, viniendo a edificarla, con nuestros malos ejemplos y obras, peores que de infieles, así la destruimos, cuando es mayor la contradicción y repugnancia al enemigo de dentro de casa, que no el de fuera" (Quiroga *Información* 167; emphasis added). As the quote indicates, Quiroga maintained that Spaniards' bad examples—which, rather significantly, he says are worse than that of infidels—, were destroying the conversion efforts; therefore, the very validation for the Spanish presence in New World was also directly questioned. Notably, Quiroga's poignant denunciations were soon reflected in official documents that signaled the beginning of a new conceptualization of Spanish-indigenous relations. As Mörner explains, the same year that Quiroga published *Información en derecho*, the Spanish Crown, in their instructions to the first viceroy of New Spain Antonio de Mendoza, indicated that the idea that Spaniards were a good example for Amerindians to follow should no longer be taken for granted (*La corona Española y los foráneos* 27). Rather, colonial officials should consider alternate social

arrangements that could ensure the indigenous' successful conversion. In other words, Quiroga's use of rhetoric had created the conditions of possibility for a new paradigm to rethink colonial socio-spatial relations.

The formation of the Dual Republic exemplifies what philosopher Henri Lefebvre describes as one of the most basic principles for theorizing space, namely the fact that social space is a social product (26). Though the project to forge a dual spatial order came about gradually and imperfectly, the ultimate goal was to create the appropriate social space to ensure Spain's colonial mission to convert and civilize Amerindians (Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 95). During the initial decades of colonization, the *encomienda* system required a geographical proximity between Amerindians and Spaniards –since this model of social organization was premised on the fact that the Spanish *encomenderos* would oversee the Christianization of the indigenous laborers they had been granted (Hanke *The Spanish Struggle* 19). The Dual Republic model, however, was directly linked to the Crown's efforts to phase out the *encomienda* system, and in the process of looking for an alternative Spain experimented with different types of indigenous republics (Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 99). As María Elena Martínez explains, during this period the Crown generally favored the creation of a *república de indios* –separate from the rest of Spanish colonial society–, and it encouraged the perpetuation of this republic through spatial segregation policies, laws, and institutions (ibid). These *ensayos en repúblicas* as Martínez calls them, were meant to provide examples of civility and religiosity to the indigenous people, and they were to serve as privileged spaces of purity (“Space, Order and Group Identities...” 23). Quiroga's own

spatial projects took place during this experimental phase and they decisively shaped colonial social relations.

In the years following Quiroga's foundation of the two *pueblo-hospitales*, a more systematic project to create separate towns for Amerindians and Spaniards was undertaken. As Martínez explains, the project was greatly propelled by the *congregaciones* program –an aggressive effort to nucleate native communities and transform them into Spanish-style municipalities that was greatly facilitated by the drastic decline of central Mexico's Amerindian population. As colonial officials discovered, nucleation made it easier not only to offer religious instruction to the indigenous, but also to control native laborers and to rationalize the collection of tribute (Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 99-100). As the experience from Quiroga's first *pueblo-hospital* already indicated, however, maintaining the separation between the members of both republics proved to be a formidable challenge. For one, colonial officials could neither prevent the flow of indigenous people to Spanish towns (where they provided all sorts of labor services) nor of Spaniards to *pueblos de indios* (ibid).<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the social space for *mestizos* and other *castas* was simply not taken into account by the binary conceptualization of the population on which the formation of the Dual Republic model was premised. As a result, *mestizos* and other *castas* were left in a precarious situation of non-belonging, a liminal status of neither/nor, and they soon became the main targets of spatial segregation policies.

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<sup>30</sup> Maintaining the indigenous out of *pueblos de españoles* proved to be such a challenge that, at some point, municipal authorities had to resign themselves to knowing that this was an impossible feat. What they did instead was create segregation within the cities, whereby the checkerboard grid designated the urban space exclusively for Spaniards and the barrios for Indians. The ideal of order was thus to have separate urban centers for the two populations, but when economic and other factors made this impossible, colonial officials tried to apply the principle of segregation within the cities themselves (Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 100).

According to Martínez, there is a direct connection between the organization of space and notions of religious and racial purity, a fact which gave way to a general process of regimenting space during Latin America's early colonial period ("Space, Order and Group Identities..." 13). Martínez develops her argument by drawing on critic Angel Rama's description of the historic shift in the organization of space that took place during the colonization process. It is therefore imperative to briefly contextualize Rama's argument. Rama contends that Spanish colonizers throughout the sixteenth century recognized that they had moved away from the organic medieval city. They were now part of a new distribution of space that framed a new way of life. This new project did not hide its rationalizing conscience: it not only organized people within an urban environment, it also required that their very destinies be planned in accordance to the colonizing, administrative, military, commercial, and religious exigencies that were imposed with increasing rigidity (Rama 1-2). Rama explains that this shift was part of a much wider epistemological change that took place during this period, and which he characterizes –drawing from Foucault's *The Order of Things*– as the progressive independence of the sign from its object (Rama 4). As signs started to signify for themselves within the interior of knowledge, ideal cities begun to be imagined and planned in accordance to an ordering rationale that revealed the hierarchical order of society in the very geometric distribution of the city (ibid). In other words, the production of space during this period was designed to represent the very materialization of colonization, it served to perpetuate colonial power, and it helped maintain the cultural and socio-economic structure that that power guaranteed (Rama 11). With the formation of the Dual Republic model, the ever growing number *mestizos* and other *castas*

represented an unforeseen element whose undefined place in society threatened the very ordering rationale of the dual model of spatial production. It was precisely because of the liminal status of *mestizos* and other *castas* that, according to Martínez, the sixteenth century saw a progressive increase in efforts to police space (“Space, Order and Group Identities...” 13).

The status of *mestizos* also shifted significantly during the sixteenth century. Though *mestizos* were initially legally considered Spaniards, this status was later disputed and the types of attitudes and legislation *mestizos* inspired grew increasingly more negative (Mörner 29, Martínez “Space, Order and Group Identities...” 26-27). *Mestizos* and other *castas* were frequently portrayed by colonial officials as vagabonds, and they were generally perceived as inherently rootless and unstable populations that threatened the “purity” of the newly converted Amerindians, as well as of the Dual Republic model itself (“Space, Order and Group Identities...” 13). By the 1550s, the Crown explicitly prohibited *mestizos* from living in indigenous towns, and ordered their removal. They further decreed the establishment of institutions aimed at integrating *mestizos* into the *república de españoles* (Martínez “Space, Order and Group Identities...” 27). These segregation policies were normally justified in terms of the economic and religious harm that *mestizos* caused the *república de indios*, and they also highlighted the abuses that non-indigenous men perpetrated against Amerindian women (Martínez “Space, Order and Group Identities...” 30). As Martínez argues, segregation laws that tried to control male ‘vagabonds’ were thus partly manifesting a general anxiety over certain types of interracial unions, especially those involving blacks and indigenous women (ibid). This indicates, as Martínez contends, that spatial segregation policies were tied not only to the

perpetuation of the “two republics” but also, rather significantly, to the control over sexuality (31). What we see here then, is the way in which the formation of the Dual Republic model created a spatial configuration that divided society into two clearly demarcated social orders: one Amerindian, the other Spanish. The geographical separation of these two groups, moreover, was clearly based on a racialized understanding of the perceived difference between these groups, and it reproduced this difference in the very production of social space. This dual racialized order, however, left no place for social categories that were neither Spanish nor indigenous. It therefore produced the figure of the *mestizo* as one characterized by its liminality, which in turn created anxieties that were soon manifested in more active efforts to police space. The process of racialization created by the Dual Republic model, moreover, confirms Bernasconi's contention that even though race is premised on the ability to create impermeable borders, it is in the constant crossing of these borders that race is continuously operating. By casting the *mestizo* as a liminal figure that belonged to neither side of the racial/sexual divide, it is around that figure that processes of colonial racialization continued to develop. By analyzing Quiroga's role in the formation of the Dual Republic model we can thus begin to identify some of the ways in which examining early colonial discourses on *mestizaje* are crucial to current studies on the historization of race.

### **Discipline & Space: from More's *Utopia* to Quiroga's *pueblo-hospitales***

According to Foucault, the aim of disciplinary technology is to create docile bodies that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved by means of a calculated manipulation of their behavior (*Discipline and Punish* 138). This is done, as Paul

Rabinow explains, “through drills and training of the body, through standardization of actions over time, and through *the control of space*. *Discipline proceeds from an organization of individuals in space*, and it requires a specific enclosure of space. Once established, this grid permits the sure distribution of the individuals who are to be disciplined and supervised” (17; emphasis added). The disciplinary control of the body, however, is not done directly on the physical body; rather it is accomplished through a set of what Foucault terms technologies, that is, the joining of knowledge and power that come together around the objectification of the body (ibid). In the very detailed instructions that Quiroga wrote for the general management of life in the *pueblo-hospitales* we can see that one of the central guiding principles for his model of social organization was precisely discipline, and it was doubtlessly connected to the production of space.

For Quiroga, the inculcation of discipline was central to the civilizing and Christianizing mission that was at the heart of his social experiments. Since he consistently portrayed the indigenous as completely docile and malleable subjects, he was confident that his spatial projects could easily instill the needed discipline for his endeavor to succeed. According to Quiroga, the indigenous were docile by nature, and they were innately apt to take orders. As he put it "es gente tan dócil y capaz y tan apta nata para todo esto y para todo cuanto se les mande" (Quiroga *Información* 82-83). He further suggested that they were like children, but he insisted that with proper instruction they would successfully develop (Quiroga *Información* 194). In the imagery used by Quiroga to represent Amerindians' docility, moreover, we can see that he regarded them as completely blank slates with whom he could freely carry out his social experiments. In

his words: “hay tanto y tan buen metal de gente en esta tierra y *tan blanda la cera y tan rasa la tabla* y tan buena la vasija en que *nada hasta agora se ha impreso*, dibujado ni infundido, sino que me parece que está la materia tan dispuesta y bien condicionada” (175; emphasis added ). As the quote indicates, Quiroga claimed that nothing had been yet imprinted on the indigenous' psyche, they were literally a *tabula rasa* according to him. They were thus prime subjects to mold according to his view of a perfectly ordered society. Indeed, Quiroga wrote “Reglas y Ordenanzas para el gobierno de los Hospitales de Santa Fe de México y Michoacán” –where he spells out every detail of the social, economic, and political organization of the *pueblo-hospitales*– by presuming the malleability of his subjects, and in order to guarantee the type of discipline that could ensure his conversion and civilizing efforts.

One of the most commented aspects about Quiroga's work in New Spain is the close affinity between the model for social spatial organization that he proposed in "Reglas y Ordenanzas" and the social model found in Thomas More's fictional text *Utopia* (1516). As several studies have pointed out, Quiroga wrote "Reglas y Ordenanzas" by adapting More's vision of a utopian society, and he planned every aspect of the *pueblo-hospitales'* social, economic, and political organization by closely following More' vision of an ideal –but in More's case only imagined– community. Quiroga's "Reglas y Ordenanzas" was intended to serve as the source for the disciplinary regulations that were to guide the general management of the *pueblo-hospitales*, and failure to adhere to these rules was punishable by banishment from the community. For the purposes of this analysis, we can divide Quiroga's “Reglas y Ordenanzas” into four of

the main themes that the text addresses: the organization of labor, communal property, societal hierarchies, and individual discipline.

In terms of the organization of labor, Quiroga specified that every Amerindian living in the *pueblo-hospitales* –whether man or woman, young or old– should know how to farm the land. He considered agriculture to be the source of the communities’ livelihood, and he made it compulsory to know about it, though he did say that farming should be taught in a way that was fun and that encouraged thinking of it as an enjoyable pastime (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 245-46, 251). He also stated that the community should plant extra crops in case of food shortages, and he meticulously explained what should be done in case of surpluses –the two main choices were to distribute the surplus products equally among the inhabitants, or to sell them and then use the money for the common good (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 256-57). Notably, Quiroga emphasized that labor should never be excessive –only six hours should be required from everyone (as is also specified in More's *Utopia*)–, and he repeatedly stated that working was for the indigenous’ own well being, both spiritually and physically (“Reglas y Ordenanzas” 247). Though he stated that women should know about agriculture, he also imposed a strict division of labor along gender lines: the place for women was primarily in the home, and he specified that they should learn womanly trades like sowing (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 252). Likewise, Quiroga stipulated that men should also learn a particular trade according to their abilities, but, since the ultimate goal was for the community to be self-sustainable, he specifically encouraged the (male) community to raise cattle and poultry (“Reglas y Ordenanzas” 255). This very specific information about the organization of labor was not intended to be a mere

suggestion, as with other aspects the administration of life in the *pueblo-hospitales*, Quiroga's "Reglas y Ordenanzas" represented the legal foundation for these communities.

A second prevalent theme found throughout the "Reglas y Ordenanzas" reveals a central economic principle on which the *pueblo-hospitales* were based. As was already perceptible from some of Quiroga's stipulations about labor, one of the most characteristic aspects of the *pueblo-hospitales* is the fact that their founder was deeply committed to the idea of communal property. He did not believe that anyone could or should claim for themselves the products of any type of crop or tree, and he frequently repeated that the community should be free of what he called "las tres fieras bestias que todo en este mundo lo destruyen y corrompen, que son *soberbia, codicia y ambición*" (Quiroga "Reglas y Ordenanzas" 250). Greed in particular, as was already discussed earlier, represented for Quiroga one of the key problems of colonization, and he believed that gains in private property made most people forget about the importance of communal property ("Reglas y Ordenanzas" 249). As Zavala emphasizes in his study, this part of Quiroga's project was deeply influenced by More's account of communal property in the fictional island of Utopia ("La 'utopia' de Tomás Moro" 77). Like in More's case, however, Quiroga's genuine commitment to the principle of economic equality was unperturbed by the fact that, in social terms, the ideal society that they sought to create was still conceptualized in unquestionably hierarchical terms, particularly in terms of gender.

Quiroga's vision of societal hierarchies revolved around the concept of *pater familias*, which granted the oldest man of a household the legal authority to make all the

decisions for the family. Quiroga stipulated in the “Reglas y Ordenanzas” that everyone in the household should obey the oldest man. Specifically, he stated that women were to serve not only their husbands, but also all other males considered part of the family. His logic in explaining why women should be subservient to all male relatives is rather telling; according to Quiroga, the chief reason for this was that “para que así se pueda escusar mucho de criados y criadas y otros servidores, que suelen ser costosos y muy enojosos a sus amos” (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 252; sic). In other words, women were to be treated basically as servants in order to avoid the costly and annoying implications of having actual servants. While it is true that Quiroga’s vision of these perfectly-ordered communities did not include remuneration for anyone’s labor –since the ultimate goal was for everyone to be communally self-sustainable–, it is clear that by comparing women’s housework to that of servants, not only is women’s labor structured as hierarchically inferior to that of men’s, women’s social role is incontestably confined to the home. In terms of gender, then, we begin to see how the principle of equality was not truly applicable to all. This inequity is further confirmed by Quiroga’s stipulations about marriage and sexual norms. For one, he required that all married women go to live with her husband’s family, once again confirming the strongly patriarchal character of the society. He also stated that the allowable marriage age for women was twelve, whereas it was fourteen for men, and he, of course, stated that all marriages should be done according to the church, never clandestinely, and only when possible with the consent of both parents –otherwise the male consent would suffice (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 251). In addition, women were to cover their heads and other parts of their bodies, especially when they went to church. This rule was only optional for married women, as

a way to distinguish them from others (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 258-59). While here we see specific ways in which Quiroga’s “Reglas y Ordenanzas” sought to control women’s bodies, the general organizational principles on which the society was based required from all of its members a strict level of individual discipline.

Quiroga was very specific about how discipline should be instilled in all members of the *pueblo-hospitales*. He stipulated that the men in charge of each household should make sure that their children were properly disciplined and justly punished. Significantly, he stated that if the males in charge of children’s discipline were not doing an adequate job, they should be substituted for other men more capable of commanding the proper discipline (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 253). This aspect of the regulations suggests just how important the notion of individual discipline was for Quiroga. From his point of view, the indigenous that had been granted the privilege of living in the *pueblo-hospitales* were to be disciplined. As he repeatedly stated, any transgression of the “Reglas y Ordenanzas,” was strictly forbidden and could be punished by banishment from the community (262). In his words:

Si alguno de vosotros o de vuestros sucesores en este dicho Hospital, hiciere cosa fea y de mal ejemplo... por ser revoltoso o escandaloso o mal cristiano o se emborrachar o demasiado perezoso o que no quisiere guardar estas Ordenanzas, o se fuere o viniere contra ellas, y fuere en ello incorregible, o fuere y viniere contra el pro y bien común de este dicho Hospital, sea luego lanzado de él, y restituya lo que de él se aprovechó como ingrato del bien en él recibido. Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 266-267

In this passage, we see expressed some of the key issues that structured Quiroga's overall view of a well ordered community: its inhabitants should not be bad examples for others, or bad Christians, or drunks, or overly lazy, nor should they ever challenge the Ordenanzas, or act against the communal interests of the society. As the quote indicates, moreover, the ultimate punishment for disobedience was banishment, which –rather significantly– would put the exiled Amerindian in a precarious life situation, given that one of the main purposes of these communities was precisely to safeguard the lives of the indigenous. In fact, the spatial mobility of the inhabitants was also an area well regulated by the “Reglas y Ordenanzas.” Quiroga prohibited any travel outside these communities, or even within them, without the express consent of the governing authorities (“Reglas y Ordenanzas” 251). Here, we clearly see a direct encroachment upon the inhabitants' physical mobility, and therefore upon the very mobility of their bodies. On an external level, the disciplinary controls over the body are confirmed by Quiroga's stipulations regarding how the community members should dress. He specifies that the indigenous should wear only garments made of cotton and wool, and he adds "deben andar limpios y honestos, sin pinturas y otras cosas laboriosas o costosas ni curiosas" (Quiroga “Reglas y Ordenanzas” 258-59). In other words, their very physical appearance should be made to reflect the strict disciplinary principles on which the society was based. Discipline was thus a crucial aspect of Quiroga's project, it was clearly meant to manipulate the behavior of the communities' inhabitants, and was all accomplished by first forging the appropriate social space where Quiroga could mold his subjects in accordance to his own views of a perfectly-ordered society.

In his introduction to *Utopia*, critic Paul Turner describes More's book as a type of blueprint for a perfect society (More 13). He discusses some of the benefits of living in such a society, such as only working six hours, and having food, clothing, education, housing and medical treatment for everyone. Yet Turner also mentions what he sees as some of the more negative aspects of inhabiting such a community: every person wears the same colorless clothes, they lack personal liberty to travel without special permits, people have no privacy, and the society in general has a strong patriarchal character (ibid). This ambivalence with which Turner describes More's vision of a utopian society is also a rather accurate assessment of Quiroga's *pueblo-hospitales*. The key difference between More and Quiroga is that the latter actually created a community strikingly similar to what More had only imagined. While it is indisputable that Quiroga was very deeply committed to the idea of protecting the indigenous –which in many respects he accomplished– it is also true that the strict disciplinary regulations with which he sought to manipulate their behavior represents a direct example of how power progressively took hold of human life in the age of biopower.

### **Conclusion**

Quiroga's social experiments in New Spain developed in relation to the drastic demographic decline of Amerindians that ensued in the decades following Spain's colonization of the New World. They were conceptualized as alternate spaces where the indigenous population could recover, and they illustrate the beginning of a new age of biopower, one in which regularizing the population was suddenly seen as a political matter central to colonial administration. The specific organization of Quiroga's *pueblo-hospitales*, moreover, demonstrate that power's hold over life was also done at the level

of individual bodies, using disciplinary technologies aimed at producing docile and malleable colonial subjects. By attempting to spatially separate Amerindians from Spaniards, however, a process of racialization was directly linked to the production of colonial space. Populations that did not conform to this dual model, however, were soon the cause of deep anxieties that again point to the fact that the notion of racial mixture –rather than minimize differences– serve to reify racial categories. Since sexual reproduction is necessary for miscegenation to happen, though, any analysis of how racial mixture is connected to the development of race needs to further consider how both relate to sex. This first case-study thus forces us to consider some of the most pressing questions that are raised by current studies on the historization of race, and it highlights some of the key insights which the study of colonial Latin America can provide.

### III. AS ORFÃS DO REI: RACIALIZED SEX AND THE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE IN WOMEN IN NÓBREGA'S LETTERS

#### Introduction

Historically, the discussion of racialization processes in Portugal's colonies in Brazil, Africa, and Asia have been overdetermined by the concept of Lusotropicalism, a notion first advanced by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre. As literary critic Fernando Arenas explains it, "Lusotropicalism argues that because of a series of interrelated climatological, geographic, historical, cultural, and genetic factors, the Portuguese were more inclined to intermix racially with the peoples of the tropics. This inclination would have somehow made the Portuguese a softer, more benign colonizing nation" (5). This interpretation is confirmed by the following two statements by Freyre himself. In *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933) Freyre affirms "Híbrida desde o início, a sociedade brasileira é de todas da América a que se constituiu mais harmoniosamente quanto às relações de raça: dentro dum ambiente de quase reciprocidade cultural que resultou no máximo de aproveitamento dos valores e experiencias dos povos atrasados pelo adiantado" (Freyre *Casa Grande* 160). Similarly, in *O Mundo que o Português Criou* (1940), Freyre argues that

Esse caráter humano da colonização portuguesa, se no Brasil é que teve a sua expressão mais larga e ao mesmo tempo mais feliz, é, entretanto, comum à obra colonizadora de Portugal. Em toda parte onde dominou esse tipo de colonização, o preconceito de raça se apresenta insignificante, e a mestiçagem, uma força psicológica, social e, pode-se mesmo dizer, eticamente ativa e criadora. 27

As these passages suggest, the notion of Lusotropicalism highlights the idea of Portuguese exceptionalism regarding their national propensity towards miscegenation, and it minimizes the history of colonial exploitation by emphasizing instead the socio-racial integration that was facilitated by this strategy. Moreover, as literary critic Luís Madureira points out, the notion of Lusotropicalism was adopted by the Salazar regime during the Estado Novo years (1933-1974) and it was actively deployed in response to the anti-colonialist movements of the 1960s in Luso-Africa (159). During this period there was also overt censorship of studies such as Charles R. Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (1962), which is critical of some of the racial presuppositions advanced by Lusotropicalism (Gândara Terenas 30-31). Though this notion has since been further challenged by recent studies, there is a particular case-study from the early colonial period in Brazil that has yet to receive the critical attention it deserves. This case, I argue, has a great deal to contribute to the transnational discussion of Lusotropicalism.<sup>31</sup>

In this chapter I examine a policy adapted by the Portuguese during the sixteenth century whereby the Crown authorized and actively promoted the importation of white Portuguese women to the colonies in an effort to curtail interracial sex and

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<sup>31</sup> Part of the problem with studies that examine race relations in colonial Brazil is that they tend to ascribe to the earlier period an official policy on miscegenation that was passed by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (better known as the Marques de Pombal) during the eighteenth century. Central to this policy was the *Alvará de lei* of 1755, which stated "those of my vassals of this kingdom [Portugal] and America *who marry Indians will remain without infamy by this act*. They will, on the contrary, be worthy of my royal attention and where they settle down they will be preferred for the positions that correspond to their rank" (qtd. in Mörner 49; emphasis added). Though interracial unions were clearly occurring prior to the implementation of this policy, the wording of this law –which explicitly reassured Portuguese vassals that marrying Amerindians was not an infamous act– is indicative of the type of negative connotations that had long been associated with these relations. This prior period, however, has received little critical attention. Pombal's policy, moreover, did not apply to black Africans, since the marriage of blacks to either Amerindians or Portuguese was considered to be contrary to purity of blood statutes (Mörner 50). It is also highly significant that Pombal reforms abolished the difference between Old and New Christians (Stolke 23).

miscegenation. This practice begun with the importation of women to Portuguese colonies in Brazil and India and it was later expanded to Africa. Though the implementation of this policy had a shorter lifespan in Brazil, the practice continued elsewhere until the eighteenth century. In this chapter I focus on Brazil and I discuss the central role played by the Jesuit priest Manuel da Nóbrega in instituting this policy. In the first section of the chapter I do a close reading of the three letters in which Nóbrega petitioned the importation of white women and I analyze the implications of these documents for the development of systems of colonial racialization. In the second part of the chapter I address what this case-study implies for the study of women in colonial Latin America. I discuss not only how women were objectified by this transatlantic marriage scheme, but also how female reproduction was appropriated in order to satisfy the imperial needs of Portuguese society. As the case-study indicates, the basic premise on which Lusotropicalism is founded –namely the alleged Portuguese inclination towards miscegenation– is directly questioned by this policy. While it is undeniable that *mestiçagem* occurred in Brazil –as it did in other Portuguese colonies–, the implementation of this long-lasting policy implies that active efforts were taken precisely in order to curtail it. Furthermore, since this policy was premised on the perceived need for white Portuguese women in the colonies, we find that racial preconceptions were not as insignificant of a factor in Portuguese colonialism as Freyre claims. By bringing to the fore the importance of this particular case-study, and analyzing it in light of the notion of racialized sexuality, I contribute to the ongoing critique of Lusotropicalism.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Though here I have discussed contemporary critiques of Lusotropicalism, it is important to note that, as mentioned, this notion has a long history beginning with Freyre's formulations in the early twentieth century. As such, an important, earlier, challenge to Lusotropicalism was made by the Brazilian sociologist Florestan Fernandes in *A integração do negro na sociedade de classes* (1969). In this text, Fernandes

### Nóbrega's Letters & the Racialization of Sex

In a letter dated January 6<sup>th</sup> 1550, Father Manuel da Nóbrega, writing from Porto Seguro, Brazil, made the following petition to the King of Portugal, D. Pedro III: "Se El-Rei determina povoar mais esta terra, é necessário que venham muitas mulheres órfãs e de toda a qualidade até meretrizes, porque há aqui varias qualidades de homens; e os bons e os ricos casarão com as órfãs; e deste modo se evitarão pecados e aumentará a população no serviço de Deus" (*Cartas do Brasil* 79-80). As the quote indicates, Nóbrega's request is first and foremost tied to the question of populating the colony. He begins with the presupposition (or perhaps knowledge) that the King was determined to populate the land, and it is by directing his plan toward this end that he is able to introduce his petition for the importation of female orphans. The tone of the letter is very direct in stating that in order to populate it is necessary to import *many* orphans, and it conveys a sense of urgency by emphasizing that the quantity of women is more important than their "quality" (as he puts it, even prostitutes are acceptable). The document also specifies the roles that Nóbrega expected these women to play: they were to marry the colonists according to social status –thus helping prevent sins–, and they would aid in the reproduction of a specific social group, that is, the segment of the population at the service of God. As important as this letter is discursively, historically it is particularly significant considering that in 1551 –not long after Nóbrega's unusual request– the first group of Portuguese female orphans arrived in Brazil; it was a small group comprised of three sisters (García 9).<sup>33</sup> This letter, however, was not the only one. Nóbrega again

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attacked the myth of racial democracy by looking at the way in which post-abolition Brazil inadequately dealt with the issue of race and the social integration of blacks (in Ceravolo Sereza 139).

<sup>33</sup> In the case of Spanish America, something similar happened when king Ferdinand decided to send white slaves to the New World for the colonists to marry them. This social experiment, however, was short lived,

petitioned the importation of women in a letter dated September 14<sup>th</sup> 1551 and once more at the beginning of July of 1552. These documents, and the subsequent importation of women, form part of a singular colonial project with vast and wide-ranging implications for the historization of race and for the study of women in colonial Latin America.

In order to understand Nóbrega's petition for women, as well as the progressive racialization of the type of women he requested, it is necessary to first contextualize his role as a colonial official in Brazil. Nóbrega established the first Jesuit missions in the New World, and he is considered one of the founders of Brazil since he participated in the creation of some of the first stable Portuguese settlements there, including in Salvador da Bahía, Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Valle Cabral 16, Leite 13-14). He was born on October 18<sup>th</sup> 1517, probably near Braga in Portugal, and he died in Rio de Janeiro also on October 18<sup>th</sup> 1570, having suffered from a debilitated illness for most of his years in Brazil (Rau 390, Franco 55). He earned a degree in Canon Law in 1541, after studying four years at the University of Salamanca and three years at the University of Coimbra (Rau 390).<sup>34</sup> Nóbrega was ordained priest sometime in 1543, he entered the Jesuit Order in 1544, and he embarked for Brazil in 1549 as a religious Superior for the Jesuits (*ibid*). In Brazil, Nóbrega founded several *aldeias*, small villages where indigenous groups were congregated in order to facilitate their religious conversion. During the 1550s and 1560s the Jesuits created several of these *aldeias* in Bahía, at some

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and in 1514 a royal decree legalized mixed marriages, but without encouraging these unions (Knonetzke 216). Moreover, Spanish statutes generally opposed intermarriage with black Africans. According to Mörner, one of the reasons for this was to prevent slaves from obtaining freedom for their children –or even for themselves– in this way (38).

<sup>34</sup> It is significant that Nóbrega studied in each of these universities since the University of Salamanca had a major influence in shaping the sixteenth-century debates over the nature and treatment of Amerindians, particularly under the thomist influence of Francisco de Vitoria (Pagden 60-69). Similarly, during the second half of the sixteenth-century, the University of Coimbra became the center stage for these debates, specifically among the members of the recently-founded Jesuit Order (Eisenberg 7).

point housing around forty thousand indigenous. By the end of the century, however, flight, disease and dislocation had reduced the number of *aldeias* to only three, and the indigenous population only to around four thousand (Schwartz 51). Like Vasco de Quiroga, Nóbrega witnessed some of the worst phases of the Amerindians' demographic decline. It is estimated that as early as 1570, the Brazilian indigenous population had already fallen to around 800,000, that is, to just over a third of its original total (Marcílio 41). It is significant, then, that even though Nóbrega argued against the enslavement of Amerindians and sought to protect them in this regard, his writings are conspicuously silent about their drastic population decline. This is particularly striking considering that the question of populating the colony was one of his constant concerns. In contrast to Quiroga, this suggests that Nóbrega's colonial reforms were aimed at expanding the Portuguese, not the indigenous, population.

While in Brazil, Nóbrega also wrote extensively, mostly epistles, but also a legal treatise arguing against legislation sanctioning indigenous slavery, and a literary dialogue entitled *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio* (ca. 1557). In his literary dialogue, Nóbrega uses historically-based characters as a means to express his own frustrations with the conversion efforts. The characters discuss the bestial customs of the indigenous –above all emphasizing the anthropophagic rite–, and they stress the ignorance of Amerindians, at some point even questioning whether they even have reason at all. Though ultimately the point of the dialogue is to encourage other Jesuits not to desist from the civilizing project, for the most part the piece offers a grim picture for the conversion efforts and the only words of encouragement come towards the end of the dialogue. As Nóbrega states from the beginning, he uses this literary piece as a way to voice his own serious doubts

about the feasibility of converting Amerindians, as he puts it "[p]orque me dá o tempo lugar pera me alargar, quero falar com meus Irmãos o que meu spirito sente" (*Diálogo sobre a conversão* 53; sic). Following this sentence –the only one in which the authorial voice is present–, the two characters in the dialogue begin by complaining that preaching to the indigenous is like talking to rocks (*ibid*). Thus, unlike the limited personal information we have on Quiroga, the range of Nóbrega's writings give us insight into his worldview, his struggles and frustrations during the pivotal phases of colonization he lived through, and they allow us to better contextualize the role of racialization in his thought.

In the very first letter Nóbrega wrote from Brazil, dated April 10<sup>th</sup> 1549, he describes an indigenous practice that would become one his central concerns: namely polygamy. He writes "a gente da terra vive toda em peccado mortal, e *nom há nehum que deixe de ter muytas negras das quaes estão cheos de filhos, e hé grande mal*" (*Cartas do Brasil* 19, sic; emphases added). While the central problem that Nóbrega points out here is that indigenous men live in mortal sin because they have many women with whom they freely procreate, it is noteworthy that he uses the adjective black to describe Amerindian women. In a footnote that accompanies this passage, one of Nóbrega's most prominent scholars, the Jesuit Serafim Leite, is compelled to clarify that when he says "muytas negras" Nóbrega is indeed referring to indigenous women, rather than to black Africans who, as he explains, had not yet arrived in Bahía (*ibid*). As historian Stuart Schwartz argues, the hierarchical categories of social definition that were already embedded in Portugal (especially those that resulted from Portuguese explorations in Africa) were reactivated in the Brazilian colony in relation to Amerindians. Specifically,

he argues that the widespread use of the expression *negros da terra* was a parallel phrase to the description of Africans as *negros de Guiné* where, according to Schwartz, the word *negro* itself had basically become a synonym for slave (61). Significantly though, in Nóbrega's letter we specifically see that the adjective "negra" is gendered.

The association between the adjective black and the condition of female servitude is more strongly pronounced in another letter that Nóbrega wrote later that same year (1549):

Nesta terra ha um grande peccado, que é terem os homens quasi todos *suas Negras por mancebas, e outras livres que pedem aos Negros por mulheres*, segundo o cotume da terra, que é terem muitas mulheres.... Todos se me escusam que *nao têm mulheres com que casem*, e conheço eu que casariam si achassem com quem; em tanto que uma mulher, ama de uma homem casado que veiu nesta armada, pelejavam sobre ella a quem a haveria por mulher..... *Parece-me cousa mui conveniente mandar Sua Alteza algumas mulheres* que lá têm pouco remedio de casamento a estas partes, ainda que fossem erradas, porque casarão todas mui bem.... De maneira que logo as mulheres terão remedio de vida, e estes homens remediariam suas almas, e facilmente se povoaria a terra. *Cartas Jesuíticas* 79- 80; emphases added

Here it is clear that when Nóbrega talks about men's concubines, he considers those women to be in a relation of servitude (if not actual slavery) to their men, and he simply uses the term *negras* to connote that subservient relation. This is made explicit by the fact that he later states that other men also have free women, who, he says, they obtain by asking the indigenous men to give them to them. Now, in this passage Nóbrega also uses

*negros* to refer to Amerindian men. That term allows him to make a distinction between Portuguese and indigenous men, but it also enforces the idea that there is a clear differentiation in social status between them, one in which skin color is the visual marker of that difference. What is particularly significant about this passage, however, is that it states that Portuguese men have taken on the local custom of polygamy. According to Nóbrega, the Portuguese colonists excuse this practice by arguing that there are no women in the colony who they could marry. As he says in the passage, the situation is so dire that colonists even fought over a married woman who had recently arrived with the armada. In other words, from what Nóbrega presents as the point of view of the colonists, Amerindian women are acceptable as sexual concubines, but evidently they are not women they would marry. Within this framework, we can recognize that a hierarchy gets created between extramarital sexual relations with Amerindian women (and the illegitimate *mestiços* that often result from these unions) and the legitimate marriage partners that, according to this passage, are urgently needed in the colonies. What this means is that the sinful "dangers" of extramarital sex are here explicitly associated with the bodies of Amerindian women, particularly since the possibility of marrying them is simply not considered as an option. It is precisely in order to help deter polygamist extramarital sex between indigenous women and the Portuguese colonists that, towards the end of the quote, Nóbrega timidly suggests that it would be convenient for the King to send *some* Portuguese women to the colony, those who have no "remedy" of being married in Portugal. As this part of his statement indicates, he believed that marriage could be a type of cure for sexually-deviant Portuguese women, but he never considered the viability of this option for indigenous women. By adopting this strategy, moreover,

Nóbrega indicates that the colony could be easily populated, but it is clear that the social group he hopes to see reproduce is one that is legitimately conceived under marriage, and hence one that implies endogamy (since Amerindian women are simply not considered worthy marriage partners). What we have here then is an attempt to establish a type of racial/sexual border that can help regulate sexual unions by appealing to the sanctity of monogamous marriage. Since marriage is only considered within the limits of endogamy, however, this schema is predicated on what JanMohamed calls the denial of kinship across the color line (108). At the heart of the matter is thus what JanMohamed terms racialized sexuality, that is a mode of sexuality characterized by the transgression of the racial border; that is, a (usually hidden) discursivity about sex that results precisely from the crossing of that socially-constructed border. In Nóbrega's case, his condemnation of interracial sex (that is, his discussion of racialized sexuality) is the driving force behind the perceived need to establish a racial/sexual border. Moreover, as feminist sociologist Joane Nagel suggests, of the different types of sexualities that exist, heterosexuality is perhaps the most regulated on the racial/sexual border because of its link to procreation (Nagel 113). In other words, what the passage cited above makes clear is that the perceived need for a stable racial/sexual border emerges alongside rising anxieties about interracial heterosexual unions. This in turn helps corroborate Bernasconi's claim that race operates predominantly as a border concept, where the creation of set racial binaries are not a given but rather a matter to be policed through the control of sex ("Crossed Lines" 216).

As Nóbrega's concerns over polygamy and legitimate reproduction increased, so too did his sense of urgency, and, after less than a year in Brazil, he wrote the first formal

letter petitioning the importation of women to the colony (cited initially). Though the question of skin color is not present in relation to the women he requested in that first epistle, this issue becomes progressively more pronounced in the subsequent two letters.

In the letter from 1551, Nóbrega writes:

Pera as outras Capitánias mande V.A. mulheres órfãs, porque todas casarão. Nesta nam são necessárias por agora por averem muitas filhas de *homeins brancos e índias da terra*, as quais todas agora casarão com a ajuda do Senhor; e se nam casavam dantes, era porque consentiam viver os homeins em seus peccados livremente, e por isto nam se curavão tanto de casar e alguns deziã que não pecavão, porque o Arcebispo do Funchal hes dava licença. Nóbrega *Cartas do Brasil* 102, sic; emphasis added.

In this case Nóbrega begins by petitioning that female orphans be sent to some of the newer colonial settlements in the region. As he says, in the village of Olinda (the captaincy from which he writes) women are no longer in such dire need considering the high number of *mestiças* there. His careful wording in this passage emphasizes that these women are the daughters of *white* men, and he no longer refers to Amerindian women as *negras da terra*, but rather as *índias da terra*, thus minimizing the latter's association with the condition of slavery. Furthermore, he stresses that the *mestiças* that are helping alleviate the "women shortage" in Olinda are no longer consenting to live with men outside of marriage, they have instead adopted the Portuguese practice of monogamous church-sanctioned marriage. This point is highly significant considering Nóbrega's skeptical views about *mestiços* vis-à-vis the Portuguese. In a letter from 1556, speaking about the indigenous custom that permitted sexual unions between uncles and nieces

–which Nóbrega strictly condemns as being against papal bulls and canon law, as well as contrary to the "impedimento de consanguinidade" (*Cartas do Brasil* 206)– he states that on this issue "[os] mestiços da terra [...] nisto são iguais com o gentio" (*ibid.*). Similarly, in a letter from 1561 addressed to Diego Laynez (a Spanish theologian who was actively involved in the Council of Trent where, among other things, marriage was thoroughly being redefined in order to institutionalize it) Nóbrega concludes by asking whether recent marriage stipulations will be applicable to descendants of Christian *mestiços* since, as he adds "alguns deles são tais, que deles aos mesmos gentios há pouca diferença" (*Cartas do Brasil* 394). It is unclear what specific marriage reforms Nóbrega is referring to but, in the copy of his letter found in Rome, a side note states that the same marriage rules do apply to *mestiços* (*ibid.*).<sup>35</sup> As each of these letters indicate, Nóbrega remained doubtful that *mestiços* –even the descendants of Christian *mestiços*– could indeed be considered as equal to the Portuguese. As he repeatedly states, in many ways they continued to be almost the same as Amerindians. This anxiety over the socially ambiguous position of *mestiços*, moreover, was for Nóbrega crucially tied to marriage, and hence to reproduction. Though this ambiguous characterization of *mestiços* as neither

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<sup>35</sup> The possibility that the Council of Trent might have debated about the applicability of marriage reforms to *mestiços* is indicative of the highly unstable and ambiguous position that this group occupied within colonial society. As Mörner explains, in the context of Spanish-America the so-called first generation of *mestizos* were legally considered to be Spaniards (29). As the numbers of *mestizos* in the colonies rapidly expanded, however, their legal status became a fiercely contested issue. The first legal restrictions of *mestizo* rights was introduced in 1549, when it was declared that no *mestizo* was to be allowed to have indigenous in *encomienda*. Moreover, as the words *mestizo* and illegitimate became increasingly associated, further legal restrictions were enacted: *mestizos* were excluded from the positions of Protector of Indians, Notary Public, and *cacique*; they were also prohibited from living among the Indians, and, in 1643, they were also deprived of their previous rights to become soldiers (Mörner 43). Furthermore, the controversy over ordaining *mestizos* as priests is particularly interesting because it illustrates noteworthy disagreements on these issues within the Catholic Church. The changing regulations about *mestizos* thus exemplifies that this group was increasingly seen as a new social and legal category on its own. The ambiguity of this category as neither Iberian nor Indigenous further mirrors the uncertain classification of the category of *conversos* and it once again points to the idea of race as a border concept.

quite Portuguese nor quite Amerindian continued to be a preoccupation for Nóbrega, it is significant that in the letter cited above he was willing to accept *mestiça* women as legitimate marriage partners for the colonists. As the letter suggests, however, this did not minimize the need for Portuguese women in the colony.

In his final letter petitioning women Nóbrega explicitly specifies the skin color of the women he was requesting. In the letter from 1552 he writes:

Já que escrevi a V. A. ha falta que nesta terra há de molheres com que os homens casem e vivão em serviço de N. Senhor apartados dos peccados em que agora vivem, mande V.A. muitas orfãas e, se não houver muitas, venhão de mestura dellas, e quaisquer porque *são tão desejadas as molheres brancas quá*, que quaisquer farão quá muito bem à terra, e ellas se ganharão e os homens de quá apartar-se-ão do pecado. Nóbrega *Cartas do Brasil* 114, sic; emphasis added

Though the trope of sin is present in all of Nóbrega's letters about the importation of women, in this case he specifically states that by sending *white* women to the colony the Portuguese colonists will distance themselves from sin. Considering that the sin he is referring to are the polygamist, extra-marital, sexual unions between Portuguese men and Amerindian women, what we find here is that the bodies of indigenous women are not only racialized, they are also characterized as abject entities that harbor sin. This image, in turn, is counteracted by appealing to the purifying effects that the presence of white women (or white bodies) could have on the colonists. This indicates that his gendered views about indigenous women's sinful propensity to draw men in for deviant sex is specifically linked to his racial characterization of them. That is, it implies that his views about gender are racially coded. As feminist and critical race theorist Ellen K. Feder

maintains, the intersection between differences of gender and race has long been acknowledged by both feminists and critical race theorists. As she says, feminist theoretical analyses have help show that in many cases gender is raced and race is gendered (Feder 60). This link between race and gender, however, as feminist philosopher Ladelle McWorther argues, is often taken as a given and the precise nature of this relation is seldom clearly addressed (38). In her work, McWorther uses Foucault's theories precisely in order to chart this relation. According to her, "the modern concept of race arose within the same networks of disciplinary normalization and biopower that gave us the modern concept of sex" (McWorther 39). As she explains, race and sex have a common genealogy since both arise as elements within some of the same population strategies, they are both dependent upon many of the same assumptions about human life, and they are both constructed by some of the same disciplinary means (ibid). As a result of this shared history, McWorther contends that "race and sex intersect primarily at points where people have major goals for large populations" (54). Despite the fact that McWhorther's argument specifically addresses modern notions of race and sex –because it is premised on the geographical and temporal delimitations of Foucault's work– her central claim is highly relevant to the present discussion of Nóbrega, particularly considering that the driving impetus of his project was the need to populate the colony.

Nóbrega's scheme to import white Portuguese women to Brazil was, from the beginning, tied to the question of population. As a colonial administrator he suggested, and later implemented, a strategy for populating the colony that was based on the transportation of gendered and racialized bodies (white females) from one geographical setting to another. As Nóbrega repeatedly stated, the physical presence of these women in

the colony would greatly aid in the formation of stable, church-sanctioned marriages, and it this would in turn lead to the legitimate reproduction of Portuguese society in the colony. His project was thus directly tied to the management of life, that is, to the fostering of a particular type of racialized life. The biopolitical calculations that are at the center of Nóbrega's project imply the administration of bodies, that is, it involves the physical transportation of women from one place to another, as well as their distribution within the colony through marriage. Moreover, his scheme is predicated on regulatory controls of heterosexual relations whose main target is the eradication (or at the very least minimization) of extra-marital racialized sexuality. As McWorther suggest then, we find that in Nóbrega's project race and sex get intricately intertwined by means of their connection to the process of establishing the presence of a white population in the colony. In the case of sex, women's reproductive capacities are both the target of Nóbrega's measures (since he seeks to curtail illegitimate reproduction between Amerindian women and Portuguese men) as well as the means by which to implement a corrective to the problem (by importing white women with whom the Portuguese could legitimately procreate). The sharp differentiation between Amerindian and Portuguese women on which his project is premised, in turn points to the fact that racialization underwrites its logic. In Nóbrega's project, then, we find a historical example that forces us to recognize the longer genealogy of the intersections between sex/gender, race and biopower. As Stoler suggests, by bypassing crucial colonial discourses on racialized sexuality Foucault's analysis of biopower overlooked a key site: the colonial order of things (7). In Nóbrega's letters not only is it clear that sex was a central issue for colonial administrators, this issue was often coded in racial terms and it was unmistakably linked

to the production of a specific colonial racial population. This case-study, then, presents a rather different image of miscegenation in Brazil than the one promoted by Lusotropicalism. Though it is indisputable that large-scale processes of miscegenation took place, this case-study directly problematizes the idea that the Portuguese freely and harmoniously procreated in the colonial setting where racial preconceptions, according to Freyre, were either minimal or simply non-existent.

### **The Transatlantic Trade in Women**

While the discursive analysis of Nóbrega's letters allows us to identify the role of colonial racialization in his project, his writings offer little information about the actual transatlantic trade in women that began during the second half of the sixteenth century. For this, it is necessary to consider the specific colonial policies adopted by Portugal as it expanded its dominion overseas. As historian Timothy Coates explains, before the rise to power of the Marques de Pombal in the eighteenth century, one of the distinctive features of Portuguese colonialism was that it was based on forced and state-sponsored colonization (*Convicts and Orphans* xvi). On the one hand, the Portuguese Crown instituted a policy of exiling its criminals as a way of legal punishment; these convicts could be exiled within Portugal or they could be sent abroad to one of the colonies (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 22). Penal exiles sent to the colonies (known as *degradados*) eventually became one of the primary ways by which Portugal was populating its colonies and, consequently, *degradados* became crucial figures for the colonial enterprise (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 65). As Coates suggests, this policy of forced colonization was a highly rational system, coordinated by both church and state, and it provided not only the needed manpower for colonizing but also a way of internal

social control (*Convicts and Orphans* xiii).<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, the Portuguese Crown adopted a policy of state-sponsored colonization by granting imperial dowries to orphan women (and later also to reformed prostitutes) who were then sent to the colonies for marriage. The dowries given by Portuguese Crown to these women were intended to stimulate the development of a particular racialized population by offering colonists an incentive to marry the women that the Crown was sponsoring. This in turn could help guarantee the long-term presence of a Portuguese population in the colonies by ensuring that the colonists had legitimate Portuguese descendants (*Coates Degredados e órfãs* 27). The Portuguese women that went to Brazil following Nóbrega's petition were precisely part of this broader colonial policy. Some of the colonists that married these women were rewarded with official colonial positions, which were part of the women's dowries.

As Coates's study shows, the lives of the Portuguese women sent to the colonies were governed by some of the most powerful and eminent institutions from Portugal (*Degredados e órfãs* 34). According to him, the relationship between the Portuguese institutions that housed and eventually shipped these women overseas and the colonial administrative authorities in Brazil that received them can be described as a “marriage scheme” between the colony and the metropolis (*Coates Convicts and Orphans* 144). The main institution responsible for sending Portuguese women to the colonies was the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, a charitable brotherhood composed of board members from the

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<sup>36</sup> One of the ways in which the policy of penal exile can be seen as a form of social control can be illustrated by the following example. In 1570, the city council of Lisbon attempted to solve the problem of “idle and lazy persons” roaming the city by giving these men and women twenty-one days to get out of town. After that grace period, any idle person found on the street would be exiled to one of Portugal's overseas colonies (*Coates* 18). This example, is remarkably similar to the type of dividing practices discussed by Foucault in several of his earlier works. The most famous examples Foucault gives for these dividing practices are: the isolation of lepers during the Middle Ages, and the confinement of the poor, the insane and vagabonds in the great catch-all Hospital General in Paris in 1656 (in Rabinow 8). These examples also illustrate the link between social control and spatial organization.

nobility and the lower classes –all of whom were required to provide proof of purity of blood in order to be admitted (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 12-13). The Casa da Misericórdia established several orphanages throughout Portugal where women were housed prior to their departure to the colonies. Later on, the foundation of colonial cities was often accompanied by the establishment of a Casa da Misericórdia, thus making it an empire-wide institution (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 16). The orphanages created in Portugal had strict statutes that were meant to ensure the purity of blood of the women entering these institutions and receiving dowries from the Crown. For instance, no woman of Jewish, mulatto, or Moorish background could enter these institutions (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 130). These exclusionary measures point to the fact that the colonial population that these policies were trying to help reproduce was clearly racialized. Not only did these women have to prove their purity of blood, skin color was likewise a determining factor in their selection. Significantly, the fact that *mulatas* were among the group of excluded women corroborates the idea that blackness was seen as an inheritable condition comparable to the tainted blood of Jewish and Moorish descendants. As Hering Torres reminds us, once purity of blood was linked to the idea of skin color, this expanded the meaning of impurity to the body (19). In the case of Nóbrega's letters, it is clear that he viewed female Amerindian's bodies as precisely a source of impurity. What this suggests is that, as we saw earlier, the categories of racial differentiation that were already operative in Portugal were later reactivated within the colonial context. As Hering Torres maintains, however, in the colonial context, as the dichotomy between white and black begun to be consolidated, the category non-white covered a range of skin pigmentations, not only black (25).

The women that did manage to enter the Casa da Misericórdia's orphanages had to follow strict daily disciplines, and their actions were carefully monitored. As Coates recounts, there were a series of incidents in which inspectors had to be sent in order to maintain the order and discipline of the institutions. On one occasion, there were complaints that the women from the orphanage were conversing from their windows with people walking by and that they were receiving notes from men. The bishop of the city intervened to stop these actions and he expelled those who were breaking the rules of the orphanage (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 131). The possibility of establishing any kind of relation with people from outside the orphanage (particularly with men) was thus foreclosed to these women. On another occasion, there were allegations that two women were engaged in a suspicious friendship ("uma amizade de mã suspeita") and one of the women was punished by being locked up in her room indeterminately (ibid). The implication here is that same-sex desire was likewise seen as a matter to be carefully controlled. Both incidents thus point to the fact that the control of these women's sexuality was central to the orphanages' mission. What this indicates is that the lives of these women, prior to their departure to the colonies, were already strictly disciplined and managed (not least of all in terms of their sexual desire) as a way to inculcate in them the type of moral rectitude they were expected to help uphold in the colonies. In a telling statement that allows us to see an unexpected similarity between the *degradados* and the orphans, one of the women from an orphanage stated "I see myself condemned to a perpetual jail, without being guilty" (ibid). Ultimately, as Coates suggests, the central mission of these institutions was to prepare women for marriage, and to send orphans to the colonies in order to populate the cities (*Convicts and Orphans* 133). The lack of

freedom of these women was not an issue that seems to have concerned colonial policy makers. On the contrary, being selected to go to the colonies was supposed to be seen as an honor. As Coates puts it, "These were not just any orphan girls. The title used to describe them made that clear: orphan girls of the king (*órfãs do rei*)" (*Convicts and Orphans* 143). Despite this grandiose name, however, the fact is that the *órfãs do rei*'s perspective is seriously lacking from the historiographical record. New findings in this regard could greatly contribute to the growing emphasis of studies that examine women's differing roles in colonialism.

Later on, the Casa da Misericórdia was also involved in the creation of houses for reformed prostitutes. Invariably, these institutions were called Mary Magdalene Houses and they were eventually actively involved in sending women to the colonies, particularly to Portuguese colonies in Africa (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 139). The concern with the lives of prostitutes became more pronounced after the Council of Trent (1545-63), since the institution of marriage and the centrality of the family unit became chief concerns for the Catholic Church and the Catholic States. There was also a greater emphasis on denouncing extramarital sex and on delineating the ideal roles of women within marriage (Coates *Convicts and Orphans* 138). As historian Asunción Lavrín explains, after years of internal divisions and debates inside the Catholic Church regarding marriage, the final step in its regulation was taken by the Council of Trent. As she states: "[b]y virtue of the *Tametsi* decree given on November 11, 1563, the Roman Catholic church established a definitive ritual of marriage, requiring witnesses to the ceremony and celebration by a clergyman. *Tametsi* marked a watershed in canon law" (Lavrín 6). In this way, the regularization of the marriage ritual sought to end clandestine

unions by requiring, for validity, the presence of an authorized priest and two witnesses (Roberts 210). Similarly, new gender norms aimed at defining the role of women in marriage also emerged during the course of the sixteenth century. As literary critic Jean Dangler explains, numerous conduct manuals for women were published during that period in Europe, which she describes as “controlling, discursive devices that instructed women on appropriate behaviors” (105). As Dangler mentions, one of the most popular manuals of this sort was *Formación de la mujer cristiana* (1523), by the Spaniard Juan Vives. In this text, Vives created a female paradigm that rendered women virtually bereft of desire as good Christian wives and mothers. In his widely popular didactic manual, Vives discussed how unmarried women should dress, what books they should read, and how they should speak outside the home. He also emphasized a wife’s main virtues, how she should act with her husband, and how she should behave in public. Vives’ manual even covered how a widowed woman should mourn, and what her public comportment should be (in Dangler 106). According to Dangler “[t]he manual’s emphasis on matrimony, chastity, and women’s service to their husbands helped to circumscribe female gender and sexual roles within the institution of marriage” (106). Within the Portuguese context there were also a series of marriage manuals which appeared during the sixteenth century, including *. Espelho de Casados* (1540) by João de Barros, and *Dos privilégios e prerrogativas que o gênero feminino tem por direito comum e ordenações do reino mais que o gênero masculino* (1557) by Ruy Gonçalves (Cordeiro de Almeida 77). As literary critic Suely Creusa Cordeiro de Almeida points out, these manuals delineated the qualities of a perfect marriage and indicated the traditional gender roles that women should perform when married. As she puts it: “O objetivo principal dessa

produção é levantar comportamentos femininos que possam ser apresentados como exemplares para as mulheres do Reino e das conquistas portuguesas” (80). Interestingly, in the case of Portuguese marriage manuals we see that they explicitly addressed the exemplary role that Portuguese women were expected to play in the colonies. We see, then, that alongside the gradual standardization of marriage rituals, the regularization of women’s behavior became a crucial component to the institutionalization of marriage. The mission of these institutions was thus to inscribe women’s bodies with imperial values that could help further the Portuguese Crown’s broader colonial aspirations. As these standards of Christian marriage got transposed to the New World, however, they became intertwined with racial prejudices that are discernible in colonial discourses regarding interracial sexual unions. In other words, within the colonial context, racially coded notions of gender created a marked difference between women. It was expected that the white women in particular would help uphold not only Portuguese values, culture and language, but also that they would help reproduce a specific racial group.

The limited historiographical information that we have on the women that were sent to Brazil comes primarily from a study from 1947 done by historian and archivist Rodolfo García. According to García, female orphans arrived in Brazil in search of husbands and, in his view, they achieved what they desired because of the dowry they offered to the colonists that would take them as wives (5). His book does not question why these women were sent to Brazil, but García does contend that it is a natural fact that in any nascent society –as colonial Brazil was at the beginning of the sixteenth century– there would be a scarcity of women. He clarifies that by a shortage of women he specifically means white women, since he contends that there were indigenous women in

excess, or as he puts it: “das chamadas índias [...] havia sobras” (6). Despite the racialized assumptions of García’s study, his assessment regarding the number of white women in Brazil is consistent with more recent historiography that discusses the presence of European women in the colonies. Yet, whereas more recent studies seek to explain the strategic roles that these women had for the colonial enterprise, García seems to suggest that the Portuguese orphans freely traveled to Brazil simply in order to find a husband. Historian Charles Boxer, for example, explains that “large regions of Spanish America had enough European women to enable them to retain their Iberian culture and traditions intact: as opposed to many Portuguese settlements that had very few or none, and where the Portuguese language, religion and culture were drastically diluted” (35). According to Boxer, it is this aspect that the Portuguese Crown was trying to ameliorate by sending white Portuguese women to the colonies. Similarly, historian Anthony John R. Russell-Wood argues that white women in colonial Brazil were regarded as a stabilizing factor, an instrument for populating the vast expanses of Portuguese America, and the guardians of Lusitanian values, traditions, and language. In addition, he suggests that white women were considered the protectors of the social prestige of the family and were seen as the preservers of ideals regarding purity of blood (Russell-Wood 28-29). Though these cultural factors certainly influenced the decision to send Portuguese women to the colonies, it is important not to ignore what this case-study implies for the development of colonial systems of racialization, as we saw with the analysis of Nóbrega's letters. As literary critic Ana Isabel Marques Guedes argues, the importation of white women to the colonies was meant to “consequir a *reprodução da elite branca* através de casamentos entre pessoas da mesma raça, sem recorrer a uniões inter-raciais, que, à época, pareciam

já não ter a aprovação geral, pelo menos no plano teórico” (40; emphasis added). Indeed, though this aspect is often ignored in the limited studies that have examined this case, the role of race –particularly in relation to anxieties about miscegenation– cannot be overlooked. Ultimately, the determination to populate the Brazilian colony with a specific racialized population (white Portuguese) proved to have some degree of success. By the end of the seventeenth century, whites represented about a third of the estimated population (Marcílio 47). These facts offer a significantly different image of race relations in colonial Brazil than the one advanced by Lusotropicalism, and it forces us to reconsider the overdetermining role this notion has had on the historiography.

According to García's research there are five known cases of female Portuguese orphans that arrived in Brazil. As mentioned, the first group arrived in 1551 and was comprised of three sisters: Catarina Lôbo de Barros Almeida, Joana Barbosa Lôbo de Almeida, and Mícia Lôbo (García 9-11). Except for Catarina, records show that the other two sisters married and that Joana had two daughters, both of whom also married. A second group of orphans arrived on July 30<sup>th</sup> 1553. This was the largest group that we know of and it included nine women. There is, however, only detailed information about five of the nine women: Clemência Doria, Violante Deça, Inés da Silva, Jerônima de Gois, and Marta de Sousa. All five women married (Clemência actually married twice), and three of them had children (García 12-22). According to García, a third group of orphans arrived on April 20<sup>th</sup> 1557. This group included six women: Catarina Loba, Ana de Paiva, Catarina Fróis, Damiana de Góis, Maria Reboredo, and Apolonia de Gois. Again, all of these women married, including Catarina Loba who married twice and was the only one known to have had a daughter. A fourth group arrived in 1561 but there are

only vague and limited references about this group. The sources analyzed by García do not even mention the number of women that arrived in Brazil at this time (22-28). According to García, the final group of orphans arrived between 1608 and 1609. The only information that García offers about these women is that they arrived on a caravel owned by Sebastião Martins. Apparently, during the months-long trip the women on board were repeatedly abused by the men (no details are offered as to what kind of abuse these women suffered) and, upon arrival in Brazil, Sebastião Martins and his brother were found guilty and sent back to Portugal to be imprisoned for their crimes (García 28-31). Though I have found corroborating information about the imprisonment of the Martins brothers, the dates do not correspond to those given by García in his study of the orphans. In a letter from Bahia dated February 8, 1606, a colonial administrator named Diego de Meneses wrote to the king of Portugal vaguely explaining the imprisonment of Sebastião Martins and his brother (the latter is here described as the ship's captain). About this incident, the letter states the following:

Nesta carauela mando Sebastião Martinz preso e entregue ao mestre della que se chama Antonio Luis o qual mando se entregue no Conselho e a quem o Presidente mandar, o porque vai preso he *pella deuassa que delle e seu irmão mestre e piloto da sua carauela os quais trouverão as orfãs* e lhe aconteceu no caminho o que consta pella deuassa que já tenho mandado a V. Mag. de cuia Catholica pessoa Nosso Senhor guarde etc. da Baya em 8 de fevereiro 609 - Dõ di.o de Meneses. Meneses 50; sic, emphasis added

Despite the vagueness with which Meneses recounts what occurred, it is clear that the Martins' brothers were investigated, and soon after imprisoned, for their actions during

the voyage to Brazil. As the letter indicates, moreover, the fact is that orphan women were on board the ship on which the Martins' brother committed the crimes for which they were imprisoned. While it is possible to speculate, following García's suggestion, that the type of abuses suffered by the orphan women on their way to Brazil were sexual, given the current limitation of sources on this topic in general it is impossible to determine this issue with any amount of certainty. Above all, it is striking that the limited historiography provides almost no insight into what the actual experience of these women might have been both on their transatlantic voyage as well as once they arrived in Brazil.<sup>37</sup> In the case of García's study, the information he provides is exclusively concerned with the marriage and progeny of these women, it tells us very little about the actual experience of these women.

One of the things that is clear about the Portuguese women that were sent to Brazil and other Portuguese colonies is that they were traded as women in a transatlantic trade. According to feminist scholar Gayle Rubin the trade of women as women constitutes a determining factor for understanding women's oppression. Rubin contends that the place to begin accounting for women's oppression lies in the domestication of women as products (34). Drawing on the work of anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, Rubin explains that he explicitly conceives of kinship as an imposition of cultural organization upon the facts of biological procreation, and as such, his work is permeated

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<sup>37</sup> Though limited historiographical information is available about the orphans, this case has been further explored by recent Brazilian cultural production. On the one hand, author Ana Miranda published the novel *Desmundo* in 1996. In it, she provides a fictional account from the point of view of an orphan called Oribela. What is particularly valuable about this novel is that it focalizes this historical fact from the point of view of one of the women involved, thus providing important insight that is otherwise still inexistent from historical sources. On the other hand, in 2003 Alain Fresnot directed a cinematographic adaptation of Miranda's novel. In the film, the sexual violence that these orphans were exposed to is stressed above all. Oribela is repeatedly raped throughout the movie, and Fresnot uses filmic techniques like extreme close-ups as a way to highlight the emotional responses of these women to their situation.

with an awareness of the importance of sexuality in human society (42). First of all, Rubin explains that Lévi-Strauss sees the essence of kinship systems as lying in the exchange of women between men (ibid). Additionally, Lévi-Strauss characterizes marriages as the most basic form of gift exchange, in which women are the most precious gifts (in Rubin 43). Significantly, Lévi-Strauss also argues that the incest taboo imposes a social aim of exogamy and alliance upon the biological events of sex and procreation (in Rubin 43-44). Consequently, as Rubin states, “[t]he result of a gift of women is more profound than the result of other gift transactions, because the relationship thus established is not just one of reciprocity, but one of kinship. The exchange partners have become affines, and their descendants will be related by blood” (44). Rubin clarifies, however, that the exchange of women does not necessarily imply that women are objectified in the modern sense, but it does imply a distinction between gift and giver. As she puts it:

If women are the gifts, then it is men who are the exchange partners. And it is the partners, not the presents, upon whom reciprocal exchange confers its quasi-mystical powers of social linkage. The relations of such a system are such that women are in no position to realize the benefits of their own circulation. As long as the relations specify that men exchange women, it is men who are the beneficiaries of the product of such exchange –social organization. 44-45

Thus, as Rubin suggests, the exchange of women is indeed an analytically powerful concept: it places the oppression of women within social systems (rather than in biology), and it suggests that we look for the ultimate locus of women’s oppression within the traffic of women (45). As Rubin acknowledges, men are of course also trafficked –most

notably as slaves— but never just as men (45). Women, on the other hand, “are transacted as slaves, serfs, and prostitutes, but also simply as women” (45). While her argument offers important insights for understanding what this case-study implies for the study of women in colonial Brazil, one of the significant limitations of Rubin’s argument is that it leaves a series of unanswered questions regarding how the formation of kinship groups through marriage operates within a historical context increasingly concerned with notions of racial purity. For this, it is important to supplement her work with the types of arguments on kinship developed by JanMohamed. According to JanMohamed, if kinship and thus society are indeed established through the exchange of women between men, then racism, which is predicated precisely on a denial of kinship between different racial groups prevents the development of familial bonds by prohibiting the legal exchange of women across the color line (108). He maintains, though, that a distinction must be maintained between “exchange,” which assumes a certain degree of consent between men, and “appropriation,” which does not. On the racial-sexual border, JanMohamed argues that white women were never “exchanged” between white and black men, and black women were forcefully appropriated and raped (rather than “exchanged”) by white men (ibid). He further suggests that in the economy of racialized sexuality, white women represent exchange value between white and black men, whereas black women represent only use value for both (JanMohamed 111). First of all, JanMohamed’s argument allows us to see that we cannot simply essentialize women and, as such, look uniformly at their symbolic and material function in the formation of kinship systems. As Nóbrega’s petitions for women clearly indicate, a sharp differentiation was first established between Amerindian and Portuguese women, the latter being the specific group that Nóbrega

requested in an effort to curtail interracial sex and in order to populate the colony with a specific racialized population. In this particular case-study women were not simply traded as women, rather white women were traded as white women in order to satisfy the imperial needs of Portuguese society. Not only is this project premised on the denial of kinship across the color line, it is clear that in its articulation gender is racially coded. In this sense, we can recognize that it is specifically the role of women in reproduction that was one the central issues around which this issue revolved. On the one hand, sexual relations between Amerindian women and Portuguese men is identified as a source of anxiety both because the "dangers of sex" are racialized, and also because this union reproduces the socially-ambiguous group of *mestiços*. In the latter case, what JanMohamed terms the "use value" of racialized women (that is, their sexual use) is complicated precisely because of the unintended reproductive consequences of sex. On the other hand, sexual relations and legitimate reproduction between Portuguese women and Portuguese men is the specific aim of Nóbrega's request. Not only does the exchange in white women create symbolic transnational bonds of kingship between the Portuguese Crown (who endowed Portuguese women with dowries) and the Portuguese colonists, it helped guarantee the long-term presence of a loyal Portuguese population in the colonies by ensuring that the colonists had legitimate Portuguese descendants. It is around the question of reproduction, then, that we again see the complex interrelations between sex/gender, race and biopower that is at the heart of this colonial case-study.

### **Conclusion**

A discursive analysis of Nóbrega's letters demonstrates that colonial systems of racialization –in which skin color was an increasingly important factor– inform his

petition for the importation of white Portuguese women. His views about race are intricately connected to his racialized views about indigenous women and they are doubtlessly tied to the question of populating the colony. As a social construct, race is thus a crucial analytical category with which to examine Nóbrega's writings but, as we have seen, it is intricately linked to sex and reproduction. On the other hand, the actual transatlantic exchange in women that followed Nóbrega's request forms part of a broader colonial policy that directly questions the premises of Lusotropicalism and that forces us to reconsider the racial presuppositions on which this notion is based. Though in this specific case-study the issue at hand was miscegenation between Amerindians and the Portuguese, expanding the scope of this analysis to include Luso-Africa and Luso-Asia would have to include an analysis of alternate systems of colonial racialization. Since it is ultimately the same logic that informed this Portuguese colonial policy, however, what this comparative analysis could help establish is that, in the end, what is at play here are anxieties over *mestiçagem* and the transgression of the sexual/racial border through sex. What this issue then constantly refers us back to is the fact that, contrary to what is so frequently argued, ideas about miscegenation help reify, not question, racial categories.

#### IV. GUAMAN POMA'S CONDEMNATION OF *MESTIZOS*: SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND THE RACIALIZATION OF SEX

*Hoy Guamán termina su carta. Ha vivido para ella.... Hoy Guamán termina su carta y muere. Ni Felipe III ni rey alguno la conocerá jamás. Durante siglos andará perdida por el mundo.* Eduardo Galeano 212

##### **Introduction**

As the epigraph suggests, for nearly three hundred years Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's now well-known letter-chronicle *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (completed in 1615, and amended in 1616) remained buried-away and undetected, most likely in the archives of the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen where it remains today. Most experts now believe that the original manuscript was donated to the Royal Library by Cornelius Lerche, who served as the Danish ambassador to Spain during the seventeenth century (Adorno "A Witness unto Itself" 20-21). It was not until 1908 that the German anthropologist Richard Pietschmann discovered this early-seventeenth-century manuscript consisting of nearly 1,200 pages of narrative written in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, as well as close to 400 drawings (Bauer 274). According to literary critic Rodrigo Cánovas, one of the reasons why this autograph manuscript remained long-undetected is that the conditions for its reception were simply not yet given. As he says, "la obra no existió, no podía existir porque era una historia que nadie quería escuchar" (13-14). While this has certainly changed over the years –particularly considering the high number of publications that, during the past three decades, have helped consolidate Guaman Poma's reputation as a canonical author of colonial Latin America– there is an aspect of his work that has yet to receive the critical attention it merits. That is, Guaman Poma's categorical condemnation of *mestizos*. This aspect of his text continues to be a story that audiences seem reluctant to hear.

Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* is its abject characterization of *mestizos*.<sup>38</sup> With the exception of his half-brother Martín de Ayala (who he describes as a "mestizo santo"),<sup>39</sup> Guaman Poma categorically characterizes *mestizos* as exploiters, drunks, arrogant, bad Christians, and enemies of the indigenous. Moreover, he denounces interracial sexual relations by appealing to notions of purity of blood, he vehemently criticizes the continued reproduction of *mestizos* (which he correlates with the decline of Amerindians), and he insists on spatial racial segregation as one of the cornerstones for the colonial reforms he proposes. As literary critic Rolena Adorno contends, "Guaman Poma's resounding condemnation of *mestizaje* constitutes one of the basic premises of his work's conceptualization" (*Writing and Resistance* xli). Yet, despite her own extensive studies on Guaman Poma, neither Adorno nor most other critics have critically examined this aspect of his work. The aim of this chapter is precisely to highlight Guaman Poma's negative views about *mestizos* in order to analyze what his letter-chronicle reveals about early-modern processes of colonial racialization. Unlike the two previous chapters, each

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<sup>38</sup> The complete title of Guaman Poma's letter-chronicle is *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. However, most critics use its abbreviated form *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, which I will also do from here on. Likewise, Guaman Poma's name is sometimes spelled Huaman Poma, Waman Puma, and Guamán Poma; here I have opted for Guaman Poma, which is the most commonly-found English spelling. Also, I use the term abject both in the sense of Guaman Poma's views about *mestizos* being extremely bad or negative, but also to connote a sense of them being cast off socially. As Judith Butler explains it, "Ajection (in latin, *ab-jicere*) literally means cast off, away, or out and, hence, presupposes and produces a domain of agency from which it is differentiated.... the notion of *abjection* designates a degraded or cast out status within the terms of sociality.... abject zones within sociality also deliver this threat, constituting zones of uninhabitability" (*Bodies that Matter* 243).

<sup>39</sup> Even though Guaman Poma praises his half-brother and lauds unconditionally his religious devotion (given that Martín de Ayala was a *mestizo* priest), as Adorno explains, Guaman Poma "adamantly condemns the ordination of *mestizos* to the priesthood" (*Writing and Resistance* xlii). This is particularly relevant considering that, as both Magnus Mörner and María Elena Martínez argue, the ordination of *mestizos* was a long debated issue (see chapter 1 and 3), indicating both the unstable characterization of this group and the continued mechanisms used to exclude this groups (Mörner 43, Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 103). There is also a second, though minor, representation of another *mestizo* who Guaman Poma describes in positive terms; that is, the miner Juan García de la Vega, who is characterized as "mestizo, ... cristiano biejo, gran cartitativo, seruidor de Dios y de su Magestad" (Guaman Poma 685).

of which concentrated on either spatial segregation or racialized sexuality, in this chapter I show the confluence of both of these aspects in Guaman Poma's work. While it is not my intention to denounce Guaman Poma's views as racist, it is important that this part of his letter-chronicle not be left to oblivion simply because current hermeneutical approaches rather emphasize how his work exemplifies the productive fluidity of hybrid identities.

### **The Context of *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno***

Though relatively little information is known about Guaman Poma's life, there are two key sources (external to the information given in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*) that provide crucial insight into who this historical figure was and how his life-situation influenced his creative process. On the one hand, in 1945 historian Guillermo Lohmann Villena discovered an unpublished letter, signed by Guaman Poma and dated February 14 1615, in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. In this letter, Guaman Poma begins by describing his noble genealogy.<sup>40</sup> He states that he is the legitimate son of *capac apo* Don Martín Guaman Malque de Ayala, who he describes as "hijo natural de los grandes deste reyno del peru," and he claims that his mother is Doña Juana Curi Ocllo, who he characterizes as a *coya* (or noble woman) and who he says is the legitimate descendent of an Inca leader (in Lohmann Villena 326). Guaman Poma then proceeds to acknowledge that he has written a letter-chronicle to the Spanish King Phillip III; that is, he confirms his authorship of *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. He mentions that this document includes information about the kings, *caciques* and governors who used to rule Peru prior

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<sup>40</sup>Adorno confirms this noble descent. As she says: "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala was an Andean descended from the Yarovilca dynasty that predated the Inca empire in the Andes; he claimed maternal descent from the Incas" (Adorno "The Depiction of Self and Other" 113). As we will see later on, however, Guaman Poma's noble descent was legally disputed.

to the conquest, as well as details about the rites, ceremonies and garments of the Andean Amerindians. Guaman Poma also affirms that the letter-chronicle recounts the history of the conquest, and of the colonial administration that was subsequently established by means of viceroys, *corregidores*, administrators, and Catholic priests. In a statement that reflects the type of critical tone he adopts in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, he adds that his document also includes an account of the mistreatment of the indigenous by the aforementioned colonial administrators. As he puts it "Y del mal tratamiento que de todos ellos y de los Encomenderos han reçeuido [los indígenas] hasta el dia de oy Y de otros daños y menoscauos que han padecido y padezen" (ibid; sic). In this letter, Guaman Poma also includes important biographical facts about himself—several of which are new, others which simply corroborate some of the affirmations he makes in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. For instance, he says that he was eighty years old at the time he wrote this letter, he mentions that he has a wife and children, and he maintains that the Marques de Salinas (then-president of the Council of the Indies) could offer the King more information about himself since he claims to have met Salinas while the latter served as Viceroy of Peru (in Lohmann Villena 327). As Lohmann Villena explains, this information allowed critics to, among other things, establish that Guaman Poma was born in 1535, and to realize that the composition of *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* was written later than what had been originally suggested by Pietschmann, which was 1567 (in Lohmann Villena 325). This historical document, moreover, provides a concise account of Guaman Poma's central motives for writing *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*.

According to the letter found by Lohmann Villena, there are two main reasons why Guaman Poma chose to write his extensive letter-chronicle. First, Guaman Poma

explicitly states that he writes in order to preserve Amerindian memories. As he does in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* –where he argues that the Andeans had a legitimate history before the conquest, which was transmitted through oral traditions and by being recorded in *kipus* (Bauer 274, Brokaw 116, Guaman Poma 5, 8)–, in his letter Guaman Poma acknowledges that part of his own knowledge comes from the stories he heard from *caciques principales* who, he says, "tenian entera relacion y noticia de todo de sus antepassados" (in Lohmann Villena 326-327; sic). He adds, however, that he writes so that Amerindians will not forget –because of their lack of writing– the great and memorable things from their past (in Lohmann Villena 327). In this sense, Guaman Poma perpetuates the European misassumption about the absence of indigenous' writing systems, but he is careful to point out that this does not mean that they lacked a sense of their own history. What is particularly significant about this passage is that it emphasizes the importance that writing had for Guaman Poma as a powerful mnemonic tool.

Secondly, Guaman Poma asserts that he writes as a way to supplement European history by taking into account the Amerindian's perspective. Highlighting his role as a native informant, he claims that he wrote his letter-chronicle "para que los historiadores de V. Mgd. puedan tener mas entera *luz de la que yo entiendo*" (ibid; emphasis added). In other words, he contends that neither European historians nor the King fully understand what is happening in Peru because they lack the native's perspective. Guaman Poma authorizes his discourse precisely by offering a corrective to this problem; that is, by contributing a perspective that only he, as a native, can arguably provide. He maintains that he spent thirty years personally walking around the provinces of the kingdom writing down the testimonies of Amerindians in order to compose this letter-chronicle for the

King; as he says "tomando La razon por escripto aunq<sup>e</sup> a mi russtico entender" (ibid; sic). He also recounts the struggles that he and his family underwent so that he could write *Nueva corcónica y buen gobierno*: "yo, mi muger Y hijos auemos passado mucha necesidad pobreza y desnudez por no auer acudido a mis crianças de ganados y sementeras" (ibid; sic). Above all, however, Guaman Poma stresses that he patiently overcame all challenges because of his unwavering conviction that through his writing he was providing a valuable service to the King. As he puts it "a fin de hazer un gran seruicio a dios nro. señor y a V. Mgd. en dar larga quenta en La manera que han sido tratados Los naturales destos Reynos despues que fueron conquistados y poblados despañoles para que V. Mgt. quede enterado de la berdad de todo y para que mande se acuda al remedio" (ibid; sic). As the passage indicates, Guaman Poma presents his writing as a service to the King by arguing that his text could offer him an full account of the truth. By being well-informed, he in turn expected the King to take the appropriate actions to remedy the situation. Specifically, Guaman Poma's central concern is to offer the King a written testimony of the abuses and injustices committed against the indigenous. As he does in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, in this letter he seeks to personally engage the King so that, by fully informing him, he can then bestow upon him the responsibility to act. In one the most emotive passages from the letter, Guaman Poma writes:

*pues a solo V. Mgd. incumbe el mirar por ellos como rey Y señor natural que es dellos y se duela de sus miserias calamidades y malos tratamientos y peores pagas... tratandolos peor que a esclauos uenidos de Guinea que aun a estos los*

tratan mejor por costarles el precio que pagan por ellos. *ibid*; sic, emphasis added

In this quote, Guaman Poma personally places all responsibility for the well being of the indigenous on the King. He asserts that it is only he who should ultimately be concerned for looking after them, and he poignantly states that the King should personally feel the pain that the natives have endured through the misery, calamities and bad treatment to which they have been subjected. Significantly, Guaman Poma also contends that the Andean Amerindians are treated worse than African slaves since, as he says, the Spaniards are at least concerned for the price they have to pay for their African slaves –a fact which he contrasts with what happens to the indigenous, who are simply granted to Spaniards by means of the *encomienda* system. Thus, Guaman Poma's letter clarifies that he deploys writing, as a mnemonic tool, not merely in order to preserve Andean history, but also as an agential mechanism through which he can leave a clear record of the injustices committed against the indigenous.

A second external source that has provided researchers with crucial information about Guaman Poma's life is a set of court-case documents contained in what is known as the Expediente Prado Tello.<sup>41</sup> This dossier tells the story of a long-standing litigation –beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century and lasting until 1640– between Guaman Poma's family and a group of Chachapoya indigenous from Huamanga (Adorno *Writing and Resistance* xxii-xxiii). The dispute was over an extensive amount of land (around 741 acres) in the area of Chupas, which Guaman Poma's family claimed

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<sup>41</sup> In 1952 and 1954, Monsignor Elías Prado Tello published Guaman Poma's petitions and three drawings contained in the dossier pertaining to the lands in the area of Chupas. In 1991, Prado Tello published the entire dossier of court-cases in the book *Phelipe Gvaman Poma de Aiala. Y no ay remedio*.

belonged to them (Macera 28, Prado Tello and Prado Prado 15).<sup>42</sup> The lands in the valley of Chupas were vulnerable for takeover because of their physical proximity to Huamanga (now Ayacucho), which was then a newly-founded colonial city where many wealthy *encomenderos* and miners lived. The outskirts of the city, moreover, were populated by a growing number of *mestizos*, mulattoes and vagabond Amerindians (Macera 29). As historian Pablo Macera argues "Guamán Poma no le tenía simpatía a esta ciudad de 'poca limosna y mucho pleito'" (ibid). In fact, in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* Guaman Poma says about the residents of Huamanga that "son *gente cariué*" (969; emphasis added). That is, he essentially describes them as cannibals. It is important to note, however, that Guaman Poma's overt dislike for this town, and for its residents, is intricately tied to the outcome of the land dispute that he and his family were involved in.

As the Expediente Prado Tello reveals, the decade between 1590 and 1600 was one of the most dramatic periods in Guaman Poma's life. This was the timeframe during which Guaman Poma was actively involved in the aforementioned litigation and, ultimately, its negative outcome would radically affect the course of his existence. In one of the series of court-documents in which Guaman Poma was involved, he presents himself as "Casiq̄ue Prinçipal Gover<sup>or</sup> delos yndios y administrador dela Provin<sup>a</sup> de los Lucanas" (in Prado Tello and Prado Prado 172). He then proceeds to state that he, along with the two other witnesses, "en nombre de todos los hijos y nietos desimos quelos dhas españoles y yndios chachapoyas an entrado y rompido las dhas mis tierras y hecho muy mucho daño de balor de muchos pezos" (ibid; sic). As is indicated in this passage, Guaman Poma and his family blamed both the Spaniards and the Chachapoyas for taking

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<sup>42</sup> Pablo Macera explains that the Yarovilca Guamán and the Tingo (the two main plaintiffs against the Chachapoyas in this land dispute) probably arrived in Chupas in the XV century to aid the Incas in the conquest of that region (28).

over their alleged land, and they emphasized the monetary damages caused by such actions. In the document, Guaman Poma also beseeches the King to send a Royal Provision with harsh penalties for the trespassers, and he implores that their lands be given back to them (in Prado Tello and Prado Prado 172-173). During the course of this long land-dispute, Guaman Poma was highly insistent on the need for justice, and to try to obtain it he operated within the confines of the colonial legal system. Among other things, he traveled frequently to Lima, where he secured minor victories, such as a Royal Provision upholding his land titles from the *oidores* of the Council of Lima. Though while in Lima he was told by colonial officials not to insist on this matter further, Guaman Poma did not desist (Macera 31). That is, until March 23 1600, when Guaman Poma was accused of falsely presenting himself as a *cacique* and of calling himself Don Felipe. According to the accusers, Guaman Poma was actually a humble Indian (not a Don) whose real name was Lázaro. His noble genealogy was thus directly challenged. The *corregidor's* deputy and justice official upheld the accusers' claim and, by December of that same year, a criminal sentence was imposed on Guaman Poma. He was sentenced to two hundred public lashes, and he was condemned to two years of exile from the city of Huamanga and its six-league radius (Adorno *Writing and Resistance* xxxvi-xxxvii). As Adorno states, we do not know if the corporal punishment was carried out, but his banishment from Huamanga certainly was (*Writing and Resistance* xxxvii). Speaking about the impact that being banned had on Guaman Poma, Macera explains "fue entonces que Guamán Poma vino a menos y perdió posiciones políticas, sociales y económicas.... De cacique y mediano propietario se convirtió en un indio trashumante, que vivía a salto de mata, quizás bajo seudónimo [de]...Lázaro, Cristóbal de León, o Cristóbal de la Cruz"

(26).<sup>43</sup> According to Adorno, moreover, it was only after 1600 that Guaman Poma actually conceived of, and prepared, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Adorno "Textos imborrables" 38, *Writing and Resistance* xvii).<sup>44</sup> In other words, his letter-chronicle was elaborated during a period in which Guaman Poma was a banned and destitute individual. If we consider Agamben's characterization of the ban as a space of indistinction between inclusion and exclusion, where an individual is neither inside nor outside the law but rather abandoned by it, it is also noteworthy that Guaman Poma's writing continuously seeks to impinge precisely upon the law (Agamben 28-29). His treaty on the *buen gobierno* is specifically meant to point out the systematic problems in the execution of the law, while at the same time offering suggestions on how to correct them. As Adorno contends, Guaman Poma's oeuvre stemmed from the realization that writing was the only avenue of social participation that he had left ("The depiction of Self and Other" 113). Indeed, after 1600 Guaman Poma's ability to act within the colonial legal system was essentially foreclosed as his social status was dramatically diminished, and yet his writing bears a constant relation to the law. From being banned by the colonial legal system, Guaman Poma then went on to write his *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, no longer interested in defending his own property and legal rights but rather steadfast on leaving a singular account –if not for the King at least for posterity– of what Spain's colonization of

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<sup>43</sup> As Adorno explains, it is important to keep in mind that prior to the sentence of 1600, Guaman Poma was raised in contact with European colonial society. In fact, he was employed for many years by the colonial establishment as an interpreter, given his good command of the Spanish language, which was a skill he partially self-taught himself. As such, Guaman Poma was part of a native elite, and for many years he was able to take advantages of this position (Adorno "The depiction of Self and Other" 113).

<sup>44</sup> Other critics maintain that Guaman Poma actually begun the work for his *magnun opus* since 1587. See, for example, Monica Morales (78), and Bauer (274). This view is consistent with what Guaman Poma himself states in the letter cited earlier that was found by Lohmann Villena, where Guaman Poma states that he spent thirty years compiling the material for his letter-chronicle. Yet, while he might have collected the material since then, Adorno contends that he did not actually elaborate his work until later.

the Andes implied for the broader population of Amerindians which he so eagerly sought to represent and, ultimately, protect.

Now, considering the fact that the land dispute against the Chachapoyas had such a significant impact on Guaman Poma's life, it is noteworthy that this litigation is never mentioned in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. What Guaman Poma does emphasize repeatedly in the text is that the Chachapoyas are partially responsible for what he considers the noxious proliferation of the *mestizo* population. As he states, "como de la ciudad de Chachapoyas [Huamanga], adonde *multiplicla muchos mestizos y mestizas y se acaua los yndios en estas probincias y no ay rremedio*" (Guaman Poma 957; sic, emphasis added). As this passage suggests –and as I will analyze in the following section–, the reproduction of *mestizos* was one of Guaman Poma's central concerns. He believed that the rise in *mestizos* was correlated to the decline of Amerindians, and he was oftentimes pessimistic that this situation could be remedied, as he puts it in one of his most characteristic phrases "y no ay rremedio." What is particularly significant about this passage is that it allows us to appreciate that it is only around this issue –that is, the "problem" of proliferating *mestizos* in Huamanga– that Guaman Poma is able to voice his dislike for the Chachapoyas. Yet, as we have seen, it is clear that his aversion for this group of Amerindians is directly related to the legal dispute that he and his family had with them. Bearing in mind the importance that these types of arguments about *mestizos* have in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, it is clear his experience during the course of the litigation deeply influenced one of his letter-chronicle' central themes. By now turning to the analysis of this aspect of Guaman Poma's work we can see that his life experiences shaped the conceptualization and development of his *magnus opus*.

### Guaman Poma's Condemnation of *Mestizos*

In *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* Guaman Poma tries to grapple with the instability of emerging notions of cultural and racial difference in a changing Andean world. Throughout the text he uses terms like *casta*, *linaje*, and *cristiano de sangre* to establish marked distinctions between the different socio-racial groups that were part of Peru's colonial society –including Spaniards, *criollos*, Amerindians, *mestizos*, mulattos, Jews, Moors, *cholos*, *zambaigos*, and black Africans (both slaves and free men). While it is highly significant that Guaman Poma would use terms such as *zambaigos* and *cholos* –both of which are the names given to very specific types of *mestizaje*<sup>45</sup> it is clear that his intention was never to represent the large-scale processes of miscegenation that were taking place during the period. As historian Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs argues, other than passing references,

Huaman Poma *no representa el mestizaje* ni se preocupa de precisar sus variantes, aunque *su texto muestra que las conoce bien* y que muchos de los términos que se emplearán en el siglo XVIII ya se encontraban fijados para entonces. *Si el autor no describe el mestizaje de forma sistemática es, simple y llanamente, porque para él no debería existir.* 69; emphasis added

Estenssoro Fuchs' book chapter represents one of the few studies that have examined the characterization of *mestizaje* in Guaman Poma's work. As he points out, it is highly significant that terms such as *zambaigo* and *cholo* were already well established by the

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<sup>45</sup>The term *cholo* is sometimes used as synonymous for *mestizo* but it is actually a more specific word that was used to describe the mixture between a *mestizo* or another *casta* and an Amerindian (Serulnikov 169). *Cholo* was also sometimes used to describe an acculturated Amerindian, specifically one that dressed like a Spaniard or *mestizo* but who was actually indigenous, in this sense pointing to the performative aspects of racialized identities (Mangan 74). The term *zambaigo*, on the other hand, was most commonly used to refer to the progeny of a black father and an Amerindian mother, though it could also be used to refer to more complex mixtures such as the descendents of a *lobo* (a mixture of Amerindian, African, and *tornatras*) and an Amerindian (Ares Queija 78-79).

early seventeenth century, since it implies that the type of racialized classification that is exemplified by the *casta* paintings of the eighteenth century was already at play at an earlier date. In my analysis, I build off of some of Estenssoro Fuch's arguments, but my contribution differs both in the depth of the analysis as well as on the my emphasis on space, race and sexuality. In his argument, the issue of gender in relation to sexuality is absent. Indeed, the widespread processes of *mestizaje* that were taking place during Guaman Poma's lifetime –and of which he was well aware of as is evidenced by his knowledge and use of highly-specialized terms such as *zambaigo* and *cholo*– were not part of the memories he wished to preserve through his writing. Rather, *mestizaje* was a fact that Guaman Poma would have preferred to disavow. In his abject characterization of *mestizos*, it is evident that, as Estenssoro Fuchs argues, Guaman Poma is not trying to represent this group. Instead, his comments about *mestizos* are structured around a very specific aim: to help curtail the sexual reproduction between the indigenous and the Spaniards, since he correlates these unions –and the resulting birth of *mestizos*– with the decline of the Amerindians. One of the concrete strategies that he proposes as a means to deter interracial sexual relations is the formation of a more carefully policed racial/sexual border, one that is based on the Dual Republic model of spatial segregation, but one which actually goes further in its impetus to maintain Amerindians and Spaniards apart. Intertwined with this first strategy, Guaman Poma also proposes a second approach: namely, the need to "protect" indigenous women from having sex with all other non-indigenous men. It is thus in order to curtail the reproduction of *mestizos*, while at the same time helping preserve and proliferate the indigenous population, that Guaman Poma proposes a series of biopolitical measures centered equally on the ordered segregation of

racialized space and on the creation of what he hoped could become an impermeable racial/sexual border.

There are over thirty instances in which Guaman Poma references *mestizos* in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. And yet –despite the fact that he dedicates specific sections of his text to the Spaniards, the Amerindians, and to the history of blacks– his depiction of *mestizos* is never organized in a systematic way as a separate category of analysis. This strategy is consistent with Estenssoro Fuchs argument, and it indicates that the very structure of the text was used to reinforce its content. Indeed, rather than include the category of *mestizos* as part of his meticulous representation of colonial society, Guaman Poma's comments about this group appear only as they are interwoven with two very specific arguments that he develops in his letter-chronicle. As mentioned above, these two arguments have to do with, on the one hand, the organization of space and, on the other hand, with the policing of indigenous women's sexuality. Each of these themes are articulated from the very first two comments that Guaman Poma makes about *mestizos*,<sup>46</sup> and, as his narrative progresses, he continuously returns to these issues in order to emphasize and further develop them. He also uses a series of illustrations (three direct representations and two indirect ones) as a visual supplement to his comments about *mestizos*.

In the first passage in which Guaman Poma discusses *mestizos* as he begins to lay out his argument about them, he writes the following:

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<sup>46</sup>I am excluding here the brief comment that Guaman Poma makes about his half-brother Martín de Ayala, which appears in the initial section of the letter-chronicle, just after the prologues. This is the passage to which I alluded to in the introduction where Guaman Poma describes Martín de Ayala as a "mestizo sancto" (11).

para el seruido de la coro[na] rreal de su Magestad, de nuestro señor rrey don Felipe el terzero, monarca del mundo, aumente yndios y se rredusca en sus pueblos y multiplique yndios. Y deje de multiplicar mestisos, cholos, mulatos, sanbahigos, cin provecho de la corona rreal; antes para mal que bien salen casta de *biquña* [vicuña] y de *taruga* [venado de altura], que no sale del padre ni de la madre, mala gente en gran daño de la corona rreal y de los pobres yndios deste rreyno. Guaman Poma 189; sic

Here, Guaman Poma presents a very specific line of reasoning to which he will continuously return to throughout *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. He begins by simply asserting that the population of Amerindians needs to be increased. In this particular passage, he associates the *reducciones* with the growth of the indigenous population, and therefore he casts a positive light on this aspect of colonial spatial (re)organization.<sup>47</sup>

Guaman Poma's main rhetorical strategy here, is to tie his own interest in the preservation of Amerindians to the broader economic and religious interests of the Spanish Crown.

For one, he explicitly states that, in order to serve King Phillip III, the growth of the

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<sup>47</sup> The policy of *reducciones* exemplifies the implementation of the Dual Republic Model, whereby the indigenous were congregated into *pueblos de indios* that were spatially segregated from the *república de españoles*. As historian Alejandro Málaga Medina explains, little was done in the first forty years after the conquest of Peru (in 1532) to congregate the indigenous in *pueblos de indios*. Both the Marqués de Cañete and Conde de Nieva attempted to do this, but they faced fierce opposition from the *encomenderos* (Málaga Medina 170). Guaman Poma praises the government of the Marqués de Cañete (see, for example, 407, 433). It was viceroy Francisco Toledo who finally accomplished what his predecessors could not, and he created very instructions to this effect. Between 1570 and 1575 the indigenous were congregated into *pueblos de indios*, oftentimes (as noted by Guaman Poma) by resorting to harsh measures such as burning or otherwise destroying the indigenous' old towns and forcefully relocating them to the *pueblos de indios* (Málaga Medina 179). With his *Visita General del Virreinato*, Toledo had two objectives: to congregate (or *reducir*) the indigenous population to the *pueblos de indios* and to establish a new and more effective way of collecting Amerindian' tribute. Significantly, among the places that Toledo personally visited on this *Visita* was the province of Huamanga (Málaga Medina 171). Guaman Poma mentions Toledo's visit to Huamanga when he states "dallí salió hacia la ciudad de Guamanga al Cuzco, andonde hizo rreducir y poblar a los yndios, algunos en buena parte, algunos en mala parte, como la suerte cayó" (413). The *reducciones*, moreover, as literary and cultural critic Monica Morales argues, can be seen as a spatial metaphor for control. As she argues, upon them, depended the "transformation of Andean people into Indians, [that is] docile bodies and subjects of virtue and production.... The *reducciones* stood for a model of the civilized" (Morales 109).

indigenous population needs to be fostered. If we consider that when viceroy Francisco de Toledo finally managed to implement his large-scale policy of *reducciones*, his dual objectives in congregating the indigenous were to aid in the conversion efforts and to facilitate the collection of labor tribute, it is clear that Guaman Poma is being shrewd in making a connection between the indigenous' population growth and the concrete interests of the colonial establishment (Málaga Medina 171, 179). That is, as Guaman Poma stresses later on in the letter-chronicle, if the number of Andean Amerindians were to continue to dwindle,<sup>48</sup> the King would lose his subjects and hence "[p]ierde su Magestad su rreyno" (Guaman Poma 544). This would mean that the Crown would not only lose its justifying principle for conquest (that is the mission to Christianize the indigenous), but also a valuable source of labor and taxation. By bringing these issues to the fore, Guaman Poma thus endeavors to synchronize his own demands for the preservation of Amerindian life with the interests of the colonial administration.

Notably, in the passage cited above, Guaman Poma also contends that it is *not* in the interest of the Spanish Crown –indeed it is "en gran daño de la corona" as he puts it– that *mestizos* and other *castas* continue to reproduce. The way he develops this part of his argument is a telling indication of the logic that structures his views about *mestizos*. As Adorno and Murra point out about this passage, by comparing the proliferation of *mestizos* and other *castas* to the reproduction of two types of undomesticated animals (the *vicuña* and the *taruga*), Guaman Poma implies that these groups are like undomesticated animals in the sense that they are exempt from paying tribute (Adorno and Murra 1135).

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<sup>48</sup>As we saw in chapter two, according to historian Nicolás Sanchez-Albornoz, the Amerindian population for what is today Peru is considered to have been at 9 million at the time of the conquest, a number that fell to 1.3 million by 1570 (Sánchez-Albornoz 6). These dramatic figures help contextualize Guaman Poma's sense of urgency.

In this sense, he justifies his claim that these groups are literally of no economic interest to the Crown because of their spatial indeterminacy within the Dual Republic model. Indeed, the question of tribute in regards to *mestizos*, *mulatos*, and *sanbahigos*, was a thorny issue that colonial administrators attempted to regularize with varying degrees of success. For their part, *mestizos* were exempt from paying tribute; a fact which occasionally led Amerindians to attempt to "pass" for *mestizos* precisely in order to avoid being coerced to offer their labor as part of the *mita* system of taxation (Mörner 69-70). In the case of *mulatos* and *zambahigos*, the Spanish Crown passed a royal decree in 1574 making tribute mandatory for all free blacks. Yet, as historian Ronald Escobedo Mansilla explains, the execution of this law soon ran into problems because, for one, *mulatos* and other free blacks had neither a stable place of residency nor a stable job, which made the collection of taxes extremely difficult. In the case of *zambahigos*, moreover, Peruvian authorities were unsure of what tribute they should collect from this group: the indigenous or the black tribute? (Escobedo Mansilla 43-46). The problem with this latter case was precisely this group's mixed lineage. When Guaman Poma alludes to these issues, he thus establishes a sharp contrast between the benefits of fostering the reproduction of the indigenous population and the disadvantages of doing the same for *mestizos* and other *castas*.<sup>49</sup> He therefore articulates the question of *mestizaje* in terms of a series of administrative and legal problems which, from his perspective, can be avoided by addressing the reproduction of these groups, particularly the proliferation of *mestizos*.

As Guaman Poma's comments about *mestizos* develop, he focuses on spatial segregation as one of the two key measures around which he organizes his proposal for

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<sup>49</sup> Later on, however, Guaman Poma does state that these groups should pay tribute. As he says: "Que los dichos negros horros y mulatos, mestisos paguen tributo" (1026).

colonial reforms. As Estenssoro Fuchs suggests, if it were up to Guaman Poma the Spaniards, Amerindians, and blacks would each live respectively in Castile, the Americas, and Africa (69). Since Guaman Poma acknowledges that this is no longer possible, however, he insists instead on the carefully ordered segregation of space. His two chief concerns are to keep Spaniards, *mestizos*, blacks, and *castas* out of the *pueblos de indios*, and to maintain a hierarchical order of society where each socio-racial group has its own pre-assigned separate place. In regard to the first issue, Guaman Poma bases himself on existing royal decrees that prohibited the permanent establishment of Europeans or Africans in *pueblos de indios* in order to validate his insistence on segregation. He points, for example, to Toledo's *ordenanzas* when he argues that "ni entrase ni español ni mestizo ni mulato ni negro en sus pueblos ni tierras [de indios]..., cino que fuesen a las ciudades a ueuir ellos" (Guaman Poma 414; sic). Aside from asserting that this policy is consistent with the Dual Republic model, Guaman Poma offers an additional reason as to why the stipulated groups should be prohibited from entering the indigenous communities. As he says "[p]orque no rresultase daños y males entre yndios, que dellos rresultaría alsamiento y se enseñarían malos uicios" (ibid; sic). Here, by reactivating Vasco de Quiroga's theory of the bad example, Guaman Poma now articulates his insistence on spatial segregation in terms of the negative influence that Spaniards, *mestizos*, mulattos, and blacks can potentially have on the indigenous' behavior. Not only does he claim that bad example from these groups could lead to Amerindian uprisings (a view which he continues to develop given its vital importance to the colonial administration), he also asserts that the indigenous would learn to emulate colonial society's bad vices. At the heart of the matter here, is what literary and cultural

critic Monica Morales describes as Guaman Poma's insistence on the instrumentality of place for shaping group behavior and culture (104). In the particular example discussed here, the instrumentality of place is specifically tied to the question of inclusion and exclusion from the *pueblos de indios*. As these passages suggest, Guaman Poma's vision of a well-ordered colonial society is structured around his appeal for the production of an exclusively indigenous space. His starting point are actual places (the *pueblos de indios*), but his model for socio-spatial organization is based on the creation of a border which he envisions both in geographical and racial terms. That is, since the strategy proposed by Guaman Poma to police the *pueblos de indios'* borders is in fact premised on the ability to deny entry to all non-indigenous people, it is clear that his conception of space goes beyond the geographic as it also encompasses a notion of racial exclusiveness.

Guaman Poma's views about the racialized segregation of space are reiterated soon after the passage cited above. In a section following a discussion of *tambos* –which, as Morales argues, embody the very opposite of the *reducciones* (108)<sup>50</sup>– Guaman Poma writes: "los españoles no se puede poblar junto con los yndios en las ciudades ni en las uillas, aldeas ni uaya [a] morar nengún español ni española ni mestizo ni mulato ni zambahigo ni cholo" (504; sic). Though his argument remains the same, here Guaman Poma further qualifies his position by making a gender specification and by adding two additional *castas* to his list of excluded groups from the *pueblos de indios*. What is particularly relevant about this second passage is that Guaman Poma also adds that "Ci fuere española o mestiza o mulata que fuere casado con yndio en este rreyno, que haga

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<sup>50</sup>As Morales explains, *tambos* were the Peruvian equivalent of a Spanish *meson* or *venta*. That is, they were a type of inn that provided travelers a place to rest. In her analysis of these places in Guaman Poma's text, she argues that *tambos* were focal points for moral transgression, they embodied disorder, and they functioned as the constitutive outside of Christian moral space (Morales 104-105).

los dichos españoles sus pueblos fuera de los yndios en una jornada, ya que no fuera de una legua. Y ci pariere mestiza, chola, lo lleue a la ciudad por el escándalo de ellas" (504; sic). Simply put, Guaman Poma contends that if an indigenous man were to marry outside of his socio-racial group, that man and his wife should be excluded from his tightly-conceived vision of a perfectly enclosed indigenous community. He specifies the minimum distance that must be kept between the *pueblos de indios* and the places where all other elements of colonial society (mixed or not) should live, and he emphasizes the scandal of conceiving a mix-raced child within a *pueblo de indios* as he demands that that child be taken away as well. In other words, Guaman Poma is here no longer simply concerned with the policing of external elements who are to be kept at bay from the *pueblos hospitales* (that is, his long list of excluded groups), he redeploys this policing logic internally as he begins to stipulate the cases in which Amerindians can also be expelled from these racialized places. Considering that this new criteria is based on a person's marriage choice (which, in turn, implies sex and reproduction), we begin to see that his notion of a racial border is inextricably intertwined with the enforcement of a sexual border. Guaman Poma's concept of race, then, is consistent with Bernasconi's argument about the fact that race has always been about constructing borders, particularly in cases where the fluidity of racial terms threatens essentialist understandings about the supposed difference between groups of people (Bernasconi, "Crossed Lines" 208, 213).

In the passages discussed above, Guaman Poma's views indicate that in his impetus to maintain the racial purity of the *pueblos de indios* it was irrelevant for him where the rest of colonial population lived –as long as they maintained a minimum distance from the indigenous communities. Though he was aware of the spatial binary on

which the Dual Republic model was premised –one in which there was no pre-assigned place for *mestizos* or other *castas*–, his immediate concern was to expel all non-pure-indigenous people from the *pueblos de indios*, irrespective of the differences between the excluded groups. Ultimately, however, Guaman Poma was not impartial to the need to maintain clearly-defined socio-racial differences outside of the *pueblos de indios*, this issue was simply subordinated to his more immediate concerns. For him, maintaining the hierarchical order of society was of paramount importance, both inside and outside the *pueblos de indios*. For one, Guaman Poma repeatedly states that it is an indication that the world has succumbed to disorder when "low people" can call themselves *don* or *doña*. He says, for instance, that the world is upside down because Jews and Moors go by the title of *don*, a word which was reserved for people of elevated social standing. As he puts it "[I]os judfos y moros tiene 'don,' mundo al rreués" (Guaman Poma 380; sic). Likewise, he asserts that "acimismo las mugeres de los mestizos y mulatos se llaman doñas" and he adds "que rrebuelbe el mundo" (Guaman Poma 502; sic). Considering that Guaman Poma himself had been accused of falsely calling himself Don Felipe (an accusation for which he was sentenced to corporal punishment and banishment), it is significant that he would return to this issue as a way to emphasize the disorder of colonial society. Yet, what is particularly telling about his views here is that, since he does not actually offer any additional information about the social standing of the specific Jews, Moors, *mestizas* and *mulatas* that he speaks about, we can only assume that it is merely their condition as either religiously-impure or racially-mixed that warrants his indignation about them being called *don* or *doña*. Hence we begin to see the type of hierarchies that Guaman Poma wishes to uphold within colonial society, as well as what these hierarchies are based on.

A second, highly telling instance in which Guaman Poma discusses social hierarchies according to socio-racial standing outside of the *pueblos de indios*, is in his discussion of *criollos(as)*.<sup>51</sup> In his description of *criollos(as)*, Guaman Poma offers the following parallel descriptions. Speaking about male *criollos*, he states: "[c]ómo los dichos criollos que se crían con la leche de las yndias o de negras o de los dichos mestizos, mulatos, son brabos y soberbios, haraganes, mentirosos, jugadores, auarientos, de poca caridad, miserable, tranposos, enemigo de los pobres yndios y de españoles" (Guaman Poma 511; sic). In almost identical terms, he later says about criollas: "[c]ómo las dichas criollas que se crió con la leche de las yndias son peores que mestizas y mulatas, negras, haraganes, mentirosas, enbusteras, bachilleras, golozas y no dicen la uerdad, enemigo de los pobres yndios y no tiene caridad ni buena obra con los pobres" (513). The central emphasis of both these passages is the negative influence that the breast milk of non-Spanish women can have on the Spaniards' progeny. In the case of *criollos*, Guaman Poma homogenizes the bad influence that Amerindian, black, *mestiza* and *mulata* wet nurses can have on the behavior of *criollos*. Yet, when he speaks of *criollas*, he singles out the breast milk of Amerindian women as a contaminating agent that causes bad behavior. In either case, the critical importance of these passages is that they imply that Guaman Poma is here validating the claim that breast milk had a role in shaping a person's character and behavior. As literary critic Raquel Chang-Rodriguez puts it in her analysis of these passages, "Guaman Poma takes advantage of a

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<sup>51</sup> Appearing first as a Portuguese neologism used in the New World, the term *crioulo* was used to distinguish black slaves born in Brazil from those who had been taken there from Africa. In the course of the sixteenth-century translation from the Portuguese into the Spanish context, the word *criollo* soon came to designate not only slaves of African descent but also settlers of European ancestry born in the Americas (Bauer and Mazzoti 3-4). When Guaman Poma uses the term, he is referring to people of Spanish ancestry (both on the mother and father's side) who were born in the Americas.

controversial topic –the acquisition of bad traits through the milk of casta wet nurses– to establish his low regard for Spanish criollos" (127). Indeed, what Guaman Poma is doing here is to reactivate the same type of heightened concerns about wet nurses that, as we saw in chapter one, were applied to Jewish women as a consequence of the genealogical turn that marked the institutionalization of the purity of blood statutes in Iberia, whereby "Jewishness" started to be regarded as an inheritable trait (see also Martínez *Genealogical Fictions* 28). Far from being controversial, Guaman Poma is simply reactivating the central tenants on which the discourse of purity of blood is premised, namely that behavioral traits are inheritable characteristics that can be transmitted through blood, semen, and breast milk. While his suggestion that Amerindian wet nurses are among the women who should be faulted for the *criollos(as)* bad behavior is quite striking, ultimately Guaman Poma's main point is to go back to the need for social-spatial segregation, where each group has its own pre-assigned place in society, and, most importantly, where intermixture of any kind does not take place.

Guaman Poma's views about spatial organization can be neatly summed up by analyzing one of the three illustrations in which he directly depicts *mestizos*. In a section in which he denounces the corruptibility of *corregidores*, he asserts that, despite the fact that these colonial administrators have titles that ensure their positions of power, all social order collapses when *corregidores* invite to their dinner table groups who do not share their same social standing. Though in the narrative he includes Jews, Moors and blacks among those whose social standing are unworthy of the *corregidor'* table, in his visual representation of this scene he specifically depicts a *mestizo*, a *mulato*, and a tribute-paying Amerindian (Guaman Poma 468-470). Sitting at the head of the table, the

*corregidor* drinks from a wineglass, while the *mestizo* is holding a regular glass and the *mulato* raises his beverage (which is in some type of round container) as if he were giving a toast. The Amerindian is not shown with a drink, but he too hovers around the dinner table and offers to pour more wine for the *corregidor*. The image also includes what appears to be an infant who carries a large wine decanter. Aside from the differences in the receptacles for their drinks (or lack thereof), the four men who are the central focus of the image are distinguished from one another by their attire and by the labels that identify them as "corregidor, mestizo, mulato and yndio tributario" respectively (Guaman Poma 469). Though his depiction of the mulatto includes certain physiognomic features (such as a wide-nose), there is no particularly distinctive characteristic that physically typifies the *mestizo* as such. As Estenssoro Fuchs contends, Guaman Poma did not physically depict many *mestizos* because of the difficulty of typifying them graphically by assigning specific physiognomic features or a characteristic attire (71). We can thus affirm that there is a certain visual elusiveness that Guaman Poma associates with this group, one that mirrors the representation of *conversos* in the text *Alborayque*. In the narrative that accompanies the illustration described above, Guaman Poma writes "Y a estos dichos [corregidores] descubren sus secretos y tienen conuersación con estos mestizos y mulatos y negros" (Guaman Poma 470). In other words, he decries the fact that men from such different social standings are gathered together, sharing their secrets and talking to one another as if they were peers. In this scene, the space of the dinner table becomes a type of microcosm for the wider spatial configuration of colonial society. Specifically, it represents a microcosm of disorder in which all socio-racial hierarchies have been abolished. It is an image of utter disorder in which the close proximity between these men

threatens to do away with the hierarchical ordering of society, and in which the indigenous man is exposed to the vices of colonial society (i.e. drinking and administrative corruption). As Estenssoro Fuchs confirms "esta escena hace patente para Huaman Poma el desorden absoluto" (ibid). In this image, we thus see confirmed not only Guaman Poma's insistence that Amerindians and other groups need to be strictly segregated from one another, but also his emphasis on the need to maintain the hierarchical distinctions of colonial society in general.<sup>52</sup>

In his comments about social-spatial organization, Guaman Poma's views about *mestizos* are, as we have seen, frequently intertwined with remarks about other socio-racial groups. While he does not single-out *mestizos* as either the only group who should be excluded from *pueblo-hospitales* or who have contributed to the hierarchical breakdown of society, this group is nevertheless a constant target in his call for spatial reforms. Guaman Poma's comments about *mestizos*, however, ultimately do become explicitly and solely against this group. This happens in relation to his discussion of interracial sexual relations and, on this issue, there are three central themes around which Guaman Poma develops his argument. First, he decries the reproduction of *mestizos* because they represent the product of a racialized sexuality that to him exemplifies some of the worst excesses of the conquest. Secondly, he sees *mestizos* as the result of Amerindian women becoming great whores ("grandes putas" as he puts it) who prefer to have exogamous sexual relations rather than aid in the reproduction of their own social-

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<sup>52</sup> A second illustration in which Guaman Poma directly depicts *mestizos* appears on page 571. The heading on the illustration says "Combida el Padre a los borrachos yndios uajos, mestizos, mulatos para tener parte de rrobar a los yndios pobres." This is basically a mirror image of the illustration analyzed above, except that instead of having the *corregidor* at the head of the table it is now the priest who occupies that position, and the three other men are labeled. The main point of the image is likewise to convey a state of utter disorder.

racial group. Lastly, he depicts *mestizos* as a potential source of religious-racial contamination by appealing to the discourse of purity of blood. For Guaman Poma, each one of these issues ultimately revolves around one central problematic: the need to "protect" Amerindian women's sexuality, and it is thus in relation to this issue that he organizes his second proposal for colonial reforms.

Guaman Poma's second comment about *mestizos* in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* appears after a section in which he is lamenting the loss of Amerindian laws and customs aimed at the preservation of Andean women's chastity. He writes "[t]odo lo malo adulterio y otros pecados mortales trajo conmigo los dichos cristianos; con color de la doctrina deruirga a todas la donzellas y aní [*sic*] paren muchos mestisos en este rreyno" (199; *sic*). First of all, in this passage Guaman Poma makes a moral judgment against the Spaniards by claiming that they are responsible for introducing adultery and other mortal sins to Andean society. This is not to say that adultery did not exist prior to the conquest, yet, as Guaman Poma points out later on in his narrative, adultery and pre-marital sex were, before the arrival of the Spaniards, harshly punished crimes. The first was punishable by stoning to death, the second by hanging the perpetrators by their hair until they eventually perished (Guaman Poma 280-283). In the quote above, Guaman Poma also introduces one of his most scathing criticisms; that is, his assertion that Christian doctrine has been used to justify the deflowering of countless Amerindian women. Significantly, he states that the result of each of these reprehensible actions is the equally negative consequence of reproducing *mestizos*. Hence he associates the very existence of this group with the sexual excesses that he blames on the conquest. In a subsequent remark, Guaman Poma confirms that he sees the proliferation of *mestizos* as the direct

result of the excesses of conquest, excesses which he portrays as based on a dual lust for material gain in the form of gold and silver, as well as on a sexual lust for women (Guaman Poma 363). By starting off with this association between the birth of *mestizos* and the sexual excesses of conquest, Guaman Poma is then able to trace a continuum between the sustained reproduction of *mestizos* and the persistence of sexual abuses by colonial administrators.

Though he also denounces *corregidores*, *encomenderos* and other colonial officials, Guaman Poma focuses primarily on priests in order to show how the proliferation of *mestizos* evinces that sexual abuses continue to be carried out by the Spaniards. He complains that priests steal the indigenous men's wives and that they take the virginity of unmarried women (414); he claims that some priests dress up as Amerindians in order to enter their homes and look at women's naked bodies, or as he puts it " la güergüenza de las mugeres" (468; sic); and he denounces the fact that priests cohabit with indigenous women despite their pledge to celibacy (536).<sup>53</sup> On one instance, he mentions a specific priest by name, Juan Bautista Aluadán, who he describes as a sadist who tortured men and women by inserting his fingers up their anuses, and he claims that this priest took the virginity of many women (ibid). While denouncing these types of abuses was central to Guaman Poma's overall mission to protect the indigenous,

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<sup>53</sup> On two occasions, Guaman Poma explicitly states that, by cohabiting with women, priests are violating the Santo Concilio (see Guaman Poma 205, 536). The council that he is referring to here is the Tercer Concilio Limense, which was held between 1582 and 1583 in the city of Lima (Lisi 11). Guaman Poma's statements about the council indicate that he knew that one of the explicit resolutions agreed upon during the meetings was that priests were to avoid the company of women so as to not violate their celibacy (Lisi 179). Though there is no definitive proof that Guaman Poma participated in this council –literary critic Rocío Quispe-Agnoli argues that it is quite possible that he did given that he knew many of the people there (235-236)– we do that between 1569 and 1571 Guaman Poma worked as an interpreter for the cleric Cristóbal de Albornoz, while the latter traveled through Peru to gather material for his treatise on idolatry titled *Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haziendas* (ca. 1581) (Duviols 141). As historian Pierre Duviols argues, Albornoz most likely wrote this treatise specifically for the Tercer Concilio Provincial de Lima, as a way to inform other priests and extirpators of idolatries about the rites and customs of the indigenous, as well as to show them how to find sanctuaries and hidden idols (141).

we cannot overlook that every time in which he recounts these sexual excesses he inevitably ties them to the reproduction of *mestizos*. As he states following each of the passages mentioned above: "Ay clérigo que tiene uey[n]te hijos y no ay rremedio" (414), "Y acá andan perdidas y se hazen putas y paren muchos mesticillos y no multiplica los yndios" (468), "Y ancí multiplica muchos mestizos y cholos en este rreyno" (536). As these examples demonstrate, the proliferation of *mestizos* is equally as alarming to Guaman Poma as the abuses carried out by the priests, these two issues are always interrelated for him. In the first and last case, he emphasizes the large quantity of *mestizos* that result from these interracial sexual unions. Somewhat hyperbolically, he argues that a single priest fathered over twenty *mestizos* and he pessimistically adds that there is no remedy to this situation.<sup>54</sup> In the second, he accuses Amerindian women of becoming great whores who only bear *mestizos* at the expense of the indigenous population. What is important to emphasize here is that the sexual abuses enumerated by Guaman Poma are compounded and made worse by the fact that, on the one hand, they represent a violation of the racial/sexual border which he so eagerly tried to enforce by means of spatial segregation.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, they are a particularly transgressive instance of racialized sex because, in addition to being examples of interracial sex, they are also the result of Spanish priests contravening their commitment to celibacy. Since the root of the problem here is that priests are sexually abusing Amerindian women who,

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<sup>54</sup>The third and last explicit illustration of *mestizos* appears on page 574. It is an image in which a half dozen infant *mestizos* are being taken away to Lima because they are the sons and daughters of a priest. The fact that the priest is trying to hide his progeny confirms the secretive aspect of this instance of racialized sexuality. The representation of these unions is thus cast as a secretive and transgressive act.

<sup>55</sup> It must be noted that, though Guaman Poma vehemently denounced sexual unions between Spanish priests and Amerindian women, he was also aware that, because of the Christianizing mission, some contact had to be maintained between these groups. Trying to reconcile these contradictory impulses, Guaman Poma calls for a type of relative autonomy for the *pueblos de indios* where priests would go give mass, confess the sickly, do their justice and then leave (Guaman Poma 468).

in turn, give birth to *mestizos*, we can also begin to gauge why the "protection" of indigenous women's sexuality becomes the second issue around which Guaman Poma chooses to organize his proposal for colonial reforms.

As was alluded to above, a second theme around which Guaman Poma structures his abject characterization of *mestizos* is his discussion of how Amerindian women are becoming whores by bearing mixed-raced progeny instead of helping the indigenous population to recover. On this topic, Guaman Poma moves ambivalently between denouncing Amerindian women's complicity in their own sexual exploitation, while also stressing their passivity and the need to protect them. Speaking about women's complicity in the colonial system which exploits them sexually, Guaman Poma gives two concrete examples. First, in a passage in which he is discussing the dangers of letting Spaniards reside in the *pueblos de indios*, Guaman Poma claims that indigenous women "[y]a no quiere al yndio, cino a españoles y se hazen grandes putas y paren todo mestizos, mala casta en este rreyno" (511; sic). Here, he scolds indigenous women for choosing to be with a Spaniard instead of an Amerindian man and, because of that choice, he scornfully calls these women "grandes putas." Notably, he also stresses that by selecting their own sexual/marriage partner Amerindian women thus chose to reproduce the bad caste of *mestizos*. What we have here then –and what Guaman Poma so vehemently denounces– is what literary critic Jean Franco (talking about the figure of the Malinche in Mexico) describes as the moment in which the voluntary sexual contract replaces the exchange of women as gifts (76). As with the case of La Malinche, however, this transition causes unmitigated resentment in which an indigenous woman's voluntary sexual preference for someone outside her socio-racial group becomes the symbol for treason. That is, whereas

the trading in women between Spaniards and indigenous men was one of the initial strategies by which exogamous alliances were formed following the conquest (both in Mexico and Peru), the moment in which a woman asserts her own voluntary sexual choice she becomes, in Guaman Poma's words, a great whore. A woman's ability to choose a sexual or marriage partner is thus presented in a highly negative light. In his second example about this, Guaman Poma claims that women do not actually want to get married because they prefer to chase after priests and other Spanish men. As before, though, he adds that one of the crucial problems with this is that "[y] acá no multiplica yndios en este rreyno, cino mestizos y mestizas y no ay rremedio" (Guaman Poma 534; sic). While his correlation between the decrease of the Amerindian population and the increase of *mestizos* is simply reiterated here, it is again the indigenous women's sexual choice that is at the root of the problem for Guaman Poma. The policing of Amerindian women's sexuality thus becomes the second issue around which he articulates his call for colonial reforms.

In addition to the careful policing of space that, as we saw earlier, is paramount to Guaman Poma's project, he also proposes the policing of indigenous women's sexuality. He considers the latter to be an equally necessary measure for his dual aim of preserving the indigenous population while curtailing the reproduction of *mestizos*. For this, he specifies that one of the central roles of *caciques principales* within the *pueblos de indios* should be to protect the women from priests, Spaniards, knights, Jews, Moors, *mestizos*, *mulatos*, and blacks (Guaman Poma 462). In other words, he proposes to protect indigenous women from all non-indigenous men. Thus, in the same way in which the policing of space was aimed at excluding all these groups from the *pueblos de indios*,

here Amerindian women's bodies become a type of spatial metaphor that likewise needs to be segregated from all non-indigenous elements. In this sense, as feminist anthropologist Margaret Lock argues, we see illustrated the transformation of women's bodies into sites for technological interventions, specifically because their direct relation to physical reproduction calls into question the very biopolitics of the population (17). Later on, Guaman Poma confirms this need to spatially confine and segregate the indigenous women. Talking about the fact that when women are forced to offer their labor in the mines they have extra-marital sex with the colonial officials and thus reproduce countless *mestizos*, he proposes that women not leave the *pueblos de indios* (Guaman Poma 495, 524). We see, then, that the segregation of space and the "protection" of Amerindian women are the dual strategies around which Guaman Poma structures his colonial reforms. His central objective is to increase the indigenous population but, for this, he considers it imperative that *mestizos* stop reproducing. His plan thus exemplifies what Foucault describes as the biopolitical shift in power's hold over life, namely, the shift from "the ancient right to *take* life or *let* live [that] was replaced by a power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death" (*The History of Sexuality* 138; emphases in original). The racialized life that Guaman Poma wishes to foster and preserve is the Amerindians, and the group whose very existence he seeks to disallow by the reforms he proposes is that of the *mestizos*. To accomplish this objective, Guaman Poma recognizes the instrumentality of place, but also women's central role in reproduction.

Finally, it is important to point out that Guaman Poma's views about *mestizos* reveal that the discourse of purity of blood deeply structures the racialized distinctions he

makes throughout *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. In order to recognize how this issue appears in the text, we must first consider the centrality that the concept of genealogy had for Guaman Poma. From the initial pages of Guaman Poma's letter-chronicle, it becomes apparent that tracing the genealogy of Amerindians is one of the organizing principles around which he conceptualized his project. He begins by recounting that there are five generations in the history of the world (or "edades" as he calls them), starting with God's creation of Adam and Eve. In addition, he offers a parallel account of the four generations of Amerindians that preceded the eventual consolidation of Inca power. Notably, Guaman Poma's key move in these sections is to establish that the indigenous are pure-blooded Old Christians who did not descend from the Jews. In his cosmological account of the first generation of the world, Guaman Poma begins by asserting that Adam gave birth to Cain, Abel and Seth, and he states about the latter, somewhat ambiguously, that "dése salió la casta de negros" (16).<sup>56</sup> It is relevant that he addresses the specific genealogy of black Africans because, even though his account is consistent with the Christian account of monogenesis, it is clear that there are certain hierarchies within this genealogy—specifically considering that, according to the biblical account, the skin color of black Africans was a sign of God's curse, which was seen as the visual marker that condemned them to slavery. Guaman Poma is thus very meticulous in trying to establish a very specific genealogy for the indigenous, one that clearly distances them from the

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<sup>56</sup> Significantly, in this passage Guaman Poma does not acknowledge Eve's role in procreation because, as we will see, for him it is exclusively the male line of descent that is important for determining a person's lineage and caste. Though this issue is ambiguously worded in Guaman Poma's account, according to chapters 4 and 5 of *Genesis*, Seth was the father of Lamech, Lamech was Noah's father, and one of Noah's descendants is Ham (of Cham). This is why Guaman Poma can assert that black Africans descended from Seth. Guaman Poma also makes explicit reference to God's curse of blacks when he says "negro catibo o horo que Dios le a echado maldición" (Guaman Poma 421). For an explanation of Ham's (Cham's) curse see note 13.

genealogy of the Africans but, more importantly for him, also from the Jews. What is particularly interesting about Guaman Poma's depiction of this first generation is that, as Adorno points out, in the illustration that accompanies the narrative, Adam and Eve are portrayed as Andean farmers (see illustration in Guaman Poma 17). Adorno interprets this representation as one of Guaman Poma's strategies to establish that the indigenous descended directly from the biblical progenitors ("The depiction of Self and Other" 113). This interpretation is confirmed by Guaman Poma's discussion of the second generation of the world, where he overtly states that Amerindians are Noah's direct descendants, and thus indirectly also Adam and Eve's. As Guaman Poma claims "*Mandó Dios salir desta tierra, derramar y multiplicar por todo el mundo. De los hijos de Noé, destes dichos hijos de Noé, uno de ellos trajo Dios a las Yndias; otros dizen que salió del mismo Adán*" (18; sic, emphasis added). In this quote, Guaman Poma repeats –in order to emphasize his point– that God brought one of Noah's sons to the Americas after the flood. He also asserts that, according to other sources, Amerindians are direct descendants of Adam's. While Guaman Poma appears to be more inclined towards the latter version –that is, that Amerindians are direct descendants from Adam–, in his account he focuses more frequently on the belief that Noah's offspring populated the Americas, most likely because this was an easier claim to attempt to establish. For instance, when Guaman Poma moves away from the description of the five generations of the world, to talk specifically of the four generations of pre-Inca Amerindians, in three of the four cases he mentions that the indigenous are Noah's descendants.<sup>57</sup> Significantly, in talking about the

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<sup>57</sup>He states about the second generation of Amerindians that "[son] descendiente de Noé" and he adds that "proseguían de buena sangre y tubieron mandamiento y ley" (Guaman Poma 45, 48). In discussing the third generation he critiques aspects such as the fact that this generation of indigenous did not know how to read and write, but he says that it is incorrect to state that they came from caves, mountains, and rivers when in

first generation of Amerindians he also makes a conceptual conflation between Noah's offspring and the Spaniards when he writes "*Vari Vira Cocha Runa*, primer generación de yndios del multiplico de los dichos españoles que trajo Dios a este rreyno de las Yndias, los que salieron de la arca de Noé, deluuio" (Guaman Poma 41). Clearly, Guaman Poma is not referring here to the Spaniards that came during the conquest. He mentions the Spaniards' so-called discovery of the New World in his earlier account of the five generations of the world, but here he is specifically referring to Noah's descendants that came to the Americas during the flood. It is my contention that he equates Noah's descendants to the Spaniards quite simply because, in this particular case, he seems to be using the term Spaniards as a synonym for Old Christian. Indeed, throughout the sections in which Guaman Poma talks about the pre-Inca Amerindians, he stresses that in varying degrees throughout their history the indigenous were good Christians who always maintained a type of enlightening umbrella that impeded them from completely forgetting the true word of God and his commandments (see, for example Guaman Poma 43, 48, 50).<sup>58</sup> As these examples demonstrate, it is evident that tracing the Amerindian's genealogy to either Adam or Noah was crucially important to Guaman Poma's project. These concerns with genealogy, however, can only be fully understood by taking into account Guaman Poma's direct engagement with a particular polemic that was taking place during his lifetime, namely the allegation that Amerindians descended from the Jews.

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fact "ueniendo de nuestro padre Adán y Eua" (49). Likewise with the fourth generation of indigenous he begins by stating "[son] dezendiente de Noé" (50).

<sup>58</sup> Adorno confirms this interpretation when she states that Guaman Poma "declares that the ancient Andeans were 'white,' that is, descendants of the sons of Adam, and that *they followed in pre-Christian times the 'ley cristiano'*" (*Writing and Resistance* 21; emphases added). While her conflation between Christian and white is not actually present in Guaman Poma's own writing, this is a telling admission of how racialization in Guaman Poma's text is intricately connected to religion and genealogy.

Among the many theories that circulated during the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries regarding the origin and nature of the indigenous, the claim that they descended from the Jews was particularly troublesome to Guaman Poma. On this issue, the two sources with which Guaman Poma's text is in dialogue are José de Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1590) and Gregorio García's *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo mundo e Indias Occidentales* (1607). Speaking about the theory on the Jewish origin of the indigenous, Guaman Poma writes "Otros quieren dezir que los yndios salieron de la casta de los judíos; parecieran como ellos y barbudos, zarcos y rrubios como español, tubieran la ley de Muzén y supieran la letra, leer y escribir y serimonias" (Guaman Poma 49; sic). It is clear that in the last part of this passage Guaman Poma is referencing Acosta's refutation of this theory cited in chapter one. With the exception of the question of greed –which Guaman Poma does not mention here–, he basically cites Acosta's argument verbatim by claiming that two of the main reasons why the Amerindians cannot be seen as descendents from the Jews are the facts that they lack a writing system and that they do not partake in Jewish ceremonies, such as circumcision for instance. As Adorno and John V. Murra explain in a note about this passage, Guaman Poma here repeats one of Acosta's argument "donde el padre jesuita dice que los indios no podían ser judíos por la falta de leyes y letras" ("Notas Aclaratorias" 1131). Significantly, moreover, here we can see that Guaman Poma's statements about the Amerindian's lack of a writing system (discussed earlier) take on a new meaning as they become a convenient claim to help distance the indigenous from any genealogical association with the Jews. As important as these connections are, however, it is important

to note that Acosta's text was not the only source on the Jewish origin of the indigenous that Guaman Poma's text was in dialogue with.

There are two concrete examples in which Guaman Poma's views indicate that the more pressing arguments he sought to contest were García's views about the alleged Jewish origin of the indigenous. First of all, it is in the context of García's resurged insistence that it was in fact one of Israel's lost tribes who had arrived and populated the New World that we need to read Guaman Poma's carefully delineated Amerindian genealogy. His adamant claim that the indigenous were either Adam's or Noah's descendents is meant to offer precisely a competing account to the type of argument disseminated by García. If he were simply basing himself on Acosta's refutation, this issue would not have as prominent in Guaman Poma's text but, as we have seen, it was one of its structuring elements. Secondly, there are two passages in which Guaman Poma appears to be responding to specific arguments made by García (both of these two arguments are presented in chapter one). On the one hand, in addressing the issue of religious disbelief in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Guaman Poma articulates a response that is actually consistent with the discourse of purity of blood. Not only does Guaman Poma adamantly deny that Amerindians are disbelievers, he goes as far as to claim that they were Christian even before the conquest. By doing so, he seeks to establish a parallel between the indigenous' Old Christian genealogy (which, as he repeatedly states, is traceable only to either Adam or Noah) and the fact that Amerindians were Christians even before the Spaniard's arrival. That is, he attributes to their pure-blooded genealogy the fact that Amerindians were pre-conquest Christians. He thus reinforces the notion that one's biological ancestry determines a person's behavior,

including that persons' ability to become a good Christian. Again, then, we see why establishing the indigenous' genealogy is of such dire importance to Guaman Poma. It is by establishing the indigenous' purity of blood that he is able to counteract claims like García's about Amerindians' religious disbelief. On the other hand, Guaman Poma is also responding to García's comment about how the Amerindians are indeed descendent from the Jews because both groups are uncharitable. As in the case of the argument about them being disbelievers, here Guaman Poma does not seek to dispute the central premise on which the notion of purity of blood is based, namely the claim that one's biological inheritance deterministically shapes a persona's character. Rather, by emphasizing that even before the conquest the natives already followed the ten commandment and were charitable among themselves, Guaman Poma once again reasserts the Amerindians' pure-blooded genealogy, and he precisely uses that to explain how they could have practiced purportedly Christian actions even before the arrival of the Spaniards. Once again then, we see that in Guaman Poma's text the question of genealogy gets linked to the discourse of purity of blood, and it is around this issue that Guaman Poma structures part of his defense of the indigenous. As these examples help establish, Guaman Poma's adamant insistence on the need to prove that the indigenous were direct descendents of either Adam or Noah's is deeply intertwined with his own reactivation of the discourse of purity of blood. Yet, while this issue is most clearly articulated in relation to the theory of the Jewish origin of the indigenous, Guaman Poma's views on these matters also structure his abject characterization of *mestizos*. As he states

aunque sea mestizo, ci es judío se le pega la mancha en ellos. El hombre tiene la culpa hazer hijo judío o mestizo y sus parientes tiene la culpa. Y ci fue el hombre

gente baja o judío y la muger fue de la casa de caualleros y de cristiano viejo, de todo se echa a perder, parientes y linages y sus hijo; son de rruyn casta, peor que mestizo. Guaman Poma 470

In this case, Guaman Poma implies that *mestizos* themselves are a potential source of religious impurity. By doing so, not only does he reactivate the discourse of purity of blood in order to condemn sexual relations with *mestizos*, he overtly discusses the stain of race that *mestizos*, like *conversos*, were to said to have. It is within this multi-layered and complex system of beliefs that Guaman Poma inserted his overt condemnation of *mestizos*. His views bring together ideas about the segregation of space and the racialization of sex as he develops his categorical condemnation of *mestizos*.

### **Conclusion**

Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* offers a powerful and complex denunciation of *mestizos*, one that at the same time articulates their liminal place within the Dual Republic model, and one which also openly decrees the racialized sex that the very existence of this group represents. His text thus brings together the two poles around which my analysis of *mestizaje* in relation to colonial processes of racialization has been structured. As we have seen, not only was he adamantly insistent on the need to keep Spaniards and Amerindians apart, he openly denounced interracial sex. His views about *mestizos* are thus constantly articulated around these two interrelated poles: spatial segregation and the racialization of sex. Moreover, his insistence on fostering the growth of the indigenous population, while at the same time calling for an end to the reproduction of *mestizos*, further forces us to recognize the type of transition in power's hold over life that characterizes the age of biopower.

## CONCLUSION

The examination of each of the three case-studies discussed in this project has helped establish that spatial segregation and the curtailment of interracial sex were two of the main issues around which early-colonial discourses on *mestizaje* were articulated. The analysis of these cases has showed that these discourses were informed by broader transatlantic developments in the history of race, and it has helped establish the importance that the study of colonial Latin America has for current efforts to historicize and further theorize this notion. On the one hand, the study of colonial Latin America has a great deal to contribute to scholarship on race because the region witnessed historically-unprecedented levels of miscegenation that led to increase anxieties over racial mixture. As these anxieties got intertwined with notions of purity of blood, as well as later formulations about skin color as a visual marker of impurity, these early colonial discourse on *mestizaje* evince that notions about racial mixture developed in relation to colonial systems of racialization. On the other hand, the study of colonial Latin America can allow us to further deepen studies on race like Bernasconi's, JanMohamed's, and Foucault's by offering an alternate historical context on which to test their theories. Not only can Latin American discourses on *mestizaje* be read as instances of racialized sex, they indicate that the creation of racial/sexual borders depend both on spatial production and on the attempt to control women's sexualities; in the latter case, particularly when the question of exogamous reproduction is seen as a problem that merits direct interventions into the management of racialized populations.

Although the central focus of this project has been to examine how the notion of *mestizaje* operates in relation to the reification of racial categories in colonial Latin

America, I began by situating the object of my analysis within the broader, transatlantic, framework that helped shape its development. By doing this, my intention was to stress that we cannot dissociate the trajectory of racialization processes in colonial Latin America from wider developments conterminously taking place in the Iberian Atlantic world. This transatlantic perspective has in turn allowed me to chart some of the similarities between Spanish-America and Portuguese-America, and it has helped establish the importance and validity of studies focusing on comparative colonialisms. Though the specific case-studies analyzed have been focused primarily on Iberian-Amerindian relations, as I have pointed out throughout this project, the large-scale importation of African slaves also decisively shaped colonial systems of racialization in the Americas. As future studies continue to establish the relationship between early-modern notions of race that developed in the Iberian-Atlantic world, and systems of colonial racialization that emerged in the Americas in relation of *mestizaje*, our understanding about race and its relation to sex will continue to deepen. In this regard, Latin America still has much to contribute to discussions about race mixture.

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