SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF JUAN DEL VALLE Y CAVIEDES' SATIRE OF COLONIAL AFRO-PERUVIANS

by

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INTRODUCTION

Juan del Valle y Caviedes (1652?-1696?) is an important Latin American colonial poet, as well as a unique interpreter of his society. Although he is known mostly for his satire of physicians in the work, Asañas de la Ygnorancia, which is usually called Diente del Parnaso,[1] there are many other facets of his poetry which merit careful attention. One of these, which includes poems from Asañas as well as others, is his portrayal of Afro-Peruvians. In this study we have undertaken to analyze a relatively small part of his work, which is comprised of eleven complete poems, parts of 24 others and two agudas. It marks the first time in the critical literature devoted to Caviedes that the poems and verses he dedicates to Afro-Peruvians have been taken as a whole as a theme for extended research. This study is also the first in which an attempt to analyze single poems in their entirety has been made. Although this statement may seem extravagant, anyone who has read several of Caviedes' poems will understand immediately why this is so; overall, they are not complex, but a large portion of them contain at least one difficult allusion, and one or more lexical, grammatical or copyist's errors, which make the critic's task arduous. It is

much easier, and also useful for preliminary studies, to divide them up by gross content--for example, satire of doctors, lawyers and women, religious poems, love poems, etc.--than to try to decipher the meaning of such verses as "cuatro perdones en Peralvillo" or "con su boca en Bocanegra." One of the major problems for a critic of Caviedes' work is that the only extensive (nearly "complete") compilation of it is the 1947 edition made by the Jesuit Rubén Vargas Ugarte, which has many errors, either typist's or copyist's, and which is shorn of poems and parts of poems which the editor found too inappropriate (that is, lewd or scatological) to print.[2] Many of these barriers to analysis can be overcome by filling in lacunae with additions from Manuel de Odriozola's 1873 edition,[3] and by comparison of certain poems with the transcription of the Ayacucho manuscript of the poet's work, published in 1972 by the Peruvian scholar María Leticia Cáceres.[4]

However, even with these aids, some difficult passages can only be cleared up by reference to other similar passages in the poet's own work, or by applying common sense to logical possibilities. Others defy interpretation, possibly because of garbled verses.

With some luck, Professor Daniel Reedy, of the University of Kentucky, may one day be able to complete the labors he began several years ago in an attempt to prepare a critical edition of Caviedes' works based on a comparison and collation of the extant manuscripts.[5] Until such time, this study must be based on the materials outlined above.

Our topic, the examination of Caviedes' satire of colonial Afro-Peruvians, is not only useful for an understanding of a major area of Caviedes' poetry and the nature of his importance in colonial letters as a whole, it is also timely. The 1970's have witnessed a renewed interest in the presence of the person of African ancestry in Hispanic letters, both as subject and as author.[6] This study is unique in this context, for wherever the presence of such people is noted in early Hispanic literature, that is, in medieval, Golden Age peninsular or colonial Latin American, Caviedes is not mentioned. Earlier pathmakers in this area, such as Carter G. Woodson, Valaurez B. Spratlin and John F. Matheus,[7] writing in the 1930's, had, of course, only a small possibility of coming in contact with Caviedes' works, due to the simple unavailability of textual materials. In fact, they did not discover his portrayal of Afro-Peruvians at all; and later studies which use

theirs as groundwork naturally do not discuss him either. Therefore, it is with a certain excitement associated with discovery that this study has been developed.

Caviedes is primarily known as a satiric poet. Since we will have occasion to refer to satiric elements in his work, it is necessary to define our understanding of the term "satire." Satire is both a kind of literature and a spirit or tone. The sense in which we take it for Caviedes is the latter. A satirist may use any literary or rhetorical devices he chooses, but his purpose is "to make the object of attack abhorrent or ridiculous."[8] We generally find a satirist attacking vice, foolishness and other social ills, sometimes with a possible desire for reform. In Caviedes, we can see a certain evidence of a desire for reform, insofar as his concern with the socio-economic status of Afro-Peruvians in the colony pleads for a return to a former, rapidly disappearing status quo. Since he envisions this aspect of colonial life as a social ill, he satirizes Afro-Peruvians either directly or indirectly (that is, while satirizing someone else) in the poems where they appear. Our purpose in this thesis is not really to define satirical techniques used by Caviedes, in

themselves, but rather to point out particularly pertinent social areas in which he could and did verbally attack Peruvians of African descent, together with an analysis of some of the demographic, economic, social and political factors which most likely led to his satire in such areas.

Caviedes was also a social poet, a satirist of his times. In order to comprehend much of his work more or less fully--certainly the most interesting and extensive part--we must understand the social history of the seventeenth-century Peruvian colonial world. Since there is still a good deal of basic research to be done in this area, a study which attempts to deal with a body of poetry which finds its source more in daily reality than in prevailing literary styles, and which is several centuries removed from us, encounters special difficulties. How can we in the twentieth century recover the full meaning which Caviedes' poems had for seventeenth-century readers and listeners?

Quite a bit has been written about Caviedes' stylistic and thematic "baroqueness."[9] But what about his uniqueness? Caviedes was a poet only tangentially concerned with the style and themes of his times. By this we mean that he was no innovator in a formal sense

(although he was not a slavish imitator like many of his contemporaries), and that among his themes may be found many of those common to his epoch (and virtually any epoch), as, for example, disillusion, disdained love, or religious fervor. But we are dealing with a poet whose work can be explicated comparatively seldom solely with the internal data of the poem, or of the body of poetry. We are often forced to look outside the individual poem in order to understand it. When Caviedes began to write, he was faced with pre-existent conventions and formulas, as is any writer of literature; with these, and within their limits, as his means of production, he wrote his poetry, based on the raw data of his historical experience. Thus, he reflects colonial opinion and reality from a certain viewpoint, and he uses materials taken very directly from phenomena around him.

We know precious little about Caviedes' life, but we do know that he was born in Spain (though he seems to have lived most of his life in Lima).[10] Anyone who is acquainted with colonial literature and history will appreciate the importance of this single fact in conferring social status in the Spanish colonies. Furthermore, and of critical importance to this study,

he was, without a doubt, of non-African descent, at least in his own estimation. We say "without a doubt" mostly due to internal evidence in the poems considered in this study, and not because all Spaniards were of an equally light-skinned racial background.

Although there is, undoubtedly, much more to do in the area, a certain general outline of society, history and notable occurrences during Caviedes' time (the second half of the seventeenth century) in Peru and, especially, Lima has been established in critical works about the poet.[11] Furthermore, his relationship to certain other literary figures in Peru and Spain, and to the literary currents of his period, has been sketched; some aspects of the latter have been studied in depth.[12] Since most of this information and analysis is not germaine to this study, we will have little occasion to refer to it. It might, however, be useful to mention that his relationship to other poets of his period whose work treats dark-skinned members of the Hispanic population has not been examined. An in-depth comparison would be too broad a subject for our study here, but a couple of preliminary observations can be made. One of the noteworthy aspects of Caviedes' poetry is that the percussive repetitions and imitations

of "black" Spanish, which are common among his contemporaries, are completely lacking in his verses. Another is that most other poets seem to deal with blacks as members of low society, often in the context of song and dance, whereas Caviedes shows African colonists at various socio-economic levels, especially those in the process of fusion with a middle group, to whom his satire is principally directed.

In this study we will isolate those elements of Caviedes' poems about Afro-Peruvians which tend to persuade an audience of the marginality and inferiority of these people. If the elements in these poems achieve their purpose, and we are assuming that they do, it is because the poet assumes an audience predisposed to his viewpoint. It is not difficult to find a basis for such predisposition in a society like that of colonial Peru, considering that the major part of the economy was based on the labor of black slaves, and Indians coerced into virtually the same status. Indians do not appear much in Caviedes' work precisely because he is an urban poet of the lowlands--of Lima, to be exact. The most visible dark-skinned race there was the black.

Caviedes concentrates, furthermore, on the Afro-Peruvian of mixed race, and we do not have to

search long for reasons in this regard. The Spanish Crown and its representatives overseas always made it perfectly clear through law and decree that the mixture of the African with either the Indian or the Spaniard in the colony was to be discouraged. But social and economic circumstances collaborated to make such mixture inevitable. With an African population in Lima numbering over half the city's inhabitants by the middle of the seventeenth century, and because of several Spanish policies which had led to large-scale manumission by then, these people necessarily began to make inroads into the skilled and professional levels of colonial society. Furthermore, due to the paradoxical Spanish attitude that mulattoes were despicable but more acceptable than a pure black because of partial "white" ancestry, and to factors which tended to make all blacks conform to the Spanish norm rather than to an African one, it was the interracial Afro-Peruvians who spearheaded such incursions. Thus, we presume an audience of largely light-skinned Spanish-descended colonists not so badly off economically that they would not care who practiced what profession, nor so well off as to assume their perpetual social and economic superiority. This puts the persona Caviedes

creates for his verses into a middle group on the socio-economic scale. It is a group which probably comprises artisans, small merchants and lower level professional people (excluding physicians and surgeons).[13]

Of course, the audience to whom we refer above is the audience that overhears the poetry. Most of the poems about Afro-Peruvians presume an internal audience, often the very interracial individuals who are being satirized. This device may allow the persona to show the Afro-Peruvians in question "incriminating" themselves, or it may allow the persona to adopt the ironic stance of "burying" someone in the process of pretending to praise him. These two techniques serve the rhetorical purpose of keeping the audience that overhears the poems on the side of the persona. Satirical rhetoric which has as its goal the separation and ridicule of a group of people within a society must make its desired results palatable to the rest of that society. Thus, Caviedes makes Afro-Peruvians "different" physically from the "acceptable" light-skinned part of society. He minimizes or negates their humanity and their virtue. He ridicules their "usurpation" of Spanish behavior. Much of this is accomplished while employing the two techniques described above.

One of the strongest appeals a satirist can make to the audience whom he feels will be on his side is the appeal from his own position of virtue. Is Caviedes' persona worthy of belief? Does he convince his audience that he is a right-thinking individual, a man who values what they value? We think he does, and it is in this context that we must consider his work as a whole. In this respect we disagree strongly with those critics who have suggested (in the absence of dates for any of Caviedes' poems) that his romantic verse was written in his youth, his satire in his more mature years, and his religious verse at a time when he felt he was near death.[14] While we would not suggest that all the poems were written at one time, we do feel that he probably wrote all three types at various points in his poetic production. This view is justifiable rhetorically. At a period in Hispanic history when religion was so important, any writer who hoped to be taken seriously had to write some religious poetry. Caviedes is conservative in his religious works. They are dedicated mostly to demonstrating the truth of Catholic doctrine or to contrition for sins. He is also supportive of established authority in the political sphere, as shown in such poems as "Quintillas en el certamen

que se dio por la universidad, a la entrada del Conde de la Monclova" (40-43), or "Al sepulcro del Duque de la Palata" (106). His sixteen amorous romances (61-73), written in a style reminiscent of Garcilaso, also serve to establish Caviedes as a serious poet, for to use a certain style is to invoke the authority of the original. Furthermore, if we consider how often he criticizes women, many of them prostitutes, his amorous verse, in which he exalts women (we do not confine this comment to the romances), serves to establish him as a person who praises virtue where it exists.

We can find many instances of this interplay of virtue and vice, that is, of poems which establish the poet as virtuous so that he may be trusted when he condemns vice in others. Thus, his condemnation of greed may be set against poems such as "La riqueza es más desgracia que dicha" (98) and "Porqué los pobres son capaces y los ricos torpes" (101); that of false erudition against "Carta a la Monja de México" (32-36) and "Definición de lo que es ciencia" (99). Such poems convey the norms against which satire is set. The poems of the separate section or work titled "Remedios para ser lo que quisieres" also function on this principle, for the "Salvedades" sections clarify the acceptable norm

against which the critical sections are measured.[15]

Thus, Caviedes establishes within his poetic work the trustworthiness of his opinion and the norms to which he adheres. He assumes that all right-thinking individuals (those who think like he does) will have similar standards. For this reason, his audience is likely to agree with him when he criticizes behavior, morality or race unacceptable to his standards. A lot of Caviedes' poetry is humorous, often because of exaggeration and word play; and because it has this quality he can manipulate his audience more effectively than he could with a more denotative or declamatory style. Everyone likes to laugh. But it is a mistake to take him strictly at his word when he intimates that he writes primarily to entertain (216-217). Satirical language is principally a weapon. It both reflects and perpetuates cultural attitudes. Therefore, when Caviedes places Afro-Peruvians in certain situations, portrays them in a certain manner, or attributes certain qualities to them, he does so for a reason. In the succeeding chapters we shall examine his satire of Afro-Peruvians and discern his purpose.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The title given to this work by Caviedes, and its modification by subsequent editors, is discussed by María Leticia Cáceres in El Manuscrito de Ayacucho: Fuente documental para el estudio de la obra literaria de don Juan del Valle Caviedes (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1972), pp. 5-9. Hereafter, whenever we mention the Ayacucho manuscript, we are referring to this transcription; use of accents is modernized, spelling and punctuation are reproduced as in the original.

[2]Juan del Valle y Caviedes, Obras de Don Juan del Valle y Caviedes, ed. Rubén Vargas Ugarte (Lima: Tipografía Peruana, 1947). All numbers in parentheses after quotations from poems or references thereto refer to page numbers of this edition; use of accents is modernized, spelling and punctuation are reproduced as in the original.

[3]_____, Diente del Parnaso. Poesías serias y jocosas, in Documentos literarios del Perú, ed. Manuel de Odriozola (Lima: A. Alfaro, 1873), V, 21-281.

[4]Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho.

[5]Letter to author dated August 26, 1975.

[6]This is indicated by the appearance of such works as Miriam DeCosta, ed., Blacks in Hispanic Literature: Critical Essays (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977); Richard L. Jackson, The Black Image in Latin American Literature (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1976), and "Research on Black Themes in Spanish American Literature: A Bibliographic Guide to Recent Trends," Latin American Research Review, 12, No. 1 (1977), 87-103; and Lemuel A. Johnson, The Devil, the Gargoyle, and the Buffoon: The Negro as Metaphor in Western Literature (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971).

[7]Their articles are reprinted in DeCosta, ed., Blacks in Hispanic Literature.

[8]R(obert) C. E(lliot), "Satire," Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. Alex Preminger (1st paperback ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 738.

[9]See, for example, Emilio Carilla, La literatura barroca en Hispanoamérica (New York: Anaya, 1972), pp. 82-85; Daniel R. Reedy, The Poetic Art of Juan del Valle Caviedes (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964); Guillermo Lohmann Villena and Luis Jaime Cisneros, Bernabé Cobo--Juan del Valle Caviedes (Lima: Ed. Universitaria, 1966), pp. 49-114; Eduardo F. Hopkins Rodríguez, "Aspectos del Barroco en la Obra de Don Juan del Valle y Caviedes," unpublished thesis (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1974), and "El desengaño en la poesía de Juan del Valle Caviedes," Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana, año I, no. 2 (1975), 7-19.

[10]Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Dos documentos inéditos sobre don Juan del Valle y Caviedes," Revista Histórica, 11 (1937), 277-283.

[11]Glen L. Kolb, Juan del Valle y Caviedes. A Study of the Life, Times and Poetry of a Spanish Colonial Satirist (New London, Connecticut: Connecticut College, 1959); and Reedy, The Poetic Art, pp. 15-18.

[12]See Note 9, especially Reedy, The Poetic Art, and Hopkins, "Aspectos del Barroco."

[13]We would even put Caviedes himself somewhat tentatively in this category, for in his last will and testament he speaks of "un trapiche de moler metales de plata," which his wife sold for him and for which 800 pesos are still owed (Lohmann Villena, "Dos documentos inéditos," p. 281). This bespeaks a possible involvement in mining, perhaps as an assayer, an employment also suggested by other allusions in the poetry. Jaime Concha has suggested Caviedes' link to "las incipientes capas medias urbanas, ligadas al comercio y al artesanado," in "La literatura colonial hispano-americana: Problemas e hipótesis," Neohelicon 4, No. 1-2 (1976), 33, note 5.

[14]Luis Alberto Sánchez, Los poetas de la colonia y de la revolución (Lima: Ed. PCTM, 1947), p. 175; Luis Fabio Xammar, "La poesía de Juan del Valle Caviedes en el Perú colonial," Revista Iberoamericana, 12 (1947), 75-91; and Reedy, The Poetic Art.

[15]María Leticia Cáceres suggests that this group of poems should be considered a separate and complete work, in "El manuscrito de Ayacucho como fuente documental para el estudio de la obra literaria de don Juan del Valle y Caviedes," Literatura de la Emancipación Hispanoamericana y Otros Ensayos: Memoria del XV Congreso del Instituto de Literatura Iberoamericana, (9-14 de Agosto de 1971) (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1972), p. 360, n. 1.

Chapter 1

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACIAL DEFINITION

In the critical discussion of Caviedes' work, his racial designations for Afro-Peruvians, when they have been discussed at all, have been taken in a general sense, with little thought to their importance or implications. Luis Cisneros, for example, says: "Los negros son los más constantemente aludidos." He also mentions the surgeon, Pedro de Utrilla, "a cuya condición de mulato no cesa de referirse Caviedes."[1] Glen Kolb points out, on the other hand, that Caviedes calls Utrilla a zambo, defining the term as "a person of mixed Indian and Negro blood."[2]

The first point which we would like to make with reference to terminology, a point of critical importance for this study, is that there is, in fact, very little allusion to people of exclusively African ancestry and black skin pigment in Caviedes' poems. If this were the case, Caviedes would be dealing mostly with slaves or persons not far removed from this condition. But this is not the case. By far, the greatest part of Caviedes' satirical effort with respect to Afro-Peruvians is directed to those of mixed race. Even

in poems where the reference to a dark-skinned person is minimal, the person is generally a mixed "caste." This term, "casta" in Spanish, merits some clarification in itself.

When the Spanish spoke of castes in reference to the colonies, they meant people of mixed racial background, especially when this background included the Negro race. The rapid miscegenation which occurred with colonization of the New World led to the adoption of a wide variety of racial classifications. However, the mixtures as a whole were called "castas." Caviedes uses the term to categorize the interracial surgeon, Pedro de Utrilla, in the following examples:

> Porque de vuestra casta un gozquesito
> le quisiera criar para la hijada. (103)

> Bravo cirujano dice
> él mismo que es y se engaña
> en lo cirujano, que
> en lo otro no, que es de casta. (249)

The socio-economic position of the castes in the colony was contradictory. Legally, they were at the bottom of the scale, whether free or slave. Yet they were in about the middle on the social scale, above the Indians, because they knew Spanish and worked for or with Spanish-Peruvians. While mestizos were also victims of a certain amount of discrimination, the various

black castes were by far the recipients of the greatest share of it.

The social historian Magnus Mörner notes that the "disdain of both Spaniards and criollos for mestizos and other 'castas' was as good as boundless," and that socioracial terminology "always reflected disdain."[3] This "disdain" must surely be called racism, and Caviedes' poetry is an excellent example of it. His disdain manifests itself partially in the very assignment of labels meant to identify the relative percentage of the two or three races contained in a person who is a product of miscegenation. Clearly, these labels have negative connotations; they carry the negative viewpoint of a dominant race or group of people with respect to those of another race or type of grouping. Certainly a mulatto, for example, does not feel the need to label himself as such. The existence of such a term is based on the need of a light-skinned societal group to separate from itself an element which it sees as debased and qualitatively different from itself. That the term "mulato," especially, is not a neutral designation based on some abstract desire for precision is attested by Corominas' historical derivation of the word in Spanish from "mulo," the comparison being made

between the hybrid generation of person and animal.[4]

Thus it was that the Spaniard in the Peruvian colony, as master in social relationships, defined the racial mixtures as "mulato," "pardo," "zambo," "tente en el aire," "salto atrás," "barcino," "cuarterón," "mestizo," etc., taking all together as "castas."[5] He could not consider those of mixed race, or of another race, for that matter, as people like himself, so he set them apart with labels whose major purpose was to keep those who bore them "in their place," out of "white" society, far from positions of social and economic dominance. Caviedes uses several of these labels, often with imprecision; and even this imprecision has some rhetorical importance. Caviedes is not concerned with historical or documentary exactitude, but with the negative connotations of the terms he chooses to define the people of African ancestry appearing in his poems. Although almost all of the Afro-Peruvians he writes about are of mixed race, the labels Caviedes attaches to them emphasize the black racial aspect. It is this emphasis, with its inherent inexactitude, which allows him to called the interracial surgeon, Pedro de Utrilla, "zambo," "negro" and "mulato" ("molato" due to the poet's attempt to imitate the speech of an Indian

doctor), as in the following examples:

> Vejamen que le dio el author al
> zambo Pedro de Utrilla, el mozo. (243)

> Por ser grandes matadores
> en tus ojos estoy viendo
> al uno y al otro Utrilla,
> que los dos también son negros. (54)

> Mere usted, señor molato,
> al contra del mío, medras,
> porque osté cora con piedras
> y yo con las piedras mato. (247)

Caviedes shows the same vacillation, undoubtedly for the same reason, in "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos," when he writes:

> El primero en preguntar
> fue Perico Basarrano,
> que, por mulato y corchete,
> estaba medio apestado.
> Este lado, prosiguió,
> señor, que tengo de zambo
> está muy pesado . . . (303)

In addition to the choice of racial terms especially charged with negative connotations, Caviedes' vacillation also shows what seems to be a colonial tendency to count all people of mixed race (when one race was the Negro) as mulatto.[6] The mulatto also seems to have been the most common racial mixture in Lima in the seventeenth century. This demographic fact is reflected by Caviedes in his poetry on Afro-Peruvians, for mulattoes appear far more often than any other type. Some examples are the following:

Mulatos enterradores,
pues que sois ministros fieros
de los médicos criminales. (284)

Otros dotes hay más pobres;
pues si con mujer mulata
una blanca no ha llevado,
ha llevado media blanca. (249)

Tendrás pase de negras y mulatas
que te aplaudan tus muchas pataratas. (139)

With regard to the term "zambo," Caviedes uses it in the reference to Pedro de Utrilla mentioned previously, as well as in the following example:

si un sambo le dan ¿quién duda
que un sambo de sambos se llama? (248)

Actually, there is some textual evidence to indicate that Utrilla was part Indian and, therefore, a true zambo, when Caviedes, in the "Vejamen," calls him:

forzado del amasijo
de la Muerte, si en la artesa
de los hospitales de indios
se amasan tortas trigueñas. (244)

However, further on in the same poem, we find the following metaphor, which could just as well "prove" the surgeon's white-black background:

paño de entierro enrollado
en quien, por gotas de cera
que le faltan, por la casta
le suplen gotas de brea. (244)

Thus, we can see that the salient features for Caviedes in his choice of terms are associations with blackness and negative characteristics.

Caviedes also uses the term "pardo" to refer to the Afro-Peruvians he wishes to ridicule. "Pardo" is more indefinite than "mulato" or "zambo," and, in fact, seems to have included both possibilities. The fact that as a euphemism it gained currency in the seventeenth century is significant, for it suggests that the other two major racial designations had become too charged with negative meaning in the particular society of the time. The light-skinned Spanish-Peruvian still felt the need for a term to separate people racially unlike himself, and in this sense "pardo" is still derogatory. However, as the Afro-Peruvian at the end of the seventeenth century was becoming more and more integrated socially and economically into society, the Spaniard and Spanish creole felt the need for a term of intermediate significance, a term sufficient for separation but also liable to greater acceptance and less antagonism from the people it was designed to categorize. Caviedes uses this label in "A un mulato cohetero que dejó de serlo y se hizo médico," in which the mulatto says: "Yo, aunque pardo, en mis obras soy Bermejo" (104). And in "Narciso y Eco," Eco is described this way:

> Que era su sombra imagina,
> que sin duda era mulata

la ninfa, si en agua vista
es cualquier sombra parda. (200)

In "A una persona grave que vestía de negro y era amigo de negras," the poet, making a pun on his subject's name (probably invented for the purpose), employs a variant of "pardo":

Dicen que ya no ha de hablarse
con Pardillos, y lo creo
porque sólo con pardillas
mete lengua en todo tiempo. (178)

This poem also shows the indecisive use of "negro/a" to designate racial background, for the title refers to "negras" but the poem itself deals with interracial women.

We find pardos separated from negros in the poem "A los ojos de una dama," where the poetic persona says to his lady:

Por tus ojos, que a mis ojos
trates con más miramiento,
que por pardos son mal vistos
de los negros.[7]

A further example of the use of "pardo," with the pun naturally suggested to a Spaniard by the term, occurs in "Jácara," which deals with the Hospital of San Bartolomé:

con su favor, la ruina
de esta casa es ya un palacio,
y aun más, que si un Pardo es uno
ésta incluye muchos pardos. (45)

Caviedes alludes to the indecisive nature of his racial terminology in the "Memorial de los mulatos," when he says:

> Los pardos de esta ciudad
> que por Guineo Cupido
> son revoltosos conceptos
> de amores blancos y tintos,
> gente del amanecer,
> pues traen lo pardo indeciso,
> de quien cogieron el nombre
> los días buenos de estío. (163)

His use of the adjective "tintos" for the dark-skinned component of the mixture suggests an indefinite racial background. Furthermore, the verse "pues traen lo pardo indeciso" is a pun with a reference to the indefinite type of mixture or quantity of black ancestry as well as to the lack of certainty with respect to the father's identity.

Another euphemism adopted for dark-skinned persons of African extraction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain and its colonies was "moreno."[8] This term is employed by Caviedes in "A una persona grave que vestía de negro," when he says:

> Los encajes son muy propios
> porque encaja en lo moreno
> su gala, porque jamás
> él ha hecho punta a lo negro. (178)

Two other "caste" terms, which were less common than those mentioned above, are also used by

Caviedes and serve to point out once again both the pervasiveness of miscegenation in the colony and the poet's insistence on racial definition for dark-skinned members of the colonial population. In "Pregón," which deals with the value of the favors of certain types of women, he mentions the quadroon, that is, a person of one-fourth black ancestry:

> Manda que las cuarteronas
> tengan sin tasa el valor,
> porque todo lo trigueño
> anda caro el día de hoy. (182)

Another racial label, one that Caviedes employs to designate a child born of Pedro de Utrilla's mulatto wife, is of certain historical interest. This is the term "barcino" (and the diminutive "barcinito"), which is used in two poems as follows:

> Dos mil años logréis el cachorrito,
> aunque el estéril parto no me agrada,
> pues entendí que fuera una cornada,
> para pediros de ella un barcinito. (103)

> Un cachorrito barcino
> de la primera camada
> le suplico que me dé,
> para enseñarlo a las armas. (249)

The first example suggests that the child was not actually a product of the marriage at all, but an attempt by Pedro to "lighten" his progeny by consenting to his wife's impregnation by another man. However, this suggestion is probably the result of the colonial

assumption, reflected by Caviedes, that any child born of mixed racial parentage was illegitimate.

The adjective "barcino" is normally used to designate an animal of reddish-brown and white coloring. Thus, it is appropriate to Caviedes' satirical technique of animalization. Use of the term in a racial context has been documented in the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico), where it was used to label a complicated three-way racial mixture; however, its currency in Peru has not previously been noted. Caviedes' use of the word, therefore, documents its presence in Peru during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

It is evident that Caviedes is a faithful reflector of racial prejudice in his time, and one way such prejudice is given voice is in the use of special terms to refer to dark-skinned people, terms which by their very existence show disdain for those so designated. Caviedes' disdain for Afro-Peruvians preponderates over that which he may have had for mestizos. This is in line with the thinking of the Crown and what seems to have been the opinion of the majority of Spaniards in the colony. The black and the black-mixed castes were subject to the greatest discrimination, the former suffering from the stigma of slavery and the latter from

that of both slavery and illegitimacy. The Crown generally opposed intermarriage between Africans and Spaniards or Indians. The products of such unions were always subjected to more restrictions than mestizos, and looked upon with more repugnance.

It is easy to compare the degree of Caviedes' reflection of societal aversion to the castes by a simple numerical count of labels used for them. The particular aversion to the Afro-Peruvian of racially mixed parentage is explainable in the colony, to some degree, in socio-economic terms. Prejudice is generally an outgrowth of the desire on the part of one element of society to defend its economic self-interest, and an examination of the status of Afro-Peruvians of mixed racial background in Caviedes' poetry will prove that colonial Peru was no exception to this rule.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Lohmann Villena and Cisneros, Bernabé Cobo--Juan del Valle Caviedes, pp. 107-108.

[2]Kolb, Juan del Valle y Caviedes, p. 23.

[3]Magnus Mörner, Race Mixture in the History of Latin America (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), p. 57.

[4]Joan Corominas, Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana (Madrid: Ed. Gredos, 1967), p. 407.

[5]For the variety of racial classifications and their use throughout Latin America, see Mörner, Race Mixture, p. 59; Rolando Mellafe, Negro Slavery in Latin America, trans. J.W.S. Judge (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 114-115; Hensley C. Woodbridge, "Glossary of names used in colonial Latin America for crosses among Indians, Negroes, and whites," Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, 38 (November 15, 1948), 357-361.

[6]Frederick P. Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru: 1524-1650 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 340-341.

[7]Daniel R. Reedy, "Poesías Inéditas de Juan del Valle Caviedes," Revista Iberoamericana, 24 (enero-junio de 1963), 161.

[8]The term is used, for example, in mid-sixteenth century by Lazarillo de Tormes, when he calls his black stepfather "un hombre moreno." La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, ed. R.O. Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963, rpt. 1971), p. 5.

Chapter 2

REMINDERS OF INFERIOR ORIGIN

When an author intends to show that certain individuals in a society should be viewed as separate from and inferior to the dominant elements of that society, he portrays these individuals as different in an easily identifiable way. In Caviedes' case, the materials at hand for elaborating on the "difference" of racially mixed Afro-Peruvians were obvious; Negroid features and dark skin are virtually impossible to hide, and slaves constituted the principal labor force of the colony. Caviedes reminds his readers in a variety of ways that his subjects are dark in color, that they have other physical features that betray their debased racial background, and that their origins as citizens of the colony are founded on slavery.

Skin Pigment

Color is an obvious feature which serves to differentiate the person of black ancestry from other lighter-skinned elements of the population. Naturally, Caviedes emphasizes blackness. However, he mentions it directly comparatively seldom. Rather, he uses his

metaphorical skills to elaborate on skin pigment in a way that allows him to exploit various unpleasant aspects of colonial Afro-Peruvian reality, or unpleasant situations in general. In this context, we can examine some of the metaphors for blackness which occur in the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla" (243-247). He is called, for example, "licenciado Morcilla," the reference to pig tripe doing double duty both as a metaphor for blackness and as a suggestion of a rather distasteful part of animal anatomy, which Caviedes includes in another poem of the same type as part of the offal of the slaughterhouse. In the following verses, Utrilla is called "bachiller Chimenea" and "catedrático de Ollín," with the connotation of filth and burning these together bring to mind, in addition to the slight on his educational background. Further on he is termed:

> doctor de Cámara oscura
> del rey congo de Norieza
> cuando ha comido morcilla,
> que es la cámara morena. (243)

The suggestion of sickness or death often accompanies a darkened room, and this allusion is strengthened by the association of "cámaras," or loose bowels, with eating "morcilla." Other death metaphors related to blackness occur later in the poem, in the verses:

tumba sensible que viste,
por adentro y por afuera,
de negro luto forrada,
bayeta sobre bayeta;
responso de cocobolo,
manga de cruz con que entierran,
cabo de año de azabache,
duelo mandinga de negras;
paño de entierro enrollado
en quien, por la casta
le suplen gotas de brea;
noche de uno de Noviembre,
puesto que se trata en ella
de finados, como aqueste
mata-físico tinieblas. (243)

In this section of the poem, the words or phrases related to death are "tumba," "negro luto," "responso," "manga de cruz con que entierran," "cabo de año" (a service for the dead held on the first anniversary of their demise), "duelo," "paño de entierro enrollado," "cera" (suggestive of candles at a funeral), "noche de uno de Noviembre," "finados," and "tinieblas" (evocative of the nether world). Of course, Caviedes has many poems in which doctors are seen as harbingers of death; but this particular one exploits the dark hue of the subject's skin, calling on the ancient psychological archetype in the Western world which relates the color black to death. Finally, in the same poem, Caviedes casts aspersions on Utrilla's reputation, while continuing to pun on the color of his skin, when he says in the last verse: "es víctor de fama negra."

From these examples we can see that, though constant referral to a person's skin color would, in itself, constitute a racist slur, Caviedes also adds other connotations which are meant to intensify negative sentiments toward people of interracial background on the part of his readers. The same type of psychological suggestiveness is used in the "Romance jocoserio," where Utrilla is mentioned in the company of crows:

> La razón porque los cuervos
> siglos en la vida cuentan,
> es por no tener doctores
> que son los que la cercenan;
> que al tener algún Utrilla
> volátil las alas negras,
> volaran con este achaque
> antes que a volar salieran. (315)

Crows are black, like Utrilla supposedly, and they are associated with carrion, also like Utrilla, in Caviedes' opinion. In fact, Caviedes shows the crows in a positive light compared to the surgeon he is satirizing; nevertheless, their negative aspects, including their traditional appearance as harbingers of bad luck, cannot fail to influence the reader, at least subliminally. Caviedes also uses the crow comparison in other poems referring to doctors who are not Afro-Peruvian. Two examples are in "A un curador de cataratas" (297) and "A mi muerte próxima" (295). In these cases the comparison remains negative, since the crow is characterized as a bird

of carrion. Nevertheless, when used especially with reference to Utrilla, the color of the bird adds another dimension. In his case, blackness as a part of the negative resonance of the bird comes into play, whereas in the other two examples given, the doctor plucking out the eyes of his victim, or hovering about waiting for his patient to die, is the important part of the metaphor.

Some poems in which color metaphors occur also carry implications regarding the social reality of Afro-Peruvian life. One of these is "A una persona grave que vestía de negro y era amigo de negras" (178-179), where insistence on the black articles of clothing worn by the subject is meant to intimate the African background of an individual in whom it is probably not obvious. Another example of this category of reference occurs in "Memorial que da la Muerte al virrey," in which Caviedes recommends that various doctors be sent out to meet the enemy at Lima's door. He advises the sending of:

> Dos fragatones Utrilla
> por el color embreados
> y por la casta. (252)

Ships, of course, are made watertight by the application of pitch ("brea"), and pitch is black like Utrilla

and his father, also named Pedro de Utrilla. However, hot pitch was also used to control recalcitrant black slaves in the colony, a factor we shall examine in the third section of this chapter. Furthermore, in the lines quoted, we find that the two men in question are not only black of skin but also of caste. This intimates, as we have mentioned previously, the importance of the racial mixture in provoking Caviedes' satire against certain Afro-Peruvians.

Caviedes also refers to the pigment effect of such mixture with terms denoting more a lighter brown than black. In one instance he calls a group of mulatto actors "cómicos musgos" ("muscos" in modern spelling) (165); in others, lighter skin is described as being wheat-colored. An example of the latter occurs in "Pregón," in the following verses:

> Manda que las cuarteronas
> tengan sin tasa el valor,
> porque todo lo trigueño
> anda caro el día de hoy. (182)

There are various instances in the poems in which Caviedes alludes to the actual fact of the mixture. Just as in the examples given above, he rarely fails to insinuate some insult beyond the fact of color or racial mixture alone. An example of this occurs in the "Vejamen," in a metaphor used to describe Pedro de

Utrilla, which we have cited previously:

> paño de entierro enrollado
> en quien, por gotas de cera
> que le faltan, por la casta
> le suplen gotas de brea. (244)

The juxtaposition of black and white stands out in these verses. The lack of whiteness, suggested by "cera," is presented as a defect, which is filled in with pitch, as the cracks in a ship's hull are patched up. Furthermore, we might consider the common association, in a Catholic society, of wax with candles, and these with church ceremony. Perhaps the substitution of "brea" for "cera" may be a suggestion of lack of faith, an intimation which will take on more importance as we proceed with our analysis. An additional negative association is the relationship of pitch to punishment of black slaves, which we have already pointed out. All these possibilities are present in this one metaphor for racial mixture.

In another poem, "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla," the word "tinto" carries the idea of a mixture of colors and, thus, races. Caviedes further alludes to the mixed parentage of his subject with the word "turbio," an allusion which carried a particularly virulent suggestion at a time when proof of <u>limpieza de sangre</u> was so important. The lines referred to are:

> En el dote y en el novio
> distinción ninguna se halla
> porque en tintos no hay distintos
> y éste es turbio es verdad clara. (248)

In the same poem, the poet combines an economic insult with the reference to race mixture in the verses:

> pues si con mujer mulata
> una blanca no ha llevado,
> ha llevado media blanca. (249)

Pedro's new wife is half white and, therefore, of more value than a woman of entirely black parentage. This intimation is in keeping with the generalized colonial attitude that a mulatto, being half white, was more socially acceptable than a "pure" black. The mention of whiteness in this poem is a departure from Caviedes' customary emphasis on blackness. However, its purpose is to give him the opportunity to "devalue" the woman. She is not worth much, only half the value of the coin known as a "blanca."

A similar pun on the name of the coin occurs in "Fábula burlesca de Júpiter e Io," where Caviedes describes Io's complexion and hair in the following manner:

> Cera blanca y pelinegra
> para ser más agraciada,
> que morena y pelirubia
> no vale lo que una blanca. (147)[1]

Here we have the juxtaposition of light and dark. The

mixture of fair- and dark-skinned races is implied in the woman described as "morena y pelirubia." This woman, because of her dark skin, would not be as desirable as a white woman ("una blanca"), nor would she be worth the monetary value of a "blanca" (the coin).

The importance of insults to the interracial castes in the economic sector will be evident from our later discussion of the upwardly mobile status of these people in the latter seventeenth century.

Another type of insult is found in the indications of color mixture which occur in the "Memorial de los mulatos para representar una comedia al Conde de la Monclova" (163-165). Caviedes attacks the character of the castes, saying that the "pardos" of the poem are "revoltosos conceptos / de amores blancos y tintos." Here he puns on the various connotations of "revoltoso." The first and most obvious sense of the word comes from its root verb "revolver" and, therefore, could be translated as "complicated." The "pardos" are a complicated mix of different colors, or races. However, "revoltoso" also means riotous and rebellious, reflecting both the stereotype and the Spanish-Peruvians' fear that the black elements of the colonial population would one day rise up against them. Finally, the word means

"nauseating," reflecting Caviedes' and the light-skinned Spaniard's attitude toward interracial Afro-Peruvians.

The above color designations and mixture descriptions are ones we would expect to find in poems dealing with people of African ancestry. The color white is not often mentioned, and when it is, it is, naturally, in the context of a mixture with a darker color. Even though many of the Afro-Peruvians used as subjects of Caviedes' poems are probably just as much "white" as they are "black," the racist viewpoint sees the addition of the former to the latter as racial improvement and the opposite as racial debasement. Caviedes is no exception. In his society, black is the color of slavery and, therefore, inferiority.

Negroid Features

Caviedes' emphasis on the Negroid features of racially mixed Afro-Peruvians is also designed to indicate such inferiority. This might be seen, in part, as an ideological remnant of the sixteenth-century philosophical discussion over whether certain peoples, because of their ugly, bestial appearance and activities (in comparison to the prevailing Western European aesthetic) were slaves by nature.[2] Caviedes does, in fact, write in

one poem of his subject's "tontera bestial" (246). His accentuation of Negroid features--nose, lips and hair--makes it a likely possibility that he is echoing the aforementioned discussion. The other obvious reason for pointing out such features is to demonstrate to his readers that the racially mixed castes, who are, in fact, becoming assimilated into the Spanish-Peruvian culture of the seventeenth century, cannot be assimilated, or should not be, because they cannot hide the physical stigmata of their social inferiority.

A good example of ridicule of Negroid hair and lips appears in the "Memorial de los mulatos para representar una comedia al Conde de la Monclova," in the verses:

> Para lo cual tienen una
> comedia, que han aprendido
> con feliz memoria,
> por las pasas que traen consigo.
> Y aquella representaros
> intentan con regocijo
> y alegría, aunque veáis
> que están todos con hocico. (163)

Both "pasas" and "hocico" function as puns. The "pasas" are the kinks of Negroid hair, but Caviedes is also playing on the phonetic relationship of the word to "paso," a short theatrical piece. In other words, the mulattoes will present a short play out of their repertoire, a repertoire which they keep memorized in their

heads, that is, underneath their "pasas." "Hocico" refers to the thick lips of the mulattoes; they form a snout, to make the comparison with an animal. But "estar de hocico" also means to have a sour expression. Thus, the mulattoes will attempt to put on a joyful performance, even though their facial features prevent them from showing their happiness. The implication is that the Count should not be put off by the mulattoes' features or expression, but should appreciate their play in spite of them.

Another poem in which the phonetic similarity between "pasa" and another word dictates the choice of that word ("pase") in a verse mentioning Afro-Peruvians is "Doctos de chafalonía," where we read that if a man would appear erudite when he really is not:

> Tendrás pase de negras y mulatas
> que te aplaudan tus muchas pataratas. (139)

The snout-like lips (this time described as "la geta") appear once again in the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla," where the poet calls him:

> gallinazo curandero
> que haciendo pico la geta,
> a todos sacas las tripas
> y aun el corazón con ellas. (244)[3]

Negroid hair also appears in a pun in "Narciso y Eco," in the following context:

Que era su sombra imagina,
que sin duda era mulata
la ninfa, si en agua vista
es cualquier sombra parda.
Y no es mucho, que hay novicios
que son golosos de pasas,
y en las cepas del amor
se mueren por vendimiarlas. (200)

This segment of the poem alludes to the liking of the novices for racially mixed women of black ancestry, while punning on the dual meaning of "pasas" as kinks and raisins.

In "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla," Caviedes emphasizes personal value with a similar pun:

Pero así pasará el pobre,
que aunque su ignorante fama
dice que no vale un higo,
sé que vale muchas pasas. (249)

Here Caviedes contrasts the two fruits, figs and raisins, with a pun indicating that the surgeon is worth nothing (the meaning of the expression "no vale un higo") but his kinky hair (the "pasas" which will allow him to "pasar").

A more subtle pun on hair appears in "A una persona grave que vestía de negro y era amigo de negras," where Caviedes says:

Las medias de torzal traía
con disgusto, porque vemos
que medias de pasa gasta,
pero no medias de pelo. (178)

The man does not like his socks, because they are not

made of cloth ("de pelo"). Rather, he uses stockings of twisted silk cord ("torzal"), which is kinked up ("de pasa"), like the kinks of Negroid hair. But the point of this poem is that the gentleman betrays his racial background with the clothes he wears and the company of the ladies he frequents. Thus, the "medias de pasa" are also mulatto women. Even the phrase "medias de pelo," standing ostensibly in opposition to "medias de pasa," carries a suggestion of mixed race, since "gente de medio pelo" was a colonial term used to designate such people.[4]

There is an allusion to a certain individual's Negroid nose in "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos," where the poet writes of an "escribanillo chato" (304). The allusion could also be to his height, but the later verses, "porque era en todo y por todo, / descendiente de romanos," suggest that it is nose that is in question, possibly in addition to his stature. In this context, we can recall Quevedo's description of Cabra in <u>El Buscón</u>: "la nariz entre Roma y Francia."[5] Without further information, the reader might merely assume the man had a Roman nose, but this individual also relates how pleased he is to have no features which would connect him with Guinea; thus, we have a

clue to Caviedes' real intention with respect to the man's nose.

Finally, in the area of physical features, a reference to Pedro de Utrilla's hair in the poem "Loa a Utrilla" has special significance. The verses are: "si me muerdes, en tus pelos / libro el remedio quemados" (248). In this hyperbaton, "pelos . . . quemados" indicate frizzy hair, together with a veiled reference, perhaps, to punishment by the Inquisition.

It is clear from our examination of Negroid physical features that such features are, to Caviedes, a source of jokes and disgust. His point of view, naturally, is founded on the Western European aesthetic. For purposes of comparison, we can take a brief look at the ways the poet describes nose, lips and hair in women, presumably light-skinned, whom he admires. A particularly apt example occurs in "Pintura de una dama que con su hermosura mataba como los médicos." The lady's black hair is described as follows:

> Anegado en azabache
> de las ondas de tu pelo,
> siendo negro, mata tanto
> como si fuera Bermejo. (53)

Even though Caviedes makes a pun on the name of Dr. Bermejo, the description of the hair suggests only beauty. The same lady's nose and cheek, furthermore,

are described as "azucena y rosa." Her lips are blood red (no mention is made of their shape); her skin is "albo" and "un diluvio de nieve." Of another attractive women Caviedes writes:

> fatalidades anuncia
> suelta la trenza del pelo,
> cometa que por cabeza
> tiene un precioso lucero,
> . . . . . .
> su boca es sol que en la mar
> se contempla medio puesto,
> si es un rubí a quien las perlas
> del agua parten por medio. (46)

Here, the woman's hair is light itself and her lips a precious gem. This is the aesthetic on which Caviedes bases his idea of beauty. Black features are only a source of derogatory puns and jokes. Their presence in the context of racially mixed people cannot help but imply that the evidence of their origins in the lowest and most despised level of society is imprinted irrevocably on their physiognomy.

The Canadian scholar Richard Jackson, writing on "archetypal images and color and corresponding racial myths,"[6] with respect to their impact on race relations in Latin America notes:

> The association of the color black with ugliness, sin, darkness, immorality, Manichean metaphor, with the inferior, the archetype of the lowest order, and the color white with the opposite of these qualities partly explains

> the racist preconceptions and negative images of the black man projected . . . in much of the literature of the area.[7]

Caviedes shows these prejudices operating at a relatively early stage in the development of race relations in Latin America. In his work they match that period in colonial Peru when the interracial Afro-Peruvian was present in sufficient, free numbers in Lima society to make his mark as a citizen gaining socio-economic legitimacy. Caviedes represents the point of view of those light-skinned Spaniards who most likely saw these people as usurpers of a socio-economic position that should rightly have been reserved for themselves. Thus, he calls up images associated with the negative archetype in order to indicate the inferiority and difference of Afro-Peruvians.

Slavery

The above indications relative to skin pigment and physical features have as their principal point of reference the institution of slavery. Slavery was the Peruvian colony's major source of labor and, therefore, was in evidence at every level of society. Caviedes refers to black slavery several times. In "Pintura de una dama en seguidillas," for example, he writes:

En tus ojos admiro
cuando los veo,
tengan tantos esclavos,
siendo tan negros. (49)

Likewise, in "Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso contra el Doctor Vásquez," he suggests that the surgeon Utrilla acts as his own slave:

Como (lo) hace Utrilla el Doctor
que es en todo tan atento
que de una pieza se trae
Esclabo, Lacayo y Dueño.[8]

The first of the above quotations is particularly interesting historically because it intimates the ownership of black slaves by others of the same racial origin, a suggestion that does, in fact, reflect colonial reality.[9]

Caviedes intimates the Spanish view toward slaves in other poems, which do not in themselves deal with the slavery of blacks. For example, in "El mayor enemigo que un hombre tiene es a sí mismo," he writes: "el ser esclavo es último desprecio" (97). In this poem we see the extreme abjection of the slave in the Spanish mind. Though many slaves in the colony actually lived in reasonably good conditions, especially if they were skilled workers or household servants, they were the exception, and Caviedes is not concerned with the elite of the slave group. He wants to remind his

readers of the base origins of the racially mixed people who are the subjects of his verses. Thus, it is more to his purpose to describe rather vividly the "grillos, bragas y cadena" into which he recommends Pedro de Utrilla be put for his ineptness (246). The cure for his lack of skill, according to Caviedes, would be reversion to his "place" in society. This view of slavery corresponds to a generally accepted stereotype about the institution, and also the black slave's more common treatment.

Caviedes was aware that the slave's lot was not accepted with resignation by those involved, and he plays this fact into an insult to the subject of his satire in the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla," when he calls him:

> cimarrón de cirugía
> pues, huyendo de saberla,
> está en el monte de idiota
> con su boca en Bocanegra. (244)

The "cimarrones," or runaway slaves, were a grave problem throughout the colonial period. In fact, running away seems to have been the crime most committed by blacks.[10] Though they often stayed near the places from which they fled, in order to steal food, a great many also took off for the "monte," that is, uninhabited backwoods and brush. Caviedes also makes use of

the slavery-connected connotation of this latter term in the verses cited above. He exploits this connotation again in "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla," when he refers to "piedras" (a pun on Pedro's name) "que en montes ladran" (249).

Another poem in which we see the reaction of racially mixed people to their situation in the colony is the "Memorial de los mulatos para representar una comedia al Conde de la Monclova, en ocasión de haber quitado a uno de la horca," in which we read:

> a Vuecelencia suplican
> los dichos no susodichos,
> porque esta gente asuzada
> os mostrará los colmillos,
> que admitan de estos humildes
> este rato entretenido. (164)

Caviedes manages to make fun of the mulattoes in question with his pun on "susodichos" and "asuzada." However, he also touches briefly on a problem which was perceived as very serious by the Spanish colonists. This was the possibility of a black-mulatto revolt, also suggested earlier in the same poem, when Caviedes says that the mulatto actors are "revoltosos conceptos." Although historical evidence indicates that this was never a serious threat, the Spaniards at the time could not know that, and the great numbers of people of African descent, coupled with the almost constant threat of

foreign attack caused them to be wary. In fact, there were some incidents of violence brought about by slaves who had grouped together.[11]

Besides demonstrating the Spanish attitude toward slaves and exploiting the reaction of Afro-Peruvians to their situation in the colony in his satire, Caviedes also uses places connected with slavery in Peru to remind his audience of the origins and treatment of black people. These places are Bocanegra, Pisco and Peralvillo.

The verse "con su boca en Bocanegra," quoted above from the "Vejamen," is a pun, of course, on the color of Utrilla's mouth. However, it has particular significance with respect to Afro-Peruvians of the time. Bocanegra was the name of the Jesuit estate near Callao, the port of Lima. The black slaves of this estate seem to have had a reputation for being particularly brazen, but they were well protected by their owners.[12] Caviedes is intimating that when Utrilla flees to the "monte de idiota" (in his role as "cimarrón de cirujía"), he receives protection from a group known for allowing blacks to escape punishment for criminal activity. Thus, Caviedes touches upon a colonial phenomenon unique to the area of Lima, and with

connotations that would go beyond the obvious pun for the seventeenth-century reader.

The area of Pisco is also mentioned in the "Vejamen," in the following context:

> y en Pisco de cirujía
> le echaran donde le vieran
> en lagar los pies con uvas
> y con pasas la cabeza
> y que una masa le echaran
> grillos, bragas y cadena
> de los infinitos yerros
> que hace en sus curas hebreas. (246)

The labor of black slaves was extremely important in colonial times to the economy of the valley of Pisco in southern Peru. There, according to one colonial observer, over 10,000 blacks were employed in the wine-producing industry in the seventeenth century.[13] Thus, as we have mentioned, Caviedes advocates that the penalty for Utrilla's medical malpractice should be reduction to slavery with all its visible accouterments.

Finally, Caviedes makes reference to the area known as Peralvillo, in the "Memorial de los mulatos para representar una comedia al Conde de la Monclova." The pertinent verses are:

> que admitan de estos humildes
> este rato entretenido
> que todo os costará cuatro
> perdones en Peralvillo. (164)

This place was intimately associated with punishment

of blacks and others. An early-seventeenth-century author says of it: "A la entrada de Lima está Peralvillo ques donde asetean los negros malhechores."[14] Though Caviedes' reference makes light of the matter, the poem does deal with the Viceroy's commutation of a hanging order for a mulatto. The mention of a place associated with violent punishment of blacks, then, in addition to the hanging, serves as a reminder to people of African descent of the power which the Spanish sector of the population holds over them.

The consideration of the violent punishment sometimes meted out to Afro-Peruvians reminds us of the conditions in which many slaves were kept; that is, the "grillos, bragas y cadena" of the "Vejamen." Regarding this practice, the early-seventeenth-century indigenous author, Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, says:

> Por ello si un negro o negra resultara bellaco, lo mejor y es hasta una santa obra para el servicio de Dios y de su Majestad y para el bien de su alma y cuerpo, cargarle de hierro; a éstos no hay que azotarlos ni embrearlos, porque no hacen caso; sólo el hierro los amansa. Está demás amenazarlos sin provecho, ya que a última hora, se van huyendo al monte.[15]

Poma de Ayala, of course, was very anti-black, due to the harm he felt they had done to his people. It is interesting to note the parallels between the attitudes

demonstrated by both Caviedes and Poma de Ayala in regard to the colony's black people. As can easily be seen, both also reflect similar treatment and response on the part of the latter. One of these areas, which we have touched on briefly, but which merits a further word, is the application of burning pitch to the skin as a punitive measure. Caviedes refers to "brea" in two poems, one where he writes of "dos fragatones Utrilla / por el color embreados" (252), and the other where he says that what Utrilla the younger lacks in whiteness ("gotas de cera") he makes up in "gotas de brea" (244). Of course, Caviedes chooses a substance the color of which is supposed to reflect the color of some of Utrilla's ancestors. But to a person of such ancestry in the seventeenth century, such an allusion to pitch must have resonated with connotations of slavery and cruel punishment. In fact, one of Lima's archbishops, Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538-1606) recommended that: "a los esclavos negros no se les castigase con crueldad, mayormente con brea o con hierro malvado o de otra manera quemándole a sus carnes."[16] However, Poma de Ayala takes the opposite view, as in the case of the irons, recommending such punishment if a black is "ladrón, bellaco, borracho, coquero, tabaquero,

embustero, o chismoso."[17]

Another name which deserves some comment regarding its meaning for Afro-Peruvians is San Lázaro. It occurs in "Loa a Utrilla," in the verses:

> Miraba la llaga Utrilla,
> y con tal médico al lado
> de San Lázaro bendito
> se me figuró el retablo.
> Aunque se alabe la ninfa
> de que en posición tan rara
> no llegó allí el perro muerto,
> el vivo sí le ha llegado.
> La llaga sanó porque
> la lamió con lengua y labios. (247-248)

The Lazarus referred to in these lines is the diseased beggar of Luke 16:19-31, who lay outside a rich man's gate hoping for some scraps of food. The rich man did not take pity on him, but dogs came and licked his sores.

However, the mention of San Lázaro in the context of a poem about an Afro-Peruvian could not fail to evoke another association in the mind of the seventeenth-century reader in Lima. San Lázaro was and is a <u>barrio</u> on the eastern side of the Rímac River, which flows through Lima. It received its name in 1563 when, "por obra del espíritu caritativo del espadero español Antón Sánchez, sobre terrenos que adquirió, se funda la ladrería u Hospital de San Lázaro, donde fueron recogidos los negros leprosos que escondían su

terrible mal en los campos."[18] Many black people settled in the environs of this hospital. The district became specifically associated with slaves from 1624 on. In that year the Lima city council decided to quarantine newly arrived African slaves in compounds there to avoid the spread of the diseases they brought with them to other parts of the city; by 1633, four compounds had been built and were in use.[19] Likewise, many mills which employed slave labor were located in the San Lázaro district.[20] Thus, though Caviedes uses a comparison with a Biblical character to make the lewd point of his poem (that is, to make Utrilla look disgusting), the mere mention of the name has special significance for Afro-Peruvians in reminding them of their slave origins. Naturally, the rest of Caviedes' audience would also be reminded of the same fact.

Such reminders are not limited solely to associations within the colony itself. The poet also uses place or tribal names from Africa for the same purpose. The geographical area most often indicated in the poems is Guinea. Pedro de Utrilla is "graduado en la Guinea" (243); the mulattoes putting on a play for the Viceroy were engendered "por Guineo Cupido" (163); the man who dressed in black and sought the company of women of the

same color is wished the enjoyment of "más de mil siglos guineos" (179); and a scribe thanks the Lord that he does not have "de Guinea cosa alguna" (304). The Congo area and the Mandinga tribe are also mentioned, both twice. The first occurs in the "Vejamen" in the verses "del rey congo de Norieza" (243) and "requies cat impase congo."[21] In the same poem Utrilla is called a "duelo mandinga de negras" (244); and the clothing of the man who dressed in black, mentioned above, is referred to as a "gala mandinga" (179).

These, then, are the three main groups of Africans which Caviedes mentions in his poetry. The predominance of Guinea coincides with the Peruvian and general Spanish preference for slaves from this area. Peruvian notarial records indicate that about 55 percent of the slaves imported to Peru from 1560 to 1650 were listed as being from this region.[22]

Certain areas of origin or tribal designations were a matter of common knowledge in the colony, as Caviedes' poetry shows. In fact, some slaves had their origin as their surname. This was especially true of those from the Congo-Angola area.[23] However, it must have been common with other groups also, for one "Simón Mandinga, negro," is mentioned in Medina's history

of the Inquisition in Peru as having been punished by that institution in the 1660's.[24] Furthermore, as additional evidence of the high visibility of this tribal name, a map of Lima made in 1713 lists the name of "Matamandinga" for one of the gateways through the wall surrounding the city.[25]

One other item is of special interest with respect to Caviedes' use of the slave trade to denigrate people of African background. This is his inclusion of the word "pieza" in "Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso," where he says of Pedro de Utrilla:

> Como (lo) hace Utrilla el Doctor
> que es en todo tan atento
> que de una pieza se trae
> Esclabo, Lacayo y Dueño.[26]

Slaves were sold, not as individuals, but in terms of the labor output expected from one unit, which was known as a "pieza de Indias." For purposes of tribute payment, a prime slave, male or female, who met certain conditions of age, health, size, etc., equalled one "pieza." All others equaled a varying fraction thereof. The word was also used loosely to refer to any adult black slave.[27] In the above verses, Caviedes seems to be using the idea of fractions ("Esclabo, Lacayo y Dueño") to equal one "pieza." Thus, he not only insults the surgeon by calling him a slave, he in

effect does it twice. Of course, he is at the same time implying Utrilla's mixed racial heritage by assigning him three different social levels.

Caviedes' reference to African place or tribal designations is another of the many ways he insults Peruvians of African descent, for they can only serve as reminders of the conditions under which they or their ancestors came to be in Peru. All of his vocabulary related to slavery and attendant phenomena point to Caviedes' general awareness of conditions surrounding the trade and practice. Yet, this is not to suggest that he was involved in either one. It would seem that he was not, based on his last will and testament.[28] In the area of commerce in slaves, we have shown his awareness of certain slave origins; but we could just as well show his ignorance with the same data, for at least thirty such designations are given in Peruvian notarial archives.[29] Caviedes simply reflects a general popular acquaintance with these origins. The important point to take into consideration here is the manner in which the pervasive colonial institution of black slavery makes its way into the substance of Caviedes' literary creation, mostly in the form of satirical ammunition for use against Afro-Peruvians. We say "mostly" because

we also find him extending a slave-connected metaphor to another sector of society, when he calls a certain Doctor Fuentidueñas "cimarrón de medicina" (234). However, far from mitigating the effect of such metaphors, their use for non-blacks further proves the intention of the poet to debase with them the person who serves as the subject of the verses where they occur.

Conclusion

The implication of Caviedes' references to skin color, physiognomy and the institution of slavery is that Afro-Peruvians cannot be integrated into the colonial society at any level above slave status because they look different from the physical type generally associated with Spaniards or Europeans, and because no one should be allowed to claim any social status which is not his by inheritance or royal award. This latter implication is consistent with the poet's stand against all those who take on the trappings of a social class superior to the one in which they originated, when they come to the New World.

In terms of the language of racism, such references, in a satirical context, serve the function of reminding both the internal audience (often Afro-

Peruvians themselves) and those who "overhear" the poems of the "place" of people of African ancestry in the colony. Since such reminders would not be needed if the socio-economic status quo were not in a state of change, we must conclude that Caviedes is responding, at least in part, and perhaps not entirely consciously, to the novel phenomenon (in the seventeenth century) of mass social mobility of people of African ancestry in a Hispanic environment.

FOOTNOTES

[1]It is likely that "cera" should read "cara" in the first of these verses.

[2]See Lewis Hanke, Estudios sobre Fray Bartolomé de las Casas y sobre la lucha por la justicia en la conquista española de América (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Eds. de la Biblioteca, 1968), pp. 303-338.

[3]Cáceres, in El Manuscrito de Ayacucho (p. 43), transcribes "tienta" instead of "geta." The "tienta," being a surgical instrument, makes sense in the context, but "geta" (today "jeta") seems even more appropriate, since the human lips are that part of the anatomy which would, indeed, be the counterpart of the beak on a bird.

[4]Jean Descola, Daily Life in Colonial Peru: 1710-1820, trans. Michael Heron (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 25.

[5]Francisco de Quevedo, El Buscón, ed. Américo Castro, Clásicos Castellanos, I (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), p. 33. Castro's note on this description of Cabra's nose reads: "tenía la nariz aplastada (roma) y desfigurada como si hubiera padecido la sífilis o el mal francés (Francia)."

[6]Jackson, The Black Image, p. xiii.

[7]Ibid.

[8]These verses are taken from Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho (p. 76), because of the unintelligibility of this section of the poem in Caviedes, Obras, ed. Vargas Ugarte (p. 286).

[9]James Lockhart, Spanish Peru 1532-1560: A Colonial Society (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 193; and Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, pp. 318-320.

[10]Bowser, p. 172.

[11]Ibid., pp. 187ff.

[12]Ibid., pp. 217-218.

[13]Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, Compendium and Description of the West Indies, trans. Charles Upson Clark (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1942), p. 479.

[14]Boleslao Lewin, ed., Descripción del Virreinato del Perú; crónica inédita de comienzos del siglo XVII (Rosario, Argentina: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1958), p. 64. "Asetean" should be read "asaetean."

[15]Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, La nueva crónica y buen gobierno, interpretada por Luis Bustíos Gálvez (Lima: Talleres del Servicio de Prensa, Propaganda y Publicaciones Militares, 1956-1966), II, 263.

[16]Quoted in Roberto Mac-Lean y Estenos, "Negros en el Perú," Letras (Lima, primer cuadrimestre de 1947), p. 10.

[17]La nueva crónica, p. 262.

[18]Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, Evolución Urbana de la Ciudad de Lima (Lima: Ed. Lumen, 1945), p. 35.

[19]Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, p. 67. One of these diseases was leprosy, called "el mal de San Lázaro" or "el mal de Lázaro." Cf. Domingo Angulo, "El Barrio de San Lázaro de la Ciudad de Lima," Monografías Históricas sobre la Ciudad de Lima (Lima: Librería e imprenta Gil, 1935), II, 110.

[20]Bowser, pp. 125 and 247.

[21]Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, p. 43. This verse occurs in other manuscripts, according to Cáceres' footnotes, but is not given in Caviedes, Obras, ed. Vargas Ugarte.

[22]Bowser, p. 39.

[23]Ibid., p. 145.

[24]José Toribio Medina, Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J.T. Medina, 1956), II, 159.

[25]Bromley and Barbagelata, Evolución Urbana, p. 70 and Lámina No. 9.

[26]Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, p. 76.

[27]Information on the "pieza de Indias" taken from Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, p. 39, and Mellafe, Negro Slavery in Latin America, p. 49.

[28]Lohmann Villena, "Dos documentos inéditos."

[29]Bowser, pp. 40-41.

Chapter 3

RACIST FEARS AND STEREOTYPES

"One of the first acts of an oppressor is to redefine the 'enemy' so they will be looked upon as creatures warranting separation."[1] We have already seen how Caviedes defines Afro-Peruvians as physically repugnant and inferior to the dominant group of Spanish-Peruvians in the colony. To do this he appeals to the associations most easily recognized by his seventeenth-century readers. Nevertheless, such associations do not, in themselves, suggest good motives for viewing Afro-Peruvians as threatening to the dominant social values. In order to create these motives, Caviedes appeals to certain characterizations designed to intimate their sub-human, non-human or anti-establishment tendencies. In this category we find people with varying degrees of black racial heritage linked to disease, the possession of impure blood, animality, inordinate sensuality, suspicious behavior and inferior intellectual achievement.

Disease

Though association of race mixture with

disease in any epoch would be expected to provoke a negative attitude on the part of those not so "contaminated," it must have had a particularly devasting effect on people of the seventeenth century in the colony. Medical science still attributed illness to bodily humors, bad air, witchcraft, the conjunction of the planets, and other things not controllable by human intervention.[2] Furthermore, during Caviedes' century Peru experienced twenty major epidemics and many minor ones.[3] Pestilence was generally seen as the manifestation of God's anger due to sin. Therefore, it is not hard to understand the comparison Caviedes implies between race mixture and moral laxity by associating such mixture with disease. This link between disease and morality has been shown by Susan Sontag in her short work Illness as Metaphor, where she says: "Any disease that is treated as a mystery and acutely enough feared will be felt to be morally, if not literally, contagious."[4] Thus, it is easy to comprehend the subconscious frenzy such a comparison could cause in the mind of readers fearful of both pestilence and dark-skinned people.

The best example of Caviedes' use of disease as a metaphor for the mixture of race, with special

importance for its economic implications, is the "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos, temerosos de que se les pegue a los gatos la peste de los perros," which follows:

A un médico preguntaban
alguaciles y escribanos,
si la peste de los perros
se pegaría a los gatos.
El primero en preguntar
fue Perico Basarrano,
que, por mulato y corchete,
estaba medio apestado.
Este lado, prosiguió,
señor, que tengo de zambo
está muy pesado y
este otro está muy liviano.
Contestó el médico:—amigo,
no es novedad ni es estraño,
pues traes las dos especies
que es animal mixto el galgo.
El de gato tenéis bueno
y lijero; pero el lado
de mulato lo tenéis
comprendido en el contagio.
Haced medio testamento
y la mitad confesaos,
aunque por entero juzgo
que os ha de llevar el diablo.
Gracias a Dios, respondía
un escribanillo chato
que en el cañón de una pluma
gatillo era examinado,
que no tengo de Guinea
cosa alguna—y era claro
porque era en todo y por todo,
descendiente de romanos.
Otro, que estaba muy gordo
por no estar arratonado,
dijo:—yo tampoco, amigo,
corrí en mi vida venado.
Todos dijeron lo mismo
y es cierto, porque este trago
de la peste no podía
contaminar a los gatos.

Porque el perro era caliente
al exceso, y al contrario,
el gato frío, y aquí
le replicó un escribano:
Que si es frío? ¿y cómo yo
en el invierno me abraso?
y el médico respondió:
será por Enero, hermano.
Y prosiguiendo el discurso
digo, amigo, que por cuanto
son calidades contrarias
las de unos y otros, hallo
que cuando enferman los perros
han de estar ustedes sanos;
además que en siete vidas
halla una peste embarazos.
A las damas solamente
alcanza esta peste en charcos,
porque tanto perro muerto
a todos habrán de darlos.
Coman ustedes claveles,
por que los humores malos
purguen de sus flores, con
ésta que es purga de gatos.
Se curarán con salud
porque están desbalijados,
que el curar con salud no
será en ustedes estraño.
Y si murieren, al cielo
se irán luego de contado,
que escribanos y alguaciles
siempre mueren sin pecados.
Porque niños inocentes
son todos los de estos tratos;
si gatean unos y otros
de continuo están mamando.

Pagáronle la visita
al médico que, taimado,
la recibió con el guante,
recelando los araños. (303-305)

Even though this poem is long, we have reproduced it in its entirety because it illustrates so many of the areas Caviedes uses to satirize Afro-Peruvians.

The subject of the poem is the fear on the part of notaries and constables that the racially mixed castes might infiltrate their ranks. The comparison is based on the natural enmity between dogs and cats, on the association of the word "perro" with people of "impure blood" (according to the Spanish definition, Moors and Jews), and the acceptance of the word "gato" to mean thief.[6] Caviedes satirizes the two professions in question both for their moral qualities and for having allowed people of black African ancestry to infiltrate their ranks. The latter aspect is the "plague," but both are intimately connected.

The question which the constables and notaries put to the doctor is ironic because the "peste" has already contaminated them. This is shown in the lines:

> El primero en preguntar
> fue Perico Basarrano,
> que por mulato y corchete,
> estaba medio apestado.
> Este lado, prosiguió,
> señor, que tengo de zambo
> está muy pesado y
> este otro está muy liviano.

The first person to be concerned about the matter is precisely one of those regarding whom the inquiry is being made. His self-exposure adds to the irony. Furthermore, the name the poet assigns to him is probably connected to his "impure blood," that is, to the side

that is "apestado." The etimology of his last name is most likely a combination of "bastardo" and "marrano." All racially mixed people were considered illegitimate; and "marrano" is an old Spanish derogatory term for the converted Jew who still practiced some elements of his former faith. The presence of a large number of "marranos" in the viceroyalty in the seventeenth century would lend credence to our name hypothesis.[7] It is easy to see the comparison which suggests itself between the Catholic who remains partially Jewish (mixed religion) and the mulatto or zambo (mixed race). Thus, we can appreciate the intimation of moral degeneration accompanying the racial "plague."

Many other aspects of the poem require clarification and serve to throw light on various characteristics attributed to people of African ancestry, as well as the prejudices against them.

The doctor to whom the notaries and constables turn naturally has no cure to offer Basarrano, except to confess his "sin." He goes a little further, though, offering his opinion that the mulatto might just as well be damned to hell. Here we can easily see the moral contamination Caviedes attempts to impute to race mixture. Technically, the confession of sin, in

Catholicism, should restore the one confessing to moral health and reunite him to the society of the Church. Of course, in colonial Peru, the society of the Church was pretty much the same as civil society. The implication, therefore, in the doctor's opinion regarding Basarrano's ultimate destination is that there is no cure, or absolution, for race mixture with the African. The individual who is a product of such mixture reminds society of its unpardonable "sin," which is also a contagious disease. The constable who must confess evidently cannot hide his racial background. The notaries in the poem, however, seeing the result of being labeled as contaminated, quickly move to assert their pristine blood lines.

The first notary to speak does so somewhat cryptically. The verses "que en el cañón de una pluma / gatillo era examinado" refer, in one sense, to the office of the notary itself, which involved a lot of writing and a written exam in order to enter the profession. The instrument for this writing was the "cañón de una pluma," or quill pen. Furthermore, since the man is probably short in stature, he is a small thief, or "gatillo" (a reputation of which the audience would have been well aware). However, an unavoidable

implication of the verse "gatillo era examinado" is that the man's "catness" had to be examined because there was some reason to suspect that he was really a "dog" (person of black ancestry). In this case, the "cañón de una pluma" would refer to the written papers he had to obtain to prove his purity of blood. In any case, the man is glad to have no blackness in him--"que no tengo de Guinea cosa alguna." The tongue-in-cheek commentary of the poetic persona on this matter is that it is obvious that the man is a "descendiente de romanos." Clearly, purity of blood is at issue, and, as we have noted previously, the man probably has a flat nose characteristic of people of black ancestry. The proximity of "chato" and "romanos" in the poem assures the correctness of this interpretation. Though "romanos" is supposed to refer to the man's aquiline, or Roman, nose, it also evokes the adjective "romo," which is used to describe a flat nose.

The second notary's description and statement also merit some careful attention. If he is not "arratonado," it is because he does not chase mice. Therefore, we would have to assume that he is not a cat. The implication, then, is that he is a dog, meaning that his family tree has also been "tainted" by black ancestry.

Since he is fat, he is not fast on his feet. Therefore, he says "yo tampoco, amigo, / corrí en mi vida venado," which may be taken as a variation of the common Spanish expression, "correr como un venado." Since Caviedes is trying to imply blackness in the man's racial background, we can understand this statement as a veiled reference to cimarrones, or black slaves who ran away from their masters. This is especially likely, given the word "tampoco" in the second notary's statement, which is thus linked to that of the first notary. The second has not had to run, he claims, because he has no black ancestry.

The reason that the "peste" cannot contaminate the "gatos" is based on the medical law of opposites, current in colonial times, which is expressed in the verses: "Porque el perro era caliente / al exceso, y al contrario, / el gato frío." Different types of animals and people were thought to have different types of humors predominating in their bodies. Since the "peste" of the poem is strictly a dog's disease, it should not be able to penetrate the humors of the cats. However, since the dogs mentioned are really people of African ancestry, this statement also refers to the stereotype of the black person's sensual nature, which

we will discuss later in this chapter.

One notary, then, wants to know why, if it is in the nature of the cat to be cold, he finds himself burning up in the wintertime. The answer of the doctor--"será por Enero, hermano"--does not seem to answer his question. But what the doctor is really saying is suggested by the phonetic similarity between "enero" and "a negro." The doctor attributes the notary's warm nature to his partially black ancestry.

The doctor finds that the cats will not catch the dog's disease, even though they already have it (confirming Caviedes' opinion that doctors are always wrong anyway), not only due to the law noted above but also because it would be too difficult for a disease to do away with the seven lives of each cat (constable or notary). This difficulty is expressed as "embarazos," which leads to a pun on difficulties and pregnancy. The pestilence of which the constables and notaries are afraid should only affect women when they get tricked by men who love them and leave them (the sense of "chascos," which should be read in place of "charcos," and "perro muerto"). Since the "peste" in the poem is the infiltration of men with some black ancestry ("perros") into the professions mentioned, we must assume the

reference here to be to the generally supposed illegitimacy of mixed caste people, and specifically to illicit sexual relations between black men and white women. This, then, is supposedly another reason why the notaries and constables should not fear contamination.

The doctor recommends to the petitioners that they eat carnations, because they are a "purga de gatos," suggesting thereby that they purge out any bad humors they might have anyway (their "dogness") with a remedy normally given to cats. In this way, they would provide the remedy before it was really needed ("curar con salud"). Since the cure proposed is a "purga," the "gatos" would be left with their insides emptied, a state which might be thought of as "desbalijados" ("desvalijados" in modern spelling). Since the meaning of "desbalijados" is not entirely clear here, it is possible Caviedes meant to pun on "desvalidos," which would lead up to his characterization of the men satirized as innocent children. In this part of the poem, we enter the area of the moral behavior of the notaries and constables. The two groups are accustomed to "curar con salud" in the public sphere, since they often apprehend and process "criminals" who really have committed no crime, in order to fleece them or their owners. This

is the meaning of Caviedes' ironic ending, in which he compares the two professions satirized with babies. He uses "gatean" in the double sense of "crawl" and "rob," and "mamando" as "nursing" and "taking advantage" of someone. The doctor fears being scratched by his patients, based on the cat comparison, but one could also assume that what he fears most of all is their racial "contamination." He would neither like to shake hands with them as equals nor admit men of their racial composition into his profession. This last touch is just as ironic as Perico Basarrano's desire to keep people of black racial background out of the constable's job, since the doctor's profession had already been contaminated. In addition to the historical evidence, this fact is shown by Caviedes' own sonnet, "A un mulato cohetero que dejó de serlo y se hizo médico" (103-104).

The above poem's definition of race mixture in the individual as well as in the professions mentioned as "peste" and "contagio," together with the associated terms "apestado," "contaminar," "enferman," "purga" and "curarán," draws its impact from the colonial viewpoint that the mixed castes--mulattoes, zambos and their various derivatives--were a repulsive group of people. The mixture of the black race with other races was

regarded as a generalized social affliction, probably because of the great number of such people in the colony and because the mixture was inevitable and so highly visible. Thus it is that Caviedes portrays the mixture not as just any illness, but specifically as a plague, a disease which in colonial times would have infected an abnormally high percentage of the population and which was incurable by known medical means. As Sontag says: "Illnesses have always been used as metaphors to enliven charges that a society was corrupt or unjust. . . . Disease imagery is used to express concern for social order, and health is something everyone is presumed to know about."[8] Caviedes views his society as corrupt in many ways--he is, after all, a satirist--and racial mixture is a major facet, and perhaps even a visible measure, of such "corruption." He presumes that the audience which overhears his work understands him; he and they would regard health as the racial segregation established by the Crown, no matter how impossible to enforce in daily life.

Impure Blood

Another type of plague to which non-Semitic, light-skinned Spanish-Peruvians felt themselves subject

was that of the influx of Jews and *conversos* into the area. In Spain and its colonies, the issue of "limpieza de sangre" was extremely important in the seventeenth century. This was due to the Spanish protective reaction to the Reformation which established the Inquisition, originally with the intention of seeing that the integrity of the Catholic faith was maintained against Protestant, Jewish or Moslem influences. Purity of blood became an issue when, due to the large numbers of converted Jews who remained in Spain and the desire of so-called Old Christians to keep them out of positions of economic and political power, proof of a family tree free of Jewish (and to a lesser extent Moslem) and suspected judaizing relatives and ancestors was required to hold government and church positions.

Racially mixed Afro-Spaniards and -Peruvians became implicated in the matter because the Spanish considered the mixture of other races with the black race as a taint on the blood line of the former. Furthermore, the question of religion entered with the early importation of slaves from northern Africa, for it was thought that they might be Moslems and could, therefore, give the Indians, who were newly converted or in the process of conversion, a bad example in matters of

faith. Therefore, just as Europeans suspected of Jewish descent flocked to obtain certificates of "limpieza de sangre," racially mixed people of African descent often obtained "cédulas de gracias al sacar," which entitled them to be considered white for certain purposes. In fact, similar economic and political motives were behind the imputation of impure blood in both cases.

Caviedes exploits his audience's obsession with blood purity in his poems about racially mixed Afro-Peruvians by inferring, through certain images, that they are like Jews or judaizers. Any allusion to the mixture of race must certainly be taken into consideration in this context, especially one we have mentioned previously from the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla," where Utrilla is called:

> paño de entierro enrollado
> en quien, por gotas de cera
> que le faltan, por la casta
> le suplen gotas de brea. (244)

We have mentioned the possible significance, in the context of the Catholic faith, which might be given to the substitution of "brea" for "cera." Here, we would also point out the suggestion of mixed <u>blood</u> connoted by the word "gotas." A degree of whiteness is portrayed as

lacking in Utrilla ("le faltan"), and this vacuum is taken up by a substance often used to burn recalcitrant black slaves into submission. Both candles and burning cannot help but evoke the Inquisition for the seventeenth-century reader, and after an allusion to impure blood, this institution necessarily comes to mind.

The Inquisition was established in Peru in 1570 and approximately forty people were burnt from 1573 to 1737 (though it was not officially abolished until 1820). Many hundreds more were processed by that body, the majority receiving some type of sentence. Many public autos de fe were held in Lima throughout the seventeenth century, and a large number of those punished were Afro-Peruvians of mixed racial background, listed as such in the records.[9] Furthermore, as we have noted with respect to Perico Basarrano's name, many people accused of practicing Judaism were also punished in the seventeenth century. Therefore, we suggest that Caviedes uses certain images to imply a similarity between the two groups possessing "impure blood."

Another poem in which we see a suggestion implying the Inquisition is the "Loa a Utrilla," where we find the verses:

Ya, Perico, con mis versos
temo estarás emperrado;
si me muerdes, en tus pelos
libro el remedio quemados. (248)

As we have noted previously, Pedro's hair, because of its blackness and frizziness, might give the appearance of being burnt, but "quemados" can hardly fail to call to mind the punishment given to "relajados," those persons turned over by the Holy Office to the secular authorities to be burned. The use of hyperbaton in these verses is especially effective in emphasizing the aspect of burning.

Another of the ways in which Caviedes associates Afro-Peruvians with those suspected of maintaining Jewish religious practices is by his occasional insinuation of a reddish tint in the color of racially mixed people. Two examples occur in the "Vejamen," where Pedro de Utrilla is called a "gallinazo curandero" and "responso de cocobolo" (244). The "gallinazo" is a black vulture with a reddish head, the "cocobolo" a native American tree with dark reddish wood. A more obvious example of such insinuation occurs in the poem "A un mulato cohetero que dejó de serlo y se hizo médico," in which the mulatto is made to say: "Yo, aunque pardo, en mis obras soy Bermejo" (104). Of course, this is a pun on the name of Dr. Bermejo, but the comparison

of colors is an important aspect of the verse. In the context of impure blood, we can appreciate the implications to be drawn from this color. For its literary use as an indicator of Jewish background, it is useful to remember Quevedo's description of Cabra in El Buscón once again: "pelo bermejo (no hay más que decir").[10]

A more direct implication of similarity between racially mixed Afro-Peruvians and Jews occurs in the "Vejamen," where we find Utrilla's medical errors characterized as "curas hebreas" (246). There would seem to be no motive for Caviedes' choice of adjective here other than an allusion to suspected converso doctors practicing in the colonies. In the seventeenth century, many Portuguese doctors of Jewish background entered Spain with false certificates of blood purity and from there migrated to the New World.[11] However, we do not want to insist too much on the significance of the use of the word "hebreas," since it occurs only in the Vargas Ugarte edition of Caviedes' works. The Cáceres transcription of the Ayacucho manuscript gives "perrengas," or the variation "perruengas," in its place.[12] The latter version is not as far removed from the former as one might at first imagine. "Perrenga" is clearly a form of the modern "perrengue," which is

related etymologically to "perro." Caviedes uses comparisons with dogs more than any other animal to characterize the racially mixed Afro-Peruvians he writes about, and, as we have noted previously, this term was used in Spain to designate Moors and Jews, especially the latter. Although Caviedes was certainly not the first to apply the term to people of black African ancestry, it is not difficult to see the association with dark-skinned Moors which must have directly influenced its use.[13] The currency of the term in seventeenth-century Peru is documented in Medina's Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima. For example, in the trial of a person jailed by the Holy Office, a servant testifies that one of the implicated parties said: "qué se le daba a él que aquellos perros judíos le quitasen la petaca, y que eran unos perros judíos . . . y no dijo ni nombró quiénes heran los perros judíos."[14] Since there is little evidence of Moorish emigration to Peru, the term "perro" appears to have been definitely associated with Jews. Even though the same term for black people was not uncommon, its use in one context could not help but suggest the other also for a seventeenth-century audience.

Thus, Caviedes uses various words and phrases

for their suggestive value as they relate to impure blood, and by extension, therefore, to incomplete acceptance of Catholicism, the state religion. If he can insinuate that there is a comparison to be drawn between racially mixed people and those of real or suspected Jewish background, he would be able to justify to the Spanish mind (that is, to the mind of the dominant stratum of society in colonial Peru) similar treatment of the two groups in the socio-economic sphere. He calls on a social pattern of prejudice with which his readers are familiar to refer to a more recent social phenomenon which presents one of the same essential characteristics, the lack of "limpieza de sangre." As he does so, he intimates that Afro-Peruvians should be viewed with the same mistrust and contempt felt by "pure-blooded" Christians (and the majority of his readers would undoubtedly tend to see themselves in this category!) toward other groups lacking pristine (all-Christian) blood lines. The implications for people of African ancestry are, in fact, more serious in a certain sense than for those who might come from a family of converted Jews. A converted Jew could look pretty much like any relatively light-

skinned Spaniard, and, with a little money, might be able to "prove" his clean blood line; but an Afro-Peruvian almost always had his "impurity" stamped on his skin and physical features. Furthermore, he could hardly attempt to prove his descent solely from Old Christians when everyone know that African slaves, his immediate ancestors, were pagans at best and Moslems at worst.

Animality

We have pointed out briefly the comparison Caviedes establishes between dogs and people of black ancestry. In this section we will discuss this metaphor at length. As we do so we must keep in mind the double meaning of such references, that is, in terms of color and impure blood.

The Peruvian scholar Raúl Bueno Chávez has pointed out the importance of the technique of animalization to "ridiculizar defectos físicos" in Caviedes' work.[15] Yet not once does he mention the dog as a point of comparison. Nor can the use of the motif be ascribed simply to the technique of ridiculing physical, or even intellectual, defects. Sometimes it relates to a defect in skills, but most of the time it is not

directly traceable to any immediate, verifiable similarity between persons and animals. That is, though the metaphor might be used in a variety of situations, it is not based strictly on some obvious defect in the same way that we could say "tortuga" is an apt metaphor for a hunchback, or "burro" for a dullard. Caviedes has taken the use of "perro" for the person of mixed race from its Jewish-Moorish context for its social connotations.

As might be expected, the poems about Pedro de Utrilla are rife with canine references, especially the four major ones dedicated to him and his family in their entirety. In one, "Dándole a Pedro de Utrilla el parabién de un hijo que le nació," we find many illustrative instances of this type of reference:

> Dos mil años logréis el cachorrito,
> aunque el estéril parto no me agrada,
> pues entendí que fuera una cornada,
> para pediros de ella un barcinito.
> Porque de vuestra casta un gozquesito
> le quisiera criar para la hijada,
> pues de ayuda, será cosa extremada
> de las que vos echáis, aunque imperito.
> Véanle con carlanca de gallina
> con cadena y trancoso en sus venturas,
> descuartizando más que no Revilla
> despedaza con gritos y figuras,
> porque en tanto mondongo al gozque Utrilla
> sobren callos, piltrafas y gorduras. (103)

Here the son is called "cachorrito," "gozquesito" and "gozque." The child is envisioned as traveling about

with a dog collar and chain ("carlanca de gallina," "cadena"). A comparison between dogs scavenging in the slaughterhouse and the probable profession the child will enter (surgery) is evoked: "porque en tanto mondongo al gozque Utrilla / sobren callos, piltrafas y gorduras." Even where direct comparisons do not occur, Caviedes takes the opportunity to reinforce his motif visually and auditorily, when he says: "pues de ayuda, será cosa extremada / de las que vos echáis, aunque imperito." "Imperito" suggests "perrito," to reinforce "cachorrito" and "gozquesito" which precede it.

In the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla," the verse "Pedro de Utrilla, el cachorro" occurs near the beginning, with variations throughout the poem, and also serves as the first verse of the poems "Loa a Utrilla" and "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla."

In the "Vejamen" Pedro is said to be "perro por esencia" and to have "cortas orejas." He is compared to a small dog playing in the skirts of Death, and is called "perdiguero de la caza" (of Death) and "perro de ayuda [c]hunchanga" (244).[16] Once again, the image of dogs scavenging in the slaughterhouse, together with a special emphasis on violent, rabid behavior, is

used for comparison, in the lines:

> Solo él corrió con la cura;
> mas ¿qué mucho que él corriera
> si era de vejigas, y
> los perros corren con ellas?
> Así que la piedra vio
> con furia, rabia y fiereza,
> juzgando se la tiraban,
> Pedro se arrojó a morderla. (245)

In this poem the dog comparisons can be ascribed in part to Pedro's lack of skill and the fact that he, therefore, hunts down victims for Death. The "perro de ayuda [c]hunchanga" metaphor is particularly noteworthy as a reflection of seventeenth-century black labor in the vineyards of the area of Pisco, where Chunchanga is located.

The "Loa a Utrilla" (247-248) also offers dog metaphors for analysis, in addition to the first verse. In order to suggest that Utrilla will become angry when he reads Caviedes' verses, the poet uses the term "emperrado." He also includes the following lines in his insinuation of sexual intercourse during the operation described in the poem:

> Aunque se alabe la ninfa
> de que, en posición tan rara,
> no llegó allí el perro muerto,
> el vivo sí le ha llegado. (247)

Caviedes refers to "el perro muerto" in three separate poems, making the contrast with "el perro vivo"

(meaning Pedro de Utrilla) in two of them. The "perro muerto" metaphor is probably based on the saying, "hacerle el perro muerto a alguien," meaning "engañar" in the sense of not paying what is owed. Caviedes always uses the term to refer to a relationship between men and women; therefore, he is, no doubt, basing his comparison on the supposed illegitimacy of persons of mixed race. That is, the men deceive the women by making love to them and then leave them. In the above verses, the lady may allege that there was no possibility of such deception, but Caviedes, punning on the term "perro muerto" with "el vivo," alleges the opposite.

The poem "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla" (248-249) also begins with the verse "Pedro de Utrilla, el cachorro," and includes the "perro muerto"-"perro vivo" contrast in the lines:

> Un chasco lleva al revés
> la desventurada dama,
> porque lleva un perro vivo
> por perro muerto que llaman. (249)

The idea conveyed by these verses is that the lady has fooled herself by marrying Utrilla, since instead of the deception known as a "perro muerto," she has gotten something worse, a "perro vivo." The comparison continues:

Ella con él se da a perros
y él con ella se da a galgas
no a piedras que ruedan montes
sino a las que en montes ladran. (249)

The lady, by marrying Pedro, is, of course, giving herself to a dog. But "darse a perros" also means to get angry. Utrilla himself is doing the same, in both senses, with regard to her. Caviedes has chosen a particular species of dog, the female greyhound ("galga"), in her case, in order to extend the pun even further. A "galga" is also a stone that rolls down an incline, so he takes the opportunity to clarify his meaning and reinforce his disdain for Utrilla with a sexual pun. We can understand "piedra" as a pun on Pedro's name. He is a "piedra" who barks "en montes," "monte" here being understood as that part of the female genitalia known as the "monte de Venus." There is even the slightest suggestion of future infidelity, given by the use of "montes" in the plural. In addition, we must not forget the association between the "monte" and runaway black slaves. Thus, Caviedes alludes both to the animalistic manner of the Utrillas' lovemaking and to their violent tempers, combining a complex bit of racist satire with an opportunity to demonstrate his own linguistic virtuosity.

Caviedes extends his canine metaphor further

in the rest of the poem by referring to the mange ("caracha") which the lady will probably get, the animal parts dogs scavenge for food ("morcilla," "bofes"), the place where they get them ("un Rastro"), and the puppy ("cachorrito") that will result from the first litter ("camada").

Utrilla's wife and son are not the only relatives who participate in his canine qualities. Even his father died of rabies communicated to him by his son, according to the following verses of the "Carta que escribió el author al Dr. Herrera":

> Utrilla el viejo murió
> de rabia porque su hijo
> le dio patente con una
> purga de vidrio molido. (302)[17]

Although the dog metaphor is prominent in the poems about Utrilla and his family, it is by no means limited to them. It is also used to describe a "mulato cohetero que se hizo médico," who is called "perdiguero o podenco de la muerte" (103). Again, the comparison is made between a doctor and a hunting dog in the service of Death. The "perdiguero," with the connotation of hunting which accompanies it, also occurs in the poem "Pintura de una dama que con su hermosura mataba como los médicos," where Caviedes writes:

Por ser grandes matadores
en tus ojos estoy viendo
al uno y al otro Utrilla,
que los dos también son negros.
Teniendo en ellos
municiones y tiros
y perdigueros. (54)

Perhaps the association between blackness and hunting equipment and dogs in these verses is designed not only to convey to the reader the powerful effect of the lady's eyes, but also to remind him of the hunting of runaway slaves. Furthermore, the antecedent of "ellos" in the fifth verse is not clear, being either the Utrillas or the woman's eyes. If the antecedent is understood to be "uno y al otro Utrilla," then the two men are also "perdigueros."

In some of the poems Afro-Peruvians are not called dogs directly, but are given some of their characteristics. An example of this occurs in the "Memorial de los mulatos," where the people in question are portrayed as having the quick temper of the canine species: "porque esta gente asuzada / os mostrará los colmillos" (164). "Azuzar" (in its modern spelling) means to sic a dog on someone or something, or to make it angry in some way, while the showing of bared fangs also indicates a dog's anger. The voices of these same people are called "ladridos," as is that of a mulatto

poet, in the poem "A un mulato que decía que de él había aprendido, cuando iba a verlo" (208).

Finally, though there are other dog metaphors in poems relating to racially mixed Afro-Peruvians, we would only mention those of the "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos, temerosos de que se les pegue a los getos la peste de los perros" (303-305), which we have discussed previously.[18]

Caviedes also uses other animals to make comparisons with Utrilla: a monkey, a horse, and birds of prey. In "Estribillo" he says:

> Un Utrilla charlatán,
> que si el curar, gestos fuera,
> en toda su vida diera
> derechos de sacristán,
> porque es tan grande el desmán
> con que gestea Machín
> el orinal y el bacín,
> que da risa a los hedores. (294)

This is not the only occasion on which Caviedes compares someone to a monkey, even one of the exact type used above. For example, in "A un narigón disforme" he says the man's nose "está en rostro de machín."[19] In this example, however, the monkey comparison is not nearly so charged with meaning as in the former. Caviedes merely points out the similarity between the long nose of the monkey and that of his subject. When used with respect to Utrilla, however, we cannot help but

note that the word is capitalized; "Machín" is used as a substitute for Utrilla's proper name. Next, the word can hardly fail to call to mind the black person-ape metaphor used so often in literature and common racist expression.[20] The monkey metaphor is particularly appropriate in the case of the verses transcribed above, given the usage of the term "mono" to mean a person who gesticulates and makes faces, exactly the characteristics given to Utrilla in the poem, and characteristics which were considered typical of blacks at the time. The rhyme of "Machín" with "bacín" accentuates the negative connotations of the former, since the latter is not only a chamber pot but a contemptible person as well. This multiplicity of meaning is in keeping with the punning technique of Caviedes that we have mentioned often. In a very small section of one poem, we find how appropriate the words chosen are to a racially mixed Afro-Peruvian, on a variety of levels. We find current and traditional prejudice along with common slang in a poem in which the scatological humor lightly masks a racist viewpoint.

Caviedes employs a comparison between Utrilla and a horse in the "Loa a Utrilla, por la curación que hizo de un potro a una dama." In the first use of it

he puns on "potro" as both a young horse and a venereal tumor. Then, carrying the equine suggestion over to the characteristics of the surgeon, he says:

> No curó, conforme a reglas,
> uno con otro contrario;
> porque sanó un tumor-potro
> un cirujano-caballo. (247)

This is a case of like curing like, as opposed to the principle of curing by opposites, which was used in medicine at the time. The use of the horse comparison probably does not stem from any reference to racially mixed black people as such but, rather, forms part of the group of references to similar animals, such as the "burro," the "borrico" and the "asno," which Caviedes uses to stress the stupidity of doctors. On the other hand, extending the metaphor further, Caviedes later alludes to a situation which may have more direct bearing on his Afro-Peruvian subject, when he says:

> De esta manera o de otra
> el potro le dejó sano,
> aunque la caballería
> muy puerca con los emplastos. (248)

Earlier in the poem, Caviedes suggested that Utrilla probably had sexual relations with his white patient. Therefore, a literal interpretation of these verses would be that Utrilla left the place where he rode her (and from which he also took the tumor) filthy with the

poultice or bandage he put on it. However, the use of the word "caballería" tends to suggest "caballeros" and chivalric orders. Caviedes is probably alluding obliquely to Utrilla's very non-"caballero" origins. He is just a "caballo," with nothing of nobility in him.

One final type of animal metaphor which Caviedes employs with regard to Utrilla is that of birds known for eating carrion. We have already discussed the crow in the context of color. The condor and the turkey buzzard are also used as a comparison with the surgeon in the "Vejamen," where he is called "cóndor de la cirujía" and "gallinazo curandero" (244). We would not find any special reference to Afro-Peruvians in the comparison with the condor, other than its dark color. The "gallinazo," however, is particularly appropriate in this context due to its presence in the still-common Peruvian saying, "el gallinazo no canta en puna." This was evidently used in colonial times in Peru to mean that blacks did not fare well in the colder regions of Peru, when sent to work in the silver mines, for example.[21]

The above comparisons which are drawn between interracial Afro-Peruvians and animals comprise one more facet in Caviedes' systematic degradation of such

people, especially of Pedro de Utrilla, who often seems to be a symbolic recipient of the poet's satire against them. Through such comparisons they are made to look both ridiculous and malicious. A rhetorician pleading for the separation of a group of people from society must make the separation seem logical and necessary to his primary audience. One of the ways he can do this is by dehumanizing the group against which he is prejudiced. How many in Caviedes' seventeenth-century audience would feel moral indignation about putting a chain or iron collar on a dog? Animals do not have human intelligence, needs or aspirations. If Afro-Peruvians are compared to animals on a systematic basis, it must have been Caviedes' intention to portray them as subhuman. This portrayal is consistent with his seeming desire to keep them out of socio-economic positions which formerly were reserved exclusively for those of light skin, Spanish descent and religious orthodoxy.

Inordinate Sensuality

Another way in which Afro-Peruvians could be excluded from such positions was to show that they were not morally fit. In a society in which a light-skinned race is dominant and dark-skinned races are subordinate,

one preoccupation looms large in the minds of the "defenders" of the principles and customs on which the dominant group bases its superiority: the virtue of its women. Thus it is that one of the stereotyped activities usually assigned to dark-skinned men in such a society is the profanation of the virtue of white women. And lest it be thought that such relations could take place in normal circumstances, the stereotype is inevitably extended to make the male's participation animalistic.

Although we would not classify Caviedes as a constant defender of the virtue of his race's women (witness his ribald poems about loose women),[22] we do find him appealing to the stereotype described above, in order to create enmity toward Afro-Peruvians in the society as a whole. We have shown his explicit comparison of them with dogs. This metaphor is extended to the sexual sphere. Thus we find that in the "Loa a Utrilla," Pedro, "el cachorro," took advantage of his white female patient's prone position in order to have sexual relations with her. Her whiteness and the surgeon's blackness are emphasized, the former by calling her leg a "columna de alabastro" and her thigh "marfil terso y claro," the latter by saying Utrilla is "de

ébano," and both colors together in the verse, "curó lo negro a lo blanco" (247). The relations are made to look disgusting with the bestiality suggested by the verses: "La llaga sanó porque / la lamió con lengua y labios" (248).

The "Vejamen" contains a similar but more violent incident, when, in the process of removing what seems to be a kidney stone via "la parte que no cierra" Pedro de Utrilla acts as follows:

> Así que la piedra vio
> con furia, rabia y fiereza,
> juzgando se la tiraban,
> Pedro se arrojó a morderla. (245)

In "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla," Pedro and his new wife are portrayed as dogs copulating, and in the "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos," hot blood in an animal-like context is projected as a general characteristic of all those who may be termed "perros" in the statement: "Porque el perro era caliente / al exceso" (304).

In the Peruvian colony, there were several factors which collaborated to give an air of verisimilitude to the stereotype of the lusty, lewd African. As is commonly noted in the historical literature on the slave trade from Africa to America, males imported to the Spanish colonies outnumbered females three to one,

at least theoretically; this ratio was decreed by the Crown in 1524. However, by about 1600, censuses taken in Lima give the number of females as slightly greater than the number of males.[23] Thus, though the facts for the seventeenth century seem to indicate relative balance between the sexes, knowledge of the decreed ratio and a possible former imbalance could have affected the perception of the light-skinned Spanish-Peruvian inhabitants of the city. And even if numbers were approximately equal in the city, the same could not be said of the countryside, where agriculture depended mainly on young adult male slaves. In this case, not only knowledge of the decreed ratio, but also the visible lack of black women, would contribute to the same perception. As for the black and racially mixed woman, since slaves often belonged to masters who depended solely or mainly on their monetary earnings for a livelihood, many were forced into prostitution to meet their masters' demands. Furthermore, though the Church and State encouraged marriage among blacks, slaveowners often discouraged it, claiming it made resale more difficult. Even when couples did marry, masters often conspired to deny them conjugal rights; or, if they belonged to different masters, as was common, one partner

might be sent to an area far distant from the other, making extraordinary efforts a requirement for the enjoyment of marital relations. Thus, it is easy to see how Afro-Peruvians got a reputation for hot blood, based on the economic factors to which their lives were subject.

African dances and celebrations were also an important factor in demonstrating their "sensuous" nature, to the extent that they were misinterpreted through the prejudices of their non-African observers. For example, Concolorcorvo wrote in the eighteenth century:

> Las diversiones de los negros bozales son las más bárbaras y groseras que se pueden imaginar. Su canto es un aúllo . . . y sus danzas se reducen a menear la barriga y las caderas con mucha deshonestidad, a que acompañan con gestos ridículos.[24]

In the stereotype of the sensuous African, the male's supposed attraction toward, and therefore threat to, white women, is only exceeded, perhaps, by the female's "overpowering attraction" for the white male.[25] If the African is viewed as lustily exotic and animal-like at the same time, the white male justifies his need to dominate the black female, which is really a way of demasculinizing and responding to the "threat" posed

by the black male, as the fault of the female due to her depraved nature and exotic charms. We see this point of view expressed by a mid-seventeenth-century priest, who, in one of his sermons, tries to "poner atajo . . . a los desbordes de la lujuria limeña, acicateados por la influencia africana."[26] Caviedes hints at this fatal attraction of dark-skinned women, especially the interracial ones, for white males in the following verses from "Narciso y Eco," which comment on Narciso's attempt to catch his own reflection:

> Que era su sombra imagina,
> que sin duda era mulata
> la ninfa, si en agua vista
> es cualquier sombra parda.
> Y no es mucho, que hay novicios
> que son golosos de pasas,
> y en las cepas del amor
> se mueren por vendimiarlas. (200)

The large number of women of "inferior" race engaged in luring the male is indicated by Caviedes in "Pregón," where he writes:

> Manda que las cuarteronas
> tengan sin tasa el valor,
> porque todo lo trigueño
> anda caro el día de hoy.
> Manda que toda mulata,
> la de turbante mejor
> que al cielo sube el copete
> para ser presa del sol,
> dé los cariños de a cuarto;
> porque una pobre afición
> les pide una ceña, vuelta
> en un medio real de amor.
> Manda que se dé bendaje,

que es avariento rigor
que lo que es tan abundante
se compre de regatón.
Manda que negras e indias,
pues harto bellacas son
valgan el precio que quieran
de palo, patada o coz. (182-183)

In this poem we see the phenomenon of racially mixed or dark-skinned women apparently commanding a higher price according to their lighter color. However, if we examine this section more closely we will find that they are really all worth the same price, nothing. What Caviedes is criticizing is the high prices charged, since supply exceeds demand. With respect to the "cuarteronas," he seems to be indicating that they should have a very high value, but his statement is ironic. The price that is high is that of bread and cereal products (second meaning of "lo trigueño" in the pun). If we read "tengan sin tasa el valor" literally, the "cuarteronas" have no value. The "mulatas" should be worth even less; a man should get a commission ("vendaje" in modern spelling) for accepting their favors because they are out soliciting in such great numbers. As for the "negras e indias," there is no question in the poem that they should be taken violently and/or discarded.

Let us now consider the rhetoric discussed in this section as to its subtlest and most dangerous

implications. Caviedes' appeal to a sympathetic audience is based on fear and ignorance. Sexuality is invariably linked to the desire by one group of people to dominate another. The males of the "other" group cannot be perceived as functioning on the same level of sexual desire as the men of the dominant group. They must be demasculinized and animalized in order to be perceived as a threat to the women of the dominant group, who likewise carry their own set of values with respect to domination (the honor of the Spanish male rested on the female members of his family). This is one reason why Utrilla, Basarrano and various Afro-Peruvian men are portrayed as dogs. Furthermore, the women of the subjected group are also devalued. In Caviedes, we do not find mature white males looking for ego gratification by dominating an inferior; it is just boys who like sweets ("novicios golosos de pasas"). Yet this is important for the seventeenth-century reader, and Caviedes would calculate on its being so, for "novicios" implies young men preparing for the priesthood. Clearly, then, the presence of dark-skinned women in the colony is detrimental to the proper fulfillment of their vocation. Not only that, but if we take into consideration the implications of "Pregón," they

are wasting their energies and pesos on worthless consorts.

In this way, the Afro-Peruvian, both male and female, is portrayed as a threat to the moral fiber of society. They may seduce the opposite sex of the lighter-skinned race willfully, or just by existing in abundance; and even if they confine their passions and attraction to relations between themselves, the result is execrable, according to Caviedes, for nothing can be produced but more "dogs" in the colony.

Suspicious Behavior

Besides the defects already noted, Caviedes attributes certain other character defects to Afro-Peruvians in order to suggest that they are not to be trusted. Most notably, they lie, in word and action. In "Remedio para lo cavalleresco," we see the advantage which can be derived by skillful lying:

> Un mulato por hijo es el más bravo
> blasón, que a la nobleza da fomento,
> porque ésta guarda el cuarto mandamiento,
> quebrantando por él todo el octavo.
> Con honrar a su padre encubre el rabo,
> aplaudiéndose de alto nacimiento,
> primos duques te aplica que es contento
> y un Rey que, por contera, pone al cabo.
> Si más de esto añadiese a su decoro,
> criado y quitasol el cavallero,
> es para la nobleza otro tanto oro,
> y si miente, porfía y es partero,

halló de ejecutorias un tesoro,
porque es gran calidad ser embustero. (96)

Likewise, regarding Utrilla's testimony in "Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso," Caviedes writes:

y que esto que dicho tiene
es verdad en que se afirma
y ratifica, aunque suele
decir algunas mentiras. (281)

In some cases, lying takes the form of hypocrisy. In "Remedios para ser lo que quisieres," a group of poems permeated with a critique of hypocrites, we find under "Doctos de chafalonía" that one of the ways to become known as erudite is the following:

Tendrás pase de negras y mulatas
que te aplaudan tus muchas pataratas,
diciendo que tienes rara suficiencia,
que eres pozo de ciencia. (139)

In the section of the same work titled "Chauchillas," where Caviedes sarcastically advises women on how they should comport themselves in order to be thought a "dama," he writes that should the woman's honor be questioned by a jealous, older lover, one tactic which would serve her well (though ironically) in this circumstance is the following:

Y si en esto llegase una mulata,
que tendrás por amiga y siempre grata
que abone tu inocencia,
darás por acabada la pendencia;
porque dirá, muy suelta y desgarrada:
—No hay niña más honrada
en el mundo, es un ángel inocente!

Yo no sé cómo hay gente
que confiesa y levanta testimonios;
porque llévenme a mí dos mil demonios,
si hay en Lima otra Dama
que la iguale en tener tan buena fama. (145)

Another form of hypocrisy is dissimulation, which occurs in "A una persona grave que vestía de negro y era amigo de negras." The poem concerns a man who tries to hide his African ancestry, as suggested in the verses:

De bayeta sacó capa
mudando posturas, puesto
que lo que es cubierto de él
lo trae debajo cubierto. (178)

Finally, we have the example of a mulatto invitations secretary who is easy to bribe and, more especially, will lie about one's social status. This example is found in "Caballeros chanflones":

Cuidará sobre todo que el mulato,
llamado Alonso, que es quien tiene el trato
de convidar a todas las funciones
de entierros, casamientos y lecciones,
en el papel que asienta caballeros
lo tenga inscrito a él de los primeros,
porque esto cuesta un peso para vino,
y es grande desatino,
cuando está en el arbitrio de un mulato,
no hacer un caballero tan barato. (134)

Let us now look more closely at this trait of deviation from the truth which Caviedes presents in the Afro-Peruvian. We see a general mastery of the art of social ingratiation, a rather calculated infiltration

into a level of social acceptability. In the first case, the mulatto son who lies about his father's family tree is doing so to further his own interest, that is, to emphasize his own "white" side. Furthermore, he is no different from multitudes of others criticized by Caviedes for enhancing their social status in the New World, as, for example, the "gentlemen" of "Caballeros chanflones," to whom he says:

> Adviértoles aquí que, en la patraña,
> él que fuere de España
> da a su nobleza aumento
> en un ciento por ciento,
> porque en larga distancia
> se emplean las mentiras a ganancia;
> porque una mentirilla
> pulida en una aldea, viña o villa
> de ilustre calidad, será patraña
> que venda por tejida en la Montaña. (134-135)

In the next example, that of Utrilla's testimony, Utrilla swears that what he has said is true, though he usually lies. It is the notary taking the testimony who has ostensibly written this down, as the words uttered by the witness; therefore, we may assume Pedro himself has admitted his aversion to telling the truth. Considering that Caviedes wrote the poem we can attribute this strange admission to the author's desire to insist on this defect in Afro-Peruvians, and, most likely, to caricature of Utrilla.

In the poems "Doctos de chafalonía" and

"Chauchillas," in which Afro-Peruvian women praise someone who does not deserve it, they do it with a certain irony, but they tell the parties in question exactly what they want to hear. This would, of course, tend to increase their status in the eyes of the person so praised. The case of the mulatto secretary is similar; the exchange works both ways. The secretary treats the false chevalier as if he were a real one--collaborates in the deceit, as it were--and, in turn, increases the list of those who are in his debt and in whose favor he stands in the white community. He wields impressive influence in a society where social status is everything.

The gentleman who has managed to hide his African ancestry has carried deception one step further. It seems that he has "passed," that is, gained acceptance in the light-skinned community due to the absence of distinguishing black physical features.

We can see an important factor at work in the lying, hypocrisy, corruptibility and dissimulation of Afro-Peruvians in the poems discussed. These traits provide a means of social integration. In fact, Caviedes' very insistence on this type of defect shows how much they have adopted their society's values. In this

respect, Caviedes was not the only one to make special note of such traits in his compatriots. An anonymous seventeenth-century author also wrote of Lima's creoles: "Saben más de mentir que de valentía. Es propiedad muy propia suya ser embusteros."[27]

The purpose of distorting the truth is usually to obtain something perceived as positive, or to avoid something perceived as negative. Evidently in Lima, as in other parts of the colonies, lying and hypocrisy often aided in social acceptance or advancement, and Caviedes gives many examples of their use.[28] In his poetry, he shows that Afro-Peruvians adopted the same means as Spanish-Peruvians, to achieve the same ends, and he criticizes this fault in both groups. However, to some extent, Caviedes seems to impute it more to the former as a whole, perhaps because, as he says of "negras e indias" in "Pregón," "harto bellacas son" (183). In his opinion, the dark-skinned races are sly and cunning by nature.

Another negative trait which stands out in Caviedes' portrayal of Afro-Peruvians is an inclination to violent behavior, often tinged with the hint of animality. In this context, he uses the adjective "fieros" to describe the mulattoes who aid "médicos criminales"

in their nefarious activities (248). We have also noted that he says the mulattoes who want to put on a play for the Conde de la Monclova can turn into "gente asuzada que os mostrará los colmillos" if denied the chance to present their work (164). These same mulattoes are not far from committing criminal acts for which they would be hanged, according to the verses: "pues todo pardo está en cierne, / ganando para racimo" (Ibid.).

We have also noted Pedro de Utrilla's tendency to rabid behavior. Seeing a stone he was about to remove from a woman's bladder, he went after it "con furia, rabia y fiereza" (245). The author fears he may become "emperrado" on hearing the satiric verses written about him (247). He is also "bravo" (in the sense of fierce or savage) like others of his caste (249).

The imputation of the tendency to violence on the part of Afro-Peruvians reflects the Spanish belief in the animal-like nature of these people, and also their fear of a black rebellion.

Caviedes' overall purpose in portraying Afro-Peruvians as sly, untruthful, corruptible and violent seems to be to show that they cannot be trusted, nor can they be expected to adopt the moral values of the

colonial Spanish-Peruvian society as a whole. In previous sections of this chapter, we have also seen that they steal ("Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos") and act immorally in other ways. Therefore, we must assume that Caviedes intends to demonstrate that Afro-Peruvians threaten to corrupt or undermine the social and political structure of the viceroyalty.

Although the historical facts show that a great number of Afro-Peruvians were law-abiding and contributed more than their fair share to the economic growth and social consolidation of the colony, it is not germaine to Caviedes' purpose to present this side of the issue. He presents a purely negative picture of these people to his audience of the seventeenth century. However, it is noteworthy that he chooses certain moral defects over others in his criticism. His Indian countryman, Poma de Ayala, attributes some of the same faults to blacks and many more. For example, he points out that the <u>bozales</u> are good slaves and good Christians, whereas:

> Los negros y negras criollos se creen bachilleres, son revoltosos, mentirosos, ladrones, rateros, salteadores, jugadores, borrachos, tabaqueros, tramposos, de mal vivir; de puro bellacos muchas veces matan a sus propios amos; son mentirosos y badulaques, contestan de boca y

> tienen el rosario en la mano y son hipócritas; pues sólo piensan en hurtar, no escuchan ni hacen caso a sermones y prédicas.[29]

The two authors do have a similar purpose in emphasizing the defects and socially negative tendencies of Afro-Peruvians. Poma de Ayala wants to separate them from his people, the autochthonous inhabitants of the region, and Caviedes wishes to do the same for his, the light-skinned Spanish colonists.

Inferior Intellectual Achievement

Another way in which the social status quo is being undermined, according to the opinion Caviedes projects in his verses, is by the incursions of Afro-Peruvians into the sphere of intellectual pursuits.

The best example of such an incursion in the literary area is found in the poem dedicated to a mulatto who had artistic pretensions in Caviedes' own field, and also the temerity to suggest that Caviedes had learned something of his art from him. Here is Caviedes' view of the matter, in "A un mulato que decía que de él había aprendido cuando iba a verlo":

> Cuando hacer versos cursé,
> sin ser el único y solo,
> llegué a la casa de Apolo
> no a la de Canis entré;
> y así, Luis, entiende, que
> la musa mía no vio

tu casa, ni la miró,
que a haberla ido a cursar
sólo aprendiera a ladrar
y a hacer buenos versos no. (208)[30]

In this décima, the dog motif, with all the connotations discussed previously, is used to satirize the lack of artistic talent of the individual in question. Caviedes also criticizes other bad poets; two examples are "A un poeta disparado que andaba recitando sus versos que dedicaba a quien se lo pagaba" (165-166) and "A uno que preciaba mucho de poeta, por haberlo sido su madre" (167-168). In these poems he confines himself to criticizing the bad poetry of the individual in question and to lamenting the small recompense received by good poetry. In the second poem he compares the poet's stupidity to that of various equine animals, however. The poem dedicated to Luis, the mulatto, would certainly be no more insulting than this one, were it not for the resonance of the dog comparison which is developed and reiterated so much in the rest of the poetry which deals with Afro-Peruvians.

Caviedes expresses special disgust with respect to Luis' house. He introduces the canine motif, using "la [casa] de Canis" in opposition to "la casa de Apolo." Apollo was, of course, the god of poetry and presided over the Greek muses. But because he was also the

personification of the sun, Caviedes uses this representation to suggest Canis, the dog star (actually the name of two constellations in the southern hemisphere), thereby creating an opposition between two heavenly bodies, the sun and a star. From the association of the stars with the astrological divisions of the celestial sphere, he derives the concept of the house. Caviedes' muse, then, being presided over, in the best classical tradition, by Apollo, never entered the house of Canis, or the dog house, which becomes simply "tu casa" in the seventh verse of the poem. In this way, Caviedes moves from the "house of the Dog" in the heavens to the house of the dog-mulatto on earth. His persona emphasizes how much he disdains that house; his muse did not even see or look at it, let alone frequent it (second meaning of "cursar" in the poem) long enough to learn anything about poetry. The result of the practice of this art by the mulatto is merely a dog's barking.

Whether or not Caviedes is referring to a real person in this poem, it has a special significance for literary history. This is due to the fact that we have no original literary works from the colonial period in Peru written by any person of black ancestry. Furthermore, if "Luis" truly claimed Caviedes had learned

something of his art from him, we must assume that the mulatto wrote, or attempted to write, in the somewhat conceptist style of Caviedes. This would show a high degree of aesthetic acculturation on the part of the Afro-Peruvian in question, in addition to serving as testimony of the existence of poetic endeavors on the part of such people in the early literature of Latin America. In any case, the implications for Luis are that he is a bad poet because he is a dog (that is, part black). Caviedes, who prides himself on his self-tutored intelligence, would certainly not allow for the influence of a person of inferior race on his art.[31]

Another poem which gives a glimpse of the participation of Afro-Peruvians in the artistic life of the colony is the "Memorial de los mulatos para representar una comedia al Conde de la Monclova, en ocasión de haber quitado a uno de la horca" (163-165). Here again, Caviedes demonstrates that the efforts of the mulattoes are not to be taken seriously as art. He especially mocks their intellectual and artistic ability in the following verses, which are directed to the Viceroy:

> No los desairéis que son
> fama vuestra en plebe oído,
> que no oye discretas notas
> sino discordes ladridos. (164)

The Viceroy is begged not to snub the efforts of the mulattoes in their play, for they will then praise him to the common people, who will understand them well, for the common people have uneducated tastes. They pay attention to "discordes ladridos." Again, the dog motif adds dimensions to the meaning of the poem which are only apparent after studying the many other poems in which it appears.

Another poem in which the participation of Afro-Peruvians in the intellectual life of the community is ridiculed is one which has provided examples for many other areas of our discussion, the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla," in which the poet writes:

> Si el laurel a los ingenios
> les corona la cabeza,
> póngale al médico malvas
> que es corona de receta.
> Pedro de Utrilla, el cachorro,
> (hablo así porque me entiendan,
> que hay otro Pedro de Utrilla
> que por viejo está sin presas)
> el mozo le hubiera dicho;
> no lo digo porque yerra
> quien da nombre de pato
> al que es perro por esencia.
> El licenciado Morcilla
> y bachiller Chimenea;
> catedrático de Ollín
> y graduado en la Guinea;
> . . . . . .
> éste dicen que acertó,
> entre las muchas que yerra. (243-245)

The university terminology used in the verses quoted above indicates that Caviedes is evoking certain procedures that surrounded the reception of a doctorate in the Spanish system and, therefore, in the University of San Marcos in colonial times. In an article on the subject, one commentator writes that after the postulant for a degree had answered a question in Latin, "venía luego la parte bufa de tan seria función: el vejamen o discurso burlesco dicho por un estudiante."[32] Caviedes seems to be imitating the moment of the vejamen in his poem on Utrilla. He mocks Utrilla educationally with the degrees of "licenciado" and "bachiller," attaching them to epithets reflecting his color. He also mocks him with the title of "catedrático." Normally, one who held a cátedra, or teaching chair, in the university was a person of great learning who, in competition with other postulants for the position, debated or gave a lecture on his subject and was elected by professors and students of the facultad, as well as doctors, licenciates and masters in the geographical area.[33] Utrilla, however, is called "catedrático de Ollín," a reference not to a field of knowledge but solely to his color or race. Furthermore, he is described as having graduated from Guinea. This is, of

course, another reference to his race, and places him at a great distance from any European or American center of learning of the time.

No reputable doctors or surgeons could have been trained in San Marcos until the early eighteenth century because, though the cátedras existed, medicine was not taught; the first chair which could have dealt with surgical training, the chair of method, was not established until 1711.[34] Therefore, most physicians in the colony came from Spain or other parts of Europe. For this reason, in the verse under discussion, we can understand not only a slight on Utrilla's race, but also on his intellectual development. He has, of course, no education and no degrees. However, Caviedes writes as if he had participated in some sort of skill contest in which he had won an honor equivalent to a cátedra. This is indicated by the first four verses of the poem. Pedro, he says, is deserving of a crown of laurel, an ancient symbol of victory in contests between athletes, poets, generals, etc. However, since it is a satirical piece on medical skill that he is writing, he suggests that the crown be made, rather, of mallows, because a medicinal substance is extracted from them.

Another area of the poem which was probably inspired by the activities surrounding the awarding of a high academic degree is the section in which Caviedes calls Utrilla:

> lacayo, en fin, de la Muerte,
> cuando su ama rejonea
> la vida de los dolientes
> le da por rejones flechas. (245)

The same commentator cited above describes the end of the doctoral festivities:

> La procesión regresaba a casa del ya doctorado, que ofrecía un gran banquete, y después, en la misma tarde, volvía en orden a la plaza de Armas, para presenciar la lidia de toros, que era obligatorio costear como fin del regocijo.[35]

Since the verb "rejonear" is only used in tauromachy, it seems likely that Caviedes' image of potential surgical patients as bulls being jabbed with the <u>rejón</u> by Death is based on the activity described above.

Caviedes continues his exaggeration of the victory Pedro has achieved in the imaginary competition with other surgeons in the last section of the poem, where he says:

> Pedro es sabio, Pedro es docto
> y sabe más que cuarenta
> cargas de tuertos Godoyes
> y corcobados Liseras.
> . . . . . .
> En fin, cuantos en el mundo
> tratan de emplasto y de tienta,
> al gran Perote de Utrilla
> vengan a dar obediencia;

pues a costa de su vida
hizo una cura tan fiera
que si la mujer se muere...
vivo como ahora se queda.
¡Víctor! Perote de Utrilla,
pues con su mucha experiencia
la cola de ser cachorro
es víctor de fama negra. (246)

By the last verse we understand several things: Pedro is not really famous, but infamous; he is a winner in his contest but the fame of those who practice his skill is dubious; and, finally, he is famous among blacks or as a black person.

In order to more fully appreciate the academic elements used by Caviedes to satirize Utrilla as an Afro-Peruvian, it is useful to contrast the "academic" qualifications he attributes to white doctors and to Utrilla. We recall that of Utrilla he says:

el licenciado Morcilla
y bachiller chimenea;
catedrático de Ollín
y graduado en la Guinea.

We can compare these verses to those written to satirize two other medical men of the time, Dr. Avendaño and Dr. Machuca. Regarding the first of these, Caviedes writes:

Presidía el gran camote
de Avendaño, en calaveras
graduado y catedrático
de sepulturas funestas. (234)

The second is described similarly:

Venid acá, matalote,
graduado en calaveras,
doctor de la sepultura,
licenciado de la huesa,
si os dieron el grado, no
lo tenéis por suficiencia,
sino por dinero que es
más médico que Avicena. (261)

All of the modifiers attached to Utrilla's qualifications are based solely on his color/race, while those of the other two doctors are based on lack of skill, that is, on the relationship of physicians to death, or Caviedes' general allegation that doctors kill their patients rather than cure them. None of the three men in question could be considered any more intelligent than the other two on the basis of the poet's description of academic qualifications or functions. But there is a qualitative difference in these descriptions. If we elaborate the basic thought behind what Caviedes says about Utrilla, we arrive at the assertion that he is ignorant and incompetent because he is black. It is primarily his color, or black ancestry, which inspired the use of the images associated with "Morcilla," "chimenea," "Ollín" and "Guinea." Such a conclusion cannot be drawn with respect to the images associated with the academic qualifications of the other two doctors mentioned. On the contrary, the only allusions made are to their ignorance and incompetence as such.

It is clear that in Caviedes' choice of qualities to be ridiculed, color and race take precedence over skill and mental capacity, or lack of them. A similar tendency can be found in other aspects of Caviedes' work. As Raúl Bueno Chávez has shown, he invariably chooses some physical aspect of a person to criticize, rather than a defect in skill, intellect or morals, if it is at all possible.[36] One of his most common satirical techniques is, indeed, that of projecting physical defects toward moral or mental ones. Some examples are his verses ridiculing hunchbacks, people with one eye, or those with long noses. The simple fact that Caviedes includes race or color in the area of physical defects shows that his verses dealing with Utrilla and other Afro-Peruvians are based to a great extent on racial prejudice.

In the area of intellectual competence he degrades Afro-Peruvians using "inferior" race as his point of departure. His purpose is to show that inferior intelligence is the product of inferior race. From the earliest days of the colony Afro-Peruvians (as persons of impure blood and presumed illegitimate birth) were excluded from universities by law. However, many such individuals did manage to enter these

institutions, especially from the mid-seventeenth century on. This situation became so notorious that Viceroy Monclova (governing from 1688 to 1705) "took matters in hand and ordered zambos, mulattoes, and quadroons excluded from universities and their degrees rescinded for fraud."[37] Thus, once again, we see that Caviedes' attitude toward people of black African background reflects official state policy. His satire of Afro-Peruvian intellectual achievement not only exploits a racial stereotype but comes precisely at a time when these people were encroaching in sufficient numbers on white educational "prerogatives" to be viewed as a threat to the status quo, a threat which in the last analysis has economic implications.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined various fears and negative stereotypes to which Caviedes appeals in order to show the changing status of Afro-Peruvians in the colony as a threat to the way of life preferred by him and his peers of Spanish origin. He expresses his concern that social order (that is, the status quo before Afro-Peruvians gained their present prominence) be maintained by showing how it is insidiously being

undermined. The suggestions that there is a link between Afro-Peruvians and the plague, as well as between them and people of Jewish background, are, perhaps, the most pernicious of his comparisons. They constitute an appeal to irrational fears on the part of the average colonist in Caviedes' intended audience.

Perhaps more rational, but certainly nearly as strong in terms of psychological force in the mind of the reader or listener, is Caviedes' comparison of Afro-Peruvians with animals, and the relationship of this comparison with the threats of impure blood and unnatural sensuality. Animality can also be linked to the other stereotyped charges leveled at Afro-Peruvians by the poet, that is, suspicious behavior and limited intelligence. Several implications are probably meant to be drawn from this constellation of characteristics. Clearly, people of limited intelligence, lacking the blood-line requirements, likely to rise up violently against the light-skinned population, and unable to control their passions are to be considered more like animals than people. At the very least, it is evident that they cannot rightly assume a responsible and/or powerful role in society. The infiltration of such people into higher socio-economic positions in society

is, in fact, like a plague (from Caviedes' point of view), for the "inferior" and "unworthy" are gradually contaminating the "superior" and "worthy" members of that society. Thus, the stereotyped representations of Afro-Peruvian characteristics and Caviedes' appeal to largely irrational fears and prejudices are part of a unified whole, the intent of which is to both provoke and reflect a reaction against Afro-Peruvian socio-economic self-improvement.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Haig Bosmajian, The Language of Oppression (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1974), p. 6.

[2]John Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 100ff.

[3]Kolb, Juan del Valle y Caviedes, p. 16. Lanning, in Academic Culture (p. 119), gives a figure as high as 200,000 casualties for a single epidemic.

[4]Susan Sontag, Illness as Metaphor (New York: Farrer, Straus and Giraux, 1977), p. 6.

[5]The sense of the poem and the occurrence of a similar verse in another of Caviedes' poems indicate that "charcos" should be "chascos." Cf. Caviedes, Obras, ed. Vargas Ugarte, p. 249. Caviedes, Diente del Parnaso, ed. Odriozola, also gives "chascos" (p. 134).

[6]It is interesting that Poma de Ayala, in a drawing of the evils besetting the Indian under Spanish administration, portrays the escribano as a cat. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (codex péruvien illustré) (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1936), p. 694.

[7]Marcel Bataillon, in the Prologue to Medina, Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima, notes in this regard:

"En el primer tercio del siglo XVII se dio en el Perú, con la unión de las dos coronas peninsulares, una notable invasión de 'marranos' procedentes de Portugal, comerciantes todos o casi todos, y que no tardaron en llamar la atención y ser perseguidos." (I, ix)

Trials of these merchants were carried on throughout much of the seventeenth century in Lima.

[8]Sontag, Illness as Metaphor, p. 72.

[9]Details on the Inquisition are taken from Medina, Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima, I and II. He lists 1,270 persons who were processed by this institution.

[10]Quevedo, El Buscón, p. 32. Américo Castro also gives the variant, "ni gato ni perro de aquella color," together with other references to the negative connotations of the color red in the Spanish literature of the time (p. 32, note 14).

[11]John Tate Lanning, "Legitimacy and limpieza de sangre in the Practice of Medicine in the Spanish Empire," Jahrbuch für Geschichte, von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas, 4 (1967), p. 44.

[12]Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, p. 44.

[13]For background on the use of the term, see María Leticia Cáceres, Voces y giros del habla colonial peruana registrados en los códices de la obra de D. Juan del Valle y Caviedes, (s. XVII) (Arequipa, Peru: Imp. Editorial El Sol, 1974), p. 41.

[14]Medina, II, 73.

[15]Raúl Bueno Chávez, "Algunas formas del lenguaje satírico de Juan del Valle Caviedes," Literatura de la Emancipación Hispanoamericana y Otros Ensayos: Memoria del XV Congreso del Instituto de Literatura Iberoamericana, (9-14 de Agosto de 1971) (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1972), pp. 349-355.

[16]In Caviedes, Obras, Vargas Ugarte gives the line as "perro de ayuda hunchanga," but Cáceres, on page 43 of El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, clarifies the adjective. Chunchanga is a Peruvian town to the east of Pisco. Further on in the poem, Pisco is also mentioned, in the context of slave labor. Therefore, it is clear that Caviedes takes the poetic license to use "Chunchanga" as an adjective implying the same phenomenon.

[17]In Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, "patente" is replaced by "Zarasas" (p. 69). Zaraza is a poison used to kill dogs, cats and mice.

[18]Caviedes also uses canine comparisons in a few poems having nothing to do with Afro-Peruvians (e.g., Obras, pp. 37, 94 and 269). However, these comparisons are never as insistent or as direct as those we have discussed. No one group of people is characterized consistently as dog-like, except for Afro-Peruvians.

[19]Reedy, "Poesías Inéditas," p. 173.

[20]Jackson, The Black Image, p. 13.

[21]Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, p. 14.

[22]The best ones are not included in Obras, ed. Vargas Ugarte. However, they may be found in Diente del Parnaso, ed. Odriozola, under the following titles: "A la bella Anarda" (pp. 134-137), "A una dama que por serlo con demasía la prendieron" (pp. 216-218), and "A una dama que por serlo paró en la Caridad" (pp. 126-129).

[23]Bowser, p. 340.

[24]Alonso Carrió de la Vandera (Concolorcorvo), El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes desde Buenos Aires hasta Lima (Paris: Desclée, 1938), pp. 268-269.

[25]For the operation of this attraction in the Peruvian colony, see Bowser, p. 287, and Lewin, ed., Descripción del Virreinato del Perú, p. 39.

[26]Quoted in Mac-Lean y Estenos, "Negros en el Perú," p. 23.

[27]Lewin, ed., Descripción del Virreinato del Perú, p. 39.

[28]Some of the best examples can be found in Obras, ed. Vargas Ugarte, in the section "Remedios para ser lo que quisieres" (pp. 129-145), which, in fact, begins with a poem titled "Hipócritas."

[29]Poma de Ayala, La nueva crónica, interpretada por Bustíos Gálvez, II, 261.

[30]The meaning of the title of this poem is somewhat clearer in Diente del Parnaso, ed. Odriozola, where it reads: "A un mulato que se jactaba de haberme enseñado á hacer versos" (p. 76).

[31]In "Carta a la monja de México" (Obras, ed. Vargas Ugarte, pp. 34-35), he details this educational process.

[32]José de la Riva Agüero, "La Universidad de San Marcos en la vida colonial," Pequeña antología de Lima (1535-1935), comp. Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Madrid: Imp. de G. Sáez, 1935), p. 171.

[33]Lanning, Academic Culture, pp. 54-56.

[34]Ibid., pp. 106-107.

[35]Riva Agüero, "La Universidad de San Marcos," p. 171.

[36]Bueno Chávez, "Algunas formas del lenguage satírico de Juan del Valle Caviedes," pp. 349-355.

[37]Lanning, "Legitimacy and limpieza de sangre," p. 48.

Chapter 4

CARICATURE OF ASSIMILATED VALUES

In his book, The Devil, the Gargoyle, and the Buffoon: The Negro as Metaphor in Western Literature, Lemuel Johnson speaks of the Sierra Leone (black) creole as the product of a hybrid race, "inadequately Negroid and inadequately Caucasian."[1] It seems that this characterization would fit any group of black people transplanted between two differing racial/cultural areas or growing up within a culture that perceived them as alien. Professor Johnson's definition fits especially well the Afro-Peruvians addressed in Caviedes' poems. Although Caviedes certainly does not write from a black perspective, he does nevertheless represent many phenomena of his colonial society in a way that we can recognize as valid. One of these phenomena is the way in which Afro-Peruvians assimilated the values of their white-dominated Hispanic milieu.

Johnson's Sierra Leone creoles were actually predominantly black but assimilated the British culture. Caviedes' mixed Afro-Peruvian castes are "inadequately Negroid and inadequately Caucasian" in a much more profound sense, that is, both culturally and literally. In

the cultural sense it is not difficult to find examples, and we will discuss them in succeeding pages. However, the literal sense is, perhaps, not quite as easy to recognize, from the black point of view as well as the white. It is abundantly obvious that Caviedes sees racially mixed Afro-Peruvians as "inadequately Caucasian" from the occasions on which he expands at length on their Negroid features and slave origins. However, in spite of this insistence, he also shows that they were regarded literally as "inadequately Negroid" by a certain segment of society. There is only one poem in which this aspect of Afro-Peruvian life is shown. It occurs as a conceit in the poem "A los ojos de una dama":

> Por tus ojos, que a mis ojos
> trates con más miramiento,
> que por pardos son mal vistos
> de los negros.[2]

Caviedes puns on "pardos" and "negros" as the color of the suitor's and the lady's eyes, and as racially mixed and unmixed black people. That this poem is the only instance in Caviedes' work of the portrayal of this particular social reality is not surprising. He is surely, as we have said, a light-skinned Spaniard, and his main concern is to emphasize how black and, therefore, how inferior interracial Afro-Peruvians are. His purpose is

not to show the state of relations between groups of varying degrees of black African background. That he does, in fact, show a glimpse of such relations, if only in a conceit about disdained affection, is indicative of the common knowledge regarding them. The historian Frederick Bowser corroborates Caviedes' passing allusion in his book, The African Slave in Colonial Peru: 1524-1650, where he shows that in the seventeenth century the division of black religious sodalities according to tribal origins was often replaced by divisions based on purity of racial lineage and degree of American cultural assimilation; he also notes that even the militia for the defense of Lima divided its companies of mulattoes from those composed of free blacks.[3]

With the foregoing data as background, it is easy to appreciate the racial and cultural marginality of the person of mixed racial heritage in colonial Peru. The result is an identity built on what Professor Johnson calls "precarious irrelevance."[4] The interracial Afro-Peruvians who figure in Caviedes' poems manifest a certain schizophrenia based on their inability to fit completely into either the black African or white Spanish culture. They cannot be "black" because colonial blacks do not accept them as such, nor would they wish

to be black, because to them and to the white population of Lima, black means inferior as a result of the slave economy. Therefore, they try to be "white," as far as cultural values are concerned. Even this is difficult, however, because the white Spaniard or creole continues to view them as black, or worse. In fact, the "or worse" is what makes this prejudice so virulent. The white Spanish-Peruvian identified "black purity" with the untutored, fearful (and, therefore, docile) bozal, recently arrived from Africa; he viewed the mulatto and the zambo as sneaky, violent, lustful, treacherous, etc.

Caviedes records the Afro-Peruvian schizophrenia which resulted from such attitudes and social reality. His record is given, of course, from a white Spanish viewpoint. We emphasize the importance of viewpoint here, because the result in the literary context is caricature, that is, ludicrous exaggeration of the peculiarities or defects of the Afro-Peruvians satirized. These peculiarities or defects are frequently related to certain Spanish values, values which are foreign to the black African culture but which Afro-Peruvians adopt as they assimilate the culture of their light-skinned socio-economic superiors.

In "Remedio para lo cavalleresco," we see the

advantage a "caballero" with little claim to the distinction can derive from having a mulatto son. The son, in order to enhance his own "whiteness," will go to great lengths to prove his father's noble blood. Although Caviedes' intention in this poem is to satirize his white countryman's pretensions to noble blood, he inadvertently points out with great perspicacity an important psychological trait of racially mixed people in the colony. The mulatto son gives himself a white noble ancestry to the complete eclipse of his black ancestry.

It has been suggested that Caviedes is a precursor of the literary school known as "criollismo."[5] However, no one has ever pointed out the affinity with French Romanticism which can be detected in the poem under discussion. The black complement to the noble savage so popular in Romantic literature is the nègre généreux, invariably the son of a king. Though the novel which exalts this type of black most typically is Victor Hugo's Bug Jargal, published in the early nineteenth century, the precursor of this type of attitude is Surinam-born Aphra Behn's Oroonoko or the Slave King, written in 1688. We emphasize particularly the date and the mixed blood of the protagonist, as we consider an

affinity with Caviedes' poem. On the one hand, we have the noble savage, truly related to a king, exalted in an exaggerated manner to show the nobility of his soul in spite of his race. On the other, in Caviedes, we have a not-very-noble creole claiming relationship to a king, the intention of the author being to show his vitiated soul, due to his partially black background. These are two sides of the same phenomenon, in works written approximately at the same time. Caviedes merely projects the unromanticized version. His New World black is portrayed realistically. He is a hybrid, racially and culturally, who has adopted white Spanish values to the point of caricature. To the colonial white Spaniard it was important to be related to nobility because everyone was so status-conscious. But when a mulatto begins to claim a blood relationship with Spanish nobility it becomes ludicrous--not because he could not in reality be related, but because the Spaniard considered the person of black origin primarily a slave, so far beneath him in status that one could not, or should not, even begin to mention the upper crust of Spanish society as a possible blood relation to him.[6] Caricature is a means of both offense and defense in this situation; that is, by use of this technique,

Caviedes both offends his target and defends his theoretically receptive audience from the shock of such usurpation by his ludicrous exaggeration. At the same time, however, the suggestion that the situation here presented goes on all the time cannot fail to penetrate the consciousness of that audience, and Caviedes was undoubtedly calculating on the repugnance they would feel in order to establish sympathy between writer and audience. With regard to black people themselves, the social reality glimpsed in this poem is a good example of black identity based on "precarious irrelevance." It is certainly irrelevant for them to try to prove affiliation with any great Spanish families, for their affiliation with black families makes the whole issue moot. Yet they take on such values as if they were important for their social status.

Caviedes also caricatures a similar pretension to upper-class affiliation in "Jácara," a poem in which he also takes the opportunity to emphasize the separateness of the institution to which Afro-Peruvians were obliged to turn for medical care. This was the Hospital of San Bartolomé, which was dedicated exclusively to the treatment of blacks. In the poem, which must surely be one of the most extensive examples of Caviedes'

predilection for punning, the poetic persona addresses the hospital as a human being, that is, by the name Bartolomé. Essentially, he is telling the hospital to watch out for the man in charge of rebuilding it after an earthquake, for he is an embezzler. He refers to the results of the work of this mayordomo and then to Peruvians of African descent as follows:

> con su favor, la ruina
> de esta casa es ya un palacio,
> y aún más, que si un Pardo es uno
> ésta incluye muchos pardos.
> Qué mucho palacio sea
> donde ay cavalleros tantos,
> que tan grandes que son todos
> de lo más encopetado,
> a Bartolomé le pagan
> la charidad de curarlos
> con que su santo martyrio
> se ve en ellos imitado. (45)

This poem serves to remind the colonial reader of the racial segregation practiced in the Lima hospitals (the principal one for Indians being Santa Ana and that for white Spaniards San Andrés), at the same time that it subtly mocks Afro-Peruvian social pretensions and assumptions of economic self-sufficiency. Caviedes says it is not surprising that the hospital should seem like a palace (like the Pardo in Madrid) after its reconstruction, for it is full of "cavalleros." From the word "encopetado" as used in the context of the poem we understand great respectability and aristocracy

ironically, for it really means great presumption; it even suggests the hair of the individuals treated in the hospital for, since it is frizzy, it may well stand up forming a copete, or pompadour.

Caviedes ridicules the assumed economic sufficiency of the pardos in the same way he ridicules all those who have the money to pay for medical services. Those who pay Bartolomé, that is, the doctors contracted by the hospital, to cure them, imitate the martyrdom of its patron saint who, according to legend, was beheaded, crucified upside down, skinned alive, beaten with clubs and drowned. Caviedes' implication is that the pardos pay to undergo the same tortures at the hands of doctors. He exaggerates both their "nobility" and their "martyrdom" to provoke laughter, but the essential moment of caricature is derived from the assimilated value of "nobility" taken from the association with the Pardo in Madrid.

Another poem containing verses related to the idea of social presumption is "Pregón," in which the pretensions of mulatas are satirized. A "vice" peculiar to free interracial and black women with a little money was that of wearing luxurious articles of dress or jewelry. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries various attempts at sumptuary legislation against this practice were made, evidently to little effect.[7] Caviedes suggests his view of the matter through Cupid's judgment on the relative monetary value of mulatas:

> Manda que toda mulata,
> la de turbante mejor
> que al cielo sube el copete
> para ser presa del sol,
> dé los cariños a cuarto;
> porque una pobre afición
> les pide una ceña, vuelta
> en un medio real de amor. (182)

These women wear turbans of good quality, thereby appropriating a right which Caviedes probably sees as belonging exclusively to white women. The assimilated value here is the type of head adornment and the exaggeration is its height.

Caviedes gives an example of interracial Afro-Peruvians who have assimilated the dominant values with respect to racial classification in "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos." We have noted that the first person to be concerned about the admission of people with some black racial background into the two professions, Perico Basarrano, is a racially mixed person himself. Three others in the poem, notaries by profession, and evidently of a lighter skin tone than Basarrano, also denounce their partial black ancestry.

One does so by the shape of his nose, a second by his digestive system, a third by his hot blood. In these four men we pass from outer to inner features, and while Caviedes implicitly censures the professions in question for allowing the admixture of so much "bad blood," the very carriers of this "bad blood" reject themselves. They do this, in one sense, to serve the ends of caricature, but historical evidence indicates that Caviedes' satirical portrayal is also an accurate exposition of Afro-Peruvian psychology in the colonial period. One historian writes:

> The overwhelming preponderance of evidence in surviving documentation . . . argues that it was the racially mixed who moved upward in Spanish society. This was perhaps because of the paradoxical nature of Spanish racial attitudes: race mixture was regarded with contempt, but the white blood in a mulato made him more acceptable than a black man. As the process of race mixture in Peru continued, and with it, the almost morbid fascination of society with racial classification, free coloreds came to share this fascination, and to see in it the advancement or frustration of their own ambitions and those of their children. Intelligent free Afro-Peruvians who had accumulated modest fortunes were quick to see that racial solidarity was all very well, but that 'whitening' and 'passing,' culturally if not racially, was the key to socioeconomic advancement.[8]

The fact that Caviedes' poetry documents this reality demonstrates the acute manner in which the voice of the poet transmits the environment in which he lives.

The most interesting case of a man trying to inhabit two racial worlds is that of Florián Pardillos, described in "A una persona grave que vestía de negro y era amigo de negras." Looking at the poem in its entirety we can fully appreciate the development of the allusions contained in it:

Florián se vistió de nuevo
con su vestido el más viejo
pues siendo negra la gala
no será el vestido nuevo.
También sacó de castor
del mismo color sombrero,
y es mucho que en negro tenga
de aquesta color un pelo.
De bayeta sacó capa
mudando posturas, puesto
que lo que es cubierto de él
lo trae debajo cubierto.
Los encajes son muy propios
porque encaja en lo moreno
su gala, porque jamás
él ha hecho punta a lo negro.
De damasco es el vestido,
tela ajustada por cierto
a su amor, que damas de asco
gasta y damasco es lo mesmo.
Las medias de torzal traía
con disgusto, porque vemos
que medias de pasa gasta,
pero no medias de pelo.
Dicen que ya no ha de hablarse
con Pardillos, y lo creo
porque sólo con pardillas
mete lengua en todo tiempo.
Aunque ahora juzgo que no
le darán un par por ciento;
porque éste es año de hambres
y anda caro lo trigueño.
Pero dormirá vestido
y le dirá mil requiebros
a su sayo, que el color
le dará incentivo de ello.

Goce la gala mandinga
más de mil siglos guineos,
y lo demás que no digo
me lo dejo en el tintero. (178-179)

In this poem Caviedes does not mention even once the racial background of his subject. In this respect, it differs substantially from the poems considered previously in this section. But he does build up quite a case by implication, and that is precisely the point. Evidently the subject has no black features to give himself away. This is certainly possible at the end of the seventeenth century, for there had been time for at least five generations of "whitening," that is, intermarriage with progressively lighter elements of the population, since blacks first came to Peru. Furthermore, since some of the early colonists, especially among the artisans, were mulattoes from Spain, the process had ample time to erase black features. Perhaps it might be argued that Florián is not portrayed as having any black background at all, but rather that Caviedes is criticizing him simply for patronizing racially mixed prostitutes instead of white ones. This is a possibility, but not a very substantial one. The available data suggest that the former practice was quite common in the colony,[9] and Caviedes admits it openly in the poem. Therefore, though he may indeed be criticizing the

practice, this is definitely not what is "debajo cubierto" and left unsaid--"en el tintero"--in the poem.

Florián's problem links money and sex with race. He is so poor that he cannot afford racially mixed prostitutes ("lo trigueño" is very expensive). So why, we might ask, does he not try somebody cheaper, like a black or native woman? We can only assume that Caviedes portrays him as attracted exclusively to racially mixed black women because Florián himself is a product of racial mixture, and because he has adopted the white male's aesthetic in his preference for women. In any case, Florián is in a very ironic situation. He evidently tries to be "white" but his "afición" betrays him. Yet he has no success in the world of the racially mixed Afro-Peruvian because of his economic situation. In fact, lack of sexual success, and the implied lack of economic success, might be seen as Caviedes' way of crystallizing the dilemma of the racially mixed person who is in all physical respects white, but whose interracial background is known. Florián has always been a sexual failure with the women who attract him, if we can accept the rather recondite implications of the verses on the black lace trim on his clothing:

> Los encajes son muy propios
> porque encaja en lo moreno

su gala, porque jamás
él ha hecho punta a lo negro.

The play on words here is about lace made in the style of blacks, and about Florián's never having admitted his black ancestry; however, we cannot overlook the insistence on "encajes," "encaja" and "hacer punta" as suggestive of the sexual act.

In short, one of the essential features of this poem is caricature. On the one hand, Florián dresses in such an array of black clothing that we might compare it to a converted Jew's eating great quantities of bacon on Saturday. On the other, we again have an element of identity based on "precarious irrelevance," that is, the adoption of social customs by an assimilated Peruvian creole of implied partial African ancestry, who cannot even afford the custom he attempts to mimic. Both elements include aspects of ludicrous exaggeration.

The poems of "Remedios para ser lo que quisieres" which include references to Afro-Peruvians also carry a suggestion of caricature, as the individuals concerned affirm other warped "white" values. This occurs in "Doctos de chafalonía" (Afro-Peruvian women applauding quack intelligence), "Chauchillas" (a mulatto woman ironically praising her white friend's virtue), and "Caballeros chanflones" (Alonso, the invitations

secretary, creating caballeros by a flourish of his pen).

One of Caviedes' most ironic uses of caricature occurs in his longest poem dedicated to an Afro-Peruvian, the "Vejamen que le dio el author al zambo Pedro de Utrilla." Principally devoted to an exaggeration of the surgeon's lack of medical skill, it touches also on his blackness and intellectual achievements, as we have seen in previous chapters. Even structurally the poem is an exaggeration, for the first 72 verses (approximately one half of the poem) form one long sentence composed in large part of epithets and metaphors on the surgeon's blackness and ineptness. In this case, it is mainly accumulation which gives the effect of ludicrous exaggeration. However, in the second part of the poem, an exaggerated comparison of Utrilla's successful surgical feat with the deeds of great Spanish military heroes, together with the suggestion that various other medical men in the colony should bow to his skill, achieve the ironic effect of the poem. This poem depends less than several of the others mentioned on caricature of some aspect of assimilated Spanish values, and more on simple exaggeration. However, the former element also is influential in achieving the overall

effect, as, for example, in the verses mocking Utrilla's intellectual development, or rather the lack of it, with the titles of "licenciado," "bachiller" and "catedrático." And the end is, perhaps, more vehemently ludicrous than any of the rest, for Caviedes suggests that other surgeons admit Utrilla's greater skill. Of most of them we have no relevant internal knowledge from the poetry, but of one, Godoy, we know two important facts: first, he was a "cirujano latino," that is, he had received a degree from a university (311)--from which blacks were excluded; and second, he probably used black lackeys.[10] Therefore, he was in all likelihood white and of proven "pure" blood, facts which make it ludicrous in the seventeenth century that such a person, no matter how inadept, should take second place to a person of black racial heritage, a person despised for, among other things, his "impure" blood.

Thus, caricature, or ludicrous exaggeration of the peculiarities and defects of Afro-Peruvians, plays an important part in Caviedes' portrayal of these people. Its use permits him to demonstrate their marginality in society. Their assimilation is viewed as an insult to the values of the dominant culture. Certainly, the poet criticizes similar warped values in white

Spanish-Peruvians in the colony. As a satirist he is concerned with pointing out his society's defects. The Afro-Peruvians (especially those of mixed racial background), as he presents them, are a part of the problem.

Such caricature of action and values assimilated by these people in the colony is intimately related to their relatively new social mobility and the fear on the part of light-skinned people of Spanish descent that they will infiltrate positions from which, up to the latter part of the seventeenth century, they were fairly effectively excluded.

The historical facts of the time indicate that they were, indeed, experiencing greater socio-economic mobility than previously. But just as with any such change in status, adaptation and adoption lag behind economic reality. Their actions are exaggerated in areas of consumption and social climbing. They exaggerate the already exaggerated pretensions of their lighter-skinned peers in precisely the behavioral areas which those same peers have demonstrated to be most illustrative of, or important to, their group in the colony.

Caviedes, of course, caricatures people of all

types and he has a particular talent for being able to fasten on the items of dress or manner which by their exaggeration best serve to characterize a particular group of people. Those of African heritage who are rapidly being assimilated into the Hispanic society and economy of latter-seventeenth-century Peru are no exception. In his work he shows both the Afro-Peruvian's precarious reaction to his new mobility and the fear on the part of the lighter-skinned Spanish-Peruvian of this same phenomenon. As one of the latter, it is no surprise to find that he criticizes the former at precisely those points which make them most like their Spanish-Peruvian peers and more likely to continue, therefore, their infiltration into those ranks.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Johnson, The Devil, the Gargoyle, and the Buffoon, p. 3.

[2]Reedy, "Poesías Inéditas," p. 161.

[3]Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, pp. 250 and 309.

[4]Johnson, p. 9.

[5]Sánchez, Los poetas de la colonia y de la revolución, pp. 172-183; Emilio Champión, "La obra poética de Juan del Valle y Caviedes y su influencia en el criollismo peruano," unpublished thesis (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1953); Reedy, The Poetic Art of Juan del Valle Caviedes, p. 148; and Javier Prado y Ugarteche, El genio de la lengua y de la literatura castellana, y sus caracteres en la historia intelectual del Perú (Lima: Imp. del Estado, 1918), pp. 69-74.

[6]Regarding the real possibility of such a relationship, Mac-Lean y Estenos, in "Negros en el Perú," writes:

Pese a la energía desplegada, desde entonces, para impedir el cruzamiento de las razas india y negra, asombra la facilidad con que los españoles que dictaron tan severas leyes compartían su lecho con las hembras africanas, generalmente esclavas suyas. Este cruzamiento clandestino ilegal no reparaba en categorías sociales. Nobles y plebeyos, peninsulares y criollos disfrutaban de la novedad en el estímulo sexual de la carne tostada en el crisol ancestral de la herencia. Plagados están nuestros archivos coloniales de los expedientes seguidos por las negras contra los más encopetados títulos de Castilla pidiendo la filiación, reconocimiento y alimentos para hijos habidos en ellas y que sus amos y progenitores se negaban a reconocer. (p. 12)

[7]Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, p. 311.

[8]Ibid., p. 321.

[9]Ibid., pp. 311 and 313; Lewin, ed., Descripción del Virreinato del Perú, p. 39.

[10]Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, p. 76.

Chapter 5

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CAVIEDES' RACISM

We have now examined several ways in which Caviedes satirizes Afro-Peruvians. Our discussion has attempted to follow the direction indicated by José Carlos Mariátegui in his Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana, when he wrote:

> Para una interpretación profunda del espíritu de una literatura, la mera erudición literaria no es suficiente. Sirven más la sensibilidad política y la clarividencia histórica. El crítico profesional considera la literatura en sí misma. No percibe sus relaciones con la política, la economía, la vida en su totalidad. De suerte que su investigación no llega al fondo, a la esencia de los fenómenos literarios. Y, por consiguiente, no acierta a definir los oscuros factores de su génesis ni de su subconciencia.[1]

In the previous chapters, we have clarified some aspects of political, economic, social and demographic factors which influenced Caviedes' images, metaphors and general portrayal of people of black African ancestry. It is clear that he projects a racist viewpoint, and, as we have pointed out, racism is generally a product of economic factors which, in turn, influence the other types of factors mentioned. Though we have referred to many of these throughout our study, in this chapter we will concentrate on the economic activities with which Afro-

Peruvians were associated.

We have noted all through our discussion that Caviedes does not write so much against blacks as against racially mixed people of some black ancestry, and especially against the surgeon Pedro de Utrilla. Clearly, the black affiliation of these people is an important element of their "inferiority," but their interracial status seems to be even more of a determining factor in motivating Caviedes' attacks.

The racially mixed Afro-Peruvians were in a peculiar and unique situation in the colony by the middle of the seventeenth century. The society of fixed caste distinctions was crumbling. Dark-skinned people moved "up" when they could to a more acceptable color designation (acceptable insofar as it approached the white ideal) in ecclesiastical and legal documents and declarations. Indians who acted like Spaniards could be taken for mestizos, some mestizos could pass for white Spaniards, and many people of varying degrees of African ancestry could attain "whiteness" based on physical features and monetary incentives to the right authorities.

The autochthonous Peruvian peoples and blacks who were not products of interracial parents or ancestry

were, in general, integrated into their own societies. They were not as marginal as the racially mixed castes. Therefore, they lacked a special psychological stimulus to move up in social standing. The Afro-Peruvian mixtures, however, had a greater degree of mobility. In the first place, their Spanish or Indian parentage often made them free. In the second, as their numbers grew, they were accepted totally by neither Spaniard nor Indian, yet would not want to be considered black with its connotations of slavery. Third, because of the African ethnic diversity, blacks were literally forced to become "Spanish." As time progressed into the eighteenth century, they could not, perhaps, pass as white because black features were difficult to hide, but they could purchase cédulas de gracias al sacar which allowed them to be "white" for legal purposes. Finally, censuses taken during the seventeenth century, which is the period of concern here, indicate that in Lima mulattoes greatly outnumbered mestizos.[2] This fact is useful in the present context because it shows the preponderance of the black-white over the Indian-white mixed population. We can infer that Caviedes concentrates on the one over the other because, among other reasons, of the great evidence of mulattoes around him.

One final statistic is useful for the appreciation of the paranoia his attitude represents. Between 1593 and 1641 Lima's population was half African. Available data indicate that black slave imports were on the increase from 1641 on; thus, the proportion of blacks and racially mixed people of black ancestry in Lima surely did not decrease.[3] These latter data are also significant insofar as they show that people of African descent were a very important part of the colony's economy in Caviedes' time, as well as before. It was inevitable that they would become assimilated socially, economically and culturally. And, as we have pointed out, mulattoes had an edge in this regard. Though they were regarded as disgusting on the one hand, on the other their white parentage also made them, paradoxically, more acceptable than full-blooded blacks in white society.

Lower-Level Specialization

It is a universal phenomenon that in any given society "foreign" minorities tend to specialize in certain areas of economic endeavor. Those members of a population who are considered lower class tend to hold positions which the "upper class" looks on as demeaning.

In the colonies, blacks worked at such professions as town crier, executioner and butcher for this reason.[4] It may be due in part to the employment of the African population in the slaughterhouse, known as "el Rastro," that Caviedes uses time and again the reference to the mixed race surgeon Pedro de Utrilla as a butcher (though this is also a stereotyped comparison for incompetent surgeons). It is easy to see how his profession (which was almost always linked with barbering in its early development) could be considered in the category of demeaning occupations, especially since it was inevitably practiced with little skill.

People of African ancestry in Peru also specialized in the growing and provision of food to the cities, in the operation of taverns, as retainers and household servants, in the transportation system, and as servants in government agencies. In 1636, Viceroy Chinchón, in a letter to the king, wrote of their economic contributions:

> All this black labor is necessary for the maintenance of human life, since neither the Spaniards who come from Castile nor those born here, when they incline to this sort of work, which is very improbable under present circumstances, are sufficient for the tenth part, or even less, of what is required.[5]

The area of food provision (in addition to the fact that

black people were highly visible as hospital employees, especially in those of San Bartolomé and Santa Ana) probably provided Caviedes with the metaphor he uses in the "Vejamen," when he calls Utrilla:

> forzado del amasijo
> de la Muerte, si en la artesa
> de los hospitales de indios
> se amasan tortas trigueñas. (244)

The baking of bread to sell in city markets and the miserable conditions under which it was kneaded and baked were particularly associated with black women.[6] We have also seen the importance of black slaves in the wine-producing industry in the valley of Pisco, also reflected in the "Vejamen." An allusion to this phenomenon occurs more indirectly in the "Memorial de los mulatos," in the verses: "pues todo pardo está en cierne / ganando para racimo" (164).

The presence of Afro-Peruvian slaves in the building trades is alluded to by Caviedes when, in "Doctos de chafalonía," he advises one who attempts to appear erudite, but has not the credentials, to simply lie about it:

> mira que en una hora hay materiales
> y se ahorran muchos reales;
> pues aunque en estas cuentas después digas
> que hay vigas sobre vigas,
> clavos que son de esclavos y albañiles,
> son pleitos tan sutiles
> que pocos o ninguno los repugnan. (139)

Black people were also conspicuous as lackeys, and Caviedes reflects this occupation in various poems. For example, in "Hipócritas" he advises those who get a good testamentary executorship to avoid spending the profit on masses for the departed and to enhance their own social standing with "los lacayos negros de la herencia" (130). Likewise, in "Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso," the lawyers for the defense say that Utrilla serves all at once as "Esclabo, Lacayo y Dueño."[7] Many lackeys bore arms (against the law, with certain exceptions) and Caviedes alludes to this practice in "Al casamiento de Pedro de Utrilla," when he begs Utrilla to give him a pup from his first litter "para enseñarlo a las armas" (249).

Another type of personal servant appearing in Caviedes' work is the invitations secretary to a high-ranking individual, a position of a bit more social prestige than that of lackey. This is the mulatto Alonso who, as we have noted, creates caballeros for a small bribe.

The two occupations of lackey and secretary, as well as the others we have mentioned in this section as being largely exercised by people of black ancestry, fall within the most conspicuous categories of work

carried out by blacks in urban areas. This was especially true of Lima, where they were employed as retainers and household help on a lavish scale. However, in Caviedes' time, Afro-Peruvians were not all remaining in such positions.

Incursions into Professions

A step up from the mass, generally slave, labor noted above are the jobs of gravedigger and alguacil (constable), occupations which presume some personal initiative and responsibility. In the "Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso," these two occupations are joined into one, which is held by mulattoes. Their work is indicated in the following verses:

> Mulatos enterradores,
> pues que sois ministros fieros
> de médicos criminales,
> porque les prendéis los muertos;
> la persona del doctor
> don Melchor prenderéis luego,
> si halláis por donde agarrar
> a tan grande camariento;
> y le pondréis en la cárcel,
> y le embargaréis aquello
> que ha ganado con los males
> que causara a todo el pueblo. (284)

A further step up the socio-economic scale is represented by the mulatto who started as a maker of fireworks (that is, an artisan) and became a doctor. He appears in "A un mulato cohetero que dejó de serlo y

se hizo médico" (103-104).

The best example of the racial paranoia inspired by the upward mobility of racially mixed Afro-Peruvians is offered by "Pregunta que hacen los alguaciles y escribanos," in which we find constables and notaries linked in their activities (303-305). We have already examined this poem for its representation of race mixture as disease. However, certain economic factors behind this representation also merit consideration. In the colony there were three major types of alguacil: the alguacil mayor, or chief constable, a position of largely ceremonial importance; the alguacil menor, or deputy, who usually served in the city; and the alguacil del campo (sometimes called a cuadrillero), who carried out the same function as the deputy, except in the countryside. In the early days of the colony, these offices were, of course, conceived as being held by white Spanish-Peruvians. Even then, they were particularly susceptible to corruption and bribery since, except in a few instances, they offered no fixed salary, but, rather, forced those who held them to be dependent on fines collected from the apprehension of criminals. Furthermore, the alguaciles mayores, who got a percentage of the fines collected as salary, usually appointed too many deputies, who then looked even more to

corruption to support themselves. From the sixteenth century on, these minor officers of justice were involved with blacks, especially apprehending runaways, in both the countryside and the city, and arresting them for violation of curfew and other crimes in the city. Since many blacks apprehended were, of course, slaves, often out doing their master's business if it was a question of curfew violation, the alguaciles tended to accept bribes from slaveholders to overlook their transgressions.[8]

Blacks came to be more associated with constables as the problem of runaways became more acute; some were paid to aid the law in finding them, since they knew their habits and had contacts among the slave population. The Lima Hermandad even bought black slaves on occasion to serve in the position of cuadrillero.[9] By the end of the sixteenth century, it was quite common for free Afro-Peruvians to actually become constables, since they would work for lower wages than whites. Soon they outnumbered men of Spanish origin. It is worthy of note that in the poem "Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso," immediately after the judge directs the "mulatos enterradores" to seize Dr. Vásquez' possessions and put him in jail, the person who does it (and who testifies immediately after the command), Alonso

Rodríguez, calls himself "alguacil mayor de muertos" (284). It would not be unreasonable to assume that this individual is meant to be one of the mulattoes addressed by the judge, and that it would not be uncommon to find him in the position of alguacil mayor.

Constables enjoyed an extensive professional relationship with another group, the notaries. Notaries belonged to the lowest level of the professional group in colonial society.[10] Since the education of a notary took place under the system of apprenticeship, as a profession it could be learned with relative ease and lack of expense. Consequently, many men whose relatives had been artisans could enter the field, at the same time taking a small step up on the socio-economic ladder. Notaries were important in government, war, commerce, trials and any other activity in which knowledge of legal terminology was necessary. The right to set up a notarial office generally had to be bought, though sometimes it was granted as a political favor. Depending on the type of work done and its prestige, a notarial office could sell for a few hundred or many thousands of pesos. Given the relative proximity of the profession to the artisan group in society and the possibility of purchasing minor posts for minimal amounts, it is easy to see how free Peruvians of African descent

could move into the field. A great many free Afro-Peruvians in the colony were artisans; some already trained had even come there from Spain. In addition, slaves who had the opportunity apprenticed their children in the trades, for they offered a method of advancement and relative freedom, social as well as economic, even to the person who might remain a slave. Thus, the capital for purchase of a minor public office was available, and the combination of money, skill and connections was often enough to cause ancestry to be overlooked. Therefore, by the first quarter of the seventeenth century, "the Crown was forced to admit that some mulattoes had managed to purchase notaryships despite the biographical information required of all potential officeholders."[11] The Crown ordered that the situation be remedied, but the same combination noted above in the purchase of the office also served to maintain the purchaser once in, especially if he was a mulatto or quadroon.

The two posts of notary and constable are linked in Caviedes' poem, not only with each other professionally, but also to Afro-Peruvians. The professional relationship came about because notaries sometimes served as deputy constables and because when a

crime was committed, a notary was supposed to draw up a case against the offender, and the constable was in charge of imprisoning him. In 1615, the overseer of the royal shipyards at Callao noted that both groups were corrupt with respect to the prosecution of black slave offenders, since they feared the powerful masters of the latter.[12]

With the above background as reference, we can see why Caviedes applies the term gatos to the two groups and also why the infiltration of Afro-Peruvians into these professions is called a plague. Caviedes is dealing with a moot point. Long before he wrote his poem, the infiltration had begun to take place, as he himself shows.

Pedro de Utrilla's Profession

Pedro de Utrilla represents the most advanced case of infiltration of racially mixed Afro-Peruvians into a profession, and perhaps this is one of the reasons Caviedes devotes six poems exclusively to him and his family and mentions him in seven others. Though in the earliest days of the colony, surgery was little more than a skill equivalent to that of an artisan,[13] at the end of the seventeenth century it was becoming more and more intimately associated with the practice

of medicine, a fact witnessed by the establishment of a chair of method to teach anatomy in the University of San Marcos in 1711.[14]

It is interesting to consider the way in which Utrilla came to be a member of the surgical-medical profession, a field which tended to put its practitioners in a higher socio-economic bracket than the average.

As a rule, Afro-Peruvians seem to have been legally excluded from professional activities associated with medical practice in the colony up to the early seventeenth century.[15] Furthermore, as we have pointed out, universities were closed to them. The Spanish laws regarding the practice of medicine, surgery and pharmacy were applied to America in 1535, yet it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that universities became really concerned about admitting dark-skinned persons. The University of San Marcos, where the problem would become especially acute, officially excluded only those who had some mark of "infamy" on their record, which meant mostly those sentenced by the Inquisition or their descendents.[16]

In Peru a number of factors influenced the presence of interracial castes in the medical professions. First, since it was naturally in the best

interests of slave owners to keep expensive black slaves alive and healthy, and since a hospital had been constructed for the care of blacks, it was to be expected that black and interracial Afro-Peruvians would begin to attend the sick in their hospital in various ways. Second, they were able to infiltrate many professions technically closed to them due to the impediments of illegitimacy and impure blood because the university sold degrees in order to get the money to pay the professors; thus, these degrees began to decrease in prestige and monetary value. Third, the number of mulatto practitioners of medicine in the seventeenth century reduced the social status of medicine to such an extent that few white students registered in the school of medicine at the university. This fact probably contributed, in turn, to the virtual elimination of the teaching of medical subjects even when the cátedras were technically occupied.

It is clear, then, that the latter half of the seventeenth century was precisely the period when awareness was growing of the dominance of the surgical profession by such people as Pedro de Utrilla, who, in this context, becomes a symbol. Caviedes, being necessarily a product of his time, and no doubt just as proud of his Spanish birth and light skin as others like

him, reflects this awareness in the virulence of his satire against Utrilla. In fact, Caviedes' awareness of the issue may have been more than coincidental, for in his last will and testament he refers to his father as "Dr Don Pedro del Valle y cauiedes."[17] Considering the title Caviedes gives his father, even though it may not necessarily have designated a medical doctor, and the same first names of Utrilla (and his father!) and the father of the poet, the singling out of the racially mixed surgeon certainly suggests that more than chance dictates the target of Caviedes' criticism.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the trend reflected in Caviedes' work had become a virtual cornering of the surgical market. In 1791 a famous mulatto surgeon noted that there were almost no whites in the profession; they had all become physicians.[18] A Peruvian sociologist writes of these men:

> Se les denominaba en el lenguaje culto "españoles pardos" y algunos de ellos, por excepción, poseyeron cualidades eminentes, llegando a monopolizar el ejercicio de la cirujía . . . cuya escuela práctica estuvo en el Hospital de San Bartolomé. Oficio dedicado entonces exclusivamente a los negros y mulatos, principalmente a estos últimos, la cirujía representó para ellos, en cierta manera, una promesa de reivindicación social frente al estigma hereditario del pigmento cutáneo y fue estimulada por los propios dueños de esclavos cuando comprobaban las aptitudes especiales de los mulatos. La historia recuerda algunos nombres de ellos. El zambo Gerónimo de Utrilla, enfermero del Hospital de San Bartolomé,

> pasó a ser Cirujano Mayor del Hospital de Santa Ana. Destituido de su cargo por prejuicios racistas--tras de los que se ocultaba, en realidad, la emulación y la rivalidad de los cirujanos españoles--fue repuesto luego por orden del Rey.[19]

It is quite a temptation to suppose that the Utrilla mentioned above might be an eighteenth-century descendant of the Pedro de Utrilla satirized by Caviedes. The art of surgery seems to have been practiced by both him and his father, and, in a society where many skills were learned by apprenticeship, it is not illogical to suppose that the Utrillas might have passed down theirs through the generations.

The available evidence suggests that "more people practiced medicine in the Spanish colonies as a result of fraud than ever practiced it legally."[20] Caviedes certainly adds his voice to that evidence in a resounding manner, not only in regard to Utrilla but to all the medical men appearing in his works. If Utrilla did not fall in reality into this category, Caviedes portrays him as if he did. In the colony, surgery was not a profession the exercise of which demanded a university education. There were two types of surgeons, those who were trained in a university and those who had a purely clinical training. Mulattoes naturally fell into the second type, if they were qualified at

all. Utrilla could have been one them, Caviedes' opinion notwithstanding. Both types were subject to examination by the Protomedicato in order to obtain a license, the main prerequisite being five years of internship.

However, large numbers of Afro-Peruvian surgeons and physicians never applied for a license. As time went on they gained a monopoly in surgery by default, and efforts to keep them out of the profession increased parallel to their numbers. Caviedes' sustained satire against Pedro de Utrilla might be regarded as a poetic effort in this respect. Though the poet goes to great lengths to emphasize the surgeon's ineptitude, the two major poems dedicated to the latter's denigration, the "Vejamen" and the "Loa a Utrilla," deal with successful operations. This is where economic repercussions are felt.

Conclusion

An we analyze the occupations discussed in the foregoing section, we note that Caviedes mirrors quite well the historically demonstrated fact that it was the racially mixed Afro-Peruvian who moved up socially and economically in colonial Peru. Though blacks in low-status positions are recognized (slave, lackey, food

provider, manual laborer), they do not in themselves call up a satirical response in the poet. Often they are mentioned in a given poem in order to degrade by association a higher profession or presumption to an admired state. When we consider those Afro-Peruvians who do call up a critical response in Caviedes, and to whom we can assign some sort of profession, we note that they are not only of mixed race but that they have not remained in their low socio-economic, anonymous "place." Though Alonso, the invitations secretary, might be a slave, those employed in other positions of importance and responsibility are almost certainly not. In this group we have minor functionaries, an artisan and medical men. The question at stake is certainly the socio-economic advancement of the Afro-Peruvians of mixed race. At the time Caviedes is writing, they are becoming integrated into the hierarchical structure of the colony. As the racially mixed move up they often do so by virtue of economic power gained previously. And as they rise, they strengthen their economic position even more. This economic strength changes the social stratification--the status quo--on which the colony was built. "Inferior" people begin to take on "superior" occupations. Even the mulatto poet represents

the usurpation of "superior" status in a professional area, for in colonial times a poet generally flourished under the protection of a powerful patron. Certainly Caviedes might see Luis as a usurper of his own self-assigned role, since Luis accuses him of using his ideas or technique. Likewise, the mulatto son who lies to give himself and his white father a royal ancestry represents usurpation of "superior" social prerogatives; and Florián Pardillos represents the same phenomenon in the sexual area. Thus, though the poems about the latter two figures relate somewhat more indirectly to status from an economic point of view than the others discussed, they do relate to social issues, which, in turn, reflect economic reality. Afro-Peruvians not only support the foundations of the economy from a slave status, they are also overtaking Spanish-Peruvian prerogatives in sectors where they are becoming conscious of their power and importance.

As we have noted, the Crown and viceregal officials were always concerned that people of African descent, especially those of mixed race, who often led a marginal type of existence, would rise one day in revolt. The prospect of economic power, even though small in relative terms, concentrated in the hands of these people could certainly do nothing to allay such

fears. In reality, the slow integration of this group into society was working the other way. The more they approached the Spanish ideal, the more loyal they became as citizens. Furthermore, social relations between African groups led to the same end. Yet in certain ways their integration into the colonies did have a part in the separation of Spanish America from the mother country, for their exclusion from the population count (and, therefore, representation) in the Spanish Cortes of 1810 was a contributing factor leading to the Wars of Independence.[21]

FOOTNOTES

[1]José Carlos Mariátegui, Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana (26th ed.; Lima: Amauta, 1928), p. 247.

[2]Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, pp. 340-341. It is noteworthy that in one of these censuses, taken in 1619, mestizos are counted with Spaniards.

[3]Ibid., p. 75; and Philip D. Curtin, "The Atlantic Slave Trade," The African in Latin America, ed. Ann M. Pescatello (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), p. 38.

[4]Lockhart, Spanish Peru, p. 193; and Bowser, p. 106.

[5]Quoted in Bowser, p. 109.

[6]Bowser, p. 107; and Descola, Daily Life in Colonial Peru, p. 32.

[7]Cáceres, El Manuscrito de Ayacucho, p. 76.

[8]Bowser, p. 164. Information on alguaciles is taken mostly from various sections of this work.

[9]Ibid., p. 211.

[10]Information on notaries taken principally from Lockhart, pp. 68-76.

[11]Bowser, p. 314.

[12]Ibid., p. 179.

[13]Lockhart, p. 50.

[14]Lanning, Academic Culture, p. 106.

[15]Bowser notes that "blacks played a vital role in many hospitals and charitable institutions," performing many required services except the practice of medicine itself (p. 105). He also points out that in 1572 they were forbidden to "dispense, prepare or recommend medicines in apothecary shops on the grounds that they confused the prescriptions of doctors" (p. 142).

[16]Lanning, "Legitimacy and _limpieza de sangre_," p. 47.

[17]Lohmann Villena, "Dos documentos inéditos," p. 279.

[18]José Pastor Larrinaga, _Apología de los cirujanos del Perú_ (Granada, 1791). Quoted in Lanning, "Legitimacy and _limpieza de sangre_," p. 50.

[19]Mac-Lean y Estenos, "Negros en el Perú," pp. 12-13.

[20]Lanning, "Legitimacy and _limpieza de sangre_," p. 55.

[21]James F. King, "The Colored Castes and American Representation in the Cortes of Cádiz," _Hispanic American Historical Review_, 33 (1953), 33-64.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study we have demonstrated the significance of the racial terms which Caviedes uses in his poetry, emphasizing the predominance of interracial people in his satire of Peruvians of African descent. We have also defined various aspects of the racist language and allusions which he uses to degrade Afro-Peruvians and to separate them from the dominant group in his society.

In our Introduction, we noted several textual difficulties in regard to correct reading and interpretation, which must be faced when dealing with Caviedes' work. We also introduced our concept of satire as used in the body of this thesis. We then referred to the timeliness of the present study, with respect to previous and current trends, both literary and scholarly, in the area examined. We mentioned the importance of familiarity with historical data when dealing with a poet of Caviedes' type, emphasizing that his work cannot be explicated satisfactorily solely by textual recourse. Some historical factors which must be taken into account when considering his poems on Afro-Peruvians are the dependence of the colonial

economy on black slave labor, the paradoxical marginality and greater opportunity for socio-economic integration experienced by interracial Afro-Peruvians, the racial composition of the Peruvian colony's population, Spanish attitudes toward dark-skinned and interracial people, and the socio-economic status of the author's presumed audience. Finally, we discussed the rhetorical, that is, persuasive, elements of Caviedes' poetic stance. Certain techniques serve to minimize the author's direct participation in malicious ridicule, while his serious poems serve to establish the credibility of his satirical position in others.

In Chapter 1, we discussed the disdain, otherwise known as racism, manifested by Caviedes in his choice of various terms to designate the Afro-Peruvian subjects of his verses. We pointed out the separative function of such terms, as well as the conclusion that can be drawn from Caviedes' vacillation in their use. This conclusion is that they are utilized primarily to degrade, as a function of blackness and, thus, inferiority, although they are also of historical interest as a reflection of demographic reality, of a psychological need on the part of Spanish-Peruvians for less derogatory euphemisms for dark-skinned people in the seventeenth century, and, in the case of one, in terms

of geographic extension. Finally, we noted the relationship between use of derogatory, separative labels for one segment of a society and the desire of a dominant segment to protect its economic self-interest.

From the relative abstractness of terminology, we moved to emphasis on physical features and visible status in society. In Chapter 2, we described the way in which Caviedes' insistence on skin pigment and Negroid features serves to remind both African and Spanish Peruvians of the initial and current slave status of African-descended people in the colony. In regard to skin pigment, Caviedes exploits connotations associated with the color black. Some of these are death, sickness, filth, burning and bad luck. Some references to skin pigment carry implications related to the circumstances in which Afro-Peruvians lived, as, for example, the extrapolation of racial origin from clothing color and personal associations, the application of hot pitch to control slaves, and sexual relations between black people and those of other races. Examples of the mixture of colors, especially, may carry such implications, as well as others related to purity of blood and religious belief, economic value, and the violent nature attributed to people of African descent. Complementing the allusions to skin pigment

are Caviedes' references to other Negroid features, such as the flat nose, large lips and kinky hair. Such references invariably occur in the form of puns, highlighting at the same time both Caviedes' linguistic virtuosity and the imprint of such distinguishing marks of inferior social status on the persons of those he ridicules. Both of these areas of emphasis, that is, skin pigment and other physical features, have as their principal point of reference the institution of slavery. That is, the stigma of physical features derives from the social stigma of slave origin. Virtually every black who found himself in a Hispanic society either was a slave himself, or was descended from slaves. Thus, as Afro-Peruvians begin to move up socially and economically, it is most appropriate for Caviedes' purposes that he forcefully remind his socially conscious audience, as well as Afro-Peruvians themselves, that under the traditional Spanish social code, the latter have no right to positions higher than those into which they were born. As we assess the poet's purpose in this context, we must bear in mind that the conservative seventeenth-century Spaniard was attempting to protect his prerogatives from incursions on all sides. The social order was undergoing a period of rapid change and one way he could deal with such change was by appeal

to the weight of the past. Thus it is that Caviedes alludes to the treatment of black slaves in the colony, to places particularly associated with slaves in both the colony and Africa, and to the practice of selling slaves by piezas. All of this is meant to indicate that Afro-Peruvians cannot and should not be integrated into the non-slave sector of colonial society.

Caviedes argues further the impropriety of such integration through an appeal to certain racist fears and stereotypes. In Chapter 3, we discuss the effectiveness of such fears and stereotypes in encouraging the opinion that Afro-Peruvians are a threat to the established social structure. By likening race mixture and the infiltration of Afro-Peruvians into the professions to disease, the poet plays on the seventeenth-century dread of uncontrollable illness and the moral connotations of contagion. We elaborate on the intimations of this type which are present in one ironic poem in which notaries and constables ask a doctor how they can preserve their ranks from African contamination, while at the same time exposing the infiltration that has already taken place. Closely akin to the fear of contamination by disease is that of the contamination of impure blood. Seventeenth-century Hispanic society was rabidly anti-Jewish and the slightest intimation of

Semitic background or Judaic practice was enough to send one before the Inquisition, thus barring both accused and descendants from holding many high socio-economic positions. Caviedes exploits his audience's obsession with blood purity in certain poems about interracial Afro-Peruvians by inferring a relationship between their mixed racial background and the "mixed" religious background of converted Jews. Such an insinuation buttresses his attempt to show Afro-Peruvians as a threat to the social fabric of the colony, as well as his desire that they remain "in their place" economically and socially.

He further emphasizes the threat and also his contention of their inferiority by alluding to their animality, excessive sensuality, evidence of suspicious behavior and limited intellectual capacity. With regard to their animality, his principal emphasis is on their "dogness." He elaborates on the traditional Hispanic use of the word "perro" for blacks, Moors and Jews, the association of dogs with lustful and rabid behavior, the use of dogs in hunting, and puns associating the phrase "perro muerto" with duplicity in amorous relationships. Playing a relatively minor role in this imputation of animality are comparisons of Pedro de Utrilla with a monkey, a horse and birds of prey.

Imputation of an inordinately sensual nature is easily and commonly associated with animality, and Caviedes exploits this association to project the image of a lusty, lewd African undermining social stability by presenting a threat to Spanish womanhood and, from the female side, to the religious dedication of young seminarians. He also portrays the prevalence of interracial female solicitors as an encouragement to the waste of economic resources.

We have mentioned the characteristic of violence associated with animality. Peruvian Spaniards were highly inclined to believe that such an imputed characteristic was a valid one, due to the large number of Peruvians of African descent in the colony throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were vividly aware that should they ever unite, Afro-Peruvians could easily overwhelm Spanish-Peruvians in battle. However, for reasons we have explained previously, such attack was, in fact, not at all likely.

In addition to his emphasis on violent tendencies, Caviedes also emphasizes an Afro-Peruvian inclination to lying and hypocrisy, corruptibility and dissimulation. These characteristics are much more likely to be valid, since they mirror the same type of characteristics widely imputed to Spanish-descended

inhabitants of Lima at the time. As we have shown, such traits were socially useful to Afro-Peruvians attempting to integrate themselves into respectable society. However, their presence in Caviedes' work tends to supplement his seeming intention to show these people as untrustworthy and likely to undermine the social and political structure of the colony. Such characteristics might not be so noteworthy in the society as a whole were it not for the rest of the constellation of defects which the poet associates with Afro-Peruvians.

One of these defects, in addition to those we have already discussed, is one which to this day is still being imputed, in some quarters, to people of black descent. This is the defect of limited intelligence. Caviedes finds evidence of it in the verses of a mulatto poet, in the dramatic endeavors of a group of mulattoes and in Pedro de Utrilla's lack of academic credentials. His point is that those of "inferior" race possess inferior intelligence and ability, but as with other negative aspects attributed to Afro-Peruvians, we can find a socio-economic basis, as well as a historical reality, underlying the prejudice. In this case, it is the infiltration of Afro-Peruvians into the universities, from which they were excluded by law, and

into professions and "respectable" socio-economic positions. Their presence was devaluing the prestige of both.

At the same time Caviedes is attempting to show why Afro-Peruvians cannot or should not be assimilated into the Spanish-Peruvian colonial society, he also shows how ludicrous their attempts at integration are. This is the subject of Chapter 4, where we have discussed the manner in which he caricatures Afro-Peruvians with respect to their assimilation of Spanish values. In this regard, he capitalizes on their racial "inadequacy," both as African and as Hispanic Peruvian. He suggests that they are neither black enough nor white enough to be accepted by either group. Since societal pressures of the time made approximation to the light-skinned Spanish type appear desirable, the result seems to be an exaggeration by such people of certain Spanish tendencies, such as emphasis on being descended from a noble family, expensive medical treatments, outlandish dress, preference for dark-skinned paramours, pretensions to ability and erudition, and social climbing.

Finally, in Chapter 5, we explore in greater detail some economic aspects of Caviedes' racist attitude only alluded to in the preceding chapters. These include the unique socio-economic status of interracial

Afro-Peruvians in the latter seventeenth-century Peruvian colony and the importance of African-descended people in the colony's economy as a whole. We first devote attention to their presence in lower-level job specializations, such as those of butchering, food provision, household and personal service, and the building trades, and the way in which these specializations occur in Caviedes' poetry. We then discuss the incursions of Afro-Peruvians into various professions (constable, notary, physician), with a special section devoted to that of surgery, the profession of Pedro de Utrilla. We show how these professions appear in Caviedes' work, explain various factors which influenced the presence of Afro-Peruvians in such positions, and discuss the importance of their presence as a stimulus to the poet's satire. We conclude that Caviedes' verses accurately reflect the historically demonstrable fact that in most cases it was the interracial rather than the monoracial Afro-Peruvian who moved up socially and economically in colonial Peru. Caviedes intimates that this mobility represents a usurpation of roles for which such people are neither fitted nor acceptable, and uses his satire to combat the phenomenon.

As we mentioned in our Introduction, language both reflects and helps perpetuate cultural attitudes.

The language used by Caviedes in his poems about Afro-Peruvians reflects a racist attitude held by white colonial Spanish-Peruvians toward these people. Spanish society after the Counter Reformation was xenophobic, and anyone who looked, talked or acted differently from the majority was suspect. Caviedes demonstrates this attitude not only with respect to people of African ancestry, but also toward the indigenous people of Peru, mestizos, Jews and even a Galician.

We have shown that his attitude toward Afro-Peruvians responds to a specific economic phenomenon. The seventeenth-century colony glimpsed in Caviedes' works is in a period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. Black participation in this transition is a movement from slavery and poverty to freedom and accumulation of capital. Caviedes' rhetoric is an attack on this process from the point of view of socio-economic prerogatives.

To date, little work has been done on the black in Peru during the last half of the seventeenth century. The most comprehensive and recent study (Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru: 1524-1650) covers only the period to the middle of the century. Yet society changes slowly and we can extrapolate background information, put it with facts available about

the period in question and after, and come to an understanding of Caviedes' importance in representing the subconscious of his society and historical period. We can appreciate both his popular voice and his interpretation of reality for his racist purposes as we study the social, economic and other aspects of historical background which most likely furnished the data of his inspiration in his poems about Afro-Peruvians in his society.

In terms of future critical work on Caviedes, the point of our discussion has been to show a unified theme and intention in the poems in which Afro-Peruvians appear. The tendency in Caviedes criticism has been toward fragmentation of his poetic personality and toward reduction of his importance for his own society in favor of ennumerative stylistic analyses which can only serve to demonstrate his inferiority as a "baroque" poet. Though we have concentrated on only one aspect of his work, we have shown the concurrence of various images, techniques and poems in a single purpose, which is related to the economic reality of seventeenth-century Peru. This seems to be a more fruitful way of analizing Caviedes' poetic production than those which, up to now, have been the norm.

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