

Beyond Babel

In the seventeenth-century, black linguistic interpreters and spiritual intermediaries played key roles in the production of writings about black men and women. Focusing on Peru and the southern continental Caribbean, *Beyond Babel* uncovers long-ignored or lost archival materials describing the experiences of Africans and their descendants in the transatlantic slave trade and the colonial societies where they arrived. Brewer-García's analysis of these materials shows that black intermediaries bridged divisions among the populations implicated in the slave trade, exerting influence over colonial Spanish American writings and emerging racial hierarchies in the Atlantic world. The translated portrayals of blackness composed in collaboration with these intermediaries stood in stark contrast to the pejorative stereotypes common in literary and legal texts of the period. This book reconstructs the context of those translations and traces the contours of the notions of blackness they created, which were characterized by physical beauty and spiritual virtue.

Larissa Brewer-García is Assistant Professor of Latin American Literature at the University of Chicago.



Afro-Latin America

Series editors

George Reid Andrews, *University of Pittsburgh*Alejandro de la Fuente, *Harvard University*

This series reflects the coming of age of the new, multidisciplinary field of Afro-Latin American Studies, which centers on the histories, cultures, and experiences of people of African descent in Latin America. The series aims to showcase scholarship produced by different disciplines, including history, political science, sociology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, religious studies, art, law, and cultural studies. It covers the full temporal span of the African Diaspora in Latin America, from the early colonial period to the present and includes continental Latin America, the Caribbean, and other key areas in the region where Africans and their descendants have made a significant impact.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/afro-latin-america



Beyond Babel

Translations of Blackness in Colonial Peru and New Granada

LARISSA BREWER-GARCÍA

University of Chicago





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108493000
DOI: 10.1017/9781108632416

© Larissa Brewer-García 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-49300-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Para La Boquilla, Cartagena de Indias

y Sam



Contents

List of Figures		page ix
Aci	knowledgments	xi
No	te on Transcriptions and Translations	XV
	Introduction: Linguistic and Spiritual Mediations in the Earlier Black Atlantic	I
Ι	Black Types between Renaissance Humanism and Iberian Counter Reformation Theology	34
2	The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Spanish American Missionary Translation Policy	74
3	The Mediations of Black Interpreters in Colonial Cartagena de Indias	116
4	Conversion and the Making of Blackness in Colonial Cartagena de Indias	164
5	Salvation and the Making of Blackness in Colonial Lima: Úrsula de Jesús	207
	Coda: Negros literarios	247
Ap_{i}	pendixes	251
Bibliography		269
Index		299



Figures

2.1	First page of Doctrina christiana y catecismo para	
	instruccion de los indios (Lima, 1584)	page 79
2.2	Frontispiece to Oraciones traducidas en la lengua del	
	reyno de Angola (Lima, 1629)	106
2.3	From Doutrina christãa De novo traduzida na lingoa	
	do Reyno de Congo (Lisbon, 1624)	III
2.4	From Oraciones traducidas en la lengua del reyno	
	de Angola (Lima, 1629)	114
3.1	Bernardino d'Asti, The Missionary Listens to Sins of	
	the Penitent, ca. 1750	136
4.1	From Exercitia spiritualia S.P. Ignatij Loyolae	
	(Antwerp, 1676)	171
4.2	From Doctrina christiana en la lengua guasteca	
	(Mexico, 1571)	173
4.3	"The Impossible," in Bernardino Daza's Los emblemas	
	de Alciato. Traducidos en rhimas españolas (Lyon, 1549)	183
4.4	Juan de Noort, frontispiece to Alonso de Sandoval's	
	Historia de la Aethiopia (Madrid, 1647)	184
4.5	"De albabuntur," detail from Figure 4.4	185
4.6	Martin de Vos, "Adoratio Magorum," in Jerónimo Nadal's	3
	Evangelicae Historiae Imagines (Antwerp, 1593)	193
4.7	"Adoration of the Magi," detail from Figure 4.4	195
4.8	"Cristiano negros." Guaman Poma, Primer nueva corónica	
	y buen gobierno (1615)	196
4.9	Relief sculpture of Benedict of Palermo from the Iglesia	
	de San Francisco, Quito, Ecuador	197



5.2

X	List of Figures	
4.10	Bartolomé de Artiagame, frontispiece to Alonso de	
	Sandoval's Naturaleza, policia sagrada (Seville, 1627)	199
4.11	"Benedict of Palermo," detail from Figure 4.10	200
5.1	"The First Commandment." Woodcut print in Giovanni	
	Battista Romano's Dottrina christiana (Rome, 1591)	238

"Hell." Woodcut print in Giovanni Battista Romano's

Dottrina christiana (Rome, 1591)

239



Acknowledgments

Financial support for research and writing came from the University of Pennsylvania, a Mellon/ACLS dissertation completion grant, the Cotsen Postdoctoral Fellowship at Princeton University, a Princeton Program in Latin American Studies Faculty Research Grant, a Princeton University Committee on Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty Grant, and the Humanities Division of the University of Chicago. Sections of Chapter 4 appeared in an essay published in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America* and are reproduced here with permission of Brill.

I am extremely grateful for the support I received from mentors, colleagues, friends, and family while writing this book. Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel and Barbara Fuchs supported this project since its inception and continue to be sources of advice for which I will happily always be in debt. For reading and critiquing the complete book manuscript, I sincerely thank my dear friends and colleagues Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Miguel Martínez. My gratitude extends to Rachel Sarah O'Toole and the other readers for Cambridge University Press who made such careful recommendations for improvements.

It is with grateful admiration that I remember Padre Tulio Aristizábal, whose scholarship and generosity contributed to the development of the chapters about Cartagena. I owe similar thanks to Padre Francisco de Borja Medina at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. I am also very grateful to the friends and colleagues whose questions and feedback on pieces of research from this book affected its final shape, including Paulina Alberto, Liliana Angulo, Gavin Arnall, Wendy Belcher, Herman Bennett, Susanna Berger, Wallace Best, Dain Borges, Claudia Brittenham,



xii

Acknowledgments

Sherwin Bryant, Kathryn Burns, Sidney Chalhoub, Anne A. Cheng, Tom Cummins, Rachel DeLue, Alejandro de la Fuente, José Carlos de la Puente, Jessica Delgado, Caroline Egan, Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, Brodie Fischer, Cécile Fromont, Claire Gilbert, Matthew Goldmark, Pablo Gómez, Michael Gordin, Karen Graubart, Andrew Hamilton, Mary Harper, Dirk Hartog, Tamar Herzog, Ruth Hill, David Kazanjian, Bob Kendrick, Emilio Kourí, Laura Llerena León, Valeria López Fadul, María Elena Martínez, Mónica Martínez, Michelle McKinley, Erika Milam, Kenneth Mills, Michelle Molina, Anna More, Daniel Nemser, Gabriela Nouzeilles, Ricardo Padron, Naomi Paik, Pamela Patton, Matthew Restall, Ana Sabau, Mario Santana, Victoria Saramago, David Sartorius, Daniel Sheffield, Ana Silva, Amara Solari, Michael Solomon, Justin Steinberg, Susan Stewart, Fidel Tavárez, Mauricio Tenorio, Sonia Velázquez, Tamara Walker, Adam Warren, Judith Weisenfeld, Sophie White, Danielle Terrazas Williams, and Yanna Yannakakis. In addition, Allison Bigelow, Fred de Armas, Katharine Gerbner, Daniela Gutiérrez Flores, John Lipski, Joanne Rappaport, Gabriel Rocha, and Rubén Sánchez-Godoy kindly answered research queries along the way. I am thankful for the members of the Working Group on Slavery and Visual Culture at the University of Chicago, including Allyson Field, Isabela Fraga, Agnes Lugo-Ortiz, Andrei Pop, Danielle Roper, and Chris Taylor, who led me to sharpen my thinking about this project in many ways.

Maxim Rigaux and Veronica Vegna helped me review and correct my transcriptions and translations from Latin and Italian, respectively. Kathryn Joy McKnight generously shared her transcriptions of documents from the Archivo General de Indias which I have cross-referenced with the manuscripts. I am also exceedingly grateful to Nancy van Deusen for her meticulous work transcribing, editing, and providing context for Úrsula de Jesús's spiritual diary and *Vida anónima*, for sharing her transcriptions with me, and offering feedback on an almost final version of Chapter 5.

In June 2019, I had the privilege of watching a performance in the Santuario San Pedro Claver in Cartagena prepared by artist Liliana Angulo and the contemporary Afro-Colombian dance group Permanencias, directed by Nemecio Berrio Guerrero. As part of a colloquium organized by the Working Group on Slavery and Visual Culture, Permanencias performed a response to some of the documents about Claver and his interpreters that I analyze in Chapters 3 and 4 of this book. Seeing the dancers enact and react to stories from those documents in the same corridors and courtyard walked by the Jesuits' black interpreters in the



Acknowledgments

xiii

seventeenth century was beyond moving. For the experience, I am grateful to Padre Jorge Camacho, the Santuario San Pedro Claver, Danielle Roper, Liliana, Nemecio, and dancers Héctor Jesús Contreras Marimon, Sebastián Díaz Gómez, Fairladis Díaz Zúñiga, Kaytrin Miranda Vargas, Jorge Palomeque Dueñas, María José Salcedo Gómez, and Yiseth Alejandra Urzola Ospino. The cover photograph of this book was taken by Maruja Parra during a rehearsal for that performance.

Finally, for their constant encouragement, I thank the friends and family not yet mentioned: María Angélica Bautista, Laurel Beversdorf, Nathan Blom, Graham Brewer, Andrea Cote Botero, Leticia Cruz, Alli Cuentos, Eric Brewer Cuentos, Abby Evans, Will Evans, Ben Goldberg, Fred Goldberg, Jake Goldberg, Melissa Goldberg, Rachel Goldberg, Wendy Goldberg, Adam Goodman, Yara Hudgson Oliveira, Gerriet Jenssen, Rony Monsalve, Aurea Oliveira Santos, Waidis Ortega Miranda, Iliana Pagán-Teitelbaum, Carlos Riobó, Elsa Romero, Gerald Slevin, Bindu Suresh, and Jennie Taylor. Raquel García Brewer and Robert Brewer sustained me throughout this effort as model translators, careful proofreaders, and adoring grandparents. Last but not least, I thank Sam, Nico, and Diego for giving me the very best reasons "to wake up from work."



Note on Transcriptions and Translations

The primary texts analyzed in this book were written in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Catalan, Latin, and French. My citations keep the spelling and punctuation from the original printed and manuscript texts, with the exception of modernizing u/v and i/j reversal, and unifying split words erroneously separated by the typesetter. Any other modifications, such as making explicit content elided in abbreviations, are marked with brackets. In the English translations, I have standardized capitalization. All translations into English are my own unless otherwise specified.