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**Androginopolis: Dissident Masculinities and the Creation
of Republican Peru (Lima, 1790-1850)**

A Dissertation Presented

by

Magally Alegre Henderson

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

for the Degree of

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Abstract of the Dissertation

**Androginopolis: Dissident Masculinities and the Creation
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This dissertation argues the representation of Lima as a city full of dissident masculinities was the transformative force behind the changes in hegemonic masculinity, during Peru's turbulent transition from Spanish colony to independent republic. Throughout the late colonial period (1790-1820), the sources of effeminacy and feebleness among *Limeño* men were profusely discussed in Enlightenment newspapers, pamphlets, travel writing, and criminal records. Two causes were often attributed: the leniency mothers showed in male child-rearing, and European theories of climatic determinism positing the unavoidable influence of climate over the masculinity of the American peoples.

A late eighteenth-century satire mocked the abundance of *maricones* in Lima, naming it *Androginopolis*. Displacing the use of the term 'sodomite,' which referred to a

sexual practice, 'maricones' was repeatedly used to complain against male cross-dressers, who participated openly in social life seeking the attention of other men. Beyond the representations of dissident masculinities (effeminates, *petimetres/fops*, and *maricones*), this dissertation explores the everyday life and sociability of men who pursued their attraction for other men.

The anxieties stirred by dissident masculinities in colonial aristocratic society gradually faded away with the rise of new hegemonic masculinities. During the 1820s, the Liberators San Martín and Bolívar produced an imagery of heroic masculinities that associated virility with military performance. Such masculinities contributed to the independent propaganda effort and were essential in the shift from aristocratic to caudillo hegemonic masculinity. They served as exemplars for many of the caudillos across subsequent decades.

During the *caudillo* power struggles in early Republican Peru (1820-1850), men of diverse political or military background argued their deeds were meant to defend the fatherland and protect their children, thereby appealing to the two essential elements in the hegemonic caudillo masculinity. By the time Peru finally attained political and economic stability during the mid-1850s, the caudillo masculinity had been superseded by a new, fatherhood-centered masculinity. The subculture of *maricones* disappeared from public eye. Hegemonic masculinity gradually adapted to bourgeois gender values, thereby exalting the father's capacity as breadwinner, and his ability to discipline, and offer moral guidance to, his household and progeny.

To Norberto
and other men who dare to love

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	Archivo Arzobispal de Lima
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación (Peru)
AHMLM	Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional (Spain)
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú
MNAAH	Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú

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INTRODUCTION

In trying to justify President Alan García slapping a young man in the face after he had called him corrupt during a public appearance, in October 2010 the President of the Peruvian Supreme Court argued that Peru was “not a country of *maricas* (sissies)”. For Judge Javier Villa Stein, President García had the right to defend his reputation, because “only in a country of *maricas* can one insult people without anything being done... In a country of men, he who insults one runs the risk, not of being slapped, but of being punched.”¹ According to Judge Villa Stein, all men have the right to exert physical violence against others, if they feel insulted. Any other conduct could be considered evidence of a diminished masculinity. *Marica* is used in this context with the double connotation of effeminate, but also homosexual. So, following Villa Stein’s argument, had President García not defended himself, he would have risked being considered a *marica*. The fact that the Supreme Court’s President questioned the masculinity of the Peruvian nation in order to justify the use of violence against an alleged verbal offense, bears relation with the historical intersection of modern masculinities, nation, and

¹ “Solo en un país de maricas se permite que se insulte sin hacer nada. [...] En un país de hombres, el que insulta a otro, corre riesgo de que le caiga no un bofetón sino un puñetazo.” *Perú21.pe*, October 13, 2010, <http://peru21.pe/noticia/653372/villa-stein-defiende-agresion-alan-no-pais-maricas> (accessed October 25, 2010).

violence. This intersection has long been discussed for Europe and the United States,² but it is a more recent task in regard to Latin America, which this dissertation attempts to address.³ The study focuses on the representation of contested masculinities in late colonial Lima, and posits they were instrumental for the transformations of hegemonic masculinity experienced during Peru's turbulent transition from Spanish colony to independent republic.

² Some of these texts served as inspiration for this dissertation: George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (London: Polity Press, 2005); Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), particularly chapters 2 and 5; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); George Chauncey, *Gay New York. Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). Prof. Paul Gootenberg recently recommended Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005).

³ Particularly Ana Peluffo and Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado, eds., *Entre hombres. Masculinidades del siglo XIX en América Latina* (Madrid, Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2010); William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss, eds., *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Héctor Domínguez-Ruvalcaba, *Modernity and the Nation in Mexican Representations of Masculinity. From Sensuality to Bloodshed* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Robert McKee Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Jorge Salessi, *Médicos Maleantes y Maricas Higiene, Criminología y Homosexualidad en la Construcción de la Nación Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1871-1914)*, (Rosario, Argentina: B. Viterbo Editora, 1995).

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The story behind this dissertation goes back to my undergraduate days in Peru. During a research seminar, the professor downplayed the interest a fellow student had for an intriguing article found in an Enlightenment newspaper titled “Letter about the *maricones*.” The latter term displaced ‘sodomite,’ which referred to a sexual practice, and was repeatedly used in late eighteenth century Lima to complain against male cross-dressers, who openly participated in social life seeking the attention of other men. The professor claimed this issue could not be studied as there were no historical sources available with which to support any interpretation. One certainly finds a liberating feeling in proving he was wrong. I hope this research honors the fierce historical curiosity shown by this fellow student, which proved to be an inspiration throughout this long journey.

When the time came to identify a research topic for my doctoral dissertation, I decided to conduct preliminary research on the meaning of this newspaper article. My initial findings discovered the existence of several *dissident masculinities* in late eighteenth-century Lima: *maricones*, effeminates, *petimetres*, and *currutacos*. By dissident masculinities I mean configurations of practice (“what people actually do, not what is expected or imagined”), which although subordinate to hegemonic masculinity, resisted to power, and on occasion affected the construction of hegemony.⁴ These dissident masculinities created anxiety in late colonial Lima (1790-1820) among the

⁴ Robert W. Connell, “Politics of Changing Men,” *Arena* 6 (1996): 56, quoted in Demetrakis Z. Demetriou, “Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique,” *Theory and Society* 30 (2001): 340.

elite, the clergy, and the social reformers—a feeling that would last until the mid-nineteenth century. This anxiety surfaced in the public debate regarding the origins of *maricones* in Lima, and was also linked to a broader discussion of extent of effeminacy among creole men (American-born Spaniards). This debate extended from the 1790s to the first decades of the nineteenth century and was held in the press, the theater, and travel writings, as well as in judicial, scientific, and even pictorial sources. The origins of effeminacy and feebleness among *Limeño* men were profusely discussed.⁵ Two explanations were often considered: the leniency mothers showed in male child-rearing, and the European theories of climatic determinism, which posited the unavoidable influence climate exerted over the masculinity of the American peoples. It was while endeavoring to understand these dissident masculinities, that I explored their interactions with other forms of masculinity and femininity, as well as in relation to nation formation, class, and race.

⁵ *Limeño*: resident of Lima, the capital city of Peru.

MASCULINITIES THEORY

The concept of dissident masculinities draws on Raewyn Connell's masculinity theory, which states the coexistence of various masculinities, in a given time and society, that establish power relations between them and in relation to the subordination of women. According to Connell, this hierarchy of masculinities is based on four types of power relations: hegemony, subordination, complicity and marginalization.⁶ *Hegemonic masculinity* is the configuration of gender practice that embodies the "currently accepted' strategy for defending the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."⁷ Although a contestable position, hegemonic masculinity generates dominance both over women and subordinate masculinities. In contrast, *dissident masculinities* favor the notion of agency, instead of *subordination*, in contesting "the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations."⁸ This dissertation demonstrates how subordinated forms of masculinity actively challenged the hegemonic form and were instrumental in the changes the latter experienced, from aristocratic to caudillo, and then to bourgeois masculinities. In so doing, my aim is to address one of the major critiques raised against the application of Connell's theory: the difficulties found in explaining the internal dialectic nature of hegemonic masculinity, between

⁶ *Marginalization* describes the relation between the dominant group masculinities and the subordinated classes or ethnic groups, whereas *complicity* refers to masculinities that do not follow the hegemonic model but still reinforce it, thus benefiting from the patriarchal asset. Connell, *Masculinities*, 80, 210; Demetriou, "Connell's concept," 342.

⁷ Connell, *Masculinities*, 77.

⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, 76; Demetriou, "Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity," 339-341.

appropriation and marginalization. Focusing on a historical case-study, this dissertation aims to reflect on the “constant interaction” between dominant, subordinate, dissident, and marginalized masculinities. The analysis of change in gender hierarchy, in the convulsed transition from colony to independent republic, shows how this interaction between masculinities does reproduce and re-constitute the subordination of women (the reproduction of patriarchy).⁹

A central element in Connell’s theory is the production of exemplary masculinities that support and promote hegemonic masculinity, thus influencing gender practice. In Peru, the production of exemplary masculinities was particularly evident during the wars of independence. The Liberators San Martín and Bolívar produced an imagery of heroic masculinities that associated virility with military performance. In the early 1820s, these exemplary masculinities contributed to the pro-independence propaganda effort and were essential in the shift from aristocratic to caudillo hegemonic masculinity.

In subsequent decades, the Liberator’s masculinities also served as exemplars for many of the caudillos. Early Republican Peru (1820-1850) was characterized by the power struggles waged by the *caudillos*. As part of this process, men of diverse political and military backgrounds argued that their deeds were meant to defend the fatherland (*patria*) and protect their children. In doing so, they appealed to the two essential elements in Peru’s hegemonic caudillo masculinity. In an exegesis and critique of

⁹ Connell, *Masculinities*, 198; R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (December 2005): 829-859; Demetriou, “Connell’s concept,” 346-347; Nikki Wedgwood, “Connell’s theory of masculinity – its origins and influences on the study of gender,” *Journal of Gender Studies* 18, no. 4 (December 2009): 329-339.

Connell's theory, Demetrakis Z. Demetriou emphasized the fact that in order to make a strategy more effective, exemplary masculinities like those of the caudillos adapt in response to the changes that take place in the conditions for the reproduction of patriarchy.¹⁰ In early Republican Peru, the exemplary masculinities of Liberators and caudillos advanced male over female dominance by transferring the qualities of family protection and paternal authority to the "fathers of the nation." In influencing individual practice, caudillo exemplary masculinities adopted symbolic male domination over women and families, but in practice, many fathers, husbands, brothers, and fiancés, found it difficult to closely subordinate women while they were at war.¹¹

Hegemonic masculinity re-adapted itself once more when Peru attained political and economical stability in the mid-1850s. A new fatherhood-centered masculinity displaced caudillo masculinity. Just like British and French manufactures, so too were bourgeois gender values assimilated, including changed dress codes for women and men. The maricón subculture that had characterized the final decades of colonial power arguably disappeared from the public eye. During the following decades (1850-1880), the hegemonic masculinity gradually adapted itself to bourgeois gender values, thereby exalting the family man's industriousness and advancing women's subordination to his dominion over politics, domestic economy, and public life.

¹⁰ Raewyn Connell and James W. Messerschmidt defend the underlying concept of "hegemonic masculinity," and respond to the critiques made by Demetriou and other authors, by proposing a reformulation of this concept in four areas: a more complex model of gender hierarchy, the recognition of the geography of masculinities, the embodiment in hegemonic masculinity, and the dynamics of masculinities. Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 847-853; Wedgwood, "Connell's theory of masculinity," 336.

¹¹ Demetriou, "Connell's concept," 342.

OTHER RELEVANT THEORIES

My hypothesis regarding the emergence of a public debate in Lima that questioned the visibility of dissident forms of masculinity and acquired a transformative power over hegemonic masculinity, has two other main theoretical underpinnings: Pierre Bourdieu's male symbolic domination and Norbert Elias' notion of *shame*. Despite the critiques raised against him of androcentrism and a static understanding of gender, Bourdieu's concept of *masculine domination/libido dominandi* (desire to dominate) has contributed to our understanding of how the material and symbolic forces that promote a masculine dominant vision, are perpetuated in the minds of women and men. Instead of an analysis of historical change, Bourdieu sought to examine those institutions that have long contributed to the maintenance of an androcentric symbolic domination, the structural social transformations and significant changes in the modes of production notwithstanding. Through habitus, the effects of symbolic masculine domination are exerted directly over the bodies, even before conscious decisions and volition intervene. For Bourdieu, the power of symbolic masculine domination, and of the difficulties found when trying to revert it, lie in habitus. The notion of *masculine domination* allowed me to study the process of production and re-production of hegemonic masculinity that was embroiled in Peru's nation-building process. Through an analysis of habitus, as evinced by newspaper narratives and civil and criminal cases, I examined the power institutions such as the family, the State, the militia, and the Church, had in shaping everyday

practice of material and symbolic domination.¹²

In order to understand how civil society impinged on gender relations and sexual practices, this dissertation focuses on the development, reproduction, and internalization of *shame* associated with male gender practices. In this regard, my dissertation draws upon Norbert Elias' notion of *shame* as a way of enhancing bodily self-control in order to mark social differentiations.¹³ Whereas Elias focuses on social manners, I translate his theory to the realm of configurations of practice. In Peru, a *civilizing process* took place during the political transition from a colonial aristocratic society to a republican one, which incrementally advanced the frontiers of shame and embarrassment over male behavior, thus securing a stronger internalized social control over the individual.¹⁴

I have set the debate on the origins of maricones and effeminacy among Limeño men, within the realm of the public sphere. Beyond the discussion on the origins of dissident masculinities, this debate involved a political dimension in regard to their ability to fulfill political duties, first, as the King's subjects and later as citizens of the

¹² Pierre Bourdieu, *La dominación masculina* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2000), 35, 50-54, 73-76; David Brown, "Pierre Bourdieu's "Masculine Domination" Thesis and the Gendered Body in Sports and Physical Culture," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23 (2006), 53-57, 165; Connell, *Masculinities*, 36-37, 76-81; Howie Chodos and Bruce Curtis, "Pierre Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination*: A Critique," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 39, no. 4 (2002): [397]-412; Allon J. Uhlmann, and Jennifer R. Uhlmann, "Embodiment below discourse: The internalized domination of the masculine perspective," *Women's Studies International Forum* 28 (2005), 93-103.

¹³ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. The History of Manners* (New York: Urizen, 1978); also regarding the established and the outsiders: Norbert Elias, *Mi trayectoria Intelectual* (Barcelona: Península, 1996), 148-153.

¹⁴ Elias, *The Civilizing Process*.

new republic. I believe that this debate became a part of the development of a Peruvian public sphere, inasmuch as it became a trope of discussion among private individuals concerned with the State's practice.¹⁵ I resorted to Geoff Eley's analysis in order to adapt the notion of public sphere to the hierarchical Peruvian multiethnic society. According to Eley, the public sphere comprises distinctive and opposing 'publics' that vie for political space, with some social sectors simply excluded altogether.¹⁶ I argue in this regard that the role of the public sphere in regulating sexual practice is related to the power it exerts over political integration or exclusion.

Addressing the problematic of masculinity and citizenship, responds to the gendered challenges made against Benedict Anderson's well-known theory of nationalism and nation-building.¹⁷ Gender theory has pointed out Anderson's omission

¹⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *Historia y crítica de la opinión pública* (Barcelona: Ediciones Gili, 1999); Craig Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge and London: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992).

¹⁶ Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992).

¹⁷ Robert Wiebe made a fierce critique of Anderson's theory is offered by undermining the contribution Anderson made to the understanding of nationalisms, arguing that the use of the term "communities" veils the foundational relation between nation and State. However, Wiebe's argument leads us to reduce the power and existence of nationalisms to its relation with the State. Robert Wiebe, "Imagined Communities, Nationalist Experiences," *The Journal of the Historical Society* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000).

Our understanding of Anderson is enriched by Lomnitz's constructive critique of Anderson arguing that the imagined national communities in Latin America did not imply a "deep horizontal comradery." Claudio Lomnitz, "Nationalism as a Practical System," in *The Other Mirror. Grand theory through the lens of Latin America*, ed. Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

of the gender/sexuality dimension of modern nationalisms.¹⁸ Gender analysis of the national *imaginaire* has focused on how the access to the rights and resources of the nation-State were rooted in gender differences. Most importantly, it showed revealed how male nationalisms are involved in producing and reinforcing male domination. These critiques notwithstanding, I believe that Anderson's concept is still valid in explaining the birth of Peru's nineteenth-century gendered nation: "imagined" as formed by fellow male citizens who embraced the practice of hegemonic masculinity.

Besides these four theoretical perspectives (masculinity, civilizing process, public sphere, and nation-building), one also must address Foucault's concern with the production of discourses that regulate individual sexual practices.¹⁹ I intend to focus on two processes, first, the "internalization" of the discourses of bodily self-control, and second, the "medicalization" of the debate in the public sphere that accompanied the production of normative sexuality. Foucault's interest in the creation of a *Scientia Sexualis*—the process of scientific analysis of reproduction—as well as his interest in the *medicalization of sexuality*, are both essential starting points when studying the development of State power over the sexuality of individuals in a historical setting other than the European paradigm. Based on the Foucauldian notions of the development of a *biology of reproduction* and a *medicine of sex* in modern western culture, I argue that

¹⁸ Anne McClintock, "No longer in a future heaven: Gender, Race and Nationalism," in *Dangerous Liaisons. Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, Anne McClintock, et.al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Wilson, *The Island Race*; Wilson, *The Sense of the People*; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation* (London: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 1997); Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation. Gender, representation, and revolution in eighteenth-century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), vol. 1.

Peruvian medical and scientific institutions influenced the way society assigned differentiated normative sexual practices to individuals, based on their gender, race, and class.²⁰

RELEVANT HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historical study of dissident masculinities and same-sex sexuality in Latin America evolved significantly during the time I spent researching for and writing this dissertation. Although histories of gender and sexuality have been an integral part of Latin American studies for the last quarter of a century,²¹ the literature on same-sex

²⁰ By *biology of reproduction*, Foucault refers to the scientific taxonomization of human sexual organs in exclusive relation to their reproductive capacities. By *medicine of sex*, he means the development of medical practices that determined the regulations that rule the proper functioning of sexual organs and the treatment of those who escape the model. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1.

²¹ Ulrike Strasser and Heidi Tinsman have convincingly argued that from its first developments in the 1980s, gender studies in Latin America have maintained a profound dialogue with narratives of political economy. Ulrike Strasser and Heidi Tinsman, "It's a Man's World? World History Meets the History of Masculinity in Latin American Studies, for Instance," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 1 (2010): 84. Some of the most representative examples include: Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Spanish Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest. Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor. Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press,

sexuality and transgender is far more recent. Latin American literature on male same-sex sexuality and transgender helped revise the relations between modern masculinity, nation-building, and violence. By examining the complex dialogue between masculinities, as well as the changes in hegemonic masculinity throughout the transition from colony to republic, my research aims to show how the construction of national communities in Latin America were intricately bound to processes of configuration of gender practices.

One of the first studies on gender and nation-building in Latin American is Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions*. Sommer emphasized the role domesticity narratives of heterosexual love had as metaphors for mid-nineteenth century nations. The emergence of national romances was an exhortation to be fruitful and multiply, an allegory of national unity, vaunting heterosexual love as an emulation of patriotic love for the nation.²² However, and as Robert McKee showed for nineteenth-century Mexico, heterosexual love was not the only allegory used in nation-building processes. Male homosocial bonding—which including homoerotic elements—also allegorized national unity in a self-represented hypermasculine society.²³ I furthermore argue, following

1999); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens. Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Sueann Caufield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early Twentieth Century Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Sueann Caufield, Sarah Chambers, and Lara Putnam, eds., *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

²² Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions. The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²³ Mckee Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities*; Robert Mckee Irwin, "Homoerotismo y Nación Latinoamericana: Patrones del México Decimonónico," in *Entre hombres. Masculinidades del siglo XIX en América Latina*, ed. Ana Peluffo and Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado (Madrid, Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2010).

George L. Mosse, that nation-building processes functioned as “educators of masculinity,” in the sense that nationalism adopted hegemonic masculinity as one means of its self-representation.²⁴

Ana Peluffo and Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado recently noted the imbalance between the abundance of studies on the construction of femininities and the almost total absence of studies on masculinity, virility and manliness in early nineteenth-century Latin America.²⁵ Furthermore, given the virtual non-existence of historical studies of male same-sex sexuality during the era of national state formation in Latin America (1770-1850),²⁶ this dissertation draws upon histories of gender and sexuality that focus

²⁴ Mosse, *The Image of Man*.

²⁵ Ana Peluffo and Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado, eds., “Introducción,” *Entre hombres. Masculinidades del siglo XIX en América Latina* (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2010), 9-10. Although none of these studies focus entirely on the nineteenth-century, some important contributions to the topic include: Héctor Domínguez-Ruvalcaba, *Modernity and the Nation*; French and Bliss, eds., *Gender, Sexuality, and Power*; Peluffo and Sánchez Prado, eds., *Entre hombres*; Mckee Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities*; Mathew Guttman, *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003); Daniel Balderston and Donna Guy, *Sex and Sexuality in Latin America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Teresa Valdés y José Olavarria, eds., *Masculinidad/es: poder y crisis* (Santiago de Chile: ISIS International/FLACSO, 1997); Norma Fuller, *Identidades masculinas: Varones de clase media en el Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1997).

²⁶ This statement was highlighted by M. Nesvig in his historiographical review of male same-sex sexuality in Latin America. The balance remains the same a decade after this article was published, despite the fact that the study of sexualities in Latin America has become a substantial and growing field. Martin Nesvig, “The Complicated Terrain of Latin American Homosexuality,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3-4 (2001): 689-729.

For an interdisciplinary glimpse at some of the most interesting studies of Latin American male same-sex sexuality, see: Fernanda Molina, “Los sodomitas virreinales: entre sujetos jurídicos y especie,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 67, no. 1 (2010); Emilio José Gallardo Sabodio, “Pájaros enjaulados: homosexualidad y prisión en *Hombres sin mujer*,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 67, no. 1 (2010): 107-130; César Augusto Salcedo Chirinos, “Hombre sobre todo: Clero, transgresión y masculinidad a

on citizenship in other colonial and post colonial contexts. The idea of the public sphere as the terrain where sexual and gender practices are shaped in association with citizenship and race, has been used in many historical contexts such as Colonial Java,²⁷ the Georgian British Empire,²⁸ the Early Republican and Postbellum U.S. society,²⁹ and

fines del siglo XVIII en Puerto Rico,” *El Amauta* (January 2009); James N. Green, “Doctoring the National Body: Gender, Race, Eugenics, and the “Invert” in Urban Brazil, ca. 1920-1945,” in *Gender, sexuality, and power in Latin America since independence*, ed. William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Pablo Piccato, “‘Such a Strong Need’: Sexuality and Violence in Belem Prison,” in *Gender, sexuality, and power in Latin America since independence*, ed. French and Bliss; Zeb Tortorici, “Herán Todos Putos”: Sodomitical Subcultures and Disordered Desire in Early Colonial Mexico,” *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 1 (Winter 2007), 35 – 67; Emilio Bejel, “Sexualidad carcelaria en Hombres sin mujer, de Carlos Montenegro,” *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea* 31, no. 1 (2006), <http://go.galegroup.com.libproxy.cc.stonybrook.edu/ps/i.do?&id=GALE%7CA145469180&v=2.1&u=sunysb&it=r&p=LitRC&sw=w> (accessed July 31, 2010); Carolina González, “Entre “sodomitas” y “hombres dignos, trabajadores y honrados”: Masculinidades y sexualidades en causas criminales por sodomía (Chile a fines del siglo XIX), Masters Thesis, (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, 2004); Pete Sigal, ed., *Infamous Desire. Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003); *Latin American Perspectives* 29, no. 2, issue 123 (March 2002); Federico Garza Carvajal, *Vir. Perceptions of Manliness in Andalucía and México, 1561-1699* (Amsterdam: Amsterdamse Historische Reeks, 2000); Carolina Giraldo Botero, “Esclavos sodomitas en Cartagena colonial. Hablando del pecado nefando,” *Revista Historia Crítica* 20 (2000), <http://www.scribd.com/doc/25398266/giraldo-botero-carolina-esclavos-sodomitas-en-cartagena-colonial> (accessed April 2, 2012); Jorge Bracamonte, “Los nefandos placeres de la carne: La Iglesia y el Estado frente a la sodomía en la Nueva España, 1721-1820,” *Debate feminista* 18 (1998): 393-415; James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Salessi, *Médicos Maleantes y Maricas*.

²⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the education of desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the colonial order of things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

²⁸ Wilson, *The Island Race*; Wilson, *The Sense of the People*.

²⁹ Bruce Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies. Sex, Gender, and Citizenship in the Early Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Russ Castronovo, *Necro Citizenship: Death Eroticism, and the Public Sphere in the Nineteenth-Century United States*

the early U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico.³⁰ In relation to those works that focus on how the public sphere contributed to social, colonial, or national identity formation, my study focus on the power the public sphere had in promoting change in the production and reproduction of gender practices.

The historical focus of this research on nation state formation was inspired by social histories of nation-making and citizenry in Peru. These studies characterize the process—once seen as imposed from the top by Lima’s Creole elite—as one that was negotiated and contested, fragmented, appropriated and transformed by regional elites, Indians, artisans, subaltern classes, and other social sectors.³¹ This dialogic system also suggested me that although hegemonic masculinity occupied the dominant position, it was always contested and was appropriated, reinterpreted, and influenced by other forms of masculinities and femininities.

(Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001); Catherine A. Holland, *The Body Politic. Foundings, Citizenship, and Difference in the American Political Imagination* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001).

³⁰ Eileen Findlay, *Imposing Decency. The politics of sexuality and race in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999).

³¹ Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y Constituciones. Perú: 1821-1845* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú – Instituto Riva Agüero, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000); Paul Gootenberg, *Caudillos y comerciantes. La formación económica del Estado peruano, 1820-1860* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1997); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes. Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1999); Gabriella Chiaramonti, *Ciudadanía y representación en el Perú, 1808-1860. Los itinerarios de la soberanía* (Lima: Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Fondo Editorial, 2005); Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005); Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, comp., *La Independencia en el Perú: de los Borbones a Bolívar* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú-Instituto Riva Agüero, 2001); Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*.

METHODOLOGY

To understand the intertwined relations of masculinities, sexual practices, and citizenship in the process of nation-formation, this study analyzes the public debates regarding the origins of maricones and the extent of effeminacy among Limeño men. This debate emerged in the press, the theater, and travel writings, as well, as in judicial, scientific, and even pictorial sources. Integrating this motley array of sources required a methodology that incorporated both social and textual analysis. Literary and pictorial representations of maricones, effeminates, and other dissident masculinities were contrasted with newspapers, as well as with ecclesiastical, judicial and municipal records that evince the everyday life and sociability of men who pursued their attraction for other men. My investigation sought to identify everyday forms of social interaction of maricones and sodomites, their attendance at public and private gatherings, the racial and class composition of these groups, their sexual practices, and the economic activities they engaged in. This comparison between the representation of dissident masculinities and male-to-male social practices allowed me to argue the enormous visibility of male same-sex sexuality sociability in Lima.

The Limeño debate regarding dissident masculinities, and the evidence on male-to-male sociability, were contrasted with the exemplary masculinities that developed during the war of independence and the following decades of caudillo struggles. The analysis of the production of exemplary masculinities in newspapers, travel writings, poetry, theater, and paintings, served to elucidate changes in the hegemonic masculinity from aristocratic to caudillo, and bourgeois masculinity; these sources likewise evince

the dialogic nature of hegemonic masculinity in relation to dissident—and other subordinated—gender practices.

Several archives and libraries have been consulted for this dissertation, mostly in 2001–2006:

- **In Peru:** Archivo General de la Nación, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana, Archivo de la Facultad de Medicina de San Fernando, Biblioteca del Instituto Riva-Agüero de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Biblioteca Central de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Archivo del diario El Comercio, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú.
- **In Spain:** Archivo General de Indias, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid, Biblioteca de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, and the Portal de Archivos Españoles – PARES (<http://www.pares.mcu.es>).
- **In the United States:** Frank Melville Jr. Memorial Library at Stony Brook University, Latin American Collection at Yale University Library, Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, New York Public Library, and Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont.

Archival research was possible thanks to the support received from various institutions. Two summer grants from the Latin American Studies Center at Stony Brook University: the Graduate Travel/ Research Award (2001), and the Tinker Field Research Grant (2003), allowed me to conduct preliminary research in Peru. A research grant from the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Relations, through its *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo*, allowed me to conduct archival research in Spain during 2005.

THE CHAPTERS

The dissertation comprises four chapters chronologically organized. The first two correspond to the late colonial period (1790-1820), whereas chapters three and four are dedicated to the war of independence and the subsequent civil wars that characterized the first decades of the young Peruvian Republic.

The **first chapter** is dedicated to the rise of public debates over the visibility that maricones attained in the city of Lima, the capital of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, in the late eighteenth-century. This public debate took place in newspapers, pamphlets, travel writings, and religious and criminal records, and expressed the concern religious authorities, journalists, prosecutors, and police officers had, as well as, foreign travelers. The debate unveiled the existence of a *dissident masculinity* of maricones, often racialized as people of African ascent. The imitation of courteous manners that

characterized *maricón* masculinity was understood as effeminate. But what defied hegemonic masculinity was their attraction to other men. Thus chapter aims to elucidate how the dissident *maricón* masculinity was practiced in every day life, and how specific social practices and sexual preferences established a sense of community.

The **second chapter** focuses on late colonial dissident masculinities, other than that of the *maricones*. Public concern over the visibility of *maricones* in Lima was part of a broader discussion over the extent of effeminacy among Peruvian (creole) men. The analysis of the three more relevant Enlightenment newspapers published in the 1790s evinces the coexistence of other dissident masculinities, the *petimetres* and *currutacos*, whose vanity, excessive use of cosmetics, and the constant interest they showed for their personal appearance was considered effeminizing. The *effeminate* were subject to a state of decadence in their political, physical, and moral strength, either due to the influence of Lima's climate, or to the leniency shown by mothers and wet nurses when raising them. The critique made against these subordinate masculinities, and their interaction with aristocratic gender practices, was the basis of the changes hegemonic masculinity experienced in the following decades.

The **third chapter** examines the transformations in hegemonic masculinity—from aristocratic to caudillo masculinity—that accompanied Peru's turbulent transition from colony to independent republic (1820-1840). It therefore focuses on the production of heroic and caudillo exemplary masculinities as models that supported and promoted changes in the configuration of gender relations. After examining nineteenth-century newspapers, pamphlets, caudillo correspondence, poetry, and contemporary paintings, I argue that the instability brought about by successive wars promoted a

hegemonic masculinity that focused on the use of force and military leadership. Once Peru had attained political and economical stability by the mid-1850s, the guano-export boom fostered the entrance of commercial as well as bourgeois family values. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the incremental (and contested) adoption of a bourgeois masculinity, that centered on the duties of the father as the one who provided the family with sustenance, moral guidance, and discipline.

The **fourth chapter** closes the dissertation and returns to the maricón dissident masculinity. It shows the process whereby the *society of maricones* slowly faded away from Lima's urban scenery, between 1830 and the 1850s. With the development of republican legal codes and the emergence of new gender configurations, this dissident masculinity was invisibilized in a process that was closely intertwined with the consolidation of the Peruvian Republic.

CHAPTER ONE

ANDROGINOPOLIS

DISSIDENT MASCULINITY IN LATE COLONIAL LIMA

Four hundred years ago, in Spain, Sebastián Covarrubias included the word ‘maricón’ in his 1611 dictionary to name “the effeminate man who is inclined to do female things, also known as *marimaricas*.”¹ More than a century later, in 1734, the

¹ “MARICÓN. El hombre afeminado que se inclina a hazer cosas de muger, que llaman por otro nombre marimaricas.” Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, edited by Martín de Riquer, 5th ed. (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 2003). According to the classic etymologist Joan Corominas, *Mari* is an abbreviated form of *María*, and is used as the prototype of the female name as well as the semantic equivalent of ‘women’ in general. From it is derived ‘*marimarica*’, where *marica* is not only an effeminate man, but also an extremely vulgar name given to women. Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano* (Madrid: Gredos, 1980), s.v. “Maricón.”

Many lexicographers believe Covarrubias (1611) is one of the first dictionaries in Spanish. Strangely enough, it did not include the term *marica* but only its superlative *maricón*. Before this, the plural *maricas* was used to refer to effeminate men in the *Guzmán de Alfarache* (First part, 1599), an early Spanish picaresque novel. Guzmán begins his adventures describing his origins and complaining of the charges and the acquittal his father faced in life (sodomy is implied), based on how much he cared for his personal appearance and his delicate features: “For besides being the actions of effeminate *maricas*, they give rise to gossip, and the suspicion of every possible vileness, on seeing them besmeared and comprising things allowed only to women...” (“Pues de mas que son actos de afeminados maricas, dando ocasion para que dellos murmuren, y se sospeche toda vileza, viendolos embarrados y compuestos con las cosas tan solamente a mugeres permitidas...”). Mateo Alemán, *Vida y hechos del pícaro Guzmán de*

Spanish Royal Academy, expanded to the meaning of ‘effeminate man’ by adding to it ‘coward,’ thus extending its use as an insult that challenged one’s masculinity.² In late colonial Lima, the word *maricón* and its plural *maricones* had a more specific meaning. It was repeatedly used to complain over the abundance of male cross-dressers who actively participated in the social urban scene seeking the attention of other males. As I

Alfarache (Amberes: Gerónimo Verdusse, 1681) 1: 13, http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/bibliotecavirtualandalucia/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=10591&presentacion=pagina&forma=&forma=&posicion=29&accion_ir=Ir (accessed October 29, 2009); Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid: Castalia, 1995), s.v. “maricón,” http://books.google.es/books?id=FLEkesxFdl4C&dq=covarrubias&hl=en&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed October 23, 2009); Rafael Mérida, *Cuerpos desordenados* (Barcelona: UOC, 2009), 13, http://books.google.es/books?id=w_oqc1i3iN8C&dq=marimarica&lr=&hl=en&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed October 26, 2009).

² “Effeminate man and coward, the same as Marica” (“El hombre afeminado y cobarde, y lo mismo que Marica”). *Marica* is defined as the effeminate man who lacks enthusiastic vigor, and who lets himself be pushed over and manipulated by others, even by his inferiors (“Se llama el hombre afeminado y de pocos bríos, que se dexa supeditar y manejar, aun de los que son inferiores.”). These definitions endured without significant changes until the 1884 edition, when the term *maricón* became a synonym of sodomite. Real Academia Española, *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española*, s.vv. “marica,” “maricón,” <http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUISalirNtll> (accessed February 8, 2009).

On the other hand, and as Sara Lipton convincingly argued for Medieval Spain in *Queer Iberia*, *effeminate* was not always a term used to refer to males who imitated women in their attire or manners, or to insinuate a male-to-male sexual preference. Lipton analyzes the sexual and gendered rhetoric used in the discourses chronicling the participation of Pedro II of Aragon in the Albigensian Crusade to demonstrate that the effeminacy attributed to him, was understood as a weakness of male character, as Pedro allowed himself to be motivated by his love for a woman (she being his inferior and subordinate) and succumbing to her will. Sara Lipton, ““Tanquam effeminatum”: Pedro II of Aragon and the Gendering of Heresy in the Albigensian Crusade,” in *Queer Iberia. Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999). Closer to the period here studied, the 1791 edition of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española* described an *afeminado* (effeminate) as the man similar to a woman in his actions or ornaments. Real Academia Española, *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico* (accessed February 8, 2009).

will demonstrate throughout this chapter, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the city of Lima witnessed the rise of public concern over the extraordinary visibility that maricones had attained as unavoidable and characteristic personages of the social landscape. This public concern was expressed by religious authorities, journalists, prosecutors and police officers, as well as by foreign travelers. Going beyond the term ‘sodomite,’ which meant the perpetrator of a sinful act, maricón was often used to signify a dissident masculinity based on belonging to a community with specific social practices and a male-to-male sexual preference.

The aim of this chapter is to identify the practices that comprised the basis of the maricón dissident masculinity, or how it was ‘performed’ in every day life. In this regard the chapter is in debt with R.W. Connell’s notion of masculinities as historical configurations of practices that are structured by gender relations.³ For Connell, different masculinities coexist in a society in relation to an overall structure of power (the subordination of women to men), and in relation to a general symbolism of difference (the opposition of femininity and masculinity). These masculinities are shaped in different relations among each other: hegemony, subordination, complicity, and marginalization.⁴ In late colonial Lima, the Spanish-creole elite shaped a hegemonic gentry masculinity based on courteous manners and an aristocratic avoidance of manual labor. Subordinated to this hegemonic masculinity, the maricón masculinity imitated courteous manners in a way perceived as effeminate, but at the

³ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (London: Polity Press, 2005), 44.

⁴ Connell, *Masculinities*, 223.

same time it also dissented from this hegemony standpoint in its male-to-male sexual preference.

This chapter is titled “Androginopolis” after Peruvian newspaper article titled “Letter on Maricones,” which appeared in 1791 and mocked the abundance of these personages in the city of Lima.⁵ Despite severe albeit rarely enforced regulations that punished sodomy with death by burning, exile, and incarceration, maricones were described as being extremely visible in the urban space, as well as having distinctive forms of public behavior: dress codes, meeting places, social networks. We can therefore posit the existence of a dissident maricón masculinity in the city of Lima during this period. Through a review of newspapers, pamphlets, travel writing, and criminal records, I will here demonstrate the presence of maricones as part of the public sphere, and the enormous anxiety that their dissident masculinity raised in an aristocratic society engulfed in the convulsed transition from Spanish colony to republican life.

⁵ Filaletes (pseud.), “Carta sobre los Maricones,” *Mercurio Peruano* 3, no. 94 (November 27, 1791).

1. THE POPULATION OF LIMA, 1790-1820

During the twilight of Spanish control in Peru, the city of Lima was known for its enormous racial diversity. The 1791 census of Lima, ordered by the viceroy Gil de Taboada, registered a population of nearly 53 thousand people, including the neighboring port-town of El Callao.⁶ This population comprised people with Spanish (white), African and Indian ascent, as well as their mixed-race descendants.⁷ Based on this same census, Alberto Flores Galindo estimated that the Spanish population (peninsulars and creoles) comprised 38% of the city's inhabitants. The second most numerous group were the slaves (African people and their descendants), who comprised 18% of the city's population,⁸ followed by the *castas*, non-whites who were the outcome of various types of ethnic miscegenation; and represented 19% of the city's population.

⁶ Joseph Rossi y Rubi (pseud. Hesperióphylo), "Reflexiones históricas y políticas sobre el estado de la población," *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 10 (February 3, 1791). The Viceroyalty of Peru had a total estimated population of 1,239,197 people. Paul Gootenberg, "Población y etnicidad en el Perú Republicano," *Documentos de Trabajo* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1995), 8.

⁷ Jesús Cosamalón collected evidence on the extent of miscegenation in the city of Lima in his book on inter-racial marriages among Indian residents in Santa Ana Parish, from 1795 to 1820. Cosamalón, *Indios detrás de la Muralla*.

⁸ However, Carlos Aguirre estimated Lima's slave population as comprising 25.6% of the 52,627 inhabitant, based on a 1792 census cited by Neil Jacobsen. And according to Aguirre, the 1813 *General Census of the Population of Lima* ("Censo General de la Población de Lima") counted 56,284 inhabitants for the city, 21.8% of whom were slaves. Neil Jacobsen, "The Development of Peru's Slave Population and its Significance for Coastal Agriculture, 1792-1854" (mss, Berkeley, 1974), 84, cited in Carlos Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad: los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud 1821-1854* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1993), 47-48.

Indians only comprised 8%⁹ and the *mestizos* (the offspring of Spaniards and Indians) came to 9%. With 44% of the whole city's population Africans and the descendants of African miscegenation (with Spaniards and Indians) outnumbered all other racial groups.¹⁰ Locals and foreigners alike perceived Lima as a *black and mulatto city*, due to the number of African and African descendents. In his classic study *Aristocracia y Plebe*, Flores Galindo claimed that the city of Lima was essentially driven by two actors: the aristocracy and the slaves. The titles of nobility granted to the residents of Lima were far more than those granted in any other Spanish possession, thus providing a solid base to the most important and numerous of all Spanish colonial elites, an aristocracy that was based on merchant activities. Besides, the 13 thousand slaves living as domestic servants and day laborers comprised the other major player in the city.¹¹ Furthermore, a very accurate racial terminology was developed in the late eighteenth century—probably as part of the Enlightenment's need to describe and organize racial differences—in order

⁹ This small presence of the indigenous population in the 1791 census has been explained as a strategy followed by male Indians, who did not register in the population counts as that meant they would be charged a special Indian tax called the *tributo*. Jesús Cosamalón, *Indios detrás de la Muralla. Matrimonios Indígenas y Convivencia Inter-Racial en Santa Ana (Lima, 1795-1820)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999), 36.

¹⁰ Joseph Rossi y Rubi (pseud. Hesperióphylo), "Idea de las congregaciones públicas de los negros bozales," *Mercurio Peruano* 2, no. 48 (June 16, 1791), and "Conclusion del rasgo sobre las congregaciones públicas de los Negros Bozales," *Mercurio Peruano* 2, no. 49 (June 19, 1791). Alberto Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida: Aristocracia y Plebe*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1993), 83. See also: María Pérez Canto, *Lima en el siglo XVIII. Estudio socioeconómico* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1985), 50; Cosamalón, *Indios detrás de la Muralla*, 33; Gootenberg, "Población y etnicidad en el Perú Republicano;" Christine Hunefeldt, "Lasmanuelos, vida cotidiana de una familia negra en Lima del siglo XIX. Una reflexión sobre la esclavitud urbana," *Documentos de trabajo* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1992), 10.

¹¹ Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*, [19]-20.

to name the various different mixed-blood offspring, who were usually known as *castas*: *mestizos* (offspring of Spaniard and indian), mulattos, *zambos* (African and mulatto), *tercerones* (mulatto and Spaniard), *cuarterones* (*tercerón* and Spaniard), *chinos* (indian and African), and so on.¹²

Peruvians and European travelers alike described the city of Lima, from the late eighteenth century to the first decades of the new Republic, as a city full of *castas*—racially miscegenated offspring—but also as a city plagued by maricones,¹³ who were often depicted as being Africans or of African ascent. This representation was reproduced two centuries later by the renowned Peruvian historian Pablo Macera, who argued in the 1970s that despite common saying of the time, the vice of homosexuality did not reached the noble and higher classes of Lima in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Elite men were accused of being feeble and delicate but not homosexual. According to Macera, homosexual practices were apparently restricted to

¹² Gregorio de Cangas, *Descripción en diálogo de la ciudad de Lima*, ed. Camilo G. Vicente and José L. Lenci (Lima: Fondo Editorial Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1997). See also the answers given by Mariano de la Torre y Vera, General Army Vicar of the Alto Peru, to the questions made by the Spanish Regency regarding political, moral and civil matters of the Indies in October 1814, where he defined racial categories such as *castas*, *mestizo*, mulatto, *cuarterón*, and *cholo*. De la Torre y Vera defined the *castas* as the mixture of Europeans or Americans, Spaniards, Indians, Natives and blacks (“la mezcla de generaciones entre europeos o americanos, españoles, indios, y negros”). Contestación que dirige el Doctor Don Mariano de la Torre y Vera, 1814, Audiencia de Lima, Leg. 1568, AGI.

¹³ Fray Tomás de Méndez y Lachica (pseud. Teagnes), “Carta remitida a la Sociedad haciendo algunas reflexiones sobre la que se contiene en el Mercurio num. 94 en que se pinta a los Maricones,” *Mercurio Peruano* 4, no. 18 (February 19, 1972); Pablo Macera, “Sexo y Colonizaje,” *Trabajos de Historia*, vol. 3. (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1977); Claudia Rosas, “Jaque a la dama: la imagen de la mujer en la prensa limeña de fines del siglo XVIII,” in *Mujeres y Género en la Historia del Peru*, ed. Margarita Zegarra (Lima: Centro de documentación de la mujer, 1999).

the less privileged classes, particularly black slaves and black freemen. Macera also explained that these “anomalies” had their origin not in the false sensuality that racism attributed to blacks, but were instead due to their general living conditions. Slaves and freemen in particular lived in the most populous neighborhoods of Lima, where the promiscuous life in the overcrowded sheds of the haciendas, or the miserable wages and the lack of regular jobs in the city, did not allow them to “economically normalize their sexual life.”¹⁴

Macera’s argument reproduces the Limeño colonial discourse that claimed African descendants tended to engage in male-on-male sexual practices, and more precisely to label maricones as Africans or people of African ascent.¹⁵ In addition, the representations of maricones tended to link such masculinity with male prostitution.¹⁶

¹⁴ Macera, “Sexo y Coloniaje,” 3: 348. This argument was perhaps inspired by Frantz Fanon’s explanations of black homosexuality in the colonies as the result of the white man’s abuse of power, or as a pragmatic response to the unbalanced sex ratio in the plantations, or to the migrant conditions of the Antillean expatriates in Paris. Rudi Bley, *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-Male Sexual Behavior Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination, 1750-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 3-4.

¹⁵ As Rudi Bley has argued, this could be immersed in a European tradition that attributed sodomy and other same-sex practices to the “otherness,” a tradition that may have begun in the eighth century with the war against the Islamic invasions, and which endured throughout the European conquest of America, Asia and Africa. For instance, in the seventeenth century Francisco de Quevedo, the great poet of the Spanish Golden Age, dedicated a poem to anal intercourse, masturbation and bestiality (all three of which were considered sodomy) that he titled “To a mulatto hermit” (*A un ermitaño mulato*). Rafael Carrasco, *Inquisición y Represión Sexual en Valencia* (Barcelona: Laertes, 1985), 33; Rudi Bley, *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-Male Sexual Behavior Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination, 1750-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 35.

¹⁶ Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, 1797, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Leg. 84, Cuad. 1032, AGN; Max Radiguet, *Lima y la*

This dissertation aims to understand whether the extent and diversity of the representations of maricones evinces the development in Lima, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, of a particular dissident masculinity based on a group of men who focused their gender practices on male-to-male sexual preference.

Sociedad Peruana (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1971); Macera, “Sexo y coloniaje.”

2. THE RACIALIZATION OF THE MARICÓN

The fact that African (and indigenous) descendants vastly outnumbered the *white* population of Lima, helps understand the first element on our analysis of the representation of maricones, i.e. the racialization of the maricón. It is not hard to imagine that in a *black city* like early nineteenth-century Lima, one of the main targets of social fear and racialization were the people of African origin and African ascent. Moreover, the social fear of a slave and Indian rebellion against their *white* masters became an recurrent concern after 1780, when Tupac Amaru II led the major Indian revolt in all of colonial times and called for racial unity against the Spanish; rumor even had it that he had promised to grant freedom to all slaves who joined him.¹⁷ This was compounded by the news of the slave revolt in Saint Domingue (1791), which ensured

¹⁷ The major indigenous uprising during the colonial period in 1780-1781, began in the towns outside Cusco city and rapidly spread throughout the Southern provinces up to what is now Bolivia. Tupac Amaru II, the leader of the revolt, proclaimed the freedom of all slaves who joined his banners; although the number of slaves in the area was quite small, the idea was probably meant to spark uprising in other provinces. Alberto Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*, 79. However, the revolt did call for a brotherhood of people with different racial backgrounds and miscegenated offspring against the colonial power; this, in combination with to some attacks against Spanish and Creole properties during the revolt, confirmed the fear the elites had of a racial war against the *white* people. On the revolt, see: Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca. Identidad y Utopía en los Andes* (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1986); Scarlett O'Phelan, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Köln: Bohlau Verlag, 1985); Scarlett O'Phelan, *La Gran Rebelión en los Andes: De Tupac Amaru a Tupac Catari* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1995); Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru. Conflict, Community, and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Steve Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Jan Szeminski, *La Utopía Tupamarista* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1984); Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes. Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999).

that the fear of an uprising of slaves and people of African ascent—somewhat like a “race war”—would be ever-present in the social narrative of the city until mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸

In *Aristocracia y Plebe*, Flores Galindo documented the gist of the fear and distrust that African slaves stirred among the colonial elite. By the late eighteenth century, Lima concentrated 74% of all the slave population living in the Viceroyalty, and which was mostly concentrated in the two most populous parishes, the Cathedral and San Lázaro. According to an informant to the Regency, most of the slaves came from Africa: Bengal, Angola and Guinea.¹⁹ In order to justify their subordination to their owners, the slaves were considered objects, working tools devoid of free will who were endowed with a limited rationality, and who were intellectually inferior to their masters. Rural slaves were mostly tied to sugarcane and vineyard estates on the coast, while urban slaves served mainly as domestic servants, but also as artisans and day laborers who offered their workforce in plazas and streets and who had to pay a daily or weekly amount to their masters.²⁰

¹⁸ Flores Galindo points out that in the *Drama de los palanganas Veterano y Bisoño*, one of the characters fears that a rebellion of Africans, mulattos and Indians, including those of the jungle area, would break out. Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*, 80.

¹⁹ Contestación que dirige el Doctor Don Mariano de la Torre y Vera. Respuesta al interrogatorio de las 36 circunstancias, 1814, Audiencia de Lima, Leg. 1568, AGI.

²⁰ Some of the most frequent trades carried out by these slave day-laborers were as carpenters, bricklayers, and water-carriers (*aguador*), in which they differed from the mulatto and free blacks who worked as artisans: shoemakers, potters, blacksmiths, silversmiths, hatters, pharmacists, etc. Women were hired as cooks, launderers, midwives, shopkeepers, and quacks, among others.

The number of slaves living in Lima in 1791 was almost the same that it had been the previous century (13,620 in 1636, according to Flores Galindo), but in this same period the *castas* had grown from 900 to 10 000, thus revealing a process of integration of the Africans into the urban culture. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the overwhelming size of the people of African ascent, who outnumbered all other groups, gave rise to racial tensions within the popular classes, as day-laborers (slaves included) had to go out on the street and compete with laborers from different racial backgrounds for their daily sustenance. There were also the runaway slaves or *cimarrones* who found shelter in the populous neighborhood of San Lázaro and in marginal settlements outside the cities. Most of the bandit attacks on the highways were attributed to these *cimarrones*, even though as Flores Galindo showed, these gangs actually had a multiethnic composition—except that Indians rarely joined them. In any case, part of the distrust for slaves was due to the attacks of these bandits, which were an endemic problem on all costal highways in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.²¹ Another important element was, again, the constant fear of an uprising of

²¹ Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*, chaps. 4 and 5. See also, Alonso Carrió de la Vandra, *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1984 [1775-1776]). In January 1813, the Marquis of la Concordia wrote to the President of the Royal Audience of Lima informing him of his concern over the growing number of wrongdoers flooding every road that led to the city of Lima, even endangering the city's food supply. Oficio del virrey al Cabildo, solución al daño que los malhechores realizan en las cercanías de la ciudad, 1813, Cabildo. Alcaldía, correspondencia – Virreyes, caja 2 (1802-1816), Doc. 170, AHMLM. On banditry in Peru, see: Carlos Aguirre and Charles Walker, *Bandoleros, abigeos y montoneros. Criminalidad y violencia en el Perú, siglos XVIII-XX* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1990). Carlos Aguirre singles out banditry and flight as survival techniques black slaves used in the early decades of the Republican era, just as Flores Galindo had argued for the late eighteenth century.

slave and Afro-American people.²² In any case, the distrust and fear that the black slave population stirred among the elite is likewise evident under the guise of sexual representations.²³ Male slaves represented as extremely virile, and female slaves depicted as sexually available, are discursive tropes that plagued colonial literature, not just in the Spanish Colonial context, but also in the American colonies.²⁴

²² Hunefeldt, “Las manuelos,” 13; Expediente causado con motivo del informe que pidió el Virrey de Lima a la Sala del Crimen, 1792, Audiencia de Lima, Leg. 943, n^o 77, AGI.

²³ In some cases, sexual relations among male owners and female slaves were used as an incentive for being freed. Flores Galindo particularly refers to those who were forced to have clandestine satisfaction of their sexuality, such as friars and priests. Besides, if the slave was able to prove she had had sexual relations with her master, she was granted her liberty or a bill of sale, as punishment to her master for his lack of continence. Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*, 108-109; Rosario Rivoldi, “El uso de la vía judicial por esclavas domésticas en Lima a fines del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX,” in *Etnicidad y Discriminación Racial en la Historia del Perú*, ed. Ana Cecilia Carrillo (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Riva-Agüero, Banco Mundial, 2002). This contributed to the image of hypersexual black female slaves. Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the bedroom: quarreling spouses in nineteenth-century Lima*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 18.

²⁴ Some examples in Joseph Rossi y Rubi (pseud. Eustaquio Filomates), “Amas de Leche,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 8, (January 27, 1791); Fray Francisco Gonzáles Laguna (pseud. Thimeo), “Descripción anatómica de un monstruo,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 1 (January 2, 1791); Joseph Rossi y Rubi (pseud. Hesperióphylo), “Apólogo histórico sobre la corrupción,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 15 (January 16, 1791); Carrió de la Vandra, *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes*, 175-176; “Art. Comunic.,” *El Investigador del Perú* 121 (June 16, 1814), 1. These subjects have begun to receive the attention of Peruvian cultural studies; see: Marcel Velázquez Castro, *Las máscaras de la representación. El sujeto esclavista y las rutas del racismo en el Perú (1775-1895)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 2005); Patricia Oliart, “Poniendo a cada quien en su lugar: estereotipos raciales y sexuales en la Lima del siglo XIX,” in *Mundos interiores: Lima 1850-1950*, ed. Aldo Panfichi, Felipe Portocarrero (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, Centro de Investigación, 1995).

The bibliography for the British Empire and other colonial contexts beyond slavery is far more extensive, starting with the work of Ann Laura Stoler, Ann McClintock, and Kathleen Wilson. For America, see also: Ann Laura Stoler, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press,

At the same time, slavery reduced male slaves to a dependent condition in regard to other men, so that they were incapable of legally governing themselves, just as it was believed was the case of children and women. This diminished masculinity was not restricted just to black slaves but was also applied to mulattos, as is shown by the report Mariano de la Torre y Vera, the Army of the Alto Peru's General Vicar, submitted to the Regency. In regard to *mulattos*, i.e. the offspring of Spaniards and blacks, de la Torre y Vera commented that the term was an analogy with the mules, as their cross-breeding made them third-specie animals. His analogy had at the same time a sexual connotation regarding the mulatto's masculinity, as all male mules are not fertile.²⁵

A more common reference to a diminished masculinity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was depicting all maricones as working in trades socially assigned to women. For instance, in his *Lima por dentro y fuera* (Lima Inside and Out)—a caustic book of poems satirizing personages and customs of the city—the late eighteenth century Spanish poet Esteban de Terralla y Landa²⁶ dedicated a paragraph to

2006); Leslie Harris, "Emancipation, Interracial Sex, and Citizenship in Early National New York, 1785-1827 (paper presented at the Conference on Sexuality in Early America (MCEAS/OIEAH, Philadelphia, June, 26, 2001); Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

²⁵ "La mescla [del español] con negro origina mulatos, que es una analogía de los mulos, como animales de tercera especie." Contestación que dirige el Doctor Don Mariano, Leg. 1568, AGI.

²⁶ After living in México, the young Spaniard Esteban de Terralla y Landa sailed to Peru in 1787, determined to make a fortune in the mining business. Terralla y Landa instead up living in Lima; his talent for poetry and witty rhymes granted him the protection of the Viceroy Teodoro de Croix. Once Croix had returned to Spain, Lima's high society turned its back on Terralla due to his "quarrelsome character and his scandalous

the trades practiced by the maricones, calling them “the plague of Lima’s climate.” In this paragraph, maricones are depicted dedicated to occupations like laundering and ironing:

You will see certain maricones
The plague of Lima’s climate,
With effeminate voices,
Corsets, and bandannas.
You’ll see them laundering, ironing,
Starching with great care,
And stretching; when they
should be the ones stretched.
You will see the implacable hate,
And the utmost abhorrence,
They have towards women;
And these women are loving them.

Verás ciertos maricones²⁷
Plaga del clima Limeño,
Con voces afeminadas
Cotillas, y barbiquejos.
Verás que lavan, planchean (sic)
Almidonan con esmero,
Y estiran; quando debieran
Estar estirados ellos.
Veras el odio implacable,
Y sumo aborrecimiento,
Qué tienen a las mugeres,
Y ellas los están queriendo.²⁸

adventures as seducer and gambler.” In revenge, he wrote *Lima por dentro y fuera* under the pen name of Simón Ayanque. The outrage in Lima had the book banned and some of the copies were burned inside a theater. Several editions were nonetheless published not just in Lima but also in Mexico, Cadiz, Madrid, and Paris, even after the mid-nineteenth century. “Expediente duplicado de memoriales, autos y diligencias por la prohibición de la circulación y venta del libro “*Lima por dentro y por fuera*,” AHMLM, Expedientes y Particulares: 1796-1839, Caja 1, Doc. 3; Palma, “El poeta de las adivinanzas,” 712.

²⁷ [Footnote in the poem:] “It is the most ridiculous [thing] that can be seen in effeminate men.” (“*Es lo más ridículo que puede verse en hombres afeminados.*”). Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera*, 190.

Terralla also noted the alleged hatred maricones felt for women. This rivalry was due to the public debates that maricones and *tapadas* (women in Limeño attire) had in the central plaza while disputing the attention of men. But there was also a sense of complicity between them both, based on common interest for fashion, love affairs, and gossiping. Terralla referred to the imitation maricones made of women through the use of effeminate voices and particular pieces of clothing. Corsets, for instance, were concealed under a shirt and helped to shape a curvaceous body. On the other hand, the use of bandanas was perhaps a more subtle way with which to adorn one's head—at least it was somewhat subtler than a corset.

On occasion, maricones also adopted the Limeño typical female dress. The same *saya* and *manto* that was an inspiration for travelers, painters and writers visiting Lima, was also a source of racial and gender anxiety to visitors and locals alike, as it hid the identity of the wearer. The *saya* and *manto* were two pieces of clothing: a tight skirt known as the *saya* that was worn over another skirt, thus making it bulge at the hips; and a shawl worn over the head and shoulders that was held with one hand, and used to cover the entire face, leaving only one eye exposed. A woman wearing a *saya* and *manto* was called a '*tapada*' (**fig. 1**), and her attire was completed with gloves and white colored stockings that did not allow the viewer to guess the color of her skin (and also made it more difficult to guess her gender). The finery of a handkerchief carried in the hand, the sophisticated satin shoes, and being followed by a female servant, were all

²⁸ Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera*, 73; Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú*, [51].

signs of distinction that assured the people in the street that the tapada was indeed a fine lady.²⁹

²⁹ Descriptions of tapadas are widely available in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries travel literature on Lima: Cangas, *Descripción en diálogo de la ciudad de Lima*, 36-37; Esteban Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera* (Madrid: Imprenta de Villalpando, 1798), 27, 158, <http://books.google.com/books?id=DwQBAAAAMAAJ&hl=es> (accessed August 20, 2009); Flora Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una paria: texto original del siglo XIX, anotado*, in *Flora Tristán, personalidad contestataria universal*, ed. Gustavo Bacacorzo (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2000), 2: 395-426; Tadeo Haenke, *Descripción del Perú* (Lima: El Lucero, 1901), 26, http://bvirtual.bnp.gob.pe/bvirtual/cod_libro.php?cod_libro=46 (accessed April 22, 2006); Basil Hall, *Extracts from a journal: written on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico in the years 1820, 1821 and 1822*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: E. Littel, 1824), <http://books.google.com/books?id=AuUoAAAAYAAJ&hl=es> (accessed: January 31, 2010), 83-84, 195-196; Johann Tschudi, *El Perú. Esbozos de viajes realizados entre 1838 y 1842*, ed. Peter Kaulicke (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 90-92. See also: José Rossi y Rubi (pseud. P. Fixiogámio), “Carta escrita a la sociedad sobre los gastos excesivos de una Tapada,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 12 (February 10, 1791); José Rossi y Rubi (pseud. M. Antispásia), “Carta escrita a la sociedad en contraposición de la de Fixiogámio,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 18 (March 3, 1791). According to Ricardo Palma, the saya and manto were a staple for female residents of Lima since the mid-sixteenth century; he also confirms that tapadas had almost become extinct by the 1850s; coincidentally, this was the very same decade when descriptions of maricones seemed to have vanished. Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones peruanas completas*, 6th ed. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1968). Two of the last descriptions of the tapada were done by travelers Adolfo Botmiliau and Friderich Gerstäcker. Raúl Porras, *Dos viajeros franceses en el Perú Republicano* (Lima: Cultura Antártica, 1947), 186; Friderich Gerstäcker, *Viaje por el Perú* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1973), http://bvirtual.bnp.gob.pe/bvirtual/cod_libro.php?cod_libro=41 (accessed April 22, 2006), 20.



Figure 1. Pancho Fierro. *Tapadas*. Watercolor on paper. Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana.

The *saya* and *manto*, a fashion that dated back to the sixteenth century, distinguished the women of Lima until mid-nineteenth century, when French fashion and European bourgeois values began to gain ground. But we have seen that the tapada fashion was not limited to women. Some maricones took advantage of the protection and anonymity that this attire offered and thus appropriated the urban public space without being bothered. A tapada could not be bothered and was never asked to reveal

her identity. There presumably was a good reason for her to be in disguise and therefore her privacy ought to be respected.³⁰

The possibility of being deceived by the sensuous gesture made by the tapada is anxiously reflected in many pieces of literature, from travel writing to newspaper articles and various plays.³¹ The most common complains made by travelers and locals

³⁰ In his *Descripción en diálogo de la ciudad de Lima*, Gregorio de Cangas described the fondness the people of Lima had of covering their faces in the streets, thus avoiding the malicious and vulgar talk of the common people: carriages circulated mostly with the curtains down, women were dressed as tapadas, and when walking men often would wear a shawl up to the eyes in order to conceal their identities. Cangas, *Descripción en diálogo de la ciudad de Lima*, 15-16, 36, 68. On the other hand, Rolando Rojas argues that it was a common entertainment for plebeians to congregate in street corners to mock passersby, call them names, and make malicious on their private lives. Rolando Rojas, *Tiempo de Carnaval. El ascenso de lo popular a la cultura nacional (Lima, 1822-1922)*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005).

Deborah Poole has pointed out that in the case of the tapada, the veil was not “an enforced gesture of religiosity, chastity, and shame,” and was on the contrary a voluntary and self-imposed gesture that allowed the wearer to temporarily flee the scrutiny and surveillance of husbands and other relatives. Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, 87. See also, Alicia Del Aguila, *Los velos y las pieles: cuerpo, género y reordenamiento social en el Perú republicano. Lima, 1822-1872* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003).

³¹ A poem in celebration of the Prince of Asturias serves is an early eighteenth century example on the complains against the deceiving arts of the tapadas:

As the ladies they are
either in the balcony or behind gratings,
a desired risk, tapadas; an clearly beloved danger,...

...Como a las damas, que son
u en balcon, u entre cancelles,
riesgo deseado, tapadas; peligro amado, patentes.

were either being seduced by one's own wife, or finding an ugly woman lurking beneath the veil.³² This complaint of course included a racial component; for example, Johann Jakob von Tschudi, a Swiss naturalist who visited Lima in the late 1830s, lamented on the numerous unpleasant deceptions that this "costume game" brought about, particularly when the stately gait of a slender and tall figure belonged to an ugly female mulatto, instead of the Hebe he had dreamed off.³³ Even worse was finding a man beneath the tapada's shawl—an experience that must have been particularly distressful for many men. This at least is what happened on August 2nd 1803 to Pedro Palomares, a 22-year old soldier who was patrolling the well-attended religious festivity of the

Marqués de Castell dos Rios, *Comedia Harmonica El Mejor Escudo de Perseo*, in Carlos A. Romero, *Adiciones a "La Imprenta en Lima" de José Toribio Medina* (Lima: Academia Nacional de la Historia, Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú- Instituto Riva Agüero, Fondo Editorial Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2009), 164. Later, in 1840s Manuel Ascencio Segura dedicated a play to women wearing *saya* and *manto* to intervene politically pursuing better public positions for their husbands. The deceiving power of the tapadas even reached to the most perspicacious of husbands. Manuel A. Segura, *La Saya y Manto*, scene XXI, 195, in Manuel Ascencio Segura, *Obras completas*, ed. Alberto Varillas Montenegro (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2005).

³² Terralla y Landa provides us a nice stanza:

Never to a tapada woman should you pay court, as she may be a black woman or some horrid skeleton.	Jamas a muger tapada bayas a echarla requiebros, que puede ser una negra o algun horrible esqueleto.
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Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera*, 158. See also: Manuel Fuentes, *Lima. Apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres* (Lima: Fondo del Libro del Banco Industrial del Perú, 1988), 102-104.

³³ Tschudi, *El Perú*, 92. Also, Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una paria*, 2: 425-426; Hall, *Extracts from a journal*, 1: 84.

Porciuncula.³⁴ Palomares saw in the middle of the crowd a maricón dressed with a *saya* and *manto*. The maricón had briefly unveiled his *manto*, showing he was in fact a man. All of the fellow soldiers of Pedro Palomares were rapidly surprised and outraged when he warned the sergeant of the patrol, and they rushed to arrest the maricón.³⁵

The maricón was called Francisco Pro, a young, twenty-year old tailor, who was a free *chino* (the offspring of Indian and black) who had been born in Concepción, Chile. One of the soldiers claimed he was known as the brother of a *monita* (cute girl), and was publicly recognized as a maricón. Francisco was caught walking in the *Alameda de los Descalzos*, a major boulevard, wearing a ragged shawl and a skirt of his sisters that he had taken without her permission. The fact he had chosen a ragged outfit was probably because some *tapadas* liked to “disguise” themselves (*disfrazarse*), which meant that fine ladies would wear an old and ragged *saya* and *manto* to conceal their identity even more.³⁶

Francisco, who is called a “maricón” throughout the criminal lawsuit, allegedly took his sister’s clothes (skirt, shawl, corset, blouse, silk stockings, and shoes) to attend the festivity because he so wanted to do so and his own clothes had been stolen. María Pro, Francisco’s sister and the owner of the clothes, recognized him in the crowd and scolded him loudly and slapped him on the face, thus unveiling him, with such bad luck

³⁴ Plenary indulgence granted to Catholics every August 2nd in the Church of Saint Francis (*Iglesia de San Francisco*). It was also accompanied by a widely popular celebration and the offering of soup to the poor.

³⁵ Causa seguida contra Francisco Pro por encontrarse vestido como mujer en la Alameda, 1803, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Leg. 98. Cuad. 1192, AGN.

³⁶ Tristán, *Peregrinaciones*, 426.

that he was seen by Pedro Palomares, who gave called for his arrest. According to Francisco, had it not been for his sister he would have passed unnoticed, as there was no way to recognize him as a man wearing female clothes.

The trial for being caught dressed as a woman centered on the issue of the kind of underwear Francisco was wearing (male or female). The issue regarding his underwear was indeed an attempt to establish whether he actually was a maricón or not. It turned out that he was wearing women's underwear ("*pollera blanca de gasa*"). At this point Francisco was lost, and not even his arguments that he was unaware that it was an offence to dress up in females clothes, or that he had seen many women in men's clothing without it being considered a crime,³⁷ were able to save him from two months of forced labor and to being paraded through the streets in public shame, with his hair shorn and his ragged female clothed.

Francisco argued in his defense that he wore his sister's clothes unaware that it might be an offence, because he had frequently seen women of all social standing attend public activities, by day or by night, in carriages and coaches, plazas and coliseums, dressed as men without this constituting a crime; he believed in this regard that he and all men could do the same. It turned out that he was wrong, as he later found out, because there were indeed laws that banned dressing up with the cloth of the opposite sex, and there was even less toleration for men wearing female clothes.³⁸ These edicts

³⁷ Even though Francisco Pro's argument was not sound, it apparently was somewhat true, as is shown by a late eighteenth-century pamphlet inviting to a comedy entitled *El amor mas desgraciado*, in which Mrs. Natividad, the Singer, went on stage riding a horse and dressed as a man. Romero, *Adiciones a "La Imprenta en Lima,"* 301.

³⁸ An example is provided by the 1796 trial of Gregoria Piedra by the Mexican Inquisition, for having extracted the Host from her mouth after receiving the Holy

and laws were based on a specific passage in the Bible (Deut. 22.5: “A woman shall not wear an article proper to a man, nor shall a man put on a woman's dress; for anyone who does such things is an abomination to the Lord, your God.”³⁹ It was assumed that women dressed in men’s clothes in order to gaining freedom in communicating with male friends, whereas men dressed as women were more prone to seek the attention of other men. That, at least, was what of the Archbishop of Lima, Pedro Antonio Barroeta, complained of. In a 1757 edict based on the previously cited passage from the Deuteronomy, Barroeta forbade women to dress like men. He had particularly forbidden effeminate young men to wear any female clothes or ornaments, or to dance in any public function as they had been wont to do, because they were always suspicious of indulging in sodomy, which was forbidden. The sanction was excommunication from the Church.⁴⁰

Communion, and what was most deviant here was that she had done so dressed in men’s clothes. Gregoria, a manly mulatto woman who was more commonly known as “Gregoria the macho,” was released some days later due to lack of evidence, despite the fact that it was not her first arrest for wearing men’s clothing. Due to several testimonies regarding her preference for female companions, Lee Michael Penyak has argued that more attention was given to Gregoria’s dressing habits than to her sexuality, thus concluding that “deviant female sexuality was not considered as dangerous to society as deviant male sexuality.” Lee Michael Penyak, “Criminal Sexuality in Central Mexico 1750-1850,” (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 1993), 300-301.

³⁹ Vatican. *New American Bible*, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENGO839/_INDEX.HTM (accessed October 10, 2009).

⁴⁰ Pedro Antonio de Barroeta, “Nos el D. D. Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Angel por la gracia de Dios, y de la Sta. Sede Apostolica, Arzobispo,” in José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)* (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1966), 2: 507. Juan Carlos Estenssoro describes Barroeta as the first Enlightenment Archbishop in the Peruvian Viceroyalty. His efforts in reforming mores sought to impart a new religiosity to his flock, in opposition to the understanding of religious practice as a festive, sumptuous, and baroque celebration. Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “Modernismo, Estética, Música y Fiesta: Elites y cambio de actitud frente a

In any case, the trial of Francisco Pro gives us an invaluable glimpse of the meaning the term “maricón” had in Lima in the early nineteenth century. During his trial, Pro was directly asked whether he was known as a maricón, and what things had he done to earn such a name. Francisco replied that his was due to his ability to carry out “women’s activities” such as cooking, sewing and laundering clothes, in addition to his small and delicate features. He stressed that he was not used to imitating women in their actions or manners as real maricones did. Francisco Pro was also asked whether he had his friends and acquaintances included maricones, in what places they had got together, and what kind of activities they used to engage in. He denied knowing any maricón, but the importance of the question lay on the prosecutors’ insistence in identifying the social networks and spaces used for these meetings.

Four of the five soldiers who arrested Francisco contradicted him and claimed they knew him to be a maricón because of his effeminate talk and manners, and his friendship with other maricones, who according to one of the soldiers abounded in the city.⁴¹ One soldier even claimed that he had known Francisco for over seven years, and

la cultura popular. Perú 1750-1850,” in *Tradición y Modernidad en los Andes*, comp. Henríque Urbano (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1992), 184.

⁴¹ The soldier Pedro Palomares declared “know[ing] him as maricón, and he has is known as such because the prisoner in this trial has always used effeminate gestures, movements and words, and his acquaintances have been with [people of] the same kind, who are known by the nickname of maricones, which type of people abounds in this city.” (“...y [le] tiene por maricón y que por tal es conocido el reo contenido en esta causa respecto de que este ha usado siempre de acciones y movimiento y palabras afeminadas y han sido sus juntas con otros de la misma especie, los cuales son conocidos por el sobre nombre de maricones, de cuya especie de gentes hay muchas en esta ciudad...”). Causa seguida contra Francisco Pro, fol. 15r-15v.

had always noticed his effeminate manners, actions, and movements that were characteristic of the men known as maricones.

Even though it was not explicitly discussed in the trial, the question what role Francisco's racial origins had in confirming his identification as maricón remains open. In this regard, two newspaper articles published a few years before provide evidence on the racial emphasis given in descriptions of maricones. The first of these articles, titled "Letter on Maricones," illustrates the concern present in Lima over this particular form of male sociability, and noted its African origins. Published in 1791 in the *Mercurio Peruano*, the major newspaper of the Peruvian Enlightenment, the article satirizes the city of Lima—disguised as the imaginary city of Androgenopolis—as a place full of maricones. The article took the form of a letter written by Filaletes,⁴² a male foreigner visitor who wrote his impressions of the city for Leandro, a dear male friend and former resident of Androgenopolis, who was inquiring how well Filaletes had put his teachings into practice. Filaletes replied to his friend in a letter in which explained at length what had impressed him most: the presence of maricones. In Androgenopolis, this particular kind of men have adapted their male clothes so that these take on an effeminate look by day, and they use the protection of the night to fully dress in women's clothes and attend private meetings in discreet parts of the city.⁴³ According to Filaletes, the maricones were committed to imitate women in any way possible, "the movement of the body, the grace, the gait, their gestures, even the slightest movement, everything in them exudes

⁴² Protected under the pen name of Filaletes, the authors' identity is unknown.

⁴³ Filaletes (pseud.), "Carta sobre los Maricones."

an extravagant and ridiculous effeminacy.”⁴⁴ In describing these men, Filaletes is most specific in marking them as people of African ascent, slaves and free mulattos. For instance, one of the ways used to link maricones with a particular racial group was by mentioning their “wooly” curly hair, a phenotypic characteristic of African ancestry that is presented also as a characteristic of the maricones:

[Referring to the maricones] The wool that nature has given them instead of hair, cut down to half its volume in minute braids, is tied up with a ribbon, in such a way that its tip it forms a frizzy tassel; some small locks artificially disposed hang on both sides of their forehead, and toupees and extensions on the temple are not missing.

La lana que en lugar de cabello les concede la naturaleza [a los maricones], reducida hasta la mitad en menudísimas trenzas, la reúnen en un lazo, de modo que en la extremidad forma una encrespada poma, algunos pequeños risos artificialmente dispuestos les cuelgan a los dos lados de la frente, sin faltarles los parches, o medias babas en las cienes.⁴⁵

Filaletes then describes a birthday party in honor of a maricón that took place at night, when the maricones felt more free to fully dress in women’s clothes and organize private gatherings to openly socialize with other men. Filaletes, who was invited to the soiree by a friend, was immensely surprised when he noticed that, under the cover of

⁴⁴ “¿Qué dirían nuestros ciudadanos, si viesen un ente de esta clase que intenta imitar en todo a las mugeres? El ayre del cuerpo, el garbo, los pasos, las acciones, hasta los menores movimientos, todo respira en ellos una afeminación ridícula y extravagante.” Filaletes (pseud.), “Carta sobre los Maricones,” 3: 230.

⁴⁵ Filaletes (pseud.), “Carta sobre los Maricones,” 3: 230.

darkness, those he thought were richly attired black and mulatto female guests were in fact black and mulatto maricones using as nicknames the titles of nobility of fine ladies:

...what caught all of my attention was a large platform wherein many black and mulatto women, outfitted with the richest fineries were seated. This transformation of status, struck me, since I was seeing as ladies those that in our country are slaves. My admiration grew even more when some tapadas that were close to us said to one another: “there you see the Oydora [female magistrate], the Countess of..., ...and so the listed every title and lady of quality they was in the city. [...] took out my eyeglass and looked at the dark faces of these ladies, and at once, what a surprise! I see them covered with thicker beards that the unhappy Countess Trifaldi...

...pero lo que arrebató toda mi atención, fue un largo estrado donde estaban sentadas muchas negras y mulatas adornadas de las mas ricas galas. No me dexó de admirar este transtorno de las condiciones, pues vera como Señoras las que en nuestra Patria son esclavas; pero mas creció mi admiración quando unas tapadas que se hallaban proximas a nosotros, se decian mutuamente: ve alli a la Oydora, a la Condecita de ... a que iban nombrando quantos Títulos y Señoras principales habia en la Ciudad. [...] saco mi antejo, lo aplico a los tostados rostros de esas señoritas; y al punto ¡Qué admiración! las veo cubiertas de mas espesas barbas que la infeliz Condesa Trifaldi...⁴⁶

Any doubt regarding whether this satire actually referred to the city of Lima were dispelled by a second article published in the *Mercurio Peruano* three months later, titled “Letter addressed to the Society [Academic Society of Lovers of the Country] offering some reflections on the one that is contained in the *Mercurio* num. 94 in which

⁴⁶ Filaletes (pseud.), “Carta sobre los Maricones,” 3: 231.

the Maricones are portrayed.”⁴⁷ The author, friar Tomás de Mendez y Lachica, who used the nom de plume Teagnes, complained that the acrimonious satire drawn on the previous letter would suffice to fully abolish vice from the city of Lima, if only it wasn't that rooted amongst the lowest-bred people, against whom the only effective method of eradication was for Justice to attentively and meticulously prosecute vice. According to Friar Mendez y Lachica, a monstrous disorder like that of these maricones was almost unbelievable, except for the fact that these “freaks” could be seen almost with every step one took. The racial reference then came into play. Setting this social problem apart from the elites and locating it inside the lower classes, the author explicitly pointed out Africans as the ones who had brought this custom to Lima; in Mendez y Lachica's own words: “blacks have been seen arriving to this city [Lima], [who had been] educated with the barbarous and fierce customs of Guinea, full of effeminate bad habits, or to be precise, veritable maricones.”⁴⁸

Even more striking is the similarity between the portrayal of a mulatto maricón in the article *Filaletes* published in the *Mercurio Peruano* and a watercolor by Léonce Angrand, the French vice-consul in Lima in 1834-1839. This French traveler made an important contribution by portraying popular personages of Lima's urban scene.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁷ Fray Tomás Méndez y Lachica (pseud. Teagnes), “Carta remitida a la Sociedad haciendo algunas reflexiones sobre la que se contiene en el Mercurio num. 94,” *Mercurio Peruano* 4, no. 18, February 19, 1792.

⁴⁸ “...a esta Ciudad se han visto venir Negros de partida educados entre las bárbaras y feroces costumbres de la Guinea, llenos de resabios afeminados, o mas propiamente verdaderos Maricones.” Méndez y Lachica (pseud. Teagnes), “Carta remitida a la sociedad,” 4: 118-119.

⁴⁹ **Léonce-Marie-François Angrand** (1808-1886) was born in Paris in a well-to-do family. After holding some positions in Europe, he was appointed as French vice-consul

similarity between Filaletes' article and Angrand's watercolor evinces how the satire of Lima was not that far from other historical sources. The "Letter on Maricones" describes the efforts the latter made to adapt their clothes in order to move freely in the urban space by day, without having to give up their fashion preferences. This strategy gave rise to a specific kind of fashion that was best described by Filaletes in his *Letter*:

The cleavage, the short sleeves that leave the whole arm uncovered; the small jacket, the effort to bulk the clothes as much as possible in the behind; all these and a thousand other trifles help them, for in public they cannot fully renounce the manly attire, so as to modify their clothes in such a way that even the least perceptive person sees a man adorned with the clothes of both sexes. Thus they appear themselves in such an extravagant outfit: hand at the waist, the shawl wrapped around them with a feminine air...

El descote, las manguitas altas que dexan todo el brazo descubierto: la chaquetilla, el fomento que abulta del modo posible la ropa por detrás; todas estas y mil otras menudencias les sirven, ya que en público no pueden renunciar del todo al vestido viril, para modificarlo de tal suerte que el menos perspicaz ve un hombre adornado con la ropa de ambos sexos. Así se presentan en tan extravagante traje: la mano en la cintura, embozados en la capa con aire mugeril..⁵⁰

in Lima in 1833, and he established an office in Peru a year later, after having visited Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Mendoza and Santiago. A romantic spirit, Angrand shared his consular responsibilities with ethnographic, archaeological and architectural studies of the places he visited. As part of his studies, he produced and collected an important body of notes and documents, which include a series of albums titled *Costumes Péruviens. Scènes de la vie populaire et religieuse à Lima*, where he registered ethnographic and urban images of this city. He later donated his vivid watercolors, drawings, and photographs to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, along with a significant collection of Spanish American manuscripts and books. Edgardo Rivera Martínez, "Introducción," in Léonce Angrand, *Imagen del Perú en el siglo XIX* (Lima: Milla Batres, 1972).

⁵⁰ Filaletes (pseud.), "Carta sobre los Maricones," 3: 230.

Although it comes from a satirical article, this description seems to perfectly describe the image painted by Angrand more than forty years later (**fig. 2**). Léonce Angrand depicted an effeminate young mulatto standing in the street between two men, a layman riding a mule and a college student. The inscription at the bottom of the watercolor (which is not included in the photograph) reads as follows: “Street scene – Lay brother from the convent of the Recollects begging for alms around the city – Mulatto maricón in a grand street attire – Philosophy student from San Carlos College or the University of Lima in grand parade uniform.”⁵¹ The name given to the painting—“Street scene...”—makes us wonder how common this scene may have been in the city of Lima. The fact that Angrand repeatedly portrayed typical personages of Lima’s urban life, leads us to believe that although the maricón seems perhaps an anecdotic personage for the painter, he was by no means an infrequent one.⁵²

⁵¹ “Scène de rue_frere lai du convent des Recollets quêtant par la ville_mulatre maricon en grande tenue de trottoire_écolier étudiant de philosophie au Collège de San Carlos ou à L’université de Lima en grande tenue d’apparat. 1836-1837.” Black and white reproduction of the watercolor published in: Angrand, *Imagen del Perú*, 138.

⁵² For more of Angrand’s watercolors of Lima, see: Angrand, *Imagen del Perú*.



Figure 2. Léonce Angrand. Street scene – Lay brother from the convent of the Recollects asking for alms around the city – Mulatto maricón in a grand street attire – Philosophy student from San Carlos College or the University of Lima in grand parade uniform. 1836-1837. Watercolor on paper. Bibliothèque nationale de France. In: Giuseppe Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú* (Lima: Giuseppe Campusano, Institute of Development Studies, 2008), [54].

The action depicted in the painting is very subtle: the maricón and the college student are both smoking, while the lay brother passes by riding a mule. The maricón is apparently being addressed by the student and is answering him with a proud and uninterested look. On the other side of the painting, the lay brother looks askance at the interaction between the student and the maricón.

Leónce Angrand highlighted the African ascent phenotypes of the maricón by establishing a contrast between his mulatto skin tone and shoulder-length dark hair; the lay brother's mixed-race skin tone; and the lighter complexion and blonde hair of the college student. The maricón is wearing a women's blouse, with ruffles at the sleeves that leave the arms exposed, just like women used to wear, and with the shirt bulged under his trousers to emphasize the derriere. Delicate green women's shoes, silk white stockings, a pink shawl draped over the shoulders, and a headpiece made out of flowers and ornamental combs, complemented the outfit. The hands are shown, one in a feminine gesture holding a cigarette, the other holding a white hand fan.

The image of the mulatto maricón painted by Angrand dressed up with both female and male clothing perfectly illustrates the letters in the *Mercurio Peruano*.⁵³ Furthermore, in its complexity, the watercolor illustrates the racialization that dominated the representation of maricones in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century—men who partially donned female clothes to walk the city by day, and that at the first opportunity turned to full female attires; men who preferred feminine gestures and to imitate females in any possible way; men walking the streets trying to get the attention of other men—these were the ones called “maricones,” and more often than not they were represented as being of African ascent. In so doing, white Spanish and creole men may have been arguing that it was a problem that affected the “others,” and

⁵³ Giuseppe Campuzano, a Peruvian visual artist and philosopher who recently published a book that collects graphical evidence on male transvestites along the history of Peru, has the same impression. In his *Museo Travesti del Perú*, Campuzano placed the Angrand watercolor beside fragments from the first letter on the maricones published by the *Mercurio Peruano*, thus linking them both, with the painting illustrates the text. Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú*, 54-55.

not the core of Limeño society. This is an argument easily related with the European tradition of associating sodomy with “otherness,” and which developed in the wake of the war against Islam in the eighth century. This tradition was repeated in many contexts, as Europe started to explore and conquer the world from the fifteenth century onwards. As Rudi Bley has shown, a careful reading of the Western narratives of discovery and conquest evinces that same sex-behavior was used as a *signifier* of the cultural difference of the people of America, Asia, and Africa.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Bleys, *The Geography of Perversion*, 35.

3. PUBLIC EXPOSURE AND THE DEGREE OF DANGER

In my search of traces of a male community defined by the imitation of women in any possible way, I was deeply surprised by the degree of visibility they were able to attain, sometimes, even at the risk of their own safety. Beyond the veil of secrecy that is usually imagined in regard to dissident masculinities, the maricones of late colonial Lima attended private and public gatherings, including religious ceremonies, and were publicly known as such by their neighbors and acquaintances, as will be shown in this section. The limits of the maricones' public exposure, i.e. when it began to constitute a risk for them, will also be discussed.

The first evidence of the visibility maricones attained is their presence in public documents depicting them as a social problem characteristic of the city of Lima. Already in 1757 Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Ángel, Archbishop of Lima, had acrimoniously censured in his *Edicts* the visibility *maricas* had attained dancing in neighborhood ballroom dances.⁵⁵ According to the Spanish Royal Academy's dictionary, the term *marica* and its plural *maricas* means the same thing as *maricón* and *maricones* since 1734.⁵⁶ The term *marica* differs from its superlative *maricón* in the addition of the suffix “-ón” in order to augment the magnitude of the significant, and give the term a

⁵⁵ Barroeta y Ángel, “Nos el D. D. Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Angel por la gracia de Dios.” For late eighteenth century ballroom dances attended by mulattos and *blacks*, where “promiscuous people, [were] covered and uncovered,” see also: Expediente sobre la disposición dictada para que el Coliseo de Bailes sólo asistan personas honestas, 1790, Collection of Manuscripts, C 742, BNP.

⁵⁶ Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 1734, s.vv. “marica,” “maricón,” <http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtllle> (accessed October 18, 2009).

more aggressive and coarse sense. Although it is understandable that Archbishop Barroeta would favor using *marica* in an official document, most of the post-1770 sources consulted for Lima used the former term.⁵⁷ In any case, Archbishop Barroeta complained about the dancing schools that under the pretence of collecting alms to honor some saint, organized public ballroom dances, every night and in several neighborhoods. In these balls, besides the mulatto and black dance instructors there also participated

...certain young men (so it has been reported) that are called *maricas*, because they are so effeminate in their talk, their gait, and even in part of their attire, because the shoes they wear are those of women; they wear bandages on the head and chew thick wads of tobacco; and they are strongly believed to be nefarious sodomites, who often dress up as women; and that in the celebrations held in houses they play, sing, and dance as the most callous whores.

...ciertos mozuelos (según se ha informado) que llaman maricas, por ser tan afeminados en sus hablas, aire de andar y aún en parte del traje, pues los zapatos los traen como los de las mujeres, se ponen vendas en las cabezas y en las bocas gruesos limpiones de tabaco, de quienes vehementemente se sospecha, y aún se ha asegurado, que son nefandos sodomíticos; que muchas veces se visten de mujeres; y que en los festejos de las casas tocan, cantan y bailan como las más desalmadas prostitutas.”⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The 1611 dictionary by Sebastián de Covarrubias does not include the term *marica*, but it does list *maricón*. If the latter is the augmentative form of the term *marica*, then *mariquita* would be an insulting diminutive. Camacho Barreiro, “De cómo los diccionarios reflejan la sexualidad y otros conceptos afines,” Anuario LL 35, *Estudios Lingüísticos* 19 (2007), 30-43, http://www.cenesex.sld.cu/webs/DE_COMO_LOS_DICCIONARIOS_REFLEJAN 39.html (accessed October 23, 2009); Mérida Jiménez, *Cuerpos desordenados*, 9-13.

⁵⁸ Barroeta y Ángel, “Nos el D. D. Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Angel por la gracia de Dios,” 506. For earlier descriptions of these African descendants ballroom dances, see: El promotor fiscal general, Don Pedro de la Peña, para el fin de impedir que se pongan

The fact that Archbishop Barroeta complained of the presence of *maricas* at public balls, evinces the degree to which they formed part of Lima's social life and how unconcerned they were regarding their own safety, especially when participating in home and family parties, dancing, playing and singing. The ease with which the maricones lived in Lima comes clearer when we examine level of public exposure bearing in mind one of their major characteristics; as Archbishop Barroeta reminded us, a maricón was always under the suspicion of being also a sodomite, and according to ecclesiastic and civil law this was both a sin and a crime. By 'sodomite' or '*nefando*', one meant a person cohabiting with another one of the same sex (*perfect sodomy*) or in an "improper vessel" (*imperfect sodomy*).⁵⁹ The ecclesiastic and royal punishment meted out for sodomy was based on two theological principles, first that any form of non-procreative intercourse was a disruption of the natural order and an impediment to God's creative will. This was so because it involved the wastage of 'the seed of life,' whereby a man rejected the divine invitation of God to be a part of the creative task. It

mesas con cualquier motivo pidiendo limosna, 1712, Papeles Importantes, Leg. 18, Exp. 9, AAL.

⁵⁹ Penyak, "Criminal Sexuality in Central Mexico," 245-246; Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1739 facsimile ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1990), 3: 134; 2: 658. This same meaning was preserved without changes until 1837. Real Academia Española, *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española*, s.vv. "nefando," "sodomita," <http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUISalirNtlle> (accessed November 26, 2009); Carrasco, *Inquisición y Represión Sexual en Valencia*, 30-31.

The concept of sodomy involved several punishable sexual practices: "Anal and oral sex, solitary and mutual masturbation, and sexual relations with animals all fell under the rubric of sodomy, whatever the gender of the actor." Penyak, "Criminal Sexuality in Central Mexico," 246.

was in this sense that sodomy was known as a “sin against nature” (*pecado contra natura*). Second, if sodomy was left unpunished and was instead consented by the authorities, they ran the risk of the divine wrath befalling all of the people, as was the fate that befell Sodom, which according to the Bible was reduced to ashes. In fact, the city of Lima had actually been destroyed by the 1746 earthquake, thus reinforcing the power of Barroeta’s argument.⁶⁰

From these two principles—the opposition to God’s will and the defiance of the King’s power— followed the idea of sodomy as ‘a crime against the Monarchy and a sin against God,’ which was laid out in the *Fuero Juzgo*, *Fuero Real*, and the *Siete Partidas*, the first Castilian statutory codes based on the seventh century Visigothic *Liber Iudiciorum* Code, and which was compiled in the mid-thirteenth century by Fernando III (*Fuero Juzgo*) and his son Alfonso X, the Wise (*Fuero Real*, *Siete Partidas*).⁶¹

⁶⁰ Besides, after the earthquake, Lima was ravaged by epidemics in the following years. Paul Gootenberg, personal communication, July 1st, 2010; Adam Warren, “Piety and Danger: Popular Ritual, Epidemics, and Medical Reforms in Lima, Peru, 1750-1860,” (PhD diss., University of California at San Diego, 2004) 21; Manuel de Odriozola, *Terremotos. Colección de las relaciones de los mas notables que ha sufrido esta capital y que la han arruinado* (Lima: Tipografía de Aurelio Alfaro, 1863), <http://www.google.es/books?id=hc9DAAAIAAJ&hl=en> (accessed September 13, 2010).

⁶¹ The *Fuero Juzgo* ordered that sodomites be castrated; the *Fuero Real* added that it be done in public. The *Siete Partidas* prescribed capital punishment, exempting those who had been forced, and those below fourteen years of age from any punishment. Laura Rubio Moreno, *Contribución al estudio de las definiciones léxicas de "Las Partidas" de Alfonso X, el Sabio*, in *Leyes de Alfonso X*, ed. Martínez Díez, Gonzalo and José Manuel Ruiz Asencio (Avila: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 1985), 3: 695; Francisco Tomás y Valiente, “El crimen y pecado contra natura,” in *Sexo Barroco y otras transgresiones premodernas*, ed. Francisco Tomás y Valiente (Madrid: Alianza, 1990), 34-39 (I would like to thank Adolfo Tantaleán for providing me a copy of this article); Alfonso X, El Sabio, *Fuero Real* (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1991), 122; Alfonso X, El Sabio, *Las Siete Partidas, Antología* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1992), Sec. Partida VII, título XXI; Alfonso X, El Sabio, *Setenario* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica,

Following this tradition, in 1497 the Catholic Monarchs called sodomy a “nefarious crime, unworthy to be named, [and a] destroyer of the natural order.” And since they believed that this crime of heresy and *læsæ Majestatis* had not been sufficiently punished by previous laws, they now increased the penalty to death at the stake, the seizure of all possessions, and the exemption of the need to present conclusive evidence. A century later, Philip II gave another law that insisted on the exemption of conclusive evidence in order to punish “the abominable and nefarious sin against *naturam*.” The crime was punishable even when it had not been proven and the witnesses had been challenged. The nefarious sin could instead be proven by three non-coincided testimonies, or four of them if the witnesses were somehow related to the accused party.⁶²

The joint but hotly disputed ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction over the cases of sodomy in the Iberian Peninsula and their colonies also followed from the twofold nature of sodomy as a sin and as a crime in the Iberian Peninsula and their colonies. Thanks to a decree issued by Pope Clement VII, in Aragon and Portugal the Inquisition had jurisdiction over all cases of sodomy after 1524, even though some local authorities

1984); Alfredo Martínez Expósito, *Los Escribas Furiosos: Configuraciones Homoeróticas en la Narrativa Española* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1998), Ch. 4; Ricardo García and Doris Moreno, *Inquisición: Historia Crítica* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2001), 305-306.

⁶² *Novísima Recopilación de las Leyes de España en que se Reforma la Recopilación Publicada por...Felipe II en el Año de 1567, Reimpresa Últimamente en el de 1775, y se Incorporan las Pragmáticas, Cédulas... Hasta el de 1804* (Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, D.L., 1975), 5: 427-429. This was also ratified by the 1503 *Pragmática* of the Catholic Monarchs, as well as by successive law compilations until the early nineteenth century. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 170.

may have resisted this intrusion.⁶³ The same thing applied to the Portuguese colonies. In Sicily, which depended on the Kingdom of Aragon, the Inquisition did not have jurisdiction over sodomy unless the accused were its own officials. After 1509, all sodomy trials held in Castile were heard by the secular courts. In theory, the same applied to all Spanish colonies. However, several attempts were made in Spain and its colonies to reclaim Inquisitorial jurisdiction over crimes of this type.⁶⁴

Except for few cases, in both the Spanish and Portuguese empires the prosecution of sodomy was often less frequent than its practice.⁶⁵ For instance, although sodomy

⁶³ Ronaldo Vainfas argues that the Inquisition was granted jurisdiction over sodomy, bigamy, bestiality and certain clerical incontinences due to their heretic nature, not in relation to their condition as carnal sins. Ronaldo Vainfas, “Sexualidade e Moralidade nos Domínios da Inquisição (Seminário de Tropicologia IV Reunião Ordinária),” <http://www.fundaj.gov.br/docs/tropico/semi/trop98-4.html> (accessed January 17, 2010).

Merry Wiesner-Hanks reports a mass Inquisition trial in Portugal around 1658, where 123 men were accused of sodomy, and which apparently included some members of the clergy. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World*, 126, 170. García and Moreno, quoting André Fernández’ doctoral dissertation, mention 465 Inquisition trials against sodomy in Aragon. Valencia, as well as Barcelona, depended on the Crown of Aragon and had the most active tribunals in prosecuting sodomy; however, only 12% were condemned to death and none of them had less than twenty-five years. The Holy Office of Zaragoza was the third tribunal in Aragon to retain jurisdiction over sodomy. García and Moreno, *Inquisición: Historia Crítica*, 306-311; Carrasco, *Inquisición y Represión Sexual en Valencia*, ch. 1; André Fernández, “Inquisition et répression sexuelle dans la Couronne d’Aragon (1565-1700),” (PhD diss., Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III, 1998).

⁶⁴ According to García and Moreno, the efforts the Inquisition in Spain made to regain terrain against sodomy began in the 1560s with two notable processes; one against Pedro Luis Gacerán de Borja, the Master of the military order of Montesa, and another one against Antonio Pérez, the former secretary of Philip II (1591). García and Moreno, *Inquisición: Historia Crítica*, 306-308.

⁶⁵ No evidence of sodomites being convicted to death by burning in Valencia, Aragon or Castile is available after the mid-seventeenth century. Tomás y Valiente, “El crimen y pecado contra natura,” 54-55. Wiesner-Hanks cites the 1594-1595 visitation Portuguese

remained punishable by death in the Spanish Empire right until the end of the eighteenth century, actual executions ceased in the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ In Peru, secular courts were in charge of prosecuting the few sodomy trials that were indeed held in this Viceroyalty. Following Castilian Law (which held for all overseas colonies), as of 1509 all cases of sodomy in Peru had to be heard by criminal courts rather than by the Inquisition.⁶⁷ However, in Peru the Inquisition did prosecute a few of these cases when it involved the clergy and violated the holy sacrament of confession.⁶⁸ For instance, in 1759 friar Diego Chacón, a member of the convent of San Francisco in Arequipa, was prosecuted by the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Lima for solicitation during confession. He was accused of requesting the sexual favors of three young men and a fourteen-year-old boy, after being their confessor, and of having convinced them of committing the infamous act with him as *passives*. Although friar Diego Chacón ended up pleading

Inquisitors made in Pernambuco, Brazil, where sodomy was the most commonly confessed sin, but this did not lead to an upsurge in trials. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality*, 170. Leandro Karnal cites the renowned historian Luiz Mott, who pointed out that sodomite were often pardoned if they appeared voluntarily before the Holy Office Tribunal, except if they backslid. Noble, clergy and discreet sodomites were often sentenced by the Inquisition in secret in order to prevent disgrace. Luiz Mott, “Justitia et Misericordia: A Inquisição Portuguesa e a repressão ao nefando pecado de sodomia,” *Anais do 17º Congresso Internacional de Ciências Históricas, Comissão de Demografia Histórica*, Paris, 1990: 243-258, quoted in: Leandro Karnal, *Teatro da Fé, Representação Religiosa no Brasil e no México, Século XVI* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1998), http://www.ceveh.com/biblioteca/libros/teatro_fe/tf-p-1-cap3.htm (accessed April 21, 2010), Ch. 3.

⁶⁶ Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World*, 170.

⁶⁷ Ricardo Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición de Lima* (Lima: Congreso de la República, 1997), 209.

⁶⁸ José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima: 1569-1820* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2000), vol. 2, ch. 27 and final chapter [28], http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/00363874399947240757857/p0000006.htm#I_15_ (accessed April 7, 2010).

guilty, he was only admonished and sent back to his convent. In order to protect the ecclesiastical institutions, these trials were extremely discreet, in comparison with the criminal prosecution of sodomy. The identity of the witnesses was concealed, as were their race, occupation, or any other social characteristic that could identify them. The sexual offenses are only named with subtle phrases instead of the crude questions and descriptions that characterized criminal lawsuits. Furthermore, the young men seduced by Chacón were not prosecuted by the Inquisition and acted merely as witnesses, because here the interest was in preventing solicitation and not sodomy.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Relación de la causa de fe seguida en este Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de los Reyes contra el padre Fray Diego Chacón. 1759. Inquisition, Leg. 5316, exp. 4, num. 3, AHN. I have not found any evidence of Inquisition trials of sodomites other than priests, in any of the four archives known to hold documents of Lima's Tribunal del Santo Oficio (Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, Archivo General de la Nación de Perú, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, and Archivo Nacional de Chile). No mention of sodomy cases prosecuted by the Inquisition appear in the main studies of the history of the Inquisition in Peru: Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición*; Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima*; René Millar Carvacho, *La Inquisición de Lima. Signos de su decadencia, 1726-1750* (Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones, Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, and Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana, 2005); René Millar Carvacho, *Inquisición y Sociedad en el Virreinato Peruano. Estudios sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima* (Santiago de Chile: Instituto Riva Agüero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto de Historia, Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1998), 213-218; Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *En Defensa de Dios. Estudios y Documentos sobre la Inquisición en el Perú* (Lima: Ediciones del Congreso del Perú, 1998); Teodoro Hampe, *Santo Oficio e Historia Colonial. Aproximaciones al Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1570-1820)*, (Lima: Congreso del Perú, 1998), 14-15, 47. As Toribio Medina subtly noted, sodomy was not prosecuted by the Inquisition in Lima, but masculine solicitation (by priests and friars) was. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima*.

The above-mentioned texts note that the Inquisition of Lima faced a period of decline in the eighteenth century until its final closure in 1820. This process was evident on the considerable fall in the number of cases prosecuted and in the scant significance of the prosecutions, particularly once the Holy Office was closed down by the Cadiz Courts from September 1813 to January 1815. When it reopened, the Inquisition of Lima dedicated its last few years more to persecute the spread of Enlightenment-inspired liberal ideals than to offenses against the Catholic faith. Eusebio, "El Patriota

In regard to civil and criminal law, the Spanish *Nueva Recopilación* and the *Novísima Recopilación* both provided the legal framework in force in the Viceroyalty of Peru during the eighteenth century and right until the establishment of the new independent nation in 1824. The law prescribed death by burning and the seizure of all property against those accused of having committed this sin, even if the deed was not consummated or even if there were not enough direct witnesses to prove the crime.⁷⁰ However, in comparison with the recurrent public complaints against the social presence of maricones, the small number of sodomites prosecuted lets us argue that the strict laws seemed to have sponsored some kind of tolerance and a lack of enforcement.⁷¹ No evidence has been found that the death penalty by burning, the most horrendous punishment to sodomy—was ever enforced in Peru in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, other than the sentence given out to Francisco Pro, whose preference for cross-dressing made him a suspect of having a penchant for sodomy, there is no evidence that any man was ever found guilty of sodomy in any trial held throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mere suspicion or even a compromised situation often even worked in favor of the accused, as is shown by the case of Manuel Salazar and Dionisio Mudarra.

desesperado.” This process has also been described for the Tribunals in Mexico and Spain. Consuelo Maqueda Abreu, *Estado, Iglesia e Inquisición en Indias. Un Permanente Conflicto* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000), 159-167.

⁷⁰ Antonio Perez y Lopez, *Teatro de la Legislación Universal de España e Indias* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Antonio Espinosa, 1798), 27: 405.

⁷¹ Michael Foucault, *History of Sexuality* (New York: Vintage-Random, 1990), 1: 101; Blackmore, “The Poets of Sodom,” in *Queer Iberia. Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. J. Blackmore and G.S Hutcheson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 196.

On March 9, 1800, Manuel Salazar and Dionisio Mudarra, two slaves, were jailed and prosecuted for allegedly having been caught committing sodomy in the stalls of Lima's *Plaza Mayor* (Central Plaza) at 9:30 in the evening.⁷² Despite such a severe charge, the two men were set free on March 29th after a brief process, once their innocence had been duly established. Only three witnesses had appeared, besides the two accused men. Two of the three witnesses were the soldiers that had approached the stall to see what was happening there, and their testimony perfectly matched. They declared that two men, a mulatto and a *chino* (the offspring of Indian and black), had been found lying down quite close to one another, under the awnings. The mulatto, who was older, was lying down on his side with his trousers down, and behind him, very close, lay the *chino* also lying on one side, with his trousers tied up. One of the soldiers also declared that the *chino* tried to escape but was not allowed to flee.

Sergeant Manuel Vega, who arrived at the scene later, also declared in the trial. He claimed that he had found them, one facing down and with the other one on top, both of them with their trousers untied. The older one was slightly drunk. Making them stand up, the sergeant asked what they were doing; one of them answered that he was relieving himself, and the other one that he was waiting for a woman. The sergeant then decided to arrest them, under the impression that they had been engaged in the despicable act of sodomy due to the position they were found in.

⁷² Autos Criminales de oficio de la Real Justicia se siguen contra Manuel Salazar y Dionicio Mudarra esclavos de doña Josefa Mudarra por atribuírseles estarse cohabitando sodomiticamente en los toldos de la plaza mayor de esta capital, 1800, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Leg. 90, Cuad. 1107, AGN. According to Alberto Flores Galindo, the Lima police division was created in 1787, and the police patrol against vagrants appeared in 1790. Also, lighting the city also became made mandatory between 8 and 10 p.m. Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*, 122.

When Manuel Salazar, the 38 year-old mulatto slave was questioned, he claimed that whilst walking near the *Plaza Mayor* towards his mistress' house, he ran into Dionisio, a fellow slave who was also going in the same direction. Feeling he needed to relieve himself, Manuel asked his friend to wait for him and went under the awnings while Dionisio followed him to rest in the meantime, as he was very tired. Then the patrol came and asked what they were doing, to which Manuel replied that he was relieving himself, and Dionisio that he was waiting for a woman. The guards put them under arrest in the belief that they were sinning, even though only Manuel had his trousers down.

The statements made by Dionisio Mudarra agreed with that of Manuel. Having met him, Manuel asked Dionisio to wait for him because he needed to relieve himself before going to his mistress's house. Meanwhile, Dionisio decided to lie down near his companion in order to rest his head, as he had been drinking and was somewhat dizzy. Dionisio had drank so much, in fact, that before running into Manuel he had washed his face in the fountain in order to refresh himself, and avoid having his mistress notice his condition. While Manuel had his pants off and Dionisio was lying down next to him, they were both surprised by the guards who claimed they were sinning. The guards even shoved Manuel and made him sit on his own dirt, even though Manuel had told the guards what he was doing. Dionisio claimed that he was expecting a woman just to give an excuse. When he ordered to get up, the soldiers found that his trousers were in place; the soldiers nonetheless led them both to jail amidst a flurry of punches and saber blows.

Be it as it may, on March 29th, 1800 the royal criminal court ordered that Manuel Salazar and Dionisio Mudarra be released and returned to their mistress Josefa Mudarra. The fact that only the sergeant—who arrived after the soldiers to the alleged crime scene—claimed that both slaves had their pants down, as opposed to all other four depositions, proved conclusive. This case exemplifies the tolerance before a presumed case of sodomy, and the power of the mistress, who certainly wasn't pleased to lose two expensive slaves at the same time, and who perhaps exerted all of her influence in order to avoid losing her capital. This after all happened as the eighteenth century was drawing to a close; two centuries earlier, the slaves might have been found guilty and condemned to death with even less evidence.

Another case that was dismissed took place, not place in the urban Lima area, but in the rural hinterland of Cuzco. In 1773, the indigenous villagers of Yanaoca, a rural region in the province of Canas y Canchis (Cuzco), reported to the local priest their concern over the conduct of two local residents.⁷³ Lucas Tayro, the indigenous sexton, had scandalized the community with his illicit friendship and vile commerce with Don Ramón Moscoso, a Spanish *curaca* (traditional Indian headman) and tribute collector

⁷³ Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, cacique y vecino del pueblo de Yanaoca y Lucas Tayro indio del mismo pueblo sobre el ilícito comercio con que escandalosamente vivían, 1773, Manuscript Collection, Ms C992, BNP. Ward Stavig analyzed this document in “Political “Abomination” and Private Reservation: The Nefarious Sin, Homosexuality, and Cultural Values in Colonial Peru,” in *Infamous Desire. Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Pete Sigal (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 134-151. Based on the early chronicles, Stavig argues that the attitude the Incas and the commoners of the empire had vis-a-vis male-to-male relations prior to the coming of the Spaniards, may have been one of acceptance, or that they were at least tolerated in a ritual or religious environment. Thins seem even more opaque outside the temple due to the testimonies given of Garcilaso, Cieza de León, and others regarding the Incas punishing or at least frowning upon sodomy.

who was also married to a noble female *curaca* Doña Catalina de Salas. To avoid trial Lucas Tayro fled, leaving Ramón Moscoso behind in jail. After a summary investigation that included the depositions made by three neighbors, Lucas was found guilty in absentia, and Ramón was accused of letting his accomplice flee. Ramón was sent to the ecclesiastical prison of Cuzco.

It was publicly known in the town of Yanaoca that during his twelve-year marriage, the forty-five year-old *curaca* Ramón Moscoso had always lived apart from his wife Doña Catalina, and that they had never shared a bed except for the first few days after marriage.⁷⁴ But Doña Catalina made no comment and stated she had never seen Lucas and her husband indulging in sodomy.⁷⁵ Several witnesses from the town nonetheless claimed having heard that *don* Ramón Moscoso had two sexes and used the female one with the Indian Lucas Tayro.⁷⁶ One witness furthermore declared that he had been summoned one night by Catalina's sister in order to seize Ramón in flagrante delicto. Although the witness did not take part in this expedition, he was told by Catalina's sister that Catalina and her servant had entered in Ramon's house in the middle of the night, and found the Indian Lucas Tayro almost naked, with his clothes in his hands, trying to escape. After being caught by Catalina's servant, Lucas Tayro was released on order of Ramón.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, f. 7v.

⁷⁵ Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, f. 28v.

⁷⁶ Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, ff. 8r., 15v., 17r.

⁷⁷ Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, f. 15r.-15v.

Other witnesses also claimed that Ramón offered clothes to the Indian and once jealously scolded him when he found Lucas with a woman in a romantic liaison in the middle of a public religious ceremony (the Corpus Christi). Ramón denied all the charges and declared himself innocent, claiming that as the leader of the community he had to caress the Indians, and as such, his treatment of Lucas Tayro was particular only in that he was polite and had rather beautiful features.⁷⁸ Ramón also claimed he was innocent of the charge of having committed the nefarious sin with other Indians in the doctrine, having first used *chicha*⁷⁹ and spirits to make them agree to his propositions.

Before reaching a verdict, the bishop's representative who was collecting the data on the charges, had two physicians examine Ramón in order to establish whether he was a hermaphrodite, as "there is a serious suspicion that Ramón Moscoso, the offender in this cause, may have both sexes, virile and feminine."⁸⁰ The first physician excused himself arguing that he had no experience in this area. Two other physicians then examined Ramón Moscoso and stated that he was not a hermaphrodite, but a man fully and perfectly provided of all his genital parts. One of them also made a comment

⁷⁸ Ramón Moscoso "...dijo que por el empleo de cacique que ha ejercido, se veia obligado a acariciar a los yndios, y se distinguia principalmente con el dicho Tayro, porque era agil, comedido, y de bellas propiedades, y que la bos que se ha difundido [acusarlo de sodomía], es vaga y sin ningun merito, lo que asegura firmemente, pues por su parte no ha dado lugar con el crimen horrible que se le sindicca..." Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, f. 4-4v.

⁷⁹ A pre-Hispanic Andean alcoholic beverage made out of fermented corn that is still consumed in Peru and Bolivia.

⁸⁰ Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso, f. 21r. For further references on hermaphroditism see: Penyak, "Criminal Sexuality in Central Mexico," 1-3; Palma, "Algo de crónica judicial española," in *Tradiciones Peruanas*, coord. Julio Ortega, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993), 295; *Diario de Lima* (December 3, 1790), 4; Romero, *Adiciones a "La Imprenta en Lima,"* 62.

regarding Ramón's anus, which he had carefully examined and had found the area swollen, with some protuberances that gave it a disfigured form, and which were surely due to his "depraved practices."⁸¹ All the information provided by the neighbors and witnesses was then considered no more than mere suspicions, and the evidence found was declared non conclusive for a full punishment, so Don Ramón was therefore acquitted.⁸²

Historian Ward Stavig had also encountered the case of Ramón and Lucas while studying the intricacies of everyday life in the rural areas of eighteenth-century Cuzco, and he devoted a chapter to this case in a compilation edited by Pete Sigal.⁸³ His area of study included that where the most fervent supporters of the Tupac Amaru II rebellion lived. Stavig emphasized two major points in this trial: first, the use of medical examination as a form of "almost scientific inquiry into the evidence," and second, the fact that the case gives us a glimpse of public morality, insofar as the people of Yanaoca denounced the alleged lover of Ramón Moscoso despite their fondness they had for their cacique, out of outrage over their public indiscretion.⁸⁴ I concur. In a sense, the medical examination of Moscoso set a precedent for the subsequent use much later on of scientific consultations in legal arguments. Most surprisingly, a doctor's opinion was requested to find medical evidence of a sexual practice, thus paving the way for the

⁸¹ Probably a case of external hemorrhoids. *Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso*, f. 26r.-26v.

⁸² *Causa criminal contra don Ramón Moscoso*, f. 29v.

⁸³ Stavig, "Political "Abomination" and Private Reservation," 136.

⁸⁴ Stavig, "Political "Abomination" and Private Reservation," 146-147.

medicalization of homosexuality that would characterize the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁸⁵ On the other hand and as Stavig noted, what brought about the censure of the villagers of Yanaoca was the scandalous public behavior of their *curaca*. The intimate life one led was nobody's business if one was discreet and the community mores were not threatened, but when public morality was transgressed, then men and women became vulnerable to being denounced and prosecuted.⁸⁶ After all a popular Spanish proverb claims that "*Dios perdona el pecado, pero no el escándalo*" ("God forgives sin, but not scandal").

The apparent lack of interest the civil authorities had for the enforcement of the law, should not be construed as some sort of legal or social acceptance of maricones or male-to-male sexuality. After all, being singled out as a maricón entailed a social stigma. This stigma was so powerful that one could be tempted to use it as a way of

⁸⁵ An extraordinary study of the medicalization of the homosexuality in Latin America is Jorge Salessi's *Médicos maleantes y maricas*, which draws upon hygienic discourses in order to demonstrate their efficiency in constructing a nation (even better than Sarmientos' theoretical principles) that waged war against the "invisible" threat of epidemic diseases. In this context, a wide variety of medical, scientific, and criminal discourses focused on deviant sexualities such as pederasty, uranism, third sex, and homosexuality, in an effort to control, stigmatize, and criminalize a visible and complex homosexual and transvestite culture that was widespread among all social classes in late nineteenth-century Buenos Aires. Jorge Salessi, *Médicos, maleantes y maricas. Higiene, criminología y homosexualidad en la construcción de la nación Argentina (1871-1914)*, (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo Editora, 2000), 14, 179. I would like to thank my dear friends Ana Julia Ramírez and Enrique Garguin for having provided me with a copy of this book.

In Lima, around this the same period, the outrage criminologist and penal experts felt regarding the extent in which homosexuality pervaded daily life in the prisons of Lima, contrasted with the permissiveness and blind eye that was turned to it by prisons' authorities. Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds. The Prison Experience, 1850-1935* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 169-173.

⁸⁶ Stavig, "Political "Abomination" and Private Reservation," 147.

removing an adversary from the social or political terrain. That at least is perhaps what don Manuel Fernández had in mind when he called his former friend Francisco Morel maricón in order to prevent his marriage with his daughter, who was below the age of consent. Morel was accused by Manuel Fernández of statutory rape and of having kidnapped Josefa Fernández, so marrying her would save Francisco from prison if he was declared guilty of statutory rape. It was either for this reason or out of love, that Francisco said he wished to marry Josefa. Manuel Fernández however opposed the betrothal due to racial and social differences between her daughter and Francisco. Morel was twenty-seven years old and had a mixed-race ancestry, because whereas his mother was of African ascent, Josefa Fernández was fifteen years old and was considered white—this at least was part of the argument the father gave to forbid the union.⁸⁷

The trial of Francisco Morel began in February 1797, when Manuel Suárez, on behalf of Don Manuel Fernández, filed a lawsuit against Morel for statutory rape and the kidnapping of Fernández' daughter, as well as because Morel could not marry her as he was a maricón. Several witnesses were summoned by Suárez to make their depositions; of these, two female friends of Josefa's mother were to declare regarding the kidnapping, and a male neighbor of Morel's was to declare regarding the dishonest propositions Morel had allegedly made him.

⁸⁷ Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, en la causa que sigue contra Francisco Morel por estupro y rapto de su hija y por la imposibilidad que este se casé con ella por ser maricón. 1797. Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Leg. 84, Cuad. 1032, AGN. For statutory rape, see: Tomás y Valiente, "El crimen y pecado contra natura," 37.

Although the charges were kidnapping and statutory rape, the witnesses summoned by Fernández were invariably questioned regarding Morel's low status and his alleged public condition as a maricón. One witness declared that Morel had given him a hairnet and an embroidered handkerchief in order to get his consent to his vile vice. Another witness declared that he lived in the same neighborhood and thus was aware that Morel was a maricón by trade, and that he had often seen him dressed as a woman, with a mantilla and female shoes, enticing men with obscene and most enticing words. This same witness confirmed that he was not aware whether Morel was indeed a sodomite because he had not seen him committing the deed, but he knew from a reliable source that Francisco Morel had been arrested for attending a popular festivity in the town of Lurín, dressed in such a scandalous suit that merit the astonishment of all the public.

The suspicion that Morel's mother was a former slave also appeared in the depositions, particularly in regard to the immoral way in which Francisco Morel and his brother (who was wanted by justice) were allegedly raised, as opposed to the exemplary Catholic education with which don Manuel Fernández and his wife Doña María Morales, both noble and decent Spaniards, had raised their daughter Josefa. Only one of the seven witnesses summoned by Fernández made a statement in any way whatsoever related with the kidnapping or statutory rape. Brígida Aguirre, Josefa's godmother, declared that after she had heard the child had run away she (Brígida) had visited the mother and found Morel in Fernández' house. Morel told Brígida that Doña María, the mother, was out and that Josefa had run away, taking even her clothes with her.

Manuel Portusagastegui, former *corregidor* (local magistrate) of Lurín, also testified. Portusagastegui said that three years before, during the feast of Saint Michael in Lurín, a crowd had gathered at a corner of the plaza out of curiosity of seeing a maricón gallantly dressed in a rich man's clothes. Portusagastegui had him brought before him and very carefully examined the ridiculous and inappropriate clothes Morel was wearing. On asking him what kind of a trade he had, and whether he had personal funds with which to make such expenses, Francisco Morel replied that he did not have any trade and that his father was an affluent person who had given him enough money to cover such expenses. The *corregidor* had Morel put in jail and summoned his father, and reprimanded him for the poor way he had reared his son. Although Fernández's attorney directly asked the *corregidor* whether he had seen Morel dressed as a woman or with other maricones, Portusagastegui did not comment this. When Morel's defense had him summoned again, the *corregidor* clearly stated that although ridiculous, the clothes that Francisco was wearing in Lurín were those of a man.

On the other hand, Francisco Morel's attorney argued that his client had a penchant for women. The attorney questioned several other witnesses in order to prove that Morel had fathered two children, a son with Josepha Mayorga, and a daughter with María Eugenia Corso; and that Francisco had courted women with the intention of marrying them, but in each case the marriage was hampered either by the woman's family or his own. As far as the Lurín incident was concerned, the testimonies confirmed that, although it was very extravagant, the suit he was wearing was a man's suit. The testimony given by the notary public who recorded that registered the arrest of Francisco proved crucial in this regard. The notary public recorded that Francisco had worn a small lamé jacket, velvet breeches, and fine hosiery, all fully adorned and very

expensively made. Francisco also had a novel hairdo with powdered hair and a pigtail, a tight braid of hair. The notary, who knew Francisco since his childhood, confirmed that his hairdo style when he attended the festivity at Lurín was a novelty. By the time the notary made his deposition four years later, Francisco's hairdo was in fashion. According to the notary public, Francisco was indeed asked how he had acquired the means with which to pay for such expensive garments, after which he had been set free by the *corregidor* because there was nothing feminine in his attire.

Two more witnesses summoned by the defense proved crucial. First, a presbyter declared that the illegitimate children he had borne were a matter of public knowledge, and that he had never suspected on the proper use of Francisco's virile member, or known that he had committed the nefarious sin. Besides, the presbyter confirmed that Francisco was clean and tidy, and that he enjoyed sewing and doing embroideries. This was confirmed by the other witness, an official in the Royal *Audiencia*, who declared that uncouth people called Francisco a maricón because he was clean and tidy, and because of "the grace and destiny of sewing his own cloth." This witness even declared that he thought the accusation of being a sodomite was false because of his intention of getting married. Other witnesses, including another presbyter, concurred and denied the charge of sodomy, and also testified the close friendship that existed between both families, including occasions in which Josefa had visited the Morel family house with her parents.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, f. 29v-30r.

Josefa was also summoned by Francisco's defense, and she confirmed that Francisco had frequently visited her parents' house, and Josefa had visited Francisco's house too because she was friends with his sister. Josefa stated that she and Francisco had decided to get married, and that in anticipation of her parents' opposition, they agreed she would run away from her house. They also agreed they would stay both in a room for one night and request a wedding license the following day. Later, Josefa will deny to be scared of her parents, and declare she did not longer wish to marry Morel.

At this point the case took an unexpected turn. The Judge (*Alcalde Ordinario*) Doctor Don Gaspar Zevallos, Marquis of Casa Calderón, pointed out that when the trial record was brought to him from the Royal Criminal Hall (*Real Sala del Crimen*), he had not noticed that it had been altered by inserting the inscription "conduct [followed by] said Morel."⁸⁹ The plot was discovered: Manuel Pacheco confessed that he had illegally inserted inscriptions in the trial record at Fernandez's request in order to obstructing the wedding of his daughter with Morel. Pages 3 to 6 had been written by Manuel Pacheco and not by the notary public appointed for the trial. Conveniently enough, those pages recorded the testimonies given by the witnesses that had declared that Francisco Morel was publicly known as a maricón, including the depositions given by the neighbor who denounced the dishonest propositions that Morel had allegedly made him. In brief, the file had been altered by unlawfully inserting the charge of sodomy, once the criminal case for kidnapping and statutory rape had been opened. Furthermore, the depositions the witnesses had made against Morel—mostly by the servants and dependents of Fernandez's—had been included in response to the illegal

⁸⁹ Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez , f. 39v-40r.

charge of sodomy. After this shocking outcome, the judge absolved Francisco Morel of the charge of statutory rape, as he had proved his intention of marrying Josefa Fernández, and it was her decision whether to have him or not. The charges of sodomy and rape were likewise dropped. Pacheco, Fernández, and the neighbor who accused Morel of soliciting him were all found guilty of forgery. In the appeal, Morel was severely warned that in the future he should refrain from using “attires improper to his state, condition, and class, which may make people to mistake his conduct.”⁹⁰

Besides the illegal charge of sodomy in order to get rid of an undesirable suitor, this case provides an invaluable insight of the vast range of meanings the concepts of

⁹⁰ Historian Adolfo Tantaleán has argued that it was the Ecclesiastical Tribunal the one which annulled the matrimony of Josefa Fernández and Francisco Morel, due to the inequality in status between the offender and Doña Josefa. Tantaleán also argues that the *Real Audiencia* sentenced Morel to three years of banishment from the city of Lima. However, a careful reading of the archival document (AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández) shows a different outcome. The union of Josefa and Francisco never took place, even though Francisco declared his wish to marry her. Nor was Francisco Morel found guilty of the charges of kidnapping, statutory rape or sodomy. Adolfo Tantaleán, “... Vivo según mi naturaleza. La experiencia de la sodomía en la sociedad colonial limeña, 1770-1810,” in *De amores y luchas. Diversidad sexual, derechos humanos y ciudadanía*, ed. Jorge Bracamonte (Lima: Programa de Estudios de Género de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán, 2001), <http://www.geocities.com/ukupacha/ART1006.htm> (accessed October 21, 2002).

In this same paper, Adolfo Tantaleán brings up the case of doctor Don Agustín de la Encarnación, who was detained by the night patrol of the city of Lima on April 8th, 1776, because he was wearing female clothes. When he was questioned about his conduct, Don Agustín argued that he was in disguise to disclose the adultery of his wife. According to Tantaleán, don Agustín asked his lawyer bring to have his wife and children brought before the Court to prove his virility, and should this not prove a convincing argument, to request the practice of carnal union. The criminal record on which this was based (AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Leg. 36, Cuad. 430-A, 1776) has apparently disappeared from the National General Archive in Peru, where it was held—at least, it has not been available for the last seven years.

maricón and sodomite may have had for the residents of Lima, in the early eighteenth- and early-nineteenth centuries, as well the way both the notions of maricón and sodomite intersected. The efforts Fernández and his accomplices made to construct a credible case against Morel, clue us as to what would have then been considered as unequivocal signs that identified a maricón, which they took to be the same as a sodomite. Quite the contrary, Morel's defense argued that the popular meaning that equated maricón and sodomite was no more than a misunderstanding the common people (*plebe*) had, which confused a man's cleanliness and tidiness, or flamboyant dress, with his inclination to have dishonest and nefarious carnal knowledge with other men. Morel's defense thus expands the meaning of maricón to include a man who takes care of his appearance, and in that sense equated the term with the *petimetre*, another dissident masculinity of late colonial Lima, to whom I devote the following chapter.

* * *

Fernández and his accomplices summarized for us all the elements that served to identifying the dissident masculinity of the maricón, the same elements that have been discussed throughout this chapter. First, the maricón dressed in women's clothes. Just like Francisco Pro wearing his sister's clothing, the watercolor by Angrand, or the Terralla y Landa's poem, maricones were known to make every possible effort to dress in women's clothes, or at least to use such flamboyant male clothing that it could resemble those of a woman. This sartorial code was not just a way of imitating women;

it was above all a way to make themselves recognizable. Second, the maricones imitated women's gestures, the way they talked and walked. The "Letter on Maricones" that was published in the Enlightenment-newspaper *Mercurio Peruano*, is a fine example of their intent to imitate women in every possible way, and it concurs with the testimonies given by the accomplices of Fernández regarding Morel's alleged "indecent gestures and feminine deeds."⁹¹ Third, maricones sought to meet and have the company of other maricones. One of the questions that Fernández's agent illegally included in the record, was whether the witnesses knew Francisco Morel kept company with other maricones. In so doing, this questionnaire reproduced one of the fundamental questions used in the case of Francisco Pro, to establish whether a man was publicly known as a maricón or not. Newspaper articles and travel writing also highlighted that maricones were most frequently seen walking around the city of Lima in the company of others maricones. Fourth, maricones were mixed race, and particularly of African ascent. Francisco Morel had African ancestry and most probably had also been recently manumitted, two points that Fernández's witnesses highlighted throughout the trial. Even though, the main purpose behind this was demonstrating the inequality of the match, it also weakened Francisco's position and made the charge of being a maricón or a sodomite more convincing. Finally, being a maricón was also about flirting and soliciting other men, i.e. being interested in sodomy. This is why Fernandez asked one of his accomplices to claim that Morel had tried to seduce him with promises of support and gifts. However, none of

⁹¹ Testimony of Josefa Soria: "...que solo se ejercita en pasear la ciudad en los lugares publicos donde hay mas concurso, y alli, es donde se presenta *con ademanes indecentes y acciones femeniles...*" Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, f. 7r-8v.

the witnesses called by Fernández dared claim Morel was a sodomite because nobody had seen him committing the crime, and it was not a charge that could be taken lightly.

While “sodomite” was a term essentially used to refer to a men who had committed the sin and crime of having sexual intercourse with other men, maricón instead implied a social practice that conformed to a type of masculinity, but without necessarily being a synonym of sodomite. This is why Morel’s attorney was able to argue that Francisco perhaps took excessive care of his personal image, or perhaps dressed too flamboyantly, or enjoyed sewing and embroidering, and was therefore called maricón by “vulgar uncouth people” even though he was by no means a sodomite. On the contrary, in his final argument Fernández’s attorney argued that “for the Enlightened man,” a male who exhibited characteristics such as the “use of those feminine suits, cosmetics, perfumes, mincing movements, weakness in the voice, and the union with those of the same trade,” was “Nefarious or a Sodomite, whereas for the common, plebeian people he was a Maricón; and even though the name may differ, the concept is the same.”⁹² The two arguments, both for and against Morel, summarize the ambiguity of the term maricón, which could raise suspicions of sodomy just as the Archbishop of Lima, Pedro Antonio de Barroeta, pointed out in 1757 edict, but not necessarily so. After all, it was ruled that Francisco Morel was innocent. In any case, the fate that most maricones and sodomites faced in late colonial Lima was moral disapproval rather than legal prosecution.

⁹² “El uso de esos trages femeniles; los afeites, perfumes, mobimientos obliquos, debilidad en el eco, y union con los de la misma profesion; de suerte que el [que] con estos caracteres, es, para el ilustrado Nefandista o Sodomita; para el vulgar o el plebeyo es Maricon y aun quando la vos sea dibersa, el concepto es uno mismo...” Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, f. 92r.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REALM OF FEEBLE MEN: MALE FASHION, MATERNAL CARE, AND EFFEMINATE PERUVIANS

This sweet upbringing, which by dint of pampering effeminizes the children...

Esta crianza dulce, que a fuerza de cuidados afemina a las criaturas...¹

For most people in late eighteenth century Lima, being a *maricón* was the same as being the utmost expression of effeminacy. We find these two notions intricately bound together, either in Archbishop Barroeta—who claimed in a 1757 edict that *maricas* were young men recognizable by their effeminate talk, mincing walk, and their slightly feminine attire—or in friar Tomás de Méndez y Lachica—who in 1792 explained the origin of *maricones* as a form of “excessive effeminacy”.² The search for the origins of *maricones* in Lima was thus also linked to a broader discussion of the extent of

¹ Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), “Educacion Fisica,” *Diario de Lima* (October 11, 1790): 2.

² Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Ángel, “Nos el D. D. Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Angel por la gracia de Dios...” in José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)*, (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1966), 2: 506; Tomás de Méndez y Lachica (pseud. Teagnes), “Carta remitida a la Sociedad haciendo algunas reflexiones sobre la que se contiene en el Mercurio num. 94 en que se pinta a los *Maricones*,” *Mercurio Peruano* 4, no. 18 (February 19, 1792): 118-122.

effeminacy among creole men (American-born Spaniards). The press debated this issue from the 1790s through to the early decades of the nineteenth century. Compared to their European counterparts, American men were often considered less virile. In the case of Peru, two explanations for the diminished virility of men were attributed: the influence the climate had over human condition, and the leniency shown by mothers and wet nurses when raising male children. This chapter analyzes the discussion of both arguments in Lima's Enlightenment press, and the scientific literature produced in Peru in response to the European theories of climatic determinism.

Like the *maricones*—who were often described as being of African ascent—the late colonial Peruvian society related distinct masculinities with different racial phenotypes. With the support of the scientific discourses of the Enlightenment, the colonial intellectual elite reinforced the relation between specific masculinities and each racial phenotype: creoles, African descendants, indigenous people and *castas* (“free mixed-race individuals”). At the same time, the Enlightenment discourses helped overcome the hegemonic aristocratic masculinity of the creole elite, thus promoting a new hegemonic masculinity centered on the duties of fatherhood. In the midst of the economic decay of the Limeño elite (the merchant, landed, and aristocratic elites), the Enlightenment discourses served to criticize the aristocratic elite as a group immersed in a sumptuous, dissolute, and idle life. This critique was associated with the depiction of creole men as feeble and effeminate, in particular those who dedicated a significant effort and resources to their personal appearance, i.e. the *petimetres*. The Enlightenment also created another subordinated masculinity, the diminished virility of the indigenous men who were taken to be in a state of infancy, and were therefore lacking in sexual interest.

Beyond the concern the public showed over the presence of maricones in the city, the discussion of the effeminate creoles had a broader political side in regard to the capacity of American-born Spaniards to fulfill their responsibilities, first, as subjects of the King, and second, in regard to how competent these (male) citizens would be in ruling themselves in the new republic. In both cases education would have the major role in raising exemplary citizens, as was stated in the newspaper *Diario de Lima* in the 1790s:

Oh fathers! Oh mothers! Oh teachers! I have spoken today of the most important issue /moral education, /and I intend to say more: In your hands lies the fate of the People. If you educate your Disciples with care, with religion, and with fear, the Fatherland will have good *Citizens, circumspect orthodox [Catholics], obedient Vassals, hard-working Fathers, submissive Sons, loyal Husbands; &c. &c.*

O Padres! O Madres! O Maestros! Yo hoy he hablado del objeto mas importante /la educación moral/, y aun pienso deciros mas: En vuestras manos está la suerte del Pueblo. Si educais con cuidado, con religion, y con temor a vuestros Discipulos, la Patria tendrá buenos *Ciudadanos, orthodoxos circunspectos, Vasallos obedientes, Padres laboriosos, Hijos sometidos, Esposos leales; &c. &c.*³

Although the above-cited passage ascribes the duty of educating “good citizens” to fathers, mothers, and teachers, the *Diario de Lima* and other Enlightenment newspapers heavily emphasized advising to women on how to raise their children. Claudia Rosas, and Margarita Zegarra have studied the discourses on pregnancy and maternal care, highlighting the educational role the press had in promoting the

³ Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), “Continuación de la Educación Moral,” *Diario de Lima* (October 16, 1790): 3. Emphasis in the original.

reformation of mores and morals (*reforma de costumbres*) in late eighteenth century Peru. Rosas argues that newspapers had a key role in the process of transforming medicine into normative discourses that sought to prepare women for their new, motherhood-focused role in society.⁴ Zegarra highlights instead the role the press had in promoting a new *sentimental family*, a nuclear family centered on the mother as the one who developed emotional bonds and a sense of domestic intimacy.⁵ This process laid down the social foundations for the rise of a bourgeois society in the nineteenth century, in which the preeminent position of women would lie firmly within the domestic sphere—restricted to family and home—particularly associated with maternal duties. Here I would argue that the efforts of the Enlightenment press in educating women in how to raise exemplar (i.e. non-effeminate) children can also be read as an effort to transform gender practices in both male and females, so as to attain a new form of fatherhood-centered *hegemonic masculinity*. In positing this I follow R.W. Connell's theory on the different types of relations among masculinities in a specific time and society, where a hegemonic masculinity dominates over other types of *subordinated* and *marginalized* masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as a 'currently accepted' strategy with which to defend the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.⁶ Based on Connell's theory, this chapter aim to demonstrate that when discussing the influence the environment

⁴ Claudia Rosas Lauro, "Madre sólo hay una. Ilustración, maternidad y medicina en el Perú del siglo XVIII," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 61, no. 1 (2004): 103-106.

⁵ Margarita Zegarra, "La construcción de la madre y de la familia sentimental. Una visión del tema a través del *Mercurio Peruano*," *Histórica* 25, 1 (2001): 182, 197-198.

⁶ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (London: Polity Press, 2005), 77.

had over men, and the role of maternal care in raising male children, both the press and the scientific literature had a significant role in the future development of a new bourgeois masculinity that would become hegemonic after the 1850s. In so doing, the press and scientific literature characterized the late colonial period male courtesan manners as effeminate, and hence as a subordinate type of masculinity.

1. ENLIGHTENMENT PRESS AND SOCIAL REFORM

Four newspapers were published in Lima in the 1790s. The *Diario de Lima* was the first to appear in 1790, thanks to the personal efforts of the Spanish Peninsular editor Jaime Bausate y Mesa. The *Mercurio Peruano*, a scientific and literary newspaper published by the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*, came out the following year. This society promoted the scientific study of the country as the means with which to foster a national sentiment. The *Semanario Crítico* was also published as personal effort of the Peninsular clergyman Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta. All three had in common their interest in reforming social mores and their didactic tone. This reforming aspiration gives us a glimpse of the concerns intellectuals, government officials, and clergymen had regarding Peruvian society. The *Gaceta de Lima*, the fourth newspaper dating to this period, which appeared from September 1793 to June 1794, was the official governmental voice regarding the French Revolution. Most of this items published here reproduced the news from the *Gaceta de Madrid*, and will therefore not be part of our analysis.⁷

⁷ María del Rosario Solís, “La obra de José Rossi y Rubí en el *Mercurio Peruano*: búsqueda y creación del lector criollo ilustrado,” *Tinkuy. Boletín de Investigación y Debate*, no. 6 (2007): 32, <http://www.littlm.umontreal.ca/recherche/publications.html> (accessed January 1, 2011); Rosas, “Madre sólo hay una,” 109-110.

The compilation José Durand made of the 1793-94 *Gaceta de Lima*, qualifies the statement that this newspaper only published European news extracted mostly from the *Gaceta de Madrid*. It did include local news from the Viceroyalty, although very few of these items deserve being analyzed in this chapter. José Durand (comp.), *Gaceta de Lima. De 1793 a Junio de 1794. Gil de Taboada y Lemos* (Lima: Corporación Financiera de Desarrollo, 1983), XI-XVI.

These three Enlightenment newspapers—the *Diario de Lima*, the *Mercurio Peruano*, and the *Semanario Crítico*—developed a reading community that integrated different socio-economic sectors in a public sphere of political debate that included taverns, cafes, and salons where the newspapers were publicly read and discussed.⁸ In its Prospectus, the *Semanario Crítico* narrated the extended and shared life a newspaper had in a city, beyond the small community of people who read books:

...a newspaper is read with ease at a soiree, in a storehouse, in a shop, in a promenade, in a literary circle, in a café, and in a porch, without detriment of the honest duties that commonly occupy to the fairer sex, without interrupting the flow of public businesses...

...un Papel Periódico se lee con facilidad en un Sarao, en un Almacen,/ en una Tienda, en un Paseo, en una Tertulia, en un Café, y en un Pórtico, sin detrimento de las honestas labores en que suele ocuparse el bello Sexo, sin interrumpir el despacho de los negocios públicos...⁹

⁸ Rosas, “Madre sólo hay una,” 110. For the early nineteenth century see: Ascensión Martínez Riaza, *La Prensa Doctrinal en la Independencia del Perú, 1811-1824* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1985), 61-66. Jürgen Habermas, *Historia y crítica de la opinión pública* (Barcelona: Ediciones Gili, 1999); Geoff Eley, “Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992). To place Habermas in late eighteenth-century Lima see: Solís, “La obra de José Rossi y Rubí.”

⁹ Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta, “Prospecto del nuevo papel periodico intitulado *Semanario Critico*,” *Semanario Crítico* (Lima: Imprenta Real de los Niños Expósitos, 1791): 1-2. Jaime Bausate y Mesa emphasized the social contribution his *Diario de Lima* made by arguing that its circulation was equally distributed amongst “the wise man’s study as well as the savage Indian’s ranch. Even the wretched slaves take the *Diario* to teach themselves to read” (“*EL DIARIO*, rueda higuamente en el gabinete del Savio que en el Rancho del Indio Salvaje. Hasta los miseros Esclavos toman *el Diario* para enseñarse a leer”), Jaime Bausate y Mesa, *Representacion que hace D. Jayme Bausate y Messa, autor del Diario Curioso, Erudito, Economico y Comercial de Lima en el Reyno del Peru, a la Magestad del Señor D. Carlos IV* (Lima: 1791), [4].

With certain variations, these three newspapers shared an audience between 1791 and 1794 that went beyond the frontiers of the city and its local aristocracy, and which also included merchants, government officials, clergymen, intellectuals and other types of readers. But not all of these newspapers addressed the same audience. If the *Mercurio Peruano* appealed to a more elitist audience, attracted both by the social recognition of that a subscription list had as well as by the scientific articles that focused on the country; the *Diario de Lima* and the *Semanario Crítico* opted instead for a broader audience and for more everyday topics such as raising children and discussing different forms of public entertainment. In any case, all of them reflected the “hegemonic discourses of an intelligentsia attached to the dominant class.”¹⁰

Just like in England, North America or Spain, these hegemonic discourses of the Enlightenment press contributed to the transformation of the patriarchal gender order by “recovering”—for the nation’s own good—the “natural” roles women and men had in social life.¹¹ The religious discourses that justified the difference between the sexes were replaced—and in other cases reinforced—by the universality of scientific and naturalist discourses. Satire and other literary genres served to criticize the plebe, which was considered ignorant and superstitious, as well as the aristocracy, which was mired in idleness and moral depravation. Mónica Bolufer focused on the construction of femininity and showed the role Spanish Enlightenment press had in the construction of a new femininity, one that was centered on motherhood and family care. This process

¹⁰ Solís, “La obra de José Rossi y Rubí,” 32.

¹¹ Connell, *Masculinities*, 189-191; Mónica Bolufer, *Mujeres e ilustración: la construcción de la feminidad en la ilustración española* (Valencia: Institución Alfons el Magnanim, 1998), 17-19.

was studied by Margarita Zegarra for Lima, where she found that the local press had a significant role in the development of a domestic femininity centered on its maternal role. In this sense I posit that the Enlightenment press in Lima also helped form a new idea of masculinity focused on the authority of the father over the wife, the children and the household.¹²

¹² Bolufer, *Mujeres e ilustración*; Margarita Zegarra, “Olavarrieta, la familia ilustrada y la lactancia materna,” in *Passeurs, mediadores culturales y agentes de la primera globalización en el Mundo Ibérico, siglos XVI-XIX*, ed. Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy and Carmen Salazar-Soler (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva Agüero, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005).

2. THE *PETIMETRE* IN THE *DIARIO DE LIMA*

Petimetre, a term that originally appeared in Spain in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, designated a young man with an extreme penchant for fashion and gallantry. More a trope than a social character, the *petimetre* frequently appeared in the *Diario Curioso, Erudito, Económico y Comercial*. This newspaper, which was also known as the *Diario de Lima*, appeared in Lima in 1792, just a few months before the *Mercurio Peruano*. Edited by the Peninsular Spaniard Jaime Bausate y Mesa, the *Diario de Lima* has often been considered the first daily newspaper published regularly in Latin America.¹³ However, the recent research undertaken by Paul Firbas uncovered the presence of an earlier series of the *Diario de Lima*, which was published in 1700-1711, thus suggesting that newspapers existed in Spanish America earlier than had originally been believed.¹⁴

Twenty-five year-old Francisco Antonio Cabello y Mesa arrived at Lima from Spain on April 17th, 1790. He soon adopted the moniker of Jaime Bausate y Mesa, and Viceroy Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos gave him his printing license on July 22nd, 1790. Bausate y Mesa had prepared a prospectus in less than a month, and the first issue of the *Diario* was published daily by October 1st, even on Sundays, until its

¹³ Jean Pierre Clement, “Aproximación al *Diario de Lima* (1790-1793) y a Jaime Bausate y Mesa, su autor,” *El Argonauta español*, no. 3 (2006), <http://argonauta.imageson.org/document82.html> (accessed January 22, 2011).

¹⁴ A reprint, edited by Paul Firbas and José Antonio Rodríguez, will soon be made available by the Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Paul Firbas, personal communication, (October 20, 2010).

circulation stopped on September 26th, 1793. This newspaper addressed a broader audience than the more elitist *Mercurio*. This approach made one *Mercurista* author call the *Diario* “tawdry” (“*chabacano*”). In its efforts to engage a broader audience, the *Diario* dedicated significant space to local and peninsular news, and another section to advertisements of different kinds (properties, slaves, wet nurses, the arrival of ships, theater and other sources of entertainment). The *Diario* also included articles that discussed the reformation of manners, and literary pieces that had a clear educational tone, adding an Enlightenment vision to the role of the press in the advancement of society.¹⁵

Bausate y Mesa was formed as a journalist during his time as editor of the *Diario Curioso, Erudito, Económico y Comercial* of Madrid in 1787-1788. This experience marked him deeply, and it even surfaced in the name and structure that both newspapers shared. However, his previous experience was not enough to catch the interest of Limeño society and make the newspaper a profitable business. Most of the articles in the *Diario* were uncredited items taken from the *Diario* of Madrid and other newspapers. The *Diario de Lima* would remain less successful than the *Mercurio* because it mainly focused on general social issues instead of on Peruvian society and its problems.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bausate y Mesa, *Representacion que hace D. Jayme Bausate y Messa*, [1-3]; Clement, “Aproximación al *Diario*,” Dager, *Historiografía y Nación*, 74; Rosas, “Madre sólo hay una,” 109; Mónica Martini, *Francisco Antonio Cabello y Mesa, un publicista ilustrado de dos mundos (1786-1829)* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones sobre Identidad Cultural, Universidad del Salvador, 1998), 105-163; Teresa Carranza, “La Poesía en un Periódico de la Ilustración: El “*Mercurio Peruano*” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Albany, 1995), 60-65.

¹⁶ Martini, *Francisco Antonio Cabello y Mesa*, 118-137.

In 1792, the creole Martín Saldaña replaced Bausate y Mesa as editor. The newspaper closed a year later because it was unable to retain its sales. This was a common problem for the newspapers at this time, but the appearance of the *Mercurio* and the *Semanario Crítico* reduced the novelty and interest in the *Diario* even more. Mónica Martini and Jean Pierre Clement, both experts on the *Diario de Lima*, furthermore agree that the decline of the *Diario* was due to Bausate's lack of literary merit and the consequent poor quality of the articles, especially in comparison with the articles in the *Mercurio*. Viceroy Gil de Taboada made this same argument to the King in order to withdraw his support in favor of the *Mercurio*, thus sealing the fate of the *Diario*.¹⁷

One of the more consistent tropes in the *Diario de Lima* was the petimetre. The term *currutaco* was also used to designate the same character known since the early eighteenth century as the petimetre.¹⁸ The term has its linguistic and cultural origins in the French term *petit-mâitre* or 'young master,' which designated "a primping male poseur dedicated to fashion and gallantry."¹⁹ According to Frederic Prot, the petimetre

¹⁷ Clement, "Aproximación al *Diario*;" Martini, *Francisco Antonio Cabello*, 22-27; Carranza, "La poesía en un periódico," 60-65.

¹⁸ The first references to a *petimetre* appeared in Spanish literature in the 1720s. They were replaced in the early eighteenth century by the term *currutaco*. According to Frederic Prot, the term inherited the critique levied against the pitiful character known as *pisaverde*. Frederic Prot, "Las afinidades equívocas del Petimetre con el discurso Ilustrado en la España del siglo XVIII," *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment* 25, no. 2 (2002).

¹⁹ Rebecca Haidt, "Fashion, Effeminacy, and Homoerotic Desire (?): The Question of the *Petimetres*," *Letras Peninsulares* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 65.

The *petimetra*, the female companion in Spanish satire, also had a didactical role in her depiction as a vain, wasteful, luxury- and fashion-hungry female who refused to conform to the norms of thrift, diligence and simplicity prescribed for her sex and social

as a literature character rapidly became a satirical didactic instrument used by the Spanish Enlightenment philosophers to attack the superficiality, the narcissism, and the lack of civilizing will that stood behind the elitist modernity that the figure represented. Although the petimetre presented himself as the incarnation of modernity, it remained largely the embodiment of a superfluous image of modernity—an elegant and presumptuous young man, trapped in the rigors of fashion and good manners.²⁰

The Spanish Enlightenment presented the petimetre—of either plebeian or noble origins—as a threat to social order, whose observance of every fashion dictate disrupted the social hierarchy. The case of the plebeian petimetre, who wore ostentatious clothes, signified the unlawful appropriation of the distinctive signs of the noble estate. In addition, if the petimetre was a nobleman, then the adoption of the manners and fashion of those who imitated the privileges of the aristocracy resulted in a contradiction that corrupted the system, as it blurred the social differences that formed the basis of

rank. Rebecca Haidt, “Fashion, Effeminacy, and Homoerotic Desire (?),” 77. Also: Bolufer, *Mujeres e Ilustración*, chapter 4; Rebecca Haidt, *Embodying Enlightenment. Knowing the Body in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Literature and Culture* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Rebecca Haidt, “A Well-Dressed Woman Who Will Not Work: *Petimetras*, Economics, and Eighteenth-Century Fashion Plates,” *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 28, no. 1 (Fall 2003).

Although the term was not used in Peru, the wasteful character of the *petimetra* lay at the center of this satire in the *Mercurio Peruano*: José Rossi y Rubí (pseud. P. Fixiogámio), “Carta escrita a la sociedad sobre los gastos excesivos de una tapada,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 12 (February 10, 1791); and its response: José Rossi y Rubí (pseud. M. Antispasia), “Carta escrita a la sociedad en contraposición de la de Fixiogámio inserta en el Mercurio número 12,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 18 (March 3, 1791).

²⁰ In the hands of petimetres, the ideal of modernity characteristic of the Enlightenment was reduced to demonstrating their good taste and sense of fashion. Prot, “Las afinidades equívocas del *Petimetre*,” 2-13.

social hierarchy.²¹ Let us illustrate this with a poem taken from the *Diario de Lima*:

If in the same fashion that the lordships,
Or the gentlemen,
The coachmen already comb their hair
With powder every day:
If in such madness fall
Lackey, page and scamp
And every one spending goes
In such insane manner
So powdery with flour,
How is the [prices of] bread going to fall.

Si asi como los Usias,
Y como los caballeros,
Se peynan ya los Cocheros
Con polvos todos los días:
Si entran en estas folias
Lacayo, Page y Truan
Y todos gastando van
En esta loca Oficina
Tantos pufiados de arina,
Como hade bajar el pan.²²

Nonetheless, beyond sumptuary excess lay—as Rebecca Haidt argued—effeminacy as the main defining characteristic of the petimetre. Eighteenth-century Spanish descriptions of petimetres “consistently incorporate certain stock features of ‘effeminacy’: vanity; application of cosmetics or toiletries; and excessive display of luxurious finery.”²³

²¹ Prot, “Las afinidades equívocas del *Petimetre*,” 2-13.

²² Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), “Definición del Luxo,” *Diario de Lima* (December 9, 1790): 3.

²³ Haidt, “Fashion, Effeminacy, and Homoerotic Desire (?),” 65; Bolufer, *Mujeres e*

The depiction of petimetres as effeminate was also followed by the Peruvian press, just as had already happened in Spain, and would later take place in Mexico.²⁴ The *Mercurio Peruano* created a literary personage: “a petimetre called Don Narcissus, who does not talk of anything other than fashion, spirits of jasmine, and lavender waters.”²⁵ The *Diario de Lima* also published a remarkable satire of the vain life petimetres led. Esteban Terralla y Landa adapted an article by José Clavijo y Fajardo previously published in the Spanish newspaper *El Pensador*.²⁶ The article, titled *Vida de Muchos, o una semana bien empleada por un currutaco de Lima* (“The Life of Many, or a Week Well-Spent by one of Lima’s *Currutacos*”), was published in the *Diario de Lima* in 1790.²⁷ Adapted for a Peruvian audience, Terralla y Landa’s article satirizes the

ilustración, 187-188, 198-200; Yvonne Fuentes, “Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus sainetes: víctimas de la bipolaridad historiográfica dieciochista,” *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, no. 23 (2005); Ramón de la Cruz, *El petimetre*, in *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2002), http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/_1281385191569 (accessed February 5, 2008). For Peru, see also: Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), “Sigue el pedimento presentado por los maridos al Tribunal de la Moda,” *Diario de Lima* (December 16, 1790): 1-3; Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), “Concluye el pedimento presentado por los maridos al Tribunal de la Moda,” *Diario de Lima* (December 20, 1790): 1-3.

²⁴ In the early nineteenth century, Anastasio María de Ochoa y Acuña, a Mexican priest and poet (1783-1833), dedicated several satirical poems to petimetres and currutacos, where he related them with effeminacy; see for instance the first poem in his *Poesías Satíricas y Morales*, entitled “Defensa de los currutacos contra el payo de pechera” (“A Defense of currutacos against the peasant in a pleated frill shirt”), which was signed by *Monsieur Marica* (same than maricón). [Anastasio María de Ochoa y Acuña], *Poesías Satíricas y Morales de D.A.O.*, Mexico: [1819], 1-8.

²⁵ “... un petimetre llamado Don Narciso, que no conversa sino de modas, de espíritu de jazmines, y agua de lavanda.” Panfilo Narvaez, “Conversacion sobre el señorismo de las mugeres, criticando la carta inserta en el *Mercurio* núm. 111 recibida por el Correo de Valles,” *Mercurio Peruano* 4, no. 136 (April 22, 1792): 279.

²⁶ Martini, *Francisco Antonio Cabello y Mesa*, 141-143.

²⁷ *Currutaco* was another name used for petimetre.

frivolous daily life of a *currutaco*, a well-to-do man who did very little work and whose only concern was his personal appearance and an intense social life:

Saturday, 2nd: I woke up at half past eight. I slept well. North wind still blows. I washed my hands, not the face because the water was too cold. Beard day. Neither the hairdresser nor the barber had any news. To the office at ten. I wrote two letters and cut my fingernails. This is no life for men to get old. We left at half past twelve; ordinary visits. I gave two reales to Domingullo because he carries out his duties well. Lunch at two. The wine has turned sour. Nap until three. Perico came in to wake me up. He said the wind has changed and was blowing from the Northeast. From three to five, promenade. I ran into the Catalan and he said there was a lot to talk about that matter. Doña Eufrosia's carriage was overturned. I went home to change my shoes.

Sábado 2. Me levanté a las ocho y media, he dormido bien, sigue el viento Norte, me lavé las manos, no la cara porque el agua estaba muy fría, día de barba, ni el peluquero ni el barbero han traído noticias. A las diez a la oficina. Escribí dos cartas y me corté las uñas. No es vida esta para llegar a viejos. Salimos a las doce y media, visitas ordinarias, a Domingullo le di dos reales porque hace bien su oficio, a las dos a comer, el vino se ha torcido, siesta hasta las tres, entró Perico a despertarme. Dijo que el viento se ha vuelto Nordeste, de tres a cinco paseo, me encontré al catalán y me dijo que había mucho que hablar de aquel asunto. Se volcó la calesa de doña Eufrosia. Volví a casa a mudarme los zapatos.²⁸

Although the article takes the form of a personal diary, the title reveals its real critique: the abundance of *petimetres* or *currutacos*, who spent their days like this. Almost a century later, this same article regained notoriety thanks to the *costumbrista* writer Ricardo Palma, who modernized the language and social references, for a lecture

²⁸ Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), *Diario de Lima* (October 12, 1790).

given in the *Club Literario* in 1874.²⁹ In the nineteenth century the didactic power of the figure of this single, child-less petimetre was still valid for the promotion of a new masculinity based on the bourgeois values of male industriousness and the family man's dominion over politics, domestic economy, and public life.³⁰

Besides the article by Terralla y Landa, other articles in the *Diario de Lima* also related the male interest in fashion with effeminacy. The following verse opposes the virility of a military man with the effeminacy of another one, who forgot his manners because he was overly concerned with his looks:

A military knight
that martially flaunts
waiving his hat to all,
with ease, and courtesy,
true it is.

But to say it doesn't bring wrath
to see the effeminate other
that for not spoiling the hairdo,
to all and nobody sees,
a lie it is.

Que obstente marcialidad
un militar cavallero
que a todos quit[a] el sombrero
con ayre, y urbanidad,
es verdad.

Mas decir que no da ira,
ver al otro afeminado,
que por no ajar el peynado,
a todos, y a nadie mira,
*es mentira.*³¹

²⁹ Ricardo Palma, "El poeta de las adivinanzas," *Tradiciones Peruanas*, Critical edition by Julio Ortega (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993).

³⁰ For examples of the critiques raised in the 1820s against the petimetres, see: "Fábula. Los dos papagayos y el Petimetre," *El Telégrafo de Lima*, no. 397 (August 9, 1828), 4; "El Petimetre y la Beata," *El Telégrafo de Lima*, no. 182 (November 10, 1827), 2. For the 1830s and 1840s, see: "Remitidos," *La Madre del Montonero*, no. 4 (December 19, 1834), [3-4]; "Costumbres. Una noche en el puente," *El Instructor Peruano*, no. 14 (March 3, 1847), 3-4.

³¹ Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), "Letrillas satíricas." *Diario de Lima* (November 20, 1790): 3. Emphasis in the original.

Even more eloquent is the poem titled “A Limeño lady offended by the dream of F.R. Hiponobates, demonstrates that the use of makeup in men is even more reprehensible than in women...” (“*Una limeña ofendida del sueño de F.R. Hiponobates, prueba que es mas reprensible el afeite en los hombres que en las mujeres...*”). The poem was a reply to “Allegoric Dream” (“*Sueño Alegórico*”), an article published in the *Mercurio Peruano* by José Rossi y Rubí under the pseudonym of J.R. Hiponóbates.³² The “Allegoric dream” criticized the use women made of “soliman” (suleiman), a makeup made out of mercury to whiten the face.³³ In response, the poem by the “offended Limeño lady” subjected petimetres to a biting critique, accusing them of effeminacy and that they were setting an example for the maricones due to their own use of soliman and other fashion accessories:

That I wear this my own makeup,
Would not be so improper in me,
Because it is characteristic of my sex:
Repair this excess,
In he who in order to be a beau
And show his bravery
Is about to be made captive by Suleiman
Without being in Turkey.

³² José Rossi y Rubí (pseud. F.R. Hiponóbates), “Sueño Alegórico,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 29 (Abril 10, 1791): 269-272. María del Rosario Solís identified the pseudonym of Hiponóbates as one of the many used by José Rossi Rubí. Solís, “La obra de José Rossi y Rubí,” 76.

³³ It was well-known that using these cosmetics caused health problems such as hair and teeth loss, skin problems and bad breath. Felix Letellier, “Profesiones y oficios en la Lima de 1850,” translated and edited by Pablo E. Pérez Mallaína, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 38 (1980), 215; Alicia Del Aguila, *Los velos y las pieles: cuerpo, género y reordenamiento social en el Perú republicano. Lima, 1822-1872* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003), 64-66.

[...] To that effeminate Monkey,
Who arguing that it shines,
Goes ever on tiptoe,
With his handkerchief perfumed:
To that who in any condition,
Shows his Feminine self,
And who for a better opinion,
The masses rejects,
Because he wants to have on himself
More ribbons than a Merchant.

To that feigned Narcissus,
For *Maricones* a role model,
Who in his hairnet,
Lock up the false hair:
To that one who has to,
Follow foreign fashions;
And because they are the first
And imitate other Nations,
Wearing a pair of Breeches,
Which look like Holsters.

Que use de este afeito propio,
No fuera en mí tan impropio,
Por ser propio de mi sexo:
Repáresele este exceso,
A quien para ser Galán
Y mostrar su bizzarria,
Esta sin verse en Turquía,
Cautivo por Soliman.

[...] A aquel Mono afeminado,
Que discurriendo que brilla,
Anda siempre de puntilla,
Con el pañuelo Saumado:
A aquel que en cualquier Estado,
Muestra Femenino ser,
Y por mejor parecer,
El vulgo lo desestima,
Por querer tener encima,
Más Cintas que un Mercader.

A aquel fingido Narciso,
De Maricones modelo,
Que en redecilla de Velo,
Encierra el pelo postizo:
A aquel a quien le es preciso,
Seguir modas Extranjeras;
Y porque son las primeras
E imitar a otras Naciones,
Vestirse de unos Calzones,
Que parecen Pistoleras.³⁴

The idea of the petimetre as an effeminate being and role model for maricones is not related to any particular sexual behavior, as Rebecca Haidt showed for eighteenth century Spain. Just like in Spanish literature, the petimetre had a didactic role in the Peruvian Enlightenment press, wherein he represented the dangers of inverted social and gendered norms: wearing more makeup than a woman, constantly caring for his hairdo and attire, dressed in excessive adornments, obsessed about foreign fashion, and other flaws usually attributed to women. Just like in the Spanish trope tradition of *the world turned upside down* (*el mundo al revés*), the Peruvian petimetre represented a vain, idle, and cowardly man who transgressed the expected masculine behavior. Following Haidt's argument, I argue that the labeling of the petimetre as a maricón did not indicate either sexual preference or sexual behavior, denoting instead his transformation according to the metaphor for the inversion of gender norms.³⁵ By invoking the alterity of the petimetre, the *Diario de Lima* was trying to reform the elite's

³⁴ La Limeña Ofendida (pseud.), "Una limeña ofendida del sueño de F.R. Hiponobates, prueba que es mas reprehensible el afeite en los hombres que en las mujeres..." *Diario de Lima* 5, (July 15, 1791).

³⁵ Haidt, "Fashion, Effeminacy, and Homoerotic Desire (?)," 72-75.

masculinity and make it conform to the model of the industrious family man, whose life was focused on caring for his instead of primping himself.

3. CLIMATIC DETERMINISM AND EFFEMINACY IN THE *MERCURIO PERUANO*

If the *Diario de Lima* satirized the petimetre, the *Mercurio Peruano* focused instead on *effeminacy*, and on the scientific debates that argued climate effeminized Peruvian men. The *Mercurio Peruano* was published by the *Sociedad Académica de Amantes del País* (Academic Society of Lovers of the Country), a society established in 1790 and inspired by the Spanish economic societies of friends of the country. The *Mercurio Peruano* sought to further the study of Peru, an endeavor that gave rise to a number of articles devoted to descriptions of different regions and their natural resources, and reflections on social institutions, history and geography. It also analyzed the potential and current economic activities, and the progress of medical and natural sciences in Peru. The *Mercurio* was published twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays, for four years (January 2, 1791 - August 31, 1794). It closed due to economic hardships, and, arguably, also due to the mistrust that the Enlightenment inspiration of the newspaper stirred among the Spanish colonial authorities, once the news of the execution of the French Royal family reached Lima.

Unlike the *Diario de Lima*, the *Mercurio Peruano* was not meant for the masses. Quite the contrary, the Creole and Spanish colonial elites comprised the majority of the readership of the *Mercurio Peruano*, particularly colonial authorities and officials, scholars, the clergy, landowners and skilled businessmen, and occasionally the wives of

the elite. The newspaper did reach a more varied audience as it was read out loud in public spaces such as cafes and taverns.³⁶

An example of the enthusiasm criollos had for exalting all things national, the *Mercurio Peruano* has been described as one of the highest cultural products of the American Enlightenment. The writers, the *mercuristas*, included the more renowned intellectuals of the Viceroyalty of Peru—scholars, public officials, and clergy members.³⁷ Among them was José Rossi y Rubí, the scion of a noble and well-connected Milanese family. He established himself in Lima after arriving with the Malaspina scientific expedition, and became consultant for the Mining Tribunal of Lima. Rossi y Rubí had an active role in promoting the creation of the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*. It was he who proposed the publication of a newspaper as the Society's speaker. In so doing, Rossi y Rubí became the “father” of the *Mercurio* and the author of many of its articles.³⁸ José Baquijano y Carrillo, the Society's President, was a prestigious Law

³⁶ Jean Pierre Clement dedicated several studies to the *Mercurio Peruano*, that ranged from its editorial team and audience, to its content and journalistic style. According to Clement, the price of the subscription—14 reales for 8 issues a month—represented at the time 3.5% of the monthly salary an *oidor* (judge) had, 8.2% of an accountant's, 9.3% of a colonel's in the viceregal cavalry, and overall 28% of the salary of a low civil servant. On the other hand the cost of the subscription to the daily *Diario de Lima* was first 15 reales and then 12, and the *Semanario Crítico* was only 6 reales for 4 issues a month. Jean Pierre Clement, “Indices del Mercurio Peruano,” *Fénix. Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional*, no. 26-27 (1979): 11; Olavarrieta, “Prospecto del nuevo papel periodico,” *Semanario Crítico* (1791): 9; Carranza, “La poesía en un periódico de la Ilustración,” 67-68; Rosas, “Madre sólo hay una,” 108-109; Nuñez, “Nueva lectura,” 10.

³⁷ For a complete list of authors, see Clement, “Indices del Mercurio Peruano”, 133-138.

³⁸ **José Rossi y Rubí** (pen names: Hesperióphylo, Eustaquio Filómates, P. Fixiogamio, M. Antispasia, F. R. Hiponóbates, etc.) was born in Milan in 1765 in a distinguished family. He arrived to Peru in 1786 as the secretary of Alessandro Malaspina. Rossi y Rubí held numerous public positions as administrative official, accountant, and consultant to the Tribunal of Mining of Lima. A notable writer and philologist, Rossi y Rubí was the founder and Vice President of the Academic Society,

professor. His interest in modernizing education in San Marcos University gained him the respect of many young scholars.³⁹ Hipólito Unanue, the young physician and Professor of Anatomy, enjoyed the favor of several aristocratic families. He also enjoyed the support and friendship of the viceroys Francisco Gil de Taboada, Ambrosio O'Higgins, and José Abascal.⁴⁰ José María Egaña was mayor of Lima and one of the

which led to the publication of the *Mercurio*. Among the numerous contributions to the *Mercurio* he has been attributed with are the "Prospecto," the remarkable piece that opened the first issue. After 1795, he settled in Guatemala as Major (*Alcalde mayor*) de Suchitepequez. He later contributed to the *Gazeta de Guatemala* as writer, but more importantly, he embodied the Enlightenment's principles of social and economic modernization. Poupenny-Hart, "Prensa e ilustración: José Rossi y Rubí;" Solís, "La obra de José Rossi y Rubí," 7, 76; Jean Pierre Clement, *El Mercurio Peruano, 1790-1795* (Frankfurt and Madrid: Vervuert, Iberoamericana), 31; Clement, "Índices del Mercurio," 125.

³⁹ **José Baquíjano y Carrillo** (pen name: Cefalio) (1751-1817), President of the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*. Baquíjano y Carrillo graduated as Doctor of Ecclesiastical and Civil Law when he was thirteen. A renowned professor of Law at the Real Universidad de San Marcos, he held many public positions in the Viceroyalty. Baquíjano y Carrillo is famed having read a speech on behalf of the university welcoming the new Viceroy Agustín de Jáuregui, in which he criticized the violence the Spanish authorities exerted over their American subjects. Although moderate, this speech was considered seditious at the time. This, in addition to his interest in reforming a stagnated education, prevented him from becoming Rector of the Real Universidad de San Marcos, but it did earn him the respect and appreciation of a young generation of creoles. Clement, *El Mercurio Peruano*, 32; Clement, "Índices del Mercurio Peruano," 98; Manuel de Mendiburu, "BAQUÍJANO Y CARRILLO," in *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1932), 2: 351-372.

⁴⁰ **Hipólito Unanue** (pen name: Aristio) was born in Arica in 1755. His closeness to the colonial court earned him the appointment of General Protomedic of Lima (*Protomédico General de Lima*) without a proper contest. Unanue founded the Anatomic Amphitheater, modernized the teaching of medicine in Peru and had medicine recognized as a science; but he also promoted his own professional image. In 1810, he was named director of the San Fernando medicine school by Viceroy Abascal. Unanue later joined the patriot cause, embraced the short-lived monarchical project of San Martín, and was a congressman in the new Republic. A physician, naturalist, meteorologist, and politician of the Enlightenment, Unanue had an abundant correspondence with scientific societies in Europe and America. His major publication, *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en*

main authors of the *Mercurio*, along with Jacinto Calero y Moreira—a lawyer and the newspaper’s first editor—and all of the above mentioned individuals.⁴¹ Demetrio Guasque, the Viceroyalty archivist wrote the “*Oración fúnebre histórico-panegírica*,” an article that explained the history of the newspaper and its forthcoming closure.⁴²

Three clergymen were also central to the development of the *Mercurio*: the botanist friar Francisco González Laguna,⁴³ the priest Tomás de Méndez y Lachica, who

especial el hombre, rejected European climatic determinism theories and argued that climate was not the decisive factor in determining the character of the American populations. Dager, “Hipólito Unanue en el Mercurio Peruano;” Uriel García Cáceres, *La magia de Unanue* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2010), 99-108; Adam Warren, “Piety and Danger: Popular Ritual, Epidemics, and Medical Reforms in Lima, Peru, 1750-1860,” PhD diss. (San Diego: University of California, 2004), 195-205; Juan Pablo Murillo, “Hipólito Unanue y el proceso de construcción del discurso epidemiológico peruano,” *Anales de la Facultad de Medicina. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* 66, 4 (2005).

⁴¹ **José María Egaña** (pen name: Hermógenes), the police lieutenant in the city of Lima since 1776. The literary circle hosted in his house gave birth to the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*. Clement, *El Mercurio Peruano*, 31; Solís, “La obra de José Rossi y Rubí,” 37; Rodríguez García, *Criollismo y Patria*, 202.

Jacinto Calero y Moreira (pen name: Crissipo), a lawyer and the editor of the *Mercurio* in 1791-1793.

⁴² **Demetrio Guasque** (pen name: Homótimo). Clement, “Indices del Mercurio Peruano,” 110; Demetrio Guasque, “Oración Fúnebre Histórico-Panegírica que en las exequias del *Mercurio Peruano*, pronunció su Padre de Agua en el mismo cuarto en que aquel fue concebido,” *Mercurio Peruano* 11, no. 379 (August 21, 1794); Guasque, “Concluye la Oración Fúnebre,” *Mercurio Peruano* 11, no. 380 (August 24, 1794).

On the evolution of the *Sociedad de Amantes del País* and the *Mercurio Peruano*, see: Ambrosio Cerdán y Pontero, “Progresos y estado actual de la *Sociedad de Amantes del País* por el señor Oidor, Presidente de ella, Don Ambrosio Cerdán y Pontero” *Mercurio Peruano* 10, no. 329 (February 27, 1794); and issues no. 330-332.

⁴³ **Friar Francisco González Laguna** (pen name: Thimeo), besides his duties as vice-provincial and provincial of the Order of Saint Camillus, Servants of the Sick, devoted his life to the collection and study of natural species, particularly botanical ones. González Laguna collaborated with Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón’s expedition (1778-1788), as well as with Malaspina’s expedition (1790: Juan Pineda, Tadeo Haenke, and

would be a congressman after Independence,⁴⁴ and friar Diego Cisneros, who placed his private library, full of prohibited books, at the service of the *Sociedad Académica de Amantes del País*, and paid the publication of the last volume of the *Mercurio* (vol. 12).⁴⁵

The *Sociedad de Amantes del País* and the *Mercurio* were very close to the viceregal authorities, and did not criticize either the monarchic institution or the colonial order. On the contrary, the newspaper had the support of Viceroy Gil de Taboada, who gave the final approval for the affiliation of all members to the *Sociedad*, and to all writing contributors for the *Mercurio*. Despite these close ties with the

Luis Née). In 1791, González Laguna co-founded the Botanic Garden in Lima and contributed to the establishment of the chair of Botany in the Real Universidad de San Marcos. Manuel de Mendiburu, “LAGUNA,” in *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1933), 6: 398-399; Clement, *El Mercurio Peruano*, 35; Clement, “Indices del Mercurio Peruano,” 110.

⁴⁴ **Tomás de Méndez y Lachica** (pen name: Teagnes), a priest in the *Congregación de San Felipe Neri* in Lima. He distinguished himself as writer, publishing in the *Mercurio* and in other newspapers that later appeared in Lima. In 1822, Méndez y Lachica was a member of first Peruvian Congress. Clement, “Indices del Mercurio Peruano,” 117; Manuel de Mendiburu, “MENDEZ Y LACHICA,” *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*, (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1933), 7: 306.

⁴⁵ **Friar Diego Cisneros** (pen name: Archidamo) was, according to Jean Pierre Clement, one of the more active participants in the *Mercurio*. The confessor of Maria Luisa of Parma, Cisneros enjoyed the protection of the Princess. When he decided to move to Peru, Maria Luisa, who already was the Queen Consort of Spain, granted him the Royal privilege to sell catechisms and devotional books. The royal protection and his religious privileges, allowed him to secretly sell forbidden books written by the Enlightenment philosophers and the authors of the *Encyclopedia*. Thanks to his wealth, he edited and printed at his own expense the last volume of the *Mercurio Peruano* (vol. 12). Juan José Saldaña, “Ilustración, Ciencia y Técnica en América,” in *La Ilustración en América Colonial. Bibliografía Crítica*, ed. Diana Soto Arango, Miguel Angel Puig Samper and Luis Carlos Arboleda (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Ediciones Doce Calles, Colciencias, 1995), 26-27; Clement, “Indices del Mercurio Peruano,” 103-104; Clement, “Aproximación al *Diario de Lima*,” Manuel de Mendiburu, “CISNEROS,” in *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1932), 4: 159-166.

colonial power, the *Mercurio* raised an interest in generating knowledge of the country that served as the canvas where the Peruvian nation was imagined for the future Republic.⁴⁶

Conceived under the principles of the Enlightenment and inspired by the *Encyclopedists*, the authors of the *Mercurio* served a pragmatic purpose in seeking the well-being of the country through knowledge and reasoning. The *Sociedad de Amantes del País* trusted that the use of Reason would lead to a better knowledge of the country, and therefore bring progress and happiness to the Peruvian nation.⁴⁷ In this spirit, the authors of the *Mercurio* paid great attention to the reform of mores (*reforma de las costumbres*), dedicating moral reflections and didactic literary articles encouraging the use of reason in the transformation of the social conduct of creole males. They reflected in particular on the social conduct of men: as citizens, as masters to slaves and servants, as husbands and fathers, i.e. as male bodies.

One of the more significant examples of the *Mercurio Peruano*'s concern with a reformation of male manners is the "Letter addressed to the Society" by the priest Tomás de Méndez y Lachica, in response to the satirical "Letter on the *Maricones*." In his reply, Méndez y Lachica not only identified the acrimonious satire about the city of

⁴⁶ Dager, *Historiografía y nación*, chapter 2. Also, Nuñez, "Nueva lectura;" Manuel de Mendiburu, "UNANUE," *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*, (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1934), 11: 91.

For an analysis of the circulation of Enlightenment ideas and the main scientific debates held in the *Mercurio Peruano*, see: Margarita Eva Rodríguez García, *Criollismo y Patria en la Lima Ilustrada (1732-1795)* (Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila, 2006), ch. 4.

⁴⁷ Clement, *El Mercurio Peruano*; Clement, "Índices del Mercurio Peruano;" Carranza, "La Poesía en un Periódico," 66-68; Dager, "Hipólito Unanue en el Mercurio Peruano," 99.

Androginopolis with Lima, but also pointed out that these “vile debasers of their noble sex” (“*viles degradadores de su noble sexo*”) were a “phenomenon” common to Lima as to any other part of the world:⁴⁸

In different parts of the world, there are males whose voice, whose movements, whose mores fully contradict [their male character], and are most analogous to those of the delicate sex: and amongst some peoples this is an almost universal nature. Is it perhaps an anomaly of Nature? Perhaps a flaw of climate? Perhaps a vice generated by education?

En diferentes partes del mundo se hallan varones, cuya voz, cuyos movimientos, cuyas costumbres desdican enteramente, y son muy análogas a las del sexo delicado: y en algunos Pueblos es este un carácter casi universal. ¿Quizá será una anomalía de la Naturaleza? ¿Quizá un defecto del clima? ¿Quizá un vicio engendrado por la educación?⁴⁹

In relation to the question regarding the “abundance” of maricones in Lima, Méndez y Lachica diminished the “uniqueness” of Peruvian effeminates arguing that effeminate men were not exclusive to the Americas or Peru. Then, he reflected on the origins of the “phenomenon,” considering climate as a possible explanation for male effeminacy. At the end of the article, Méndez y Lachica finally blamed Peruvian mothers for their excessive delicacy, leniency, and luxury they showed when raising their children, as the real cause for the presence of effeminate men. In so doing, cleric Méndez y Lachica revealed a profound political concern declaring that it was:

⁴⁸ Tomás de Méndez y Lachica, “Carta remitida a la Sociedad,” *Mercurio Peruano* 4, no. 18 (February 19, 1792): 118-119.

⁴⁹ Méndez y Lachica, “Carta remitida a la Sociedad,” *Mercurio Peruano*, 119.

[It is] The abundance of luxury, and no other reason, what is causing a state of decadence in men's political strength, debilitating them as well in their physical and moral strength.

[Es] La abundancia del lujo no de otro modo que causa en un estado la decadencia de sus fuerzas políticas, debilita igualmente las [fuerzas] físicas y morales de los hombres.⁵⁰

The critiques Méndez y Lachica raised against the abundance of luxury addressed the upper sectors of Lima's society. It was also part of a European tradition that considered the expenditure in luxury items clashed with the enrichment of nations. Inspired by the Enlightenment belief in the transformative power of education, Méndez y Lachica was certainly proposing a reform of mores in order to raise virile men, capable of fulfilling their political duties as loyal subjects of the Spanish King.⁵¹ Besides, by blaming the effeminacy of Peruvian men on luxury and the excess of maternal care, Méndez y Lachica argued against the European theories of climatic determinism that were also being debated in Peru by Spanish natural philosophers like Cosme Bueno.⁵²

⁵⁰ Méndez y Lachica, "Carta remitida a la Sociedad," *Mercurio Peruano*, 121.

⁵¹ According to Bianca Premo, in the late eighteenth century creole literati like friar Méndez y Lachica produced Enlightenment theories on child rearing practices that were much more than a struggle over how children should be raised, and questioned instead the colonial order itself by facing the possibility that creoles had become more like the (non-white) women who nursed them than the paternal (Spanish) king who ruled them. Bianca Premo, "'Misunderstood Love': Children and Wet Nurses, creoles and Kings in Lima's Enlightenment," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2, 234. Both articles about *maricones* published on the *Mercurio Peruano* are also analyzed by Premo in "'Misunderstood Love'," 239.

⁵² **Cosme Bueno** (1711-1798). According to Adam Warren, Cosme Bueno was one of the first natural philosophers in the New World who linked the degenerationist climatic theories to urban living practices, as a way to explain the prevalence of disease in Lima. He however also refuted other natural philosophers who argued that diseases and

Inspired by Hippocrates, Aristotle, as well as other Greek classic authors, philosophers like Montesquieu, Voltaire or Bacon had theorized the influence geography and climate had in shaping society and human character. They posited that differences in geography and climate lay behind the differences in culture and character that existed between the inhabitants of America and Europe.⁵³ This argument was profusely discussed by naturalist like George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon,⁵⁴ who described and compared the continents' climate in relation to their influence over their inhabitants. In so doing, these European authors exalted the benevolence and multiple benefits of their own climate in comparison to what they considered less hospitable climates and their

epidemics were due to the influence of constellations. Born in Aragón, Bueno arrived in Lima in 1730 and excelled in his studies of pharmacy and medicine at the Real Universidad de San Marcos. After receiving his doctorate in medicine at San Marcos, he was soon appointed doctor of the Tribunal of the Holy Office, and was a practicing physician in several hospitals in the city. In 1758 was named head cosmographer of the kingdom. Cosme Bueno also had an active role teaching in Lima's medical school, where his students included the *Mercurista* Hipólito Unanue. He was known as a physician, astronomer, mathematician, geographer and historian in America and Europe. Manuel de Mendiburu, "BUENO," in *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*, 2nd ed., (Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1932), 3: 152-153; Warren, "Piety and Danger," 184-190.

⁵³ By climate, the Comte de Buffon and other contemporary naturalists understood a conjunction of factors that included air, temperature, sky and soil conditions, altitude, and humidity.

⁵⁴ **George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon** (1707-1788). His position as Intendant for the Jardin du Roi, or "King's Garden," for fifty years (1739-1788), gave him supreme authority over the French natural sciences. Buffon was one of the most widely read authors in Europe, thanks in part to the large number of amateurs and professional scholars who attended his classes in the Jardin. His *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, which was published throughout a period of forty years (1749-1788), comprised forty-four profusely illustrated volumes and "offered an encyclopedic survey of the thousands of animals and plants that Buffon had seen at the Jardin and Cabinet du Roi in Paris, the Menagerie du Roi in Versailles, and the numerous traveling sideshows that passed through eighteenth-century France." Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity. A visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 61.

adverse effects over the development of *other* civilizations. An “excess of humidity” was the principal characteristic of the American continent, supposedly produced by the longer permanence of the continent under the original waters of creation. This “recentness” and “immaturity” of the *New World* had embedded the species that flourished in it in a state of “natural weakness,” in an “infancy state,” or perhaps they simply were “degenerate” versions of the European species. The theories of climatic determinism furthermore transcended the explanations of the influence climate had on the development of plants and animals, and claimed it had an inevitable influence over the development of the physical, moral, and psychological characteristics of the peoples of the American continent.⁵⁵

Widely read and discussed in Europe, the Americas, and Peru, these theories highlighted a negative image of the American continent (and its inhabitants) as inferior to Europe in every possible way. Besides the Comte de Buffon, Cornelius de Pauw, William Robertson, the Abbé Guillaume Raynal, and Benito Jerónimo Feijoo⁵⁶ were

⁵⁵ Warren, “Piety and Danger,” 184-194; Nicole Peterson and Kenneth Broad, “Climate and Weather Discourse in Anthropology: From Determinism to Uncertain Futures,” in *Anthropology and Climate Change. From Encounters to Actions*, edited by Susan A. Crate and Mark Nuttall (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2009), 70-72; Antonello Gerbi, *La Disputa del Nuevo Mundo. Historia de una Polémica, 1750-1900* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960), 3, 69; Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 58-61; Rodríguez García, *Criollismo y Patria*, 250-251.

⁵⁶ **Benito Jerónimo Feijoo** (1676-1764). A Spanish Benedictine monk, essayist and philosopher, Feijoo taught philosophy and theology from 1699 to 1739 at the University of Oviedo. Widely read in the Spanish world, his articles and essays, which covered a vast range of issues, were published in two multivolume collections, the *Teatro crítico universal* (1726-1740, 9 vols.) and the *Cartas eruditas* (1742-1760). Feijoo dismissed the widely-held belief that climate influenced the precocious intelligence of American-born Spaniards, but also influenced the earlier decay of their intellectual capacities. This belief was one of the most repeated depictions of the creoles. Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, [1728] 1779), vol. 2, disc. 15, item 21; Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal* (Madrid: Blar Morán, [1730] 1775), vol. 4, disc.

often cited in the *Mercurio Peruano*. Their descriptions of the American climate and its influence on society and nature were discussed and refuted by the *mercurists*, along with their arguments on the virility of American men.⁵⁷ These theories posited that due to the intense humidity and the *youth* of the American continent, all land species, including the native population and the creoles, were “lesser” species when compared to their European counterparts.

The Comte de Buffon, the author most cited by the *mercuristas*, believed that the American fauna was less in scope and smaller in size than that of Europe (except for snakes, lizards and insects) due to the geological youth, moisture and humid climate of the New Continent.⁵⁸ William Robertson⁵⁹ followed Buffon’s opinion on American

6, both in *Biblioteca Feijoniana, del Proyecto Filosofía en español*, <http://www.filosofia.org/bjf/bjft200.htm> (accessed May 11, 2011).

⁵⁷ For some of the *Mercurio Peruano*’s articles where these authors were cited, see: José Baquijano y Carrillo (pseud. Cephalio), “Continuación de la Disertación Histórica y Política sobre el Comercio del Perú, *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 28 (April 7, 1791); Baquijano y Carrillo (pseud. Cephalio), “Continuación de la Disertación Histórica y Política sobre el Comercio del Perú, *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 31 (April 17, 1791); Pedro de Ureta y Peralta, “Concluye el papel antecedente,” *Mercurio Peruano* 6, no. 191 (November 1st, 1792); José Rossi y Rubí, “Concluye la introducción al tomo VII,” *Mercurio Peruano* 7, no. 210 (January 6, 1793); “Historia del descubrimiento del Cerro de Potosí, *Mercurio Peruano* 7, no. 211 (January 10, 1793); “Disertación sobre el famoso preservativo contra las mordeduras de Culebras,” *Mercurio Peruano* 9, no. 282 (September 15, 1793); “Concluye la disertación sobre el famoso preservativo contra las mordeduras de Culebras,” *Mercurio Peruano* 9, no. 283 (September 19, 1793); “Carta Remitida a la Sociedad sobre la Conjetura de la Niña de Cotabambas,” *Mercurio Peruano* 9, no. 311 (December 26, 1793); “Concluye la carta antecedente,” *Mercurio Peruano* 9, no. 312 (December 29, 1793).

⁵⁸ For the Comte de Buffon, the differences between human populations were due to environmental conditions, mainly climate, diet (which was indirectly related to climate), and the evils of enslavement. For Buffon, changes in climate conditions could physically affect people over a few generations. Conde de Buffon, *George-Louis Leclerc. Conde de Buffon (1707-1788)*, edited by Antonio Lafuente and Javier Moscoso (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999). I would like to thank Leandro Valencia

fauna, but believed instead that it was due to the coldness of the New World, where the rigors of the frigid zones extended over half its regions.⁶⁰

Although he never visited America, during his lifetime Cornelius de Pauw was considered the major expert on this continent.⁶¹ Based on Buffon and the information provided by La Condamine's scientific expedition, de Pauw stated that the humidity in the air and the warmer temperatures were the reason why there were different species in America and Europe. He argued that the tropics had turned the Native American populations into "degenerate species of humanity," and Europeans born in America into people given to indolence and vice. De Pauw questioned the achievements of the Inca and Aztec civilizations and considered American natives as "degenerate," because they had not built a civilization comparable to those of the Europeans.⁶² These derogatory

Alonso for kindly providing me a copy. See also: Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 58-59.

⁵⁹ **William Robertson** (1721-1793). A Scottish Presbyterian priest, he won recognition for his *History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (1759), which contributed to his appointment as King's Chaplain in 1761. His *History of America* (1777) was widely read in Europe and America, and it spread the ideas of Buffon and de Pauw.

⁶⁰ William Robertson, *The History of America*, 10th ed. (London: A. Strahan, 1803), 2: 19.

⁶¹ **Cornelius de Pauw** (1739-1799). A Dutch cleric who was appointed as diplomatic representative before the court of Frederick II of Prussia by Prince Bishop of Liege. His works include *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* (1768), *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs* (1788), and *Recherches philosophiques sur les Égyptiens et les Chinois* (1795). José E. Juncosa, "Introducción," in Cornelius de Paw et al., *Europa y Amerindia. El indio americano en textos del siglo XVIII* (Cayambe: Abya-Yala, 1991), xviii-xix; Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, fac. ed. (Upper Saddle River: The Gregg Press, 1968), 11.

⁶² Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, (Berlin: 1770), 2: 162-166, in *Google books*, <http://books.google.com/books?id=FKG9R->

statements against the inhabitants of the American continent granted Cornelius de Pauw the animosity of the *mercurists*, and of many other creoles across the continent. For instance, in an article in the *Mercurio Peruano*, José Ignacio de Lequanda, Minister of the Royal Exchequer, referred to Cornelius de Pauw as “the one whose hideous name should not be remembered without rancor.”⁶³

America was considered a less mature geographical “development” than Europe, and in that sense the American cultures were seen as primitive civilizations, that because of the climate had never attained the development reached the civilizations of the Ancient World.⁶⁴ In this same logic, climatic determinism theories assumed the climate did not allow American male native inhabitants to develop a full masculine character. Two of the basic characteristics attributed to the Americans were their “eternal stage of infancy” and their “indolence,” both of which were also interpreted as

[5i8AC&vq=lima&dq=cornelius%20de%20pauw&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false](#)
(accessed May 13, 2011).

⁶³ “Paw, cuyo odioso nombre no puede recordarse sin encono.” José Ignacio de Lequanda, “Discurso sobre el destino que debe darse a la gente vaga que tiene Lima,” *Mercurio Peruano* 10, no. 325 (February 13, 1794): 105.

De Pauw’s arguments were still bitterly remembered at the time of Peruvian independence. The newspaper *Los Andes Libres*, in 1821, denounced that Peninsular Spaniards had embraced “the injurious concept manifested about our talents” by the “abominable Paw” as part of Peruvian’s oppression. “En la viveza de sentimiento,” *Los Andes Libres*, no. 5 (August 21, 1821): 2. The same newspaper in its first issue rejected the idea that the softness of Peruvian climate weaken men’s energy. F.D. *Los Andes Libres*, no. 1 (July 24, 1821): 2.

⁶⁴ Count de Buffon, *Barr’s Buffon. Buffon’s Natural History*, (London: H.D. Symonds, Paternoster-Row, 1797), 4: 332-334, in *Google Books*, <http://books.google.com/books?id=tDQRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PP5#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed May 11, 2011).

related to a non-fully developed sexuality.⁶⁵ The “indolence,” “indifference,” or “weakness” described by various European authors as the overriding characteristic of the native American peoples (Buffon, de Pauw, Robertson) permeated all aspects of life, including the sexual interest of men for women, as William Robertson described in *The History of America* (1777):

A proof of some febleness in their frame, and more striking, is the insensibility of the Americans to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. That passion which was destined/ to perpetuate life, to be the bond of social union, and the source of tenderness and joy, is the most ardent in the human breast. [...] But the Americans are in an amazing degree, strangers to the force of this first instinct of nature. In every part of the New World the natives treat their women with coldness and indifference.⁶⁶

The Abbé Raynal claimed that this same lack of interest in women was one of the major lines of evidence for the diminished virility of men born in America,⁶⁷

⁶⁵ The reference to a “stage of eternal infancy” implied an internal contradiction with the actual capacity of the American peoples for procreation. Robertson, for instance, solved this contradiction by arguing the Americans were less prolific than any other nation, with the result that this continent was the less peopled in the earth. Robertson, *History of America*, 2: 19; Cornelius de Pauw, “America,” in Cornelius de Paw et al., *Europa y Amerindia. El indio americano en textos del siglo XVIII* (Cayambe: Abya-Yala, 1991), 4, 21.

⁶⁶ Robertson, *History of America*, 1: 61-62; William Robertson, “Estado y carácter de los Americanos,” in Cornelius de Paw et al., *Europa y Amerindia. El indio americano en textos del siglo XVIII* (Cayambe: Abya-Yala, 1991), 130-131; Gerbi, *La disputa del Nuevo Mundo*, 153-154.

⁶⁷ **Abbé Raynal** (1713-1796). A precursor of the cause against slavery, a promoter of the Rights of Man, and a prophet of the American Revolution. His *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements & du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, which was published in 1770, rapidly became popular in Europe to the extent that it reached 38 editions in 30 years, was translated into the major European

...nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair; they are degraded in all the tokens of manhood; and but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love. [...] But their indifference for the sex which nature has intrusted them with, for the propagation of their species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, as in those of our continent, who are not yet arrived, to the age of puberty. This is a vice implanted by nature in the other hemisphere, the novelty of which is discovered by this kind of impotency.⁶⁸

William Robertson also had a similar argument in regard to the lack of facial hair amongst Americans:

The beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American seems to indicate a defect of vigor, occasioned by some vice in his frame. He is destitute of one sign of manhood and of strength.⁶⁹

languages and had the same number of pirate editions. A third of the oeuvre is credited to Diderot and other collaborators. Raynal was enormously influenced by Buffon's ideas, particularly those related to the lack of erotic vigor in the American man. Gerbi, *La Disputa del Nuevo Mundo*, 44; Juncosa, "Introducción," xxix; *Sur les pas de l'abbé Raynal*, <http://www.abbe-raynal.org/> (accessed May 8, 2011); Abbé Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans on the Continent of North America* (Dublin: William Halhead and John Exshaw, 1776), 4: 172-174, in *Google books*, <http://books.google.com/books?id=3qYNAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA174#v=onepage&q=climate&f=false> (accessed May 8, 2011).

⁶⁸ Abbé Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History*, 4: 174.

⁶⁹ Robertson, *History of America*, 1: 60. On the symbolic meaning of beards see: Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), "Ponología o historia filosófica sobre las barbas," *Diario de Lima* (December 28, 1790): 1-4; Jaime Bausate y Mesa (ed.), "Ideas que tienen diferentes pueblos sobre la hermosura," *Diario de Lima* (January 9, 1791): 2-3.

The lack of virile virtues that characterized American men in general, furthermore appeared particularly true in the case of Peruvian creoles. They were considered “effeminate” due to their lack of courage and their fondness of pleasures, luxury and idleness. The Abbé Raynal stated the following in regard to Peruvian creoles:

They possess more understanding than courage. All these people, though dissatisfied with [the Spanish] government, are alike submissive to it. Men every where forget their number and their strength. [...] This timidity in a Peruvian is the cause or the effect of his effeminacy. He lives among courtezans, or amuses himself at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He is afraid to diminish the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds.⁷⁰

In response to these theories Father Méndez y Lachica and other *mercuristas* replied that the key factor was not climate but education, and that maternal care had to be reformed in order to raise virile Peruvian boys. Right from its first issue, the *Mercurio Peruano* dedicated itself to discrediting European misrepresentations of the American continent, and in particular those about Peru.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Abbé Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History*, 2: 551. Buffon also refers to *effeminacy* in the sense of idleness. Count de Buffon, *Natural History, General and Particular, by the Count de Buffon, translated into English*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Straham and T. Cadell, 1785), 466, in *Google Books*, <http://books.google.com> (accessed May 13, 2011).

⁷¹ The first article of the *Mercurio Peruano*, which was attributed to José Rossi y Rubí, stated that:

The main objective of this newspaper [...] is to make the country we live in better known, this country against which foreign authors have published so many false arguments. The first writers amongst our countrymen who wrote of Peru, were those who that compiled

the accounts of their own events, or placed in their Histories and Annals the facts [held by] tradition. [...] Out of the materials [found in] these authors, and the scant news some travelers acquired while passing through, almost all the Histories, Reflections, Letters, Geographical Treatises, and Digests that have been published about Peru on the banks of the Seine and the Thames have been made. The spirit of the system, their national concerns, sometimes ignorance and whims, have so influenced in most of these works, that the Peru they picture seems an entirely different country from that which practical knowledge shows us.

El principal objeto de este Papel Periodico [...] es hacer mas conocido el pais que habitamos, este País contra el qual los Autores extranjeros han publicado tantos paralogismos. Los primeros Escritores, entre los nacionales que trataron del Perú, fueron los que compilaron las relaciones de sus propios acontecimientos, o depositaron en sus Historias y Anales los datos de la tradición. [...] Con los materiales de estos AA., y sobre las ligeras noticias que de paso adquirieron algunos Viajeros, se han combinado casi todas las Historias, Reflexiones, Cartas, Tratados Geográficos y Compendios, que se han dado a luz sobre el Perú en las orillas del Sena, y del Támesis. El espíritu del sistema, sus preocupaciones nacionales, la ignorancia a veces, y el capricho han influido tanto en la mayor parte de estas obras, que el Peru que ellas nos trazan, parece un país enteramente distinto del que nos demuestra el conocimiento practico. "Idea General del Perú," *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 1 (January 2, 1791): 1.

The interest in dismissing Enlightenment theories of climatic determinism was common to creole communities throughout the Americas, such as the recently independent United States of America (Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin) or the Viceroyalty of Mexico (Francisco J. Clavijero). Gerbi, *La Disputa del Nuevo Mundo*, 165; Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, "The Mexican Declaration of Independence." *Journal of American History. Roundtable: Interpreting the Declaration of Independence by Translation* (1999). In *Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media*, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/declaration/vazquez.html> (accessed June 11, 2001); Francisco Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Megico*, 10 vols. (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1826), in *Google books*. <http://books.google.com/books?id=RzVjVMEwXgkC&dq=francisco%20javier%20clavijero&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed May 13, 2011); Rodríguez García, *Criollismo y Patria*, 252-254.

In this sense, Méndez y Lachica followed the newspaper trend that opposed the European theories that posited the influence climate had in *effeminizing* Peruvian men:

...would he not be an effeminate if he did not leave the lap of a tender mother to occupy himself with the delicacies of a courteous life? [...] Let us therefore not look elsewhere for the cause of effeminacy. True, a noxious and humid air weakens the springs of our body: a heavy and hazy atmosphere, which bears far too much over the limbs makes the movement of animal spirits languorous; in brief, the weakness of food, and other partial causes of this sort must influence the less robust ones, or effeminacy under this or another Sky. But how can it be that today, in one same climate, its inhabitants are of different character, nature and mores than what it was in the past? How is that we can find, in one same country and at the same time, men of a delicate temperament and such robust colored people—how can it be in the Northern regions?

¿no sería un afeminado si no saliese del regaso de una tierna madre mas que para ocuparse de las delicias de la vida cortesana? [...] No busquemos pues en otra parte la causa de la afeminacion. Verdad es, que un ayre mal sano y humedo que debilita los resortes de nuestro cuerpo: una atmosfera pesada y nebulosa, que gravitando demasiado sobre los miembros hace lánguido el curso de los espiritus animales; en fin, la debilidad de los alimentos, y otras causas parciales a este modo deben influir en la menos robustez, o afeminacion baxo de este, o del otro Cielo. Mas ¿de donde es, que en un mismo clima hoy sean los habitantes de diverso temperamento, indole y costumbres de lo que anteriormente era? ¿De donde es, que a un mismo tiempo veamos en un mismo pais hombres de un temperamento delicado, y la gente de un color tan robusta, como pudiera en las regiones del Norte? ⁷²

Just like in the case of the petimetre, “effeminacy” in this context meant something other than sexual preference. The writings of Méndez y Lachica and the Abbé Raynal exemplify how the term “effeminate” was used to refer to a physical and spiritual

⁷² Méndez y Lachica, “Carta remitida a la Sociedad,” 120.

weakness due to a man's overexposure to luxury and pleasures instead of exercising his will with abstinence and sobriety.⁷³ Effeminacy also was understood as a lack of virile vigor. This was especially so in the case of the climatic theories that equated American men with children, thus positing an attributed pre-puberty stage of the American men and their subsequent lack of sexual interest in women.

Climatic determinism was not limited to scientific theories, but permeated travel writing and other discursive terrains. Such was the case of Alonso Carrió de la Vandra, who did not argue that the lack of virile vigor was due to the influence of climate, suggesting instead that the coldness of the Peruvian Andes made Indian women slightly little fertile, in the same way that the pastures and animals of the Puna (highlands) were

⁷³ Another author in the *Mercurio* concurred in the effeminizing power luxury and pleasures had:

If your graces examine up close the occupations and customs of most of us who live in Peru, you will realize that the enervation of our youth in *Lima*, and the premature and sudden deaths of those in the Sierra, are derived from the early and excessive indulgement in pleasures.

Si Vms. examinan de cerca las ocupaciones y costumbres de la mayor parte de los que vivimos en el Perú, vendrán en conocimiento de que la enervacion de nuestra juventud en *Lima*, y las muertes prematuras y repetinas de los de la Sierra, provienen del anticipado y excesivo uso de los placeres.

Chiros-atychio Presbyógrapho, "Carta escrita a la Sociedad sobre la Longevidad de algunos Peruanos," *Mercurio Peruano* 5, no. 159 (July 12, 1792): 165.

For the fondness Limeños had for sensuous pleasures, see: Tadeo Haenke, *Descripción del Perú* (Lima: El Lucero, 1901), 24-25, under *Biblioteca Digital Andina* http://bvirtual.bnp.gob.pe/bvirtual/cod_libro.php?cod_libro=46 (accessed April 22, 2006).

not too fertile. Around 1775 Carrió, a Spanish merchant, *corregidor*, and inspector for the Postal Service, published the picaresque novel *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* under the pseudonym of Concolorcorvo ('colored like a crow'). Based on his experience as a merchant and visitor of the muleteer route that went from Buenos Aires to Lima, the *Lazarillo* takes the form of a dialogue between the Visitador Alonso, a Spanish postal inspector, and an Indian called Calixto Bustamante Inca. The Indian, who bore the name of Concolorcorvo, served as guide and companion to the Visitador throughout his journey. Concolorcorvo is presented in the narrative as the presumed author of the *Lazarillo*. Carrió de la Vandra used Concolorcorvo to defend the Spanish conquest. Arguing that he descended from a noble Inca family, Concolorcorvo defended the civilization and religion brought to the Andes by the conquistadors, and thanked them for freeing the Indians from sodomy and other abominations.⁷⁴

Unlike *El lazarillo*, which blamed low population growth on the low fertility of Indian women, the *Mercurio Peruano* was full of examples of long-lived men who fathered numerous children. Such was the case of the "Letter written to the Society on the Longevity of some Peruvians," which supposedly showed how healthy the weather was in those lands.⁷⁵ The article described several men over a hundred years of age who

⁷⁴ Alonso Carrió de la Vandra (pseud. Concolorcorvo), *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1985), Ch. XVI, 150-151; Ch. XX, 178-179. For an analysis of sodomy in the *Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes*, see: Mariselle Meléndez, *Raza, Género e Híbridez en El Lazarillo de Ciegos Caminantes* (Chapel Hill: Department of Romance Languages, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999), 67-78. Gabriel Ramón Joffre kindly led me through a careful reading of *El lazarillo* in March 1991.

⁷⁵ Chiros atychio Presbyógrapho, "Carta escrita a la Sociedad sobre la Longevidad de algunos Peruanos, que se relaciona en prueba de la salubridad del temperamento de estos países," *Mercurio Peruano* 5, no. 159 (July 12, 1792): 164-171.

were actively pursuing marriage with younger (and fertile) women, and who fathered children. Like some other articles in the *Mercurio*, the longevity and virile vigor of these men were used as an example with which to disqualify the presumed negative influence of the Peruvian climate. They also served to praise the benefits to be found in leading a frugal life, dedicated to a vigorous and productive labor in the countryside, far removed from the pleasures and excess of the city.⁷⁶

The *Mercurio Peruano* furthermore included in its ranks the leading figure in Peru against the European theories of climatic determinism. Hipólito Unanue, a former student of the erudite cosmographer Cosme Bueno, was already a renowned physician and naturalist when he joined the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*. An advisor of the Viceroy Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, Unanue had the favor of the Lima court thanks to his outspoken character as public health reformer. Unanue also had the sponsorship of Mariana Belzunce, a progressive and rich widow who hosted one of the most notable literary circles of her time, a literary circle also attended by other *mercuristas*.⁷⁷ His *Observations regarding the climate of Lima and its influence over organized beings, especially Man* were published in 1806, and it summarized his thoughts on the European theories of climatic determinism.⁷⁸ Although his ideas had

⁷⁶ “Ancianidad notable,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 12 (February 10, 1791): 15; “Noticia curiosa comunicada a la Sociedad por un vecino del Partido de Chachapoyas,” *Mercurio Peruano* 5, no. 149 (June 7, 1792): 85; “Apéndice de la Sociedad a la noticia antecedente,” *Mercurio Peruano* 5, no. 149 (June 7, 1792): 85-87.

⁷⁷ García Cáceres, *La magia de Unanue*, 63-73; Warren, “Piety and Danger,” 195.

⁷⁸ Hipólito Unanue, *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en especial el hombre*, in *Obras Científicas y Literarias del Doctor D. J. Hipólito Unanue*, edited by Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Tipografía La Académica, 1914).

not been fully developed by the time he joined the *Mercurio Peruano*, Unanue then began to develop his rebuttal of the theories developed by Buffon, de Pauw, Robertson, and others. As secretary of the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*, Hipólito Unanue wrote in the introduction to volume VI of the *Mercurio*, that one of the main purposes of the publication was to show “that the generous Spanish spirits transplanted to this joyful soil, haven’t lost honor nor virtue.” In this statement there already is an opposition to the European theories of climatic determinism discussed in the newspaper.⁷⁹

The *Mercurio Peruano* also published his inaugural speech as director of the Anatomic Amphitheater, a ceremony that was attended by Viceroy Gil de Taboada. Here, Unanue praised “the noble qualities of the [Peruvian] climate” (“*las nobles cualidades del clima*”), against which a thousand of foreign maladies had assaulted and contaminated the air, the land, and living beings. Lacking proper health policies, these maladies brought about by commerce, luxury, and miscegenation during the conquest had depopulated the country. These were the real causes of the low fertility that European theories attributed to American-born people. This inaugural speech was published in its entirety in five issues of the *Mercurio*, and it represented the seminal ideas behind Unanue’s *Observations about the climate*.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ “...que los generosos espíritus Españoles transplantados a este dicho suelo, no han perdido el honor ni la virtud.” Hipólito Unanue, “Introducción al Tomo VI del Mercurio Peruano,” *Mercurio Peruano* 6, no. 174 (September 2, 1792): 2, under *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/mercurio-peruano--22/> (accessed May 28, 2011).

⁸⁰ Hipólito Unanue, “Decadencia y restauración del Perú. Continuación del discurso inaugural para la abertura y estreno del Anfiteatro Anatómico,” *Mercurio Peruano* 7, no. 218 (February 3, 1793): 93-94. Also: issues no. 219-222; Rodríguez García, *Criollismo y Patria*, 236.

Unanue's ideas regarding the influence climate had over living beings had fully developed a decade after the publication of the last issue of the *Mercurio*. He rejected European theories that claimed the coldness and humidity of the Americas generated smaller and degenerate species, including the creole population. Following the path of the *Mercurio Peruano*, his description of the climate of Lima, its flora and fauna, posited that the climatic conditions in Peru were less harmful than those in Spain. His *Observations about the climate* were disseminated among the scientific societies of Madrid, Paris, and London and earned him compliments and invitations to join the institutions as honorary member.

Unanue did not deny the influence the climate had on the changes undergone by plants, animals, and men, but he believed their effects were not severe or permanent. During the era of the *Mercurio*, friar Méndez y Lachica had argued that the lenient life in the city, "the refinement of the food, the abandonment to the passions, and an atmosphere full of the most corrupt and compress steams" made the city dwellers twice more likely to suffer death than those living in small towns.⁸¹ Unanue incorporated hygiene to this argument and proposed that the maladies living in the city engendered amongst the Limeños were caused by careless health practices rather than by the climate. These maladies could therefore be successfully avoided through education and a reformation of mores. In so doing, Unanue clashed with, de Pauw, and other European authors whose descriptions "portrayed these fortunate regions as an

⁸¹ "...en las ciudades grandes la molicie, el refinamiento de la viandas, el desenfreno de las pasiones, y una atmósfera cargada de vapores mas corruptos y comprimidos hacen morir al año respectivamente casi al duplo de los que mueren en las aldeas y pequeños lugares..." Tomás de Méndez y Lachica (pseud. Teagnes), "Apéndice de la Sociedad a la noticia antecedente," *Mercurio Peruano* 5, no. 149 (June 7, 1792): 87.

ungrateful soil that has been denied heaven's blessings, and an ill-fated shelter of serpents, crocodiles and other poisonous monsters."⁸²

Unanue claimed that although climate influenced the character people had, there were other factors at work—moral ones—that could counter-balance and even defeat the burden of nature, and thus promote the development of the nations. In so saying, even Unanue admitted the influence the humid and temperate climate of Lima had on the lack of virile features among Limeño men:

Under the sway of the previous causes [a temperate and humid climate], the men [of Lima] must needs be lacking the air and virile features, that should be strong and somehow rough...

Bajo el imperio de las causas anteriores [un clima templado y húmedo], preciso es falte en los hombres [de Lima] el aire y los rasgos varoniles, que deben ser fuertes y algo ásperos...⁸³

Unanue likewise believed that the humid and temperate climate of Lima predisposed men to indolence and to indulge in pleasures:

In a country located at the center of the hot zone, but with a climate reduced to a benign temperature due to the superabundance of

⁸² "...para retratar a estas regiones afortunadas como a un suelo ingrato; negado a las bendiciones del cielo; funesto albergue de sierpes, cocodrilos y otros monstruos emponzoñados." Hipólito Unanue, *Obras Científicas y Literarias del Doctor D. J. Hipólito Unanue*, edited by Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue, (Barcelona: Tipografía La Académica, 1914), 1: 54; also 14 and 55; Warren, "Piety and Danger," 204, 196; García Cáceres, *La magia de Unanue*, 131-133; Robertson, *The History of America*, 2: 64. For a careful analysis of Unanue's theories on disease, climate and the body see, Warren, "Piety and Danger," 196-205.

⁸³ Unanue, *Obras Científicas y Literarias*, 1: 68.

humidity in the atmosphere, those who live in must needs have a feeble body. [...] Idleness is hence an inherent vice of those who dwell in these climates. The enervated body/ only wishes rest and pleasures.

En un país situado en el centro de la zona ardiente, pero reducido su clima a un temple benigno por la superabundancia de humedad de la atmósfera, deben los que viven en él tener un cuerpo débil. [...] De aquí que la pereza sea un vicio inherente a los moradores de estos climas. El cuerpo enervado/ sólo desea el reposo y los placeres.⁸⁴

Although he recognized the influence climate had over men's physiognomy, Unanue denied that the differences in features found in European and American men could be interpreted as a lack of capacity or talents. Just like in many articles in the *Mercurio Peruano*, the emphasis here was in dismissing the physiognomic rationale, praising instead education and virtue as the means with which to overcome nature. In Unanue's own words:

The difference in features cannot thus be used to argue for the diversity in talents, and whenever this indeed is so, Europe has nothing to pride itself of, because, if there are well-formed nations in her [Europe], these can also be found in other parts of the earth. And if Africa, in the midst of her fires, gives men who appear to be entities midway between the rational and the brute, the same holds for the icy countries of Northern Europe. Herein lies the consequence that the rational spirit is evenly distributed throughout all parts of the earth. In all of them, man is capable of doing everything—if he is helped by education and example.

No puede, pues, la diferencia de facciones argüir diversidad en los talentos, y cuando esto así sea, no tiene de qué gloriarse la Europa;

⁸⁴ Unanue, *Obras Científicas y Literarias*, 1: 67-68.

pues si en ella se encuentran naciones bien formadas, las hay también en las otras partes de la tierra, y si en Africa en el centro de sus incendios produce hombres que parecen entes medios entre el racional y el bruto, lo mismo sucede en los helados países del norte de Europa. De aquí nace la consecuencia de que el espíritu racional está igualmente distribuído en todas las partes de la tierra. En todas ellas es el hombre capaz de todo, si es ayudado por la educación y el ejemplo.⁸⁵

Although Unanue, just like other *mercurista* authors, partially accepted the European theories of climatic determinism, he disregarded the idea that climate was the sole essential factor in determining the features and character of Peruvian men. Following the principles of Enlightenment, Unanue praised the virtues of education, as the factor that compensated the influence climate had. Unanue claimed that education was the major means with which to defeat the influence of climate, which had brought about the delicate condition and feeble nature of Peruvian-born Spaniards. In the same fashion, the priest Mendez y Lachica argued that in the efforts to avoid effeminacy amongst Peruvian Creole men, what was in need of reform were education and maternal care, and not the climate. Furthermore, *mercurista* interest in dismissing European misrepresentations that claimed Peruvian men lacked virile features, led to the development of an extensive knowledge of the Peruvian climate. In so doing, the *mercuristas* made the defense of Peruvian masculinity the very core of the Enlightenment in Peru, thus promoting education and reason as the means with which to transform these subordinate effeminate masculinities, and attain the emergence of a new hegemonic masculinity centered on the industrious family man.

⁸⁵ Unanue, *Obras Científicas y Literarias*, 1: 76.

4. MOTHERHOOD AND THE *SEMANARIO CRÍTICO*

The *Semanario Crítico* also shared the enthusiasm the *Mercurio Peruano* showed when exalting the virtues of education for the transformation of male manners. Although the strategy the *Semanario* followed was to address a broader audience besides the elite groups, its readership also included the upper layer of the popular urban sectors—the ladies, the merchants, the artisans.⁸⁶ The *Semanario* was unique in that it addressed a female audience, and dedicated one third of its discussions to maternal care and female responsibilities in raising children, mostly male children. It is symptomatic that the first issue of the *Semanario* (the one which appeared right after the Prospectus) opened with a statement regarding the importance the first years of education had for preparing a man fit enough to comply with his social and civic duties:

THE GENERAL PRACTICE OF EDUCATION AND THE DEFECTS IT HAS: Among the many concurrent causes that contribute to form a man who is more or less suitable for indefatigably resisting the painful *tasks of studying, of public business, and other duties*; who besides the aptitudes of the soul requires a *robust body, healthy and indefatigable*; among the many concurrent causes that contribute to form a man more or less suitably *energetic for the painful duties of the military Art, of Navigation, of Agriculture, and some other [arts]*; so rapidly predisposed by their very constitution to the rigors of a malign, inclement, and bland climate, just as to the agreeable, most beneficial and pleasant environment; his first education should not take last place, because it is one of the major influences...

⁸⁶ Olavarrieta, "Prospecto," *Semanario Crítico* (1791): 2.

PRACTICA GENERAL DE EDUCACION Y DEFECTOS QUE ABRAZA: Entre las muchas concausas, que contribuyen a formar un hombre mas, o menos apto para resistir infatigable las penosas *tareas del estudio, de los negocios públicos, y otras funciones*, que sobre las disposiciones del alma exigen *un cuerpo robusto, sano, e infatigable*; entre las muchas concausas que contribuyen a formar un hombre mas o menos apto, *vigoroso para los penosos ejercicios del Arte militar, de la Navegacion, de la Agricultura*, y algunos otros, expuestos por su misma constitucion tan presto a los rigores de un Clima maligno, inclemente, y desabrido, como al agradable Temperamento, del mas benefico, y placentero; no debe ocupar el último lugar su primera educacion, siendo esta de las que mas principalmente influyen...⁸⁷

This passage likewise reflects what friar Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta, the editor, believed were the main virtues of a man: perseverance, industriousness, and strength. For Olavarrieta, these virtues could only be formed by an early education provided by a dedicated mother, the influence of the climate notwithstanding. As Margarita Zegarra and Claudia Rosas showed, the *Semanario* was the first Peruvian newspaper to address a female audience, particularly the elite mothers.⁸⁸

The *Semanario Crítico, o Reflexiones Criticas sobre la educacion, costumbres públicas, Poesia teatral, y otras diferentes materias*, briefly appeared in Lima in June-September 1791. Before settling in Lima in April 1791 its editor, Friar Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta, had traveled extensively as chaplain of *Los Dolores*, a frigate owned by the

⁸⁷ Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, “Practica General de Educacion, y Defectos que abraza,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 2 (1791): 10. The use of italics is mine.

⁸⁸ Olavarrieta, “Prospecto,” *Semanario Crítico* (1791): 1; Forns, “Relectura del *Semanario Crítico*,” 76; Zegarra, “Olavarrieta, la familia ilustrada;” Claudia Rosas Lauro, “Educando al bello sexo: La mujer en el discurso ilustrado,” in *El Peru en el siglo XVIII. La Era Borbónica*, compiled by Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva Agüero, 1999), 109; Carranza, “La poesía en un periódico...,” 73-74.

Royal Company of the Philippines. Olavarrieta's daring and complex personality cast its light on his career as a journalist, as well as on his own life. After his brief stay in Lima, Olavarrieta settled in Guayaquil and was later appointed priest of the town of Ajuchitlán (Mexico). Olavarrieta was prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1803, charged with having written *El Hombre y el Bruto*, a manuscript that railed against the monarchy and Catholicism. Sentenced to public reconciliation by the Holy Office and sent back to Spain, Olavarrieta abandoned his religious life and settled in Cadiz. Under the name of José Joaquín de Clararrosa, Olavarrieta embraced freemasonry and became a famous liberal politician, also editing the *Diario Gaditano de la libertad e independencia nacional, político, mercantil, económico y literario* in 1820-1822.⁸⁹

The *Semanario Crítico* was published once a week, on Sundays, from June 5th to September 18th, 1791. The Prospectus announced that it aimed to reach “the lady, the businessman, the artisan.” Roberto Forns emphasized how the Prospectus summarized Olavarrieta's “communicative utopia” of reaching the common reader. This Enlightenment-inspired utopia focused on infusing reasoning in them through everyday issues such as “the physical, moral and political education of children,” theatrical poetry, and the “flaws of public customs.”⁹⁰ Behind Olavarrieta's interest in addressing the common reader with reflections on quotidian issues lay his belief in the immediate transformative power of the press. In other words, Olavarrieta believed that

⁸⁹ Roberto Forns Broggi, “Relectura del *Semanario Crítico* de Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta (Lima, 1791),” *Lexis* 25, no. 1 (1991): 74-75; Beatriz Sánchez Hita, “Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, un fraile con vocación de periodista ilustrado,” *El Argonauta Español* 6 (2009), <http://argonauta.imageson.org/document125.html> (accessed January 24, 2011).

⁹⁰ Olavarrieta, “Prospecto,” *Semanario Crítico* (1791): 3-4.

Enlightenment knowledge was within the grasp of anyone who was exposed to it, as for instance, the public reading of a newspaper in a shop. If knowledge was within the grasp of everyone, then, restricting the audience of the *Semanario* to Peruvian readers served no purpose whatsoever.⁹¹ It was perhaps for this reason that Olavarrieta decided not to date any of the sixteen issues published in Lima, or mention where they had been printed.

According to Forns, Olavarrieta's "communicative strategy" also lay at the very center of his rivalry with the *Mercurio Peruano*. Unlike the *Semanario*, the *Mercurio* addressed a more select reading community, one that was interested in the local knowledge provided by its scientific articles. Since its inception, the *Mercurio* had had the sponsorship of the Viceroy and maintained an editorial line that was close to the needs of the viceregal authorities. The *mercuristas* even listed their articles and contributions to the newspaper as merits when applying for public positions. On the other hand, the *mercuristas* seemed to have resented the commercial success the *Semanario* had, and this surely fuelled the rivalry between both newspapers. After all, the subscription to the *Semanario* was only 6 reales, while at 14 reales the subscription to the *Mercurio* cost more than twice that figure.⁹²

⁹¹ In the own words of Olavarrieta: "... the subject of my papers is not actually the city of Lima, nor that of Berlin, but all of the cities in general and none in particular..." ("*...el objeto de mis papeles no es precisamente la ciudad de Lima, ni la de Berlín, si no todas en general y ninguna en particular...*"). Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, "Al Mercurio Peruano," *Semanario Crítico*, no. 3 (1791): 31.

⁹² Forns, 76-78; Clement, "Índices del *Mercurio Peruano*," 11-12. On the *Mercurio*'s rivalry with the *Semanario*, see Sánchez, "Juan Antonio Olavarrieta;" José Rossi Rubí, "Idea de un nuevo papel periódico, que se va a dar a luz en esta Capital, con el título de *Semanario Crítico*," *Mercurio Peruano* 2, no. 46 (June 9, 1791); "Justificación de la Sociedad, y del Perú," *Mercurio Peruano* 2, no. 50 (June 23, 1791): 132-140. Olavarrieta

The rivalry with the *Mercurio Peruano* was not the only animosity the *Semanario* fostered among the Limeño elite. Its fierce critique of elite customs, including that of mothers delegating the care and education of their children to wet and dry nurses, earned him the sarcastic title of “preceptor to wet nurses.” It also stirred the animosity of some readers and compromised the economic sustenance of the newspaper. After its initial success, the sales of the *Semanario* began to decline and made the project unsustainable. In its sixteenth issue, Olavarrieta apologized to the readers for temporarily halting the publication of the *Semanario*, due to some indisposition of his. He would never again resume the task, as Olavarrieta left Lima on the same frigate of the Royal Company of the Philippines he had arrived a year before.⁹³

Under the influence of the French Enlightenment, Friar Olavarrieta applied the principles of Rousseau’s *Emile* and Buffon’s *Natural History* to the education of children. This made his newspaper a daring publication that exposed what he considered the flaws in the education mother were giving their children.⁹⁴ Olavarrieta

convinced the authorities to withdraw the former issue of the *Mercurio Peruano* due to a violent critique it had leveled at him. This was the reason why, this and the following issue of the *Mercurio* share issue and page numbers; Rossi, “Nota,” *Mercurio Peruano* 2, no. 50 (June 26, 1791): 136; Guasque, “Oración Fúnebre Histórico-Panegírica;” Guasque, “Concluye la Oración Fúnebre;” Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, “De los trages,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 3 (1791): 29-31; Olavarrieta, “Al Mercurio Peruano,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 3 (1791): 31; Olavarrieta, “Justa repulsa contra las iniquas acusaciones, falsos testimonios, y siniestras interpretaciones que los individuos de la Rl. *Sociedad Académica...*,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 5 (1791): 45.

⁹³ “Justificación de la Sociedad,” *Mercurio Peruano* 2, n^o 50 (June 23, 1791): 135; Olavarrieta, *Semanario Crítico* 16, 144; Sánchez Hita, “Juan Antonio Olavarrieta.” <http://argonauta.imageson.org/document125.html> (accessed February 28, 2011).

⁹⁴ Sánchez Hita, “Juan Antonio Olavarrieta,” <http://argonauta.imageson.org/document125.html> (accessed January 24, 2011); Olavarrieta, “Prospecto,” *Semanario Crítico* (1791): 4; Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, “Prosigue la materia del discurso antecedente sobre la Educación,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 4 (1791): 32.

emphasized the maternal role in the education of children more than the *Mercurio*. He also criticized the elite's custom of employing wet nurses, mostly of African descent, to breast-feed the children and take care of them during their early years.⁹⁵ According to Olavarrieta, the leniency of female care had a terrible impact on male children, who became "effeminate entities, sensible, ridiculous, dumb, full of/ levity, and softness; incapable of fulfilling with resolution and constancy the functions of their own sex."⁹⁶ The *Semanario Crítico* used "effeminate" to label a delicate character seduced by comfort and luxury. In this regard it concurred with the meaning of the same term as it was used in the *Mercurio* by the priest Méndez y Lachica.

It is worth noting that the newspaper's concern with the education of children, was mostly directed towards male education and the development of men as citizens capable of fulfilling the needs of the nation. In Olavarrieta's own words:

Our present constitution not only demands robust soldiers and helpful citizens, who abide to sustain themselves by force, furthermore it needs [the commitment of] both of them, one and the other, in regard to the immensity of the objects that our nation holds, that correspond to a holy Religion, to a vastly superior and commendable government, to the State, the legislation, to the vast

⁹⁵ Margarita Zegarra has demonstrated that unlike the *Semanario Crítico*, the *Mercurio Peruano* did not have a unanimous position against, nor did it make a solid critique of, wet nurses being in charge of breast-feeding. The custom was so rooted among the elite and middle sectors in Lima that the *Mercuristas* did not intend to fight it; besides, their approach to this topic was crucially determined by the fact that they belonged to the social circles that maintained this custom. Zegarra, "Olavarrieta, la familia ilustrada," 370.

⁹⁶ "...solo es capaz de formar unos entes afeminados, sensibles, ridiculos, anonadados, llenos de/ liviandad, y molicie, incapaces de desempeñar con resolucion, y constancia las funciones de su sexo." Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, "Prosigue la materia de primera educacion. Sobre los puntos insinuados en el antecedente discurso," *Semanario Crítico*, no. 11 (1791): 97-98.

commerce, to agriculture, industry, and myriad others [...] Basic education leads to this all...

Nuestra constitución actual no solo exige robustos soldados, y utiles ciudadanos, atenedos a sostenerse por fuerza, sino que necesita de los unos, y de los otros con respecto, y relacion a la inmensidad de objetos que abraza nuestra Nacion, correspondientes a una Religion santa, a un gobierno muy superior, y recomendable, al Estado, a la legislacion, al vasto comercio, a la agricultura, a la industria, y otros infinitos [...] Para todo esto conduce la primera educacion...⁹⁷

The primary intention of the *Semanario*, and to some extent the *Mercurio* too, was to enlighten and educate mothers in their duties when raising male children. Education was understood as the means with which to inspire the practice of good and the rejection of evil, vice, and passions among the young (male) citizens.⁹⁸ In addressing the elite mother, both newspapers ended up demanding some involvement of the father in the education of his children. Olavarrieta argued that the husband had the final say over his progeny and the education carried out by the mother, while Méndez y Lachica blamed the all-female education for the development of effeminate boys:⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Olavarrieta, “Prosigue la materia de primera educacion,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 11 (1791): 99; José Rossi y Rubí (pseud. Eustachio Phylómates), “Educacion. Carta escrita a la Sociedad sobre el abuso de que los hijos tuteen a sus padres,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 4 (January 16, 1791): 36-38; José Rossi y Rubí (pseud. Eustachio Phylómates), “Amas de Leche. Segunda carta de Filómates sobre la Educacion,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 8 (January 27, 1791): 59-62. This last one is also cited in Olavarrieta, “Justa repulsa contra las iniquas acusaciones,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 5 (1791): 48.

⁹⁸ Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta, “Maximas de Educacion dirigidas por un anciano al Principe de Ethiopia,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 10 (1791): 90.

⁹⁹ Olavarrieta, “Prosigue la materia del discurso antecedente,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 4 (1791): 34.

A boy abandoned in the hands of a wet nurse, i.e. his own mother (the only one who looks after for his first education), learns by imitation everything he sees in her. He has no other lesson than the manners of the sex, and since he finds here all the flatteries of an ill-understood love, the reciprocal tenderness makes some customs, not at all them suitable for his condition, be transferred to his affectionate soul.

Un niño abandonado en manos de una nutriz, o sea de su propia madre (la única que cuida de su primera educacion), aprende por imitacion quanto en ella mira. No tiene otras lecciones mas que las modales del sexo: y como en esta encuentra todos los alhagos de un amor mal entendido, la recíproca ternura hace que a su tiernequita alma se trasladen unas costumbres nada conformes a su condicion.¹⁰⁰

In criticizing the all-female education of children, both the *Semanario* and the *Mercurio* promoted a family model in which the father had the final say regarding the children's education, the rules of the household, and the social and domestic behavior of his wife. The articles addressing infant education intended to create a new hegemonic femininity wherein women focused their lives on maternity and lactation as the utmost maternal duty. But they also included a subtle discourse that demanded a more permanent paternal figure that supervised family life. In other words, if mothers were to blame for the effeminizing leniency they showed in educating their children, it was because the fathers allowed it. It is in this sense that these newspapers had a significant role in the promotion of a new hegemonic masculinity centered on the figure of the husband as the ultimate authority in the household. The Enlightenment ideal for reforming society through the development of a new type of family also required the

¹⁰⁰ Méndez y Lachica, "Carta remitida a la Sociedad," *Mercurio Peruano*, 121.

development of a new husband and father. The first steps in the promotion of the *sentimental family* in Peru required of a husband that—in the words of Olavarrieta—knew “how to sustain the burden of the obligations attached to the titles of superiority and preeminence, subordinating the remaining members, with prudence and reason.”¹⁰¹

* * *

In the late eighteenth century, the three main Peruvian newspapers criticized what they considered were lesser forms of masculinity: the petimetre and the effeminate man. Petimetres were criticized for their constant concern over fashion and their personal attire, a flaw that was presented as distinctively feminine. The Peruvian effeminate man lacked courage and virile features, and was fond of pleasures, luxury and idleness. Both the petimetre and the effeminate were more social types than actual men. Their actual presence in social life was far less than their didactic use in scientific debates and newspaper articles. Neither personage represented any sexual preference. R.W. Connell posits that production of “exemplary masculinities” is essential to the politics of hegemonic masculinity. In this case, the production of the petimetre and the

¹⁰¹ “Marido, que sabe sostener el peso de las obligaciones anexas al titulo de superioridad, y preminencia, subordinando con prudencia, y razon el resto de sus miembros...” Juan Antonio de Olavarrieta, “Prosigue la materia que se propuso en el antecedente discurso,” *Semanario Crítico*, no. 8 (1791): 73.

For the development of an *Enlightenment mother* and a *sentimental family* in late eighteenth century colonial Peru, see Zegarra, “La construcción de la madre y de la familia sentimental,” 182, 197.

effeminate were “anti-exemplary masculinities” that marked the rise of a new masculinity.

The *Diario de Lima*, the *Mercurio Peruano*, and the *Semanario Crítico* had a decisive role in the transformation of the hegemonic aristocratic gender relations. The newspapers were directed towards the power groups of the colonial elite (merchants, landowners, aristocrats, and colonial authorities). They were, however, also able to reach the middle and popular urban sectors thanks to collective readings in cafes, taverns, barbershops and other public places. Margarita Zegarra, Claudia Rosas, and other researchers have studied the emphasis these three papers gave to pregnancy care, child education, and motherhood. These newspapers aimed to reform femininity and create a new female domesticity, centered on motherhood and a reduced private sphere.¹⁰² The study of the role the press had in the transformation of masculinity is still pending, particularly whether both processes, femininity and masculinity, were constructed in opposition to one another.¹⁰³ Because of public readings and the circulation of the press, the influence the press had in the shaping of new types of masculinities extended beyond the colonial elite.

These colonial newspapers also engaged in the scientific discussion regarding the origins of *effeminacy* among Peruvian men. The Peruvian intellectual elite opposed the

¹⁰² Mariselle Meléndez, “Inconstancia en la mujer: espacio y cuerpo femenino en el *Mercurio Peruano*, 1791-1794,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 67, no. 194-195 (2001); Marcel Velázquez Castro, “La intimidad destapada: la representación de la mujer en el *Mercurio Peruano* (1791-1795),” *Mujer, Cultura y Sociedad en América Latina*, edited by Luis Bravo Jáuregui and Gregorio Zambrano, vol. 3 (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2001).

¹⁰³ Connell, *Masculinities*, 223.

determinism proposed by European climatic theories, and argued that the root of effeminacy was education and maternal care. These causes could both certainly be solved through education and applying Reason to the reformation of mores. The *Semanario Crítico* and the *Mercurio Peruano* therefore addressed elite mothers regarding the proper education of children, the consequences using wet-nurses for breast-feeding had, and the defiance shown by wet nurses to the father's authority. The *Mercurio* also made an acrimonious critique of women leading an independent social life, of their uncontrollable expenditures, lack of domesticity, and most importantly, their reluctance to submit to their husband's authority.¹⁰⁴

Behind this critique of the petimetre and the effeminacy of Limeño men lay a challenge of two of the most visible characteristics of aristocratic masculinity: luxury and idleness. In order to reform this masculinity, these visible characteristics were effeminized and therefore diminished. This is a process that R.W. Connell defined as *subordination*. The Peruvian Enlightenment elite proposed another form of masculinity at the same time that these reformers were subordinating the aristocratic masculinity. Thus was born a new type of masculinity, one which had at its center fatherhood, and wherein (elite) men were recognized by their industriousness, their qualities as providers, their temperance, and the control they exerted over their household,

¹⁰⁴ Rossi y Rubí (pseud. P. Fixiogámio), "Carta escrita a la sociedad," *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 12 (February 10, 1791); Rossi y Rubí (pseud. M. Antispasia), "Carta escrita a la sociedad en contraposición," *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 18 (March 3, 1791); Rossi y Rubí (pseud. Eustachio Phylómates), "Educación," *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 4 (January 16, 1791); Rossi y Rubí (pseud. Eustachio Phylómates), "Amas de Leche," *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 8 (January 27, 1791); Narvaez, "Conversación sobre el señorismo de las mugeres," *Mercurio Peruano* 4, no. 136 (April 22, 1792): 279.

including their wife, children and servants (mostly slaves).¹⁰⁵ For these Enlightenment newspapers, bourgeois masculinity was a mere yearning—something that had not been properly defined, but that was developed in opposition to the aristocratic masculinity that was being criticized. After Peru had shaken off Spanish control, the turmoil of the internecine caudillo wars would be the space where a new form of hegemonic masculinity—one centered on the use of force— would emerge. This process, which would later on lead to the rise of a hegemonic bourgeois masculinity in the Peruvian Republic in the 1850s, is analyzed in the following chapter.

¹⁰⁵ Rossi Rubí (pseud. M. Antipásia), “Carta escrita a la Sociedad,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1, no. 18 (March 3, 1791).

CHAPTER THREE

“FOR THE SAKE OF THE NATION, FOR OUR CHILDREN’S SAKE”

HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY IN EARLY PERUVIAN REPUBLIC

President Luis José Orbegoso did not feel safe even after having defeated the coup d'état that brought a civil war that lasted for months. Led by General Pedro Bermúdez, Francisca Zubiaga, Gamarra's wife, and other followers of former President Agustín Gamarra¹ plunged the country into civil war in January-April 1834. Once this rebellion had been squashed, three other caudillos still menaced Orbegoso: the Bolivian President Andrés de Santa Cruz, General Felipe Santiago Salaverry, and José de la Riva Agüero y Sánchez Boquete, a former President of Peru (1823).² It was in this context, on

¹ **Agustín Gamarra** was born in Cusco in 1785 from a *mestizo* ascendance, although some contemporary enemies, called him “Fray Agustín Zaldívar,” as supposedly was the son of priest Zaldívar. Leaving a brief ecclesiastic life, Gamarra was named cadet in 1809 and started a meteoric military career in the Spanish Infantry. After serving under Goyeneche, Pezuela, Ramírez, and La Serna against the patriotic Argentine army, Gamarra presented his services before San Martín in 1821. Named Chief of Staff in Bolívar's army commanded the patriotic army in the victory of Ayacucho in 1824. A year after, married Francisca Zubiaga y Bernales, known by her military talent and her fearless character. Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 150-155.

² Jorge Basadre, *La iniciación de la República: contribución al estudio de la evolución política y social del Perú* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Fondo Editorial, 2002), 1: 267-303, http://sisbib.unmsm.edu.pe/bibvirtual/libros/Historia/Iniciacion_Republica/indice1.htm (accessed September 17, 2011).

August 18th of 1834, that President Luis José de Orbegoso wrote to his long-time friend general Domingo Nieto to bring him to Lima. Addressing Nieto as a “godson and friend,” Orbegoso wanted him to accept his promotion to the position of inspector-general of the army. To better convince the general, Orbegoso claimed their friendship (and service under his orders) ought to continue “for the sake of the *fatherland* (*patria*), for the sake of our children, and even for our own sake.”³

In invoking the *patria* and children, Orbegoso appealed to the two essential elements in hegemonic masculinity during the war of Peruvian independence and the early Republic (1820-1840). Men of very diverse political or military positions argued their actions were meant to defend the nation. Every man had the duty to defend his family, and the children in particular, during times of war, economic distress, and political and social turmoil. By associating virility with military performance, heroic *caudillos* became the *exemplars of masculinity* throughout this period. Drawing on a concept coined by R. W. Connell, by *exemplary masculinities* I mean the promotion, through cultural products such as newspapers, plays, public ceremonies, and paintings, of an imagery of masculinities that served as an ideal for the shaping of individual masculinities. Just as Connell argued that no sphere like military violence was more important for the definition of hegemonic masculinity in European and American cultures,⁴ so I propose here that understanding military violence is essential for the

³ “...por el bien de la patria, por el de nuestros hijos y aun por nosotros mismos.” [Letter, President Luis José de Orbegoso to general Domingo Nieto, August 18, 1834], in Carmen McEvoy and José Luis Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República. Guerra, correspondencia y memoria en el Perú (1830-1844)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Instituto Riva Agüero, 2010), 1: 256.

⁴ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 213.

comprehension of foundational masculinities in Latin America. Through an exam of nineteenth-century newspapers, letters written by the caudillos, pamphlets and paintings, this chapter posits that the instability brought about by successive wars promoted a hegemonic masculinity centered on the use of force, thus preparing the land for calmer times, when fatherhood and male control over the women and the family would be the linchpin of exemplary masculinities. By the time Peru attained political and economical stability in the mid-1850s, caudillo masculinity was replaced by a new, fully fatherhood-centered masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity conformed to bourgeois gender values, exalted the father's capacity as a provider for his family, and his ability to offer moral guidance to, and discipline, his household and progeny.

1. THE INDEPENDENCE HERO (1810-1830)

The Spanish Empire in America crumbled during the first two decades of nineteenth century. In just a few years it shrank from the realm where the sun never set, to just a few islands in the Caribbean and in the Philippines. The Napoleonic invasion of Spain (1808-1814) gave the creole elites in the Spanish American colonies the opportunity to seize control in their countries and declare independence. But not all colonies were just as enthusiastic about their independence. The Viceroyalty of Peru was considered the center of all Spanish possessions in South America; and according to John Lynch it was “perhaps the most colonial” of them all. Its institutions, mentalities and resources were certainly “all linked firmly to Spanish interests and conditioned by Spanish power.”⁵

For instance, the Peruvian landed, bureaucratic and commercial aristocracy was formed by creole families who retained their bonds with Spain through marriage, family ties, and friendship with newly arrived Spaniards. Therefore, although the Bourbon reforms decimated their economic, social and political power, the Peruvian elites were more conservative and had more ties with the metropolis than any other colony in the region. Besides, the radicalization of the French Revolution and the slave revolution in Haiti fed the fear of social upheavals and Indian violence that the Tupac Amaru rebellion had given rise to in the 1780s (and which a few subsequent rebellions helped maintain). After all, the white elites were well aware that they only comprised a small

⁵ John Lynch, *San Martín: Argentine soldier, American hero* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 33-34, [115].

percentage (13% in 1795) of the number of Indian, people of African ascent, and mixed-blood populations.⁶

A significant part of the Peruvian elite believed that belonging to the Spanish monarchy was the safest way to avoid racial violence, thus retaining their properties and social privileges. It is in this sense that John Lynch called Peru the “Reluctant Republic,” due to its limited interest vis-à-vis independence.⁷ Such loyalty was exploited by royalist propaganda and pamphlets that railed against independence, such as the anonymous 1817 pamphlet published in Lima titled “A Proclaim Made by a Merchant full of patriotism and eager for the happiness of all the American people swallowed by revolution.”⁸ This pamphlet was a response to the independence of Argentina and to the liberating expedition José de San Martín led to Chile across the Andes (January 1817). The pamphlet is an open letter that an anonymous *Peninsular* merchant wrote to his “American brothers” (“*Americanos hermanos míos*”). Spanish-born Spaniards, who were known as *Peninsulares*, were distinguished by their place of birth from the *criollos* or *creoles*, the American-born Spaniards. The pamphlet urged *creoles*, and criollo merchants in particular, to reflect upon the consequences independence could have for America, such as the loss of trading partners, trading routes, and family ties. The

⁶ Spanish rule based the social control on the fragmentation and conflicted interests of the different sectors that formed colonial society. Lynch, *San Martín*, 116-119.

⁷ Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo. Desde las luchas por la Independencia hasta el presente* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), 39-41; John Lynch, *Las revoluciones hispanoamericanas, 1808-1826* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2008), chap. 8; Lynch, *San Martín*, 142.

⁸ C.L., *Proclama. Hecha por un individuo comerciante lleno de patriotismo, y deseoso de la felicidad de todo pueblo Americano engolfado en revoluciones*, (Lima: Imprenta de los huérfanos, 1817).

Peninsular merchant claimed that being part of an extensive monarchy was the only way to ensure peace, union, and harmony within a nation, and thus to avoid conflict with other nations. It likewise addressed the men as heads of family on whom depended the fate of “your women, your sons, brothers, relatives, and friends.”⁹ The newspaper *El Triunfo de la Nación*, another royalist publication, exalted masculinity and fraternity between *peninsulars* and *creoles*. The newspaper also called for fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and cousins to unite in harmony, regardless of the place in the monarchy where they were born.¹⁰

One of the most extensive debates in Peru’s national historiography focuses on how involved were the Peruvian people in their independence. Three positions vie in this debate: first, that independence was firmly rooted in national efforts that first began with the indigenous Tupac Amaru rebellion; second, that independence was brought to Peru by foreign forces; and third, there is an intermediate position that mediates between both arguments. The debate also involves the degree in which the various social sectors participated in the move towards independence: *creoles*, Indians, *mestizos* (free mixed-race individuals), slaves, and the regional elites.¹¹ There is greater

⁹ “...vuestras mugeres, vuestros hijos, hermanos, parientes y amigos...” C.L., *Proclama*, 3-6.

¹⁰ *El Triunfo de la Nación*, no. 25 (May 8, 1821).

¹¹ For a well-balanced summary of this debate see Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y Constituciones: Perú 1821-1845* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 31-37. Aljovín is part of a recent historiographical current that has revisited Peruvian independence from new perspectives, including: Paul Gootenberg, *Caudillos y comerciantes. La formación económica del Estado peruano, 1820-1860* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1997); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes. Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham &

agreement in considering the expedition of José de San Martín to Peru, in 1820, as the beginning of the end of Spanish control in Peru. By late 1824, the expedition headed by Simón Bolívar consolidated Peruvian independence and sealed at the same time the independence of all of South America.¹² These two expeditions were led by the two *liberators* whose military masculinities would be exemplary for many of the caudillos in succeeding decades. Although different from one another, the production of San Martín's and Bolívar's *masculinities as exemplary* was at the same time part of the independence propaganda effort, and part of the politics of hegemonic masculinity.¹³

London: Duke University Press, 1999); Gabriella Chiaramonti, *Ciudadanía y representación en el Perú, 1808-1860. Los itinerarios de la soberanía* (Lima: Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Fondo Editorial, 2005); Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005); Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, comp., *La Independencia en el Perú: de los Borbones a Bolívar* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú-Instituto Riva Agüero, 2001); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens. Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

¹² Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 37. Other authors consider that Peru's independence was consolidated only when last Spanish forces left the Real Felipe fort of El Callao in 1826. Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo*, 43.

¹³ Connell, *Masculinities*, 214.

1.1. SAN MARTÍN'S EXEMPLARY MASCULINITY

Since the time of Viceroy José de Abascal, the Peruvian population had long had to sustain the Spanish military efforts (both financially and in manpower) to defend the colonies in South America, particularly against the attempts at independence made by the *Juntas de Gobierno* in Quito, Chuquisaca, Santiago de Chile, and the Rio de la Plata. Abascal also managed to control several regional uprisings in Peruvian cities such as Tacna (1811, 1813), Huánuco (1812), and Cusco (1814). He was succeeded as viceroy by Joaquín de la Pezuela (1816-1821), who was unable to reconquer the Alto Peru and Chile, nor could he secure the Peruvian territory of an invasion by San Martín. Pezuela called for an armistice once San Martín and his army had landed in the bay of Paracas. The negotiations were unsuccessful and the truce was broken when some clashes took place. The wavering way in which Pezuela led the war made a group of high-ranking officers depose him, and replaced him with General José de la Serna. Times were hard for Peruvians. A decade of war had affected all productive activities, and the heavy taxation required to sustain the defense of the colonies had impoverish the population to the utmost. News started to circulate in Lima regarding the retreat of La Serna to the mountains.¹⁴ This made the population of Lima despair and had a profound anxiety over the future. The British naval captain Basil Hall described in his travel account the effects the war had on Limeño masculine pride: “the men were miserable from

¹⁴ Lynch, *San Martín*, 119-120, 128; José de San Martín, “Decreto del Capitán General y en Jefe del Ejército Libertador del Perú, José de San Martín, en el que deroga la contribución extraordinaria de guerra ante el estado de pobreza de los limeños. Lima, 25 de julio de 1821,” in *José de San Martín. Escritos humanísticos y estratégicos* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2010), 80-81.

unwonted privation, apprehended loss of fortune, and wounded national pride.”¹⁵ In these times of uncertainty and lack of command, the pro-independence propaganda portrayed San Martín as a powerful and virile leader that was ready to bring peace and order to the city of Lima and to the Peruvian nation. Before he entered Lima, the independentist official gazette had already praised the virility of the patriotic leaders, particularly the manly virtues of the Liberator San Martín:

Glory to the illustrious brave man, to the generous LIBERATOR of Peru! Valiant warrior who came to break our chains! Glory to the intrepid COCHRANE, who renounced to honor in his nation, preferring the prosperity of these Peoples! Glory to the invincible Generals who have striven for her, and striven with such heroic patriotism! Glory to the brave of the Nation who intrepidly face for us danger and death!

Gloria al inclito Varon, al LIBERTADOR generoso del Perú, Guerrero esforzado que vino a romper nuestras cadenas! Gloria al intrépido COCHRANE que renunció a los honores en su patria prefiriendo la prosperidad de estos Pueblos! ¡Gloria a los invencibles Generales que por ella han trabajado y trabajan con tan heroyco patriotismo! ¡Gloria a los bravos de la Patria que por nosotros arrostran denodados los peligros y la muerte!¹⁶

¹⁵ Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal written on the coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico in the years 1820, 1821, 1822* (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1824), 1: 84, in *Google books*, <http://books.google.com.pe/books?id=6YgVAAAAYAAJ&dq=basil%20hall%20extracts%20from%20a%20journal%201824%20littell&pg=PP4#v=onepage&q=basil%20hall%20extracts%20from%20a%20journal%201824%20littell&f=false> (accessed October 14, 2011).

¹⁶ *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente*, no. 1 (July 16, 1821): 1. In Ministerio de Educación, Universidad Nacional de la Plata, *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima Independiente. Tomos I a III, julio 1821- diciembre 1822*, facsimile ed. (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft, 1950).

The independentist newspaper *Los Andes Libres* appeared just a few days after San Martín entered Lima. Its enthusiastic tone sought to promote the idea of a united America under the protection of San Martín. It likewise wanted to spread the enthusiasm for independence, at a moment when the final battle still lay a long way ahead.¹⁷ Its first issue highly praised San Martín's virility and military leadership, under the title of: "Hymn of the revived College of San Martín, formerly known as San Carlos, to the immortal patron that today exalts the College conveying it his illustrious name:"

The Hero departs: like one's gaze he runs
[So] in his marches he is fast and swift:
And the opposing lines he penetrates,
And fully scatters them,
Just like when the wind-blows
[And] The boreal whirlwind vanishes
That to the eyes an enormous mountain seemed
Offering an imposing delusion.

Parte el Héroe: cual la vista corre,
En sus marchas es raudo y veloz:
Y las filas contrarias penetra,
Y las pone en total dispersion,
Bien así qual, al soplo del viento,
Desaparece boreal turbillon,

¹⁷ Ascensión Martínez identified the authors of this newspaper: Fernando López Aldana, Félix Devoti, and Santiago Negrón. The three of them contributed to the independentist cause before San Martín arrived. *La Prensa Doctrinal en la Independencia del Perú, 1811-1824* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1985), 46-48.

Martínez studied the 'doctrinal press' in 1811-1824 (excluding the official press) in order to understand the evolution in the political thinking of the Peruvian elite. She defines the 'doctrinal press' as that which promoted debate and public discussion due to its highly ideological and political content. During this convulsed period, public opinion oscillated between a wide range of positions that went from constitutional monarchy to republicanism, and from fidelity to the Spanish monarchy to independence. Martínez, *La Prensa Doctrinal*, 10-11.

Que de enorme montaña, a los ojos
Ofrecia imponente ilusion.¹⁸

The hymn commended the virtue of the hero for running fast against his opponents, breaking the enemy lines—which seemed enormous--and scattered them. The use of the term “penetrates” the enemy lines reinforces the virility of the hero. This production of masculine heroism incorporates the notion of an unselfish sacrifice for the nation.¹⁹ San Martín’s deep commitment to American independence represented the sacrifice of one man for the common good. The “Ode to the Protector of the Freedom of Peru,” another poem published in the newspaper *Los Andes Libres*, highlights the hero’s noble sacrifice:

Yea, immortal man: you freed
Great peoples of their yoke, and renounced
The highest honors.

Yet you defended your nation
Fulfilling the vow you made at her altar:
And should fame always
Render due honor to your heroism,
It is because with your noble patriotism
You fostered the flame.

¹⁸ “Himno del Renaciente Colegio de San Martín, denominado antes San Carlos, al inmortal patrono que hoy le engrandece, comunicandole su esclarecido nombre.” *Los Andes Libres*, no. 1 (July 24, 1821), 3.

¹⁹ An 1826 pamphlet stated that “sacrifices are an absolute necessity; when the common good of the Republic calls the citizen: no motive should excuse him...” (“Los sacrificios son de absoluta necesidad, cuando el bien comun de la República llama al Ciudadano: ningún motivo deberá excusarlo...”). *Un verdadero patriota amante a su pais. Presenta al Gobierno este sencillo peso [sic: pero] interesante Manifiesto* (Lima: 1826), BNP, Pamphlets, 1827 box.

Yet you undefeated Champion; why have you crossed
The South Pacific? Why have you sought
So lengthy sorrows?
Because sad Peru, with your invincible
Power, of tyrants so dreadful,
Their chains would break.

Sí, varon inmortal: tú libertaste
Grandes pueblos del yugo, y renunciaste
Los mas altos honores.

Pero a tu patria defendiste
Cumpliendo el voto que en su altar le hiciste:
Y si siempre la fama
Hace el debido honor a tu heroismo,
Es porque de tu noble patriotismo
Fomentaste la llama.

Mas tú invicto Campeon, ¿por qué has surcado
El Pacífico Sur? ¿Por qué has buscado
Tan prolongadas penas?
Porque el triste Perú con tu invencible
Poder, a los tiranos tan temible,
Rompiese sus cadenas.²⁰

The patriotic liberation of Peru is here presented as the virile effort of a single man. In addition, the collective enterprise of Peruvian independence is presented as the disinterested sacrifice made by a hero, instead of highlighting its strategic value for securing the independence of the former Spanish-American possessions. However, the image of San Martín as a man who renounced honors and was not concerned with the pursuit of glory, fame or riches, seems to resemble his actual character.²¹ According to

²⁰ “Oda al Protector de la Libertad del Peru,” *Los Andes Libres*, no. 5 (August 21, 1821), [6].

²¹ Lynch, *San Martín*, xii, [72]-73, 123, [138]-139.

first-hand witnesses, San Martín embodied the stoicism and austerity of a professional soldier. Commodore William Bowles, the English commander of the South American naval station and friend of General San Martín's, described him thus in 1815, during his stay in Chile:

...tall, strongly-formed, with a dark complexion and marked countenance. He is perfectly well-breed, and extremely pleasing in his manner and conversation. His way of living is in the highest degree simple and abstemious, and he rarely even sits down to table, dining in a few minutes on any dish which happens to be ready when he feels hungry... He disregards money, and is, I believe, very little richer than when he came to this country, although if his views had been interested or personal he might have easily amassed a large fortune since his entry into Chile.²²

This austere life was altered by the courtly and lavish manners of the city of Lima. Basil Hall tells how women threw themselves at the Liberator when he was recognized during his incognito visit after Viceroy La Serna abandoned Lima to relocate the colonial headquarters in Cusco.²³ San Martín adapted his lifestyle to his new condition as Peruvian head of state, "dressed in a splendid new uniform embroidered in gold leaf, and surrounded in public by his Protector's guard."²⁴ San Martín ruled Peru with supreme civil and military powers, under the title of 'Protector of the Peruvians.' The

²² Bowles to Croker, *Amphion* at sea, 14 February 1818, in Gerald S. Graham and R.A. Humphreys, eds., *The Navy and South America 1807-1823: Correspondence of the Commanders-in-Chief on the South American Station* (London, 1962), 227-228. Cited by Lynch, *San Martín*, [72].

²³ Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal written on the coasts of Chile, Peru and Mexico in the years 1820, 1821, 1822* (Edinburgh, 1824), I, 246-247. In John Lynch, *San Martín*, 130.

²⁴ Lynch, *San Martín*, 150.

title of “Protector” reinforced the notion of the ruler as a paternal figure that the Spanish crown had promoted for centuries.²⁵ As such, the independentist newspaper *Los Andes Libres* summoned Peruvians to fight for a fraternal life under the rule of “fair laws and a paternal government.”²⁶ Furthermore, in a neoclassic fashion, San Martín and Lord Cochrane were compared by the independentist press with roman deities who not only had protected, but had also “restored our nation.” Pamphlets and the press contributed significantly to imagining that the Peruvian nation had existed since times immemorial and was about to be restored by the *liberator* heroes.²⁷

The praise of the exemplary masculinity of the Liberator San Martín was also followed by an exaltation of the virility of those men who joined the patriot side. They were called the “brave sons of the Nation” (“valientes hijos de la Patria”), and civilians

²⁵ Blanca Premo, *Children of the Father King. Youth, Authority and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, I, 200-203.

²⁶ “Reflexiones sobre la Independencia del Peru,” *Los Andes Libres*, no. 2 (July 31, 1821): 2. The newspaper *El Investigador Resucitado* used the same notion to address the members of the Municipal Council as fathers of the *patria* (nation). *El Investigador Resucitado*, no. 19 (December 12, 1822): 4.

²⁷ “Proemio,” *El Arbol de la Independencia*, no. 1 (Lima: Imprenta del Río, 182?); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 6-7. I share Claudio Lomnitz’s reading of Anderson, which recognizes that his major contribution is to treat nationalism not as an ideology, but rather as a “hegemonic, commonsensical, and tacitly shared cultural construct.” “Nationalism as a Practical System,” in *The Other Mirror. Grand theory through the lens of Latin America*, ed. by Miguel Ángel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), [329].

For a gender perspective on Latin American nations as androcentric “imagined communities,” that excluded women from the fraternal imaginary, see: Mary Luise Pratt, “Women, Literature, and National Brotherhood,” in Emilie Bergmann, ed. *Women, Culture and Politics in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 48-73.

were exhorted to join the independentist ranks against the cowardly royalist forces who had abandoned Lima, leaving behind the population of the city to its own fate.²⁸ Instead, others feared that the general character of Limeño men was apathetic and fearful due to their servile condition, and therefore favored a counter-revolution.²⁹

While manly virtues were exalted, women were also asked to contribute to the patriot cause, by inspiring their relatives and friends to join the patriotic effort:

Virtuous damsels: arm your defenders with thine own hands. If nature made you weak and unable to bear the fatigue of war, it has rewarded you with the sway it has given you over the strongest of men. The love you arouse is the most powerful stimulus of passions. It stirs the enthusiasm of the warrior youth: let it will kindle in their chest an undying love for the Nation. Let your grace be the prize for valor, just like beauty was the prize for victors in the merry times of Greece.

²⁸ The royal army of Lima under the command of General José de La Serna, had fleet the city for Cusco, leaving the civilians to their fate:

...[the royalist forces] cowardly run at the sight of the victorious legions of the LIBERATOR HERO, and leave [Lima] at the mercy will of an unbridled and resentful rabble, without authority to contain them, without money or weapons to make them respect public safety and the law.

...[las fuerzas realistas] huyen cobardemente a la vista de las legiones victoriosas del HEROE LIBERTADOR, y la dexan [Lima] al arbitrio de/ una plebe desenfrenada y resentida, sin autoridad para contenerla, sin dinero y sin armas para hacer respetar la pública seguridad y la ley.

F.D. *Los Andes Libres*, no. 1 (July 24, 1821): 1-2. See also: *Los Andes Libres*, no. 5 (August 21, 1821): 4, and no. 6 (August 28, 1821): 2.

²⁹ "Caracter general de Lima," *El Consolador*, no. 7 (August 6, 1821): 51.

Virtuosas doncellas: armad con vuestras manos a vuestros defensores. Si la naturaleza os hizo débiles e incapaces de sufrir las fatigas de la guerra os recompensó con el imperio que os dió sobre los hombres mas fuertes. El amor que inspirais es el estímulo mas poderoso de las pasiones. Este excite el entusiasmo de la juventud guerrera: este encienda en sus pechos el inextinguible amor de la Patria. Sean vuestras gracias el premio del valor, como en los tiempos felices de la Grecia la hermosura era el premio de los vencedores.³⁰

This *Proclaim to the Peruvian belle sex*, which has been ascribed to San Martín, exalted at the same time the courage of men that have decided to support the independence army despite “the fatigues of war,” and the virtue and beauty of the women who supported the patriotic cause. Another pamphlet printed by the official pro-independence press also recognized the “powerful influence the delicate sex exerts over the strong [one],” and then asked women to motivate their sons, husbands, lovers, brothers, and fathers to “join the soldiers of independence.”³¹ Besides being advocates for the patriotic cause, women helped the independentist efforts acting as couriers, spies, arms smugglers, nurses, and by providing food and clothing.³² However, addressing women for their support was indeed a form of recognition of their influence in politics, a point often highlighted in the accounts left by travelers. Flora Tristán, just like other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers, argued that the keen

³⁰ F.D. *Los Andes Libres*, no. 1 (July 24, 1821): 3.

³¹ “...el poderoso influxo que el sexo delicado ejerce sobre el fuerte.” *Proclama al bello sexo peruano* (Lima: Imprenta de la Independencia, ca. 1821), BNP, pamphlet collection, 1820, n^o 2.

³² Pamela S. Murray, *For Glory and Bolívar. The Remarkable Life of Manuela Sáenz, 1797-1856* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 22; Sarah C. Chambers, “Republican Friendship: Manuela Sáenz Writes Women Into the Nation, 1835-1856,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, 2 (2001): 226.

intelligence of the elite women of Lima exceeded that of their male partners. This allowed women, first to “govern” their husbands by persuading them to do as they wanted, and second, to frequently involve themselves in politics and intrigues to acquire public and private positions for their husbands, children, and men they had an interest in.³³

³³ Flora Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una paria: texto original del siglo XIX, anotado*, in *Flora Tristán, personalidad contestataria universal*, edited by Gustavo Bacacorzo (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2000), 2: 425-428; George Juan and Antonio de [1747]), II: 61, in *Google books*, <http://books.google.com.pe/books?id=JJdJAAAYAAJ&dq=Ulloa%20voyage%20to%20South%20America%20Stockdale%201806%20volume%202&pg=PP7#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed October 1, 2011); Tadeás Haenke, *Descripción del Perú* (Lima: El Lucero, 1901), under *Biblioteca Digital Andina* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú), <http://bvirtual.bn.p.gob.pe/bvirtual/cod.libro.php?cod.libro=46> (accessed April 22, 2006), 25; Hall, *Extracts from a journal*, I, 84.

In a topic also favored by the Enlightenment press, newspapers like the *Diario de Lima* satirized when domestic power of women surpassed that of their husbands:

That [my wife] takes care of the house
And observes, what in it happens,
And brings some relief to me
Yes indeed.

But that she may be [university] graduate,
And that she may do as she pleases,
And even command more than I do
No indeed.

Que [mi mujer] tenga cuidado en casa,
Y observe, que en ella pasa,
Y en algo me alivie a mi:
Eso si.

Mas que sea una Bachillera,
Que haga solo lo que quiera,
Y aún mande mas que yo:
Eso no.

The *salonnières* were the most notable example of female involvement in politics. Following the Enlightenment fashion, influential Limeño women opened their homes to literary circles that mostly comprised male acquaintances. Mariana Belzunce, the wealthy widow of Agustín de Landaburu y Belzunce, the mayor of Lima, hosted one of the most influential literary circles in late colonial society. These *tertulias* brought together noble aristocrats, high colonial officials, scholars, and influential clerics to debate politics, philosophy, sciences, and the arts. These were also occasions in which to seek personal advancement. For instance, the attendance of Hipólito Unanue to Belzunce's *tertulia* helped him advance his public career.³⁴

The separatist ideals were also welcomed in *tertulias* like the ones hosted by Manuela Riglos and Rosa Campusano. The Peruvian patriotic hymn was first rehearsed in Manuela's *tertulia*, and she sang it herself before the Protector José de San Martín. Rosa Campusano, an actress born in Guayaquil, moved to Lima in 1817 as the mistress of a wealthy peninsular. Her beauty and influential connections soon gave her a position in Limeño society, where she hosted a *tertulia* that was frequented by young conspirators who favored independence. It is traditionally held that Rosa's contribution to Peruvian independence included using her feminine charms to obtain military

"Cartilla para casados," *Diario de Lima* (November 25, 1790): 3.

³⁴ Alicia del Aguila, *Los velos y las pieles: cuerpo, género y reordenamiento social en el Perú republicano*. Lima, 1822-1872 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003), 17; Uriel García Cáceres, *La magia de Unanue* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2010), 63-73; María del Rosario Solís, "La obra de José Rossi y Rubí en el *Mercurio Peruano*: búsqueda y creación del lector criollo ilustrado," *Tinkuy. Boletín de Investigación y Debate*, no. 6 (2007): 67, <http://www.littlm.umontreal.ca/recherche/publications.html> (accessed January 1, 2011).

information from royalist generals who were her friends, and maintaining a profuse correspondence with San Martín prior to his arrival at Lima. Rosa Campusano and a hundred other women were indeed awarded the *Orden del Sol* by San Martín for their contribution to the cause. San Martín occasionally was also accompanied by Rosita Campuzano, and this made her be called *la Protectora* ('the Protectress'). The lengthy separation San Martín endured from his wife, who remained in the Argentine during the independence campaigns in Chile and Peru, fed the gossip grapevine.³⁵

The role of salonnières like Josefa Carrillo, marquise of Castellón, and Countess Hermenegilda de Guisla in favor of independence explains why the press was interested in addressing women.³⁶ An interesting paradox dominated the independentist press: women were exhorted to influence their male relatives in favor of independence, but men who followed the advice of their female relatives to support the royalist cause were branded as emasculated cowards:

Why is it that some American bastards follow the cause of these wicked [men], and even betray the fatherland, a crime more common amongst the fairer sex? What does it depend on, but the league they have with these women, and to a great extent, on the cowardice and fear that befalls less constant men?

³⁵ Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una paria*, 435; del Aguila, *Los velos y las pieles*, 103-106; Lynch, *San Martín*, 101, 150; Ricardo Palma, "La Protectora y la Libertadora," *Tradiciones Peruanas. Séptima serie* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2007) <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/tradiciones-peruanas-septima-serie--o/html/> (accessed October 25, 2011).

³⁶ Alicia del Aguila, *Los velos y las pieles*, 105; Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *La Revolución de la Independencia del Perú. Desde 1809 a 1819* (Lima: Imprenta del Comercio por J.M. Monterola, 1860), 85-87, 236.

¿De que pende, que algunos bastardos americanos sigan la causa de estos malvados, y aun traicionen la patria, siendo abundante en este crimen el bello sexo? De que ha de pender; de la liga en que se hallan con ellas, y mucha parte por cobardía y temor que cae en barones menos constantes...³⁷

The previous extract comes from *El Investigador Resucitado*, an independentist and pro-republican newspaper.³⁸ The passage reflects a concern over the role the peninsular residents in Peru might have in consolidating independence. It conveyed political support for the expulsion of the peninsular residents in Peru; an endeavor undertaken by Bernardo de Monteagudo under the San Martín administration. Their expulsion included the seizure of all peninsular possessions. However, due to the strong kinship and commercial ties the creole elite shared with peninsulars, the harsh measures applied against the peninsulars also affected creole families. This contributed to an anti-independence sentiment among the Limeño elite that tainted the initial welcome San Martín had received.³⁹ The anti-peninsular sentiment thus stirred was not meant to reach the majority of elite families and their peninsular fathers, relatives, or

³⁷ *El Investigador Resucitado*, no. 22 (December 31, 1822): 2.

³⁸ The edition of *El Investigador Resucitado* is attributed to José Joaquín Larriva, a Limeño presbyter, professor of law at the Universidad de San Marcos, and journalist. After the 1811 decree granting freedom of the press, he participated at several newspapers like *El Investigador*, *El Cometa*, and *El Argos Constitucional*. His position in favor of independence only developed after 1820; before then he had been in charge of the colonial official newspaper *La Gaceta de Gobierno*. Martínez, *La Prensa Doctrinal*, 57-58, 76-77. For further details on Larriva, see note 41 in this chapter.

³⁹ According to David Brading, the peninsular population had fallen from ten thousand to only six hundred people a year after San Martín entered Lima in 1822,. David A. Brading, “Patria e historia: tríptico peruano,” in *Visión y Símbolos: del Virreinato Criollo a la República Peruana*, coord. by Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2006), 16; Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, I: 203-204; Lynch, *San Martín*, 254; Martínez, *La Prensa Doctrinal*, 188.

business partners. The patriotic press was instead directed towards the middle sectors, which blended their anti-peninsular sentiment with social and economic frustrations. As such, the derogatory term *godo* was used to refer to peninsular men, and *godas* to peninsular or royalist women. The contemptuous tone could turn cruder, as in *El Corneta de la Guerra*:⁴⁰

I joyfully exhale when Congress discusses war and the treasury. On that day, when I go out to the street, I run into the *godos*, demi-*godos*, and hoodwinkers, egoists who piss drop by drop ... Watch out! Watch out for all this horde of scoundrels who do not sleep. The *godas* are their panderers and snitches, and because of their devotion many infamous American men... [many American men] miss them [the Spanish], don't they? They are right, poor ones! They are stupid; they had the money and satisfied all their passions and their orgasm, and not even wearing the horns of a cuckold made them lose their sleep.

Espiro de gusto cuando en el Congreso se trata de guerra y hacienda. Ese día, cuando salgo a la calle, encuentro a los godos, semigodos y camastronazos, egoistas orinando a gotitas..... Alerta, alerta con toda esta horda de picaros que no duermen. Las godas son sus alcahuetas, y correvelillos, y a su devoción muchos americanos infames..... los estrañan: ¿no? tienen razón, ¡pobrecitos! son brutos, tenían la pecunia, y satisfacían todas las pasiones y su orgasmo, y ni la cornamenta de venao les quitaba el sueño.⁴¹

⁴⁰ A newspaper edited by the Flemish Guillermo del Río, the most important editor in Lima in this period. He edited *El Telégrafo Peruano* and *La Minerva* between 1805 and 1810. His differences with viceroy Abascal over his publications made him abandon Lima. Del Río returned to the city after the Cadiz Courts decreed the freedom of the press in 1810. He then edited *El Satélite del Peruano*, *El Peruano*, and most notably, *La Abeja Republicana* and *El Imparcial*. Martínez, *La Prensa Doctrinal*, 102-104.

⁴¹ *El Investigador Resucitado*, no. 5 (December 6, 1822): 4.

For the support they gave to peninsular men, most of whom were probably their own relatives, royalist women were accused of leading a dissolute life, and of being gossips and panderers. *Godos* and royalist creoles (*demi-godos*) were attacked even more, and had their virility (“dripping urine”) and masculine honor (“cuckold”) questioned.⁴²

⁴² José Joaquín de Larriva, a satiric creole poet and journalist, gives another interesting example of the emasculation of the royalist forces in a poem dedicated to Gaspar Rico, his literary adversary. A peninsular, Rico joined the last royalist forces in Peru entrenched in the Real Felipe fortress. Rico edited the newspaper *El Depositario* in 1821-1825, defending the royalist cause. In this scatological poem, Larriva wishes one of the bombs fired against the Real Felipe could reach Villasana, another one of Rico’s surnames:

VARYING A BIT

Oh sulfurous and resounding bomb
Which is going to conduct this poem
Whom will you see inside his ring,
Have fun with Venus an instant:
And falling afterwards on the Castillo
Seek Villasana from behind,
And stick yourself on him in the form of hemorrhoids.

VARIANDITO

O bomba sulfurosa y retronante
Que vas a conducir este razguillo
A quien verás metido entre su anillo,
Diviértete con Venus un instante:
Y cayendo despues sobre el Castillo,
Busca por su detras a Villasana,
Y clávatele en forma de almorrana.

Nueva Depositaria, no. 1 (May 1, 1825).

For an analysis of Larriva’s literature against Rico, see: Concepción Reverte Bernal, “El Nuevo Depositario y Nueva Depositaria de José Joaquín de Larriva contra Gaspar Rico, más literatura que periodismo,” *América sin Nombre* 13-14 (Dec. 2009), 51-63. In *Repositorio Institucional de la Universidad de Alicante*. <http://hdl.handle.net/10045/13357> (accessed November 5, 2011). Also, see note 37 in this chapter.

Another newspaper accused the *godas* of being members of a “pernicious and dreadful sect,” whose utmost goal was to use their enchantments to “seduce the true patriots, and incline their spirits to a new and impossible revolution.”⁴³ The men who fell for the deceiving enchantments of these “poisonous reptiles” were called “brutes.” In this context, “brute” were those who yielded to their instincts, “acting only motivated by fear or pleasure.”⁴⁴

⁴³ “...se acaba felizmente de descubrir otra [secta] en Lima y en el Callao, no menos perniciosa y temible, con el nombre de GODAS: su principal objeto es seducir a los verdaderos patriotas, y disponer sus animos a una nueva revolución inverificable.” *El Corneta de la Guerra* (May 2, 1823): 9-10.

⁴⁴ A brute “solo obra por temor y por placer.” *El Investigador Resucitado*, no. 19 (December 12, 1822): 4; *El Corneta de la Guerra* (May 2, 1823): 9-10.

1.2. BOLÍVAR'S EXEMPLARY MASCULINITY

The hyper-masculinity of the Liberator Simón Bolívar stood in stark contrast with the emasculated *godos*. In July 1822, San Martín went to Guayaquil to meet Bolívar and discuss the future of Peruvian independence. After the conference, San Martín resigned his command in Peru and left the country. In the midst of the ensuing political turmoil, independentist and royalist forces successively gained control of Lima several times before Bolívar entered the city on September 1, 1823.⁴⁵ Unlike San Martín, who projected the sober and austere persona of a professional soldier, Bolívar was known by his self-conscious projection of manly leadership. His noble birth, wealth, and talent marked his early experiences in Venezuela and Europe. These resources contributed to his strong personality, his “inner fortitude, a resolution in the face of adversity, and an ability to pick himself up from calamity and come back fighting,” almost as if early in his life he had developed a sense of triumph and a self-awareness of being a historical protagonist.⁴⁶ Several contemporary sources promoted the image of Bolívar as someone who was self-conscious of playing a historical role, among them the diary of Louis Peru de Lacroix (1780-1837). The French general Peru de Lacroix had fought in Napoleon’s army before he joined Bolívar’s, and his journal documents a tradition in comparing

⁴⁵ John Lynch, *Simón Bolívar* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), 233-236, 246-247.

⁴⁶ Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 2-30, 74; John Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: a life* (North Yorkshire: Yale University Press, 2006), 64.

both historical figures.⁴⁷ Although different versions exist, one of the key passages in this tradition is narrating Bolívar's attendance to Napoleon's coronation in 1804:

The crown which Napoleon placed on his head I regarded as a miserable thing and a gothic fancy: what seemed great to me was the universal acclaim and interest that his person inspired. This, I confess, made me think of my country's slavery and the glory in store for the man who would free her. But how far was I from imagining that such a fortune awaited me! Later, it is true, I began to flatter myself that one day I would be able to participate in her liberation but not that I would play the leading role in so great an event.⁴⁸

La corona que se puso Napoleón sobre la cabeza la miré como una cosa miserable y de moda gótica; lo que me pareció grande fue la aclamación universal y el interés que inspiraba su persona. Esto, lo confieso, me hizo pensar en la esclavitud de mi país y en la gloria que conquistaría el que le libertase; pero ¡cuán lejos me hallaba de imaginar que tal fortuna me aguardaba! Más tarde sí empecé a lisonjearme de que un día podría yo cooperar a su libertad, pero no que representaría el primer papel en aquel grande acontecimiento.⁴⁹

According to the contemporary French author Abbé Dominique de Pradt, comparing Napoleon and Bolívar was already common by the mid 1820s. *El Peruano*

⁴⁷ For an historiographic perspective regarding this comparison, see: Brading, "Patria e historia: tríptico peruano," 25; Jorge Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, vol. 2, ch. El aguacero y el sauce (sec. 9 and 14), http://sisbib.unmsm.edu.pe/bibvirtual/libros/historia/iniciacion_republica/tomo2/Lib2_Cap7_5.htm (accessed August 28, 2011).

⁴⁸ Louis Peru de Lacroix translated by John Lynch, in *Simón Bolívar: a life*, 25.

⁴⁹ Luis Perú de Lacroix, *Diario de Bucaramanga, o Vida Pública y Privada del Libertador Simón Bolívar*. Madrid: Editorial América, 1924. In *Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango*. Bogotá: Biblioteca Virtual del Banco de la República, 2005. <http://banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/historia/diabu/indice.htm> (accessed November 2, 2011). A different edition is quoted by Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 33.

Independiente, the official newspaper during Bolívar's rule in Peru, reproduced an article by the Abbé de Pradt titled *Washington, Napoleon, Iturbide, Bolívar*. The article responded to the celebration of the Congress of Panama in 1826, where Bolívar promoted his idea of a confederation of American republics. For the Abbé de Pradt, Napoleon could not be compared with Bolívar because the latter chose to reject a monarchy despite having the opportunity to do so. Napoleon's ambitions instead imposed monarchy in France, when conditions were ripe for her liberty.⁵⁰ Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre⁵¹ had a different opinion on Bolívar's character. A few weeks before the publication of Abbé de Pradt article, Vidaurre had written in his newspaper *El Revisor* that Bolívar's dictatorial ambitions knew no limits and were only comparable to those of Napoleon.⁵²

Napoleon certainly was the great warrior and the exemplary masculinity of his time. He was an inspiration for many of the caudillos of Spanish America

⁵⁰ Mr. de Pradt, "Congreso de Panama," *El Peruano Independiente*, no. 14 (March 25, 1826): 1-2.

⁵¹ **Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre** (1773-1841) served as a lawyer and magistrate during the last decades of the Spanish colonial order. He also served as the first President of the Supreme Court in the new Republic. His prolific jurist production, that includes a civil code and even an ecclesiastical code that claims independence from Rome, remains as a testimony of a transitional era. De la Puente Brunke, "El proyecto de Código Penal de Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre," 1001; Basadre, *Historia del Derecho*, 327-333. For an analysis of Vidaurre as a transitional figure between colonial power and republicanism see: David A. Brading, "Patria e historia: tríptico peruano," in *Visión y Símbolos: del Virreinato Criollo a la República Peruana*, coord. by Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2006), [14]-27; Ramón Ponce Testino, "Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre y su Plan del Perú (1823)," in *Filosofía y Sociedad en el Perú*, ed. by Augusto Castro (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2003), 105-127.

⁵² *El Revisor*, no. 2 (March 2, 1827): 2. In Juan Pedro Paz-Soldán, *El Revisor. Editado en Lima en febrero 1827. Reeditado en setiembre de 1921* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1921).

independence, starting with the liberators San Martín and Bolívar. By August 1821, Lord Thomas Cochrane had tried to goad San Martín into beginning the long overdue final campaign against the royalist forces in Peru by claiming he could become the “Napoleon of South America.”⁵³ San Martín did not seem interested. Comparisons were inevitable in the case of Bolívar, particularly considering Bolívar’s “thirst for fame and glory.”⁵⁴ Bolívar’s genius as a strategist, his political ambition, and his interest in organizing all aspects of the State organization were considered Napoleonic gestures. Napoleon’s image of masculine heroism would still influence the caudillos during the first decades of the early republics, as was the case of Bolivian President Andrés de Santa Cruz.⁵⁵ These caudillos also felt Napoleon’s influence through the figure of

⁵³ Cochrane to San Martín, Callao Roads, 7 August 1821, in Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil from Spanish and Portuguese Domination* (London, 1859), I: 129-132. In John Lynch, *San Martín*, 135.

⁵⁴ Murray, *For Glory and Bolívar*, 34.

⁵⁵ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, vol. 2, ch. El aguacero y el sauce (sec. 9 and 14).

Andrés de Santa Cruz was born in 1792, or 1795, in Huarina (Alto Perú, now Bolivia). A *mestizo*, Santa Cruz descendent from an Indigenous chief (*cacica*) mother and a Spanish father. In 1810, Santa Cruz joined the Spanish army to fight the rebellious Argentinean patriotic forces. After being taken prisoner in the Tarija combat, in 1817, he escaped from Buenos Aires to Rio de Janeiro for rejoining the Spanish army. He was again made prisoner by independentists in Cerro de Pasco, and after that expressed his decision to serve the Independence forces under San Martín’s command. Victor in the battle of Pichincha, the Peruvian Congress granted him a merit medal in 1822, and a year later led the military appointment of José de la Riva-Agüero for President, in the mutiny of Balconcillo. Named by Bolívar, President of the Government Council of Lima, Santa Cruz accepted the Lifetime Constitution (*Constitución Vitalicia*) that favor Bolívar, although he will ended in charge of the country after the military mutiny promoted by Vidaurre against the Lifetime Constitution. Elected President of Bolivia in 1829, Santa Cruz vehemently pursued to reunite Bolivia to Peru in the Peru-Bolivian Confederation during mid 1830s. Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 152-154, 174-175, 207-208, [351]-356.

Bolívar: “The emphasis on the proclamations, the confidence in his own capacity and his own destiny, and the ornamental efforts, were [all] Napoleonic [in nature].”⁵⁶

Contemporary comparisons between the liberators and Napoleon also came from other sources. The most notable artist at the time of the wars of independence in South America painted both San Martín and Bolívar, in a classic Napoleonic pose. Starting in 1817, José Gil de Castro developed a series of paintings of San Martín standing erect, with his right arm bent and the hand inside his military jacket. Art historian Arline Meyer has demonstrated that Napoleon’s pose in the well known portrait by David (1812) had its origins in the eighteenth-century British painting tradition of “a gentleman poised with one hand inside his partially unbuttoned waistcoat.” Except for Gil de Castro, this pose was quite rare in early nineteenth-century Peruvian painting, thus suggesting the influence of David. By 1823 Gil de Castro, in one of the most celebrated portraits of Bolívar, had already depicted him in the hand-in-jacket pose (**fig. 3**).⁵⁷ The painter then began an extensive use of this pose in military portraits.⁵⁸

Gil de Castro is known as ‘the liberators’ painter’ (*pintor de los libertadores*) because of his extensive oeuvre dedicated to the Liberators San Martín, Bolívar, Sucre,

⁵⁶ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 140.

⁵⁷ James Higgins, *Lima. A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 101. I thank Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada for leading me to the work of Gil de Castro. Personal communication, October 3, 2011. Since 2008, the Museo de Arte de Lima (Perú), the Universidad Nacional de San Martín (Argentina) and the Centro Nacional de Conservación y Restauración (Chile) are conducting a research, restoration, and exhibition project on Gil de Castro, with the sponsorship of The Getty Foundation.

⁵⁸ Arline Meyer, “Re-dressing Classical Statuary: The Eighteenth-Century “Hand-in-Waistcoat” Portrait,” *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (March 1995): 45-63. For a rare example of hand-in-waistcoat Peruvian colonial portrait, see Viceroy Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos (1790-1796), MNAAH.

and other notable leaders of the wars of Spanish American independence (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia). Born in Lima, the mulatto Gil de Castro was well-established in Chilean society when he joined San Martín's expedition to Peru. By the time of his return to Peru, Gil de Castro had already painted several portraits of San Martín (at least seven in 1817-1820). Most of these paintings also portrayed San Martín in the Napoleonic pose, as a sign of virility and military power. In Lima, Gil de Castro became the official painter of the Peruvian government. He furthermore became the painter of the South American revolutions, and made a decisive contribution towards the creation of the masculine public image of the leaders in the new republics.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ **José Gil de Castro** (1785-ca. 1840) was a mulatto born in Lima to free black parents. He joined the Spanish militia in Trujillo (on the Northern coast of Peru) at an early age, following his father's footsteps. A few years later he began his training as painter in a workshop in Lima. He migrated to Santiago de Chile around 1806, and dedicated himself to portraying the notables of Santiago's elite. Gil de Castro is considered a milestone in the early Peruvian and Chilean republican painting, and is valued as the transitional painter between the colonial canons and the republican neoclassic aesthetics. For an overview of his work in Chile and Argentina see: Ricardo Mariategui Oliva, *José Gil de Castro ("El mulato Gil"). Vida y obra del gran pintor peruano de los libertadores. Obras existentes en Argentina y Chile* (Lima: La Confianza, 1981). For Peru, see: Patricia Mondoñedo Murillo, *El retrato de José Olaya. La obra disímil de José Gil de Castro* (Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, 2002), 29, [43]-44.



Figure 3. José Gil de Castro. *Simón Bolívar portrait*. Oil on canvas. 1823. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima. Image c. 1989, provided by The University of Texas at Austin, College of Fine Arts, under ARTstor license.

The manly posture of Bolívar (**fig. 3**) is complemented with his sword, which his left hand holds. He is wearing a military tailcoat, white trousers, and spurred black boots. The sobriety of his black and white attire contrasts with the vivacious colors formerly used in male attire during the previous century. Gil de Castro excelled in

capturing the details of the fine golden embroidered jacket, the prominent epaulets, and the embroidered waist belt. Bolívar's facial expression reveals pride and self-confidence. The globe on the table represents his sway over the vast liberated territories. The ink and paper set evoke knowledge and wisdom. An inscription in a red ribbon complements the painting: 'PERU REMEMBERS THE HEROIC DEEDS VENERATING ITS LIBERATOR' (*Perú recuerda los hechos heroicos venerando a su Libertador*). Art historians have interpreted the ribbon curiously suspended in the air as a survival from colonial painting, now adapted from a sacred to a secular and military context.⁶⁰

The paintings of military and political leaders fulfilled several roles in the wars of independence. Gil de Castro was commissioned to produce a series of half-length portraits of Bolívar (**fig. 4**) to promote a warmer reception on his arrival at Peru. Portraits were also used to promote independence with the liberator's painting presiding on civic ceremonies and official meetings. On July 28, 1825, the anniversary of the declaration of independence was celebrated in Lima with Bolívar absent. A banquet was held in the government palace while the Liberator was in Cuzco. The portrait of Bolívar presided the salon, "captivating all the gazes, [and] getting all affection."⁶¹ Art historian Luis Eduardo Wuffarden claims an "iconographic war" broke

⁶⁰ Similar ribbons are also present in other portraits by Gil de Castro, like those of Coronel José María del Valle y García, Lorenzo del Valle y García, President Luis José de Orbegoso, and the martyr José Olaya. Mondoñedo Murillo, *El retrato de José Olaya*, 36.

⁶¹ "Colocado el retrato de S.E. el LIBERTADOR a la cabeza del salon llamaba todas las miradas, fijaba todas las afecciones..." *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima* 8, no. 9 (July 31, 1825): 3, in *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú. Periodo de Gobierno de Simón Bolívar* (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza, 1967), 3: 39.

out as part of the independence conflict. The war involved the substitution of colonial symbols and images with a republican iconography, albeit without this entailing a significant change in the artistic language. A symbolic example of this iconographic war is the use of the painting of Viceroy Abascal as the canvas for a portrait of San Martín. The original painting had been held at the meeting hall of the Lima city council, and the artist Mariano Carrillo was given the commission of painting San Martín's portrait in 1822.⁶²

⁶² Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Avatares del "bello ideal". Modernismo clasicista versus tradiciones barrocas en Lima, 1750-1825," in *Visión y Símbolos: del Virreinato Criollo a la República Peruana*, coord. by Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2006), 149. The portrait of San Martín is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Santiago de Chile: Centro de Documentación de Bienes Patrimoniales de la Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos del Gobierno de Chile, *Programa Sur*, <http://www.surdoc.cl/g-o-10300.php?prm0=145623> (accessed October 16, 2011).



Figure 4. José Gil de Castro. *Portrait of Simón Bolívar*. Oil on canvas. 1823. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima. Image c. 1966, provided by The University of Texas at Austin, College of Fine Arts, under ARTstor license.

Invoking the presence of the Liberator through his portrait was also a way of reinforcing masculine models. Wuffarden posits that the use of monochromatic backgrounds in Bolívar's portraits emphasized the medals and military attire, thus bringing a heroic tone to the painting.⁶³ The portrait above, in particular, emphasizes Bolívar's manly handsomeness, which may have contributed to provide him with numerous female admirers. Bolívar was pleased with the painting and considered it was

⁶³ Wuffarden, "Avatares del "bello ideal", " 150.

painted “with great accuracy and resemblance.”⁶⁴ This self-confidence was also manifest in love matters. Bolívar was known as a Don Juan who did not spare any opportunity to seduce attractive women. A widower at an early age, Bolívar managed to indulge in love affairs even in the most adverse political or military situations.⁶⁵ In fact, his romantic conquests were held to be as remarkable as the military ones.

Ever since his triumphal entrance in Caracas after defeating the Spanish army, the same ritual was performed every time the Liberator victoriously entered a new capital city.⁶⁶ A group of young women dressed in white crowned him with a laurel wreath and covered him with flowers. After this in Caracas, Bolívar began a five-year liaison with one of these young women—Josefina Machado, who was known as Pepita. In 1819, the victory of Boyacá was celebrated in Bogotá with a Te Deum mass and a civil ceremony held in the central plaza, that included the group of young women who crowned Bolívar with the laurels. This tradition was celebrated by a poem published in the *Constitucional de Bogotá*, and which was reprinted by *El Peruano Independiente*, the official newspaper of the Peruvian Republic:

⁶⁴ Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: a life*, illustration 4.

⁶⁵ John Lynch recounts a significant number of Bolívar’s love affairs in his biography, see in particular: *Simón Bolívar*, 103, 131.

⁶⁶ The Peruvian official newspaper referred to Peru and Bolivia’s independence as the “new laurels in the precious wreath that for twelve years now has adorned the victorious forehead of the founding hero of three nations” (“hallase nuevos laureles en la preciosa guirnalda que ha doce años que ciñe la victoriosa frente del héroe fundador de tres naciones”). “Los editores,” *El Peruano Independiente*, no. 3 (November 6, 1825): 1.

Oh, Virgins of the Sun! Weave wreaths
Intone cheers, hymns and songs
For the triumphant caudillo,
For your savior: his strong arm
Destroyed in an instant
The hard and heavy links
Of your ignominious servitude.

¡O Virgenes del Sol! Tejed guirnaldas
Entonad vivas, himnos y canciones
Al caudillo triunfante,
A vuestro salvador: su fuerte brazo
Destrozó en un instante
Los duros y pesados eslabones
De vuestra ignominiosa servidumbre.⁶⁷

On this occasion, the Liberator chose Bernardina Ibañez Arias as the recipient of his attention. Although Bolívar wrote her letters for years, she remained faithful to the young officer she ended up marrying and did not yield to his advances. In 1822, Bolívar and Antonio José de Sucre received laurel wreaths when they entered Quito. This time, Bolívar also received a laurel wreath thrown at him from a balcony by Manuela Saenz. Thus began his relation with the most famous of his love affairs, Manuelita Sáenz, who would be known as the *'Libertadora del Libertador'* (the 'Lady Liberator of the Liberator'), because she bravely facilitated his escape during an assassination attempt in 1828. But Manuela Sáenz was more than a love affair; she was part of Bolívar's inner circle. In the words of her biographer Pamela S. Murray, for almost eight years, she

⁶⁷ *El Peruano Independiente*, no. 10 (January 14, 1826): 4.

served as Bolívar's personal archivist, informant, advisor and, at the same time, mistress, friend and political supporter.⁶⁸

Born in Quito in 1797, Manuela was the illegitimate daughter of a wealthy Spanish merchant. Despite her illegitimate status, Manuela was considered a member of the white creole elite. Following his father's command, she moved to Lima in 1817 to marry James Thorne, a successful British merchant. Passionate, attractive, free-spirited, and flamboyant, Manuela did not conform to the conventionalisms of her marriage to a wealthy man twenty years her elder. In Lima, Manuela became a socialite, grew an interest in politics, and supported the independentist cause. Her political interests gained her recognition and brought her close to Rosita Campuzano, a friend who was reputed to be close to San Martín. After leaving her husband, Manuela returned to Quito in 1822. That same year she met Bolívar when he entered the city in triumph. Manuela went to a ball given in his honor and they did not separate all night long. Their correspondence ensued whilst Bolívar left for Pasto (now Ecuador) and later for Peru. Bolívar arrived at Lima on September 1st, 1823. Manuela Sáenz returned to the city soon afterwards. She moved to La Magdalena, a small town near Lima where Bolívar established his headquarters. She soon became his archivist, an unusual position for a woman who was also part of his permanent entourage. The public created a legend around this affair that rhymed well with Manuela's character, which Lynch has

⁶⁸ Based on exhaustive documental research, Pamela S. Murray has de-romanticized the subject, distinguishing the historical persona from the literary personage. *For Glory and Bolívar*, 3-8. Also: Pamela S. Murray, "'Loca' o 'Libertadora'?: Manuela Sáenz in the Eyes of History and Historians, 1900-c.1990," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33 (2001): 292; Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 101, 176, 182-183, 230.

described as “determined to cut a public figure, and challenge male culture.”⁶⁹ Unlike the harsh treatment Manuela has received from historians, measuring the extent in which this illicit relation affected the masculine image of Bolívar is hard to gauge. If anything, it seems to have favored him by enlarging the fame of his virile seductive powers.⁷⁰

Peruvian independence was sealed after the battle of Ayacucho on December 9, 1824. This also secured the region’s independence.⁷¹ Bolívar spent the first part of the following year involved in administrative duties, organizing the new republic. For a few months, adulation and luxury were the recompense awarded to the Liberator, who had now transformed into a triumphal prince. La Magdalena was his palace that he shared with his mistress. Poets praised his victories and named him “Father and Benefactor of Peru,”⁷² “the greatest warrior of them all,”⁷³ and celebrated “the robust arm of the immortal BOLÍVAR, who signed Peruvians’ grand letter of freedom with the tip of his

⁶⁹ Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: a life*, 180. Also: Murray, *For Glory and Bolívar*, 30-49; Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 230, 240-248; Murray, “‘Loca’ o ‘Libertadora’?,” 297-301; Chambers, “Republican Friendship: Manuela Sáenz.”

⁷⁰ As Murray has shown, historians have been harsher on Manuela Sáenz, depicting her as a frivolous woman, and above all as a morally reprehensible person for her extra-marital relation with Bolívar. See: Murray, “‘Loca’ o ‘Libertadora’?”

⁷¹ A narrative of the battle by Antonio José de Sucre, general in charge of the independentist army, in: “Victoria de Ayacucho,” *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú. Periodo de Gobierno de Simón Bolívar* (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza, 1967), 2: 243-246. The victory in Ayacucho won Sucre the title of “General Liberator of Peru”. *Gaceta del Gobierno*, vol. 7, no. 1, (January 1, 1825), in *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú. Periodo de Gobierno de Simón Bolívar* (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza, 1967), 2: 256.

⁷² “Remitido,” *El Peruano Independiente*, no. 15 (April 1, 1826): 3.

⁷³ “[El] guerrero mayor de los guerreros.” Santiago Negrón, “La libertad del Perú. Oda,” *El Peruano Independiente*, no. 11 (January 21, 1826): 4. Also, see: *El Revisor*, no. 2 (March 2, 1827): 2.

sword, wet with European blood.”⁷⁴ The eulogy of Bolívar delivered by the presbyter José Joaquín Larriva at the University of San Marcos (1826),⁷⁵ and *The Victory of Junín: Hymn to Bolívar* (*La Victoria de Junín: Canto a Bolívar*), by Ecuatorian politician and poet José Joaquín Olmedo, both date to this period.⁷⁶ In 1823, in the midst of severe political turmoil, Olmedo and José Faustino Sánchez Carrión were commissioned to invite Bolívar to Peru in order to secure independence. Olmedo corresponded with Bolívar throughout during his writing process, discussing the patriotic content of the poem. The comments and suggestions made by Bolívar helped shape his own public persona. In 1825, Olmedo published his eulogy to Bolívar in Guayaquil, wherein he exalted war, violence, and masculine vigor in the context of continental independence. A year later, the poem was also published in London and Paris.

⁷⁴ “...el robusto brazo del inmortal BOLIVAR, [que] con la punta de su espada mojada en sangre europea, firmó la gran carta de la libertad de los peruanos...” “Los editores,” *El Peruano Independiente*, no. 3 (November 6, 1825): 1. In *El Peruano, diario oficial. Tras las huellas de un periódico desconocido: Simón Bolívar y el verdadero origen del diario oficial El Peruano*, facsimile ed., (Lima: Editora Perú, 2006).

⁷⁵ Alongside the Peninsular Gaspar Rico y Angulo, his opponent, the Limeño presbyter José Joaquín Larriva, is one of the two major figures of Peruvian journalism during the transition from colonial to republican life. For further details, see notes 37 and 41 in this chapter. Emilio Carilla, “Revisión de Olmedo,” *Thesaurus* 19, no.1 (1964): 137-144; Reverte Bernal, “El Nuevo Depositario y Nueva Depositaria,” 51-52.

⁷⁶ I would like to thank Prof. Cristóbal Aljovín for kindly sharing with me his impressions on Olmedo. Personal communication, November 11, 2011. José Joaquín Olmedo, “La Victoria de Junín: Canto a Bolívar,” in *Obras poéticas de Don José Joaquín Olmedo* (Valparaíso: Imprenta Europea, 1848), [20]-56; José Joaquín Larriva, “Elogio del Excmo. señor Simon Bolivar, Libertador Presidente de la República de Colombia, y encargado del supremo mando de la del Perú,” in Manuel de Odriozola, *Colección de Documentos Literarios del Perú* (Lima: Aurelio Alfaro, 1864), 2: 217-227.

In April 1825, Bolívar left Lima and headed first to Cusco and Puno, and then to defeat the last Spanish forces still resisting in Bolivia. After defeating the royalist forces in Bolivia, Bolívar returned to Lima in 1826. The Peruvian Congress named him President for life in August of this same year. Bolívar left three months later to pacify the political situation in Gran Colombia. In Peru, opposition grew among those who rejected his efforts to build a confederation of nations with the republics he had liberated. By January 1827, General Andrés de Santa Cruz led a new government that suspended the hated Bolivarian Constitution and revoked Bolívar's presidency. Manuela Sáenz, then at La Magdalena, helped looking after Bolívar's affairs and tried to limit the impact of the uprising. Her deeds alarmed the new Peruvian authorities, who ordered her arrested on February 7, to be later expelled from the country along with several Colombian officers.⁷⁷ During this period, Manuel Vidaurre, minister of foreign affairs and one of the fiercest Peruvian critics of Bolívar, launched a public campaign against Manuela. Vidaurre "characterized her actions as 'scandalous' and an 'insult' to 'the public's honor and morals'."⁷⁸ In a subtle critique, Vidaurre's constitutional project, which had been published in the newspaper *El Discreto*, also proposed disenfranchising those men who had not married before age forty-five, were divorced or had separated from their legitimate wife, or had "illicit public correspondence," as was Bolívar's case.⁷⁹ This was a subtle critique of Bolívar and his publicly open illicit affair with Manuela

⁷⁷ Murray, *For Glory and Bolívar*, 44-49; Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 261-263, 283-289.

⁷⁸ Murray, *For Glory and Bolívar*, 47.

⁷⁹ Manuel Vidaurre, *El Discreto*, no. 1 (February 24, 1827): 3-4.

Sáenz. Critiques mostly addressed her and seem to have not tainted Bolívar's masculine image.

In a Weberian sense, Bolívar possessed what historian Cristóbal Aljovín calls the “charismatic factor,” i.e. his ability to construct a cult around his personality. Aljovín furthermore argues that the rhetorical paroxysm that coalesced around the figure of Bolívar is almost unique in Peruvian history. The maneuvering of public opinion was an essential part of these efforts. Through the use of several means that included his public speeches, newspapers, portraits, poetry, pamphlets, and civic ceremonies, Bolívar nurtured his myth as the hero who ended anarchy and created the republic.⁸⁰ His role in the creation of the Peruvian Republic was presented as a paternal duty, and Bolívar

⁸⁰ Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 272.

An interesting quote from the official Lima newspaper—the *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima*—summarizes well the idea of Bolívar transforming anarchy and chaos into a luminous future for the Peruvian Republic:

At his [Bolívar's] arrival, the tears that turmoil forced the devotees of the nation to shed dried; and discord, as well as disgrace, disappeared as the fog does at break of day.

A su presencia [la de Bolívar] se secaron las lágrimas que el desorden forzaba verter a los amantes de la patria; y la discordia, como de la desgracia, desapareció como la niebla al rayar el astro del día.

Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima 8, no. 18 (September 1, 1825): 1, in *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú. Periodo de Gobierno de Simón Bolívar* (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza, 1967), 3: 77.

was then called the “Father of the fatherland” (*Padre de la patria*).⁸¹ Bolívar’s self image was at the same time a powerful exemplary masculinity for other men to imitate, and for women to yearn for. The masculinity of several of the republican caudillos was developed in imitation of Bolívar’s. They also looked up to Napoleon as a military, charismatic model, and as an exemplar of masculinity.⁸² Santa Cruz, Orbegoso, Vivanco, and other caudillos wanted to carve a charismatic image of themselves, but were less successful in this endeavor. Of all the caudillos, Bolívar was the most successful in developing a charismatic persona for others to imitate. Although Peruvian military officers (and congressmen) opposed Bolívar and his ideal of a unitary federation of nations, his exemplary masculinity endured and inspired the transformation of these officers into republican caudillos.

⁸¹ “Long live the LIBERATOR, long live BOLÍVAR, and long live the father of the nation” (“Viva el LIBERTADOR viva BOLÍVAR, viva el padre de la patria”). *Gaceta del Gobierno de Lima* 8, no. 9 (July 31, 1825): 3, in *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú. Periodo de Gobierno de Simón Bolívar* (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza, 1967), 3: 39.

⁸² As an example, referring to Napoleon as one of the great generals of the world, President Luis José de Orbegoso quoted one of his famous sayings in a letter to general Domingo Nieto (May 12, 1834). In Mc Evoy and Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República*, 1: 240.

2. THE REPUBLICAN CAUDILLO

Bolívar left Peru on September 3, 1826. He returned to Colombia, where the brewing political unrest required his presence. Before his departure, Congress approved a constitution that was known as the ‘Life-long Constitution,’ because it conferred lifetime powers to the President and the Senate. It took two years to abolish the constitution, but it was never enacted. In these years, the remaining followers of Bolívar faced the opposition of nationalist military leaders and politicians, who often were former allies of Bolívar. The Colombians were finally forced out of Peru by 1827.⁸³

Jorge Basadre called this period ‘the first militarism,’ in reference to the anarchy that swept Peru after Bolívar left this country in 1827, up to the beginning of guano boom in President Ramón Castilla’s first term, in 1845. These turbulent times were characterized by the power struggles between *caudillos*: military officers and other political leaders who aspired to the presidency of the Republic. Their ambitions determined the political life of the republic and engulfed the country in turmoil.⁸⁴

⁸³ Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano. Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 12; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo*, 72-75.

⁸⁴ Cristóbal Aljovín summarized in numeric terms the level of political and military conflict of the period: “From 1821 to 1845 there were ten national congresses, seven constitutions, fifty three governments, three ‘international’ wars (against the Great Colombia, Chile, and Bolivia), and innumerable rebellions and revolutions.” Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 39-40; Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 133-141; Paul Gootenberg, *Imaginar el desarrollo. Las ideas económicas en el Perú postcolonial* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1998), 43.

Following Basadre and Aljovín, this period has three major characteristics: 1) a bankrupt exchequer; 2) the invention of the heroes of independence; and 3) the definition of the territorial nation. The wars of independence and the subsequent civil and international conflicts brought about the collapse of estates, mines and textile workshops, which were the mainstays of the Peruvian economy. The decimation of capital, the loss of labor, and the collapse of the internal markets affected these three productive sectors. State revenue depended on the local capacity to collect taxes, which were then often spent in the defense against internal or external enemies. War contributions were more frequently asked locally to support the regional caudillo. The heroes of independence turned into caudillos vied for power during the next twenty years of Republican life. The rivalry for power among the caudillos came from different sources. Gootenberg has shown the importance trade policies had in the Peruvian caudillo struggles, and how caudillos created multi-class alliances to reach and sustain power. Furthermore, historical ties, but also political, and economic motives, underlay the military conflicts that sought to define national territories.⁸⁵

These three elements were also related to the development of a militaristic, hegemonic masculinity. The wars of independence and the ensuing anarchy, created the conditions for the appearance of the *caudillo* as a new political figure, and the development of *caudillismo* as a new political system. The result was a militarization of society in which the use of violence was considered a valid form for the establishment of

⁸⁵ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 146; Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano*, 12; Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 40.

the Republic, and an essential part of the political praxis. Since independence, the duty of every patriot was to become a *soldier of the Republic*, to defend the nation militarily.

The heroes of independence turned into model citizens of the nation and consolidated a hegemonic masculinity based on the neoclassic model of heroic masculinity, centered on the cult of the Hellenic body of the hero and his exertion of military violence. Some caudillos also rose as exemplary masculinities, just as had been the case with San Martín and Bolívar, but also reflecting on their own image. I intend here to understand the hegemonic masculinity of the period by analyzing the remarkable exemplary masculinities of the time (Luis José Orbegoso, Felipe Santiago Salaverry, Andrés de Santa Cruz, and Agustín Gamarra).⁸⁶

Caudillos with mixed-race origins, like presidents Agustín Gamarra and Andrés de Santa Cruz, seized key positions in the State and reconfigured the political elite.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ McEvoy showed the militaristic dimension of the republican pact by highlighting the condition of first-rank citizens the constitutions from 1823 to 1834 gave to those who fought for independence: the “Liberators of the Republic.” Carmen Mc Evoy, “Estudio Preliminar,” in Carmen Mc Evoy and José Luis Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República. Guerra, correspondencia y memoria en el Perú (1830-1844)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Instituto Riva Agüero, 2010), 1: 45-48; Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 39; Ana Peluffo and Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado, “Introducción,” in Ana Peluffo and Ignacio M. Sánchez Prado, eds., *Entre hombres. Masculinidades del siglo XIX en América Latina* (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2010), 13. For a well balanced historiographic analysis on *caudillismo* in the Andes, see: Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, *The Caudillo of the Andes. Andrés de Santa Cruz* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Introduction.

⁸⁷ Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 43. An article in the newspaper *Los Clamores del Perú* demanded recognition for those who had defended the *Patria* (Nation). It claimed the right to occupy “the first seats of the Republic” and to bequeath to their children “awards showing the merits and services [made by] their Fathers” (“unos galardones ostensivos del mérito y servicios de sus Padres”). “Clamor sexto: Los patriotas en general,” *Los clamores del Perú*, 2 (March 13, 1827): 3-4. In the same fashion, General Domingo Nieto wrote to his wife before the difficult battle of Portada de Guía, that he would

Bolívar himself, the model on which many caudillos shaped their own military and masculine image, was dark skinned, had refined manners and noble birth, and was a close role model for the mixed-race officials that served under him.⁸⁸ This marked a change from the colonial hegemonic masculinity, based on scientific theories that privileged white peninsular masculinity as the epitome of virility. After independence, the military power of mixed-race caudillos turned them into exemplars of manly virtues. Bolívar was well-aware that the endless struggles between mixed-race military officers that characterized the first decades of the new republics were the high price that had to be paid for independence:

overcome or die leaving as legacy—and to my children—the most honorable deeds of a patriot who postponed everything to the propriety, independence and dignity of the nation in which he was born...

Venceré o moriré dejándote por legado, y a mis hijos, los hechos más honrosos de un patriota que todo lo pospone al decoro, independencia y dignidad de la nación en que nació...

[Letter, general Domingo Nieto to María Solís de Nieto (his wife), August 9, 1838], in Mc Evoy and Rénique (comp.), *Soldados de la República*, 1: 630.

⁸⁸ Most observers said both San Martín and Bolívar were dark skinned. Biographer John Lynch repeats an unsubstantiated claim that San Martín was in fact a *mestizo* who really descended from a Guaraní woman and a Spanish officer. This may have contributed to the identification that *mestizo* caudillos felt with their exemplary masculinities. Bolívar's loyal secretary, Daniel Florencio O'Leary, also described him as dark skinned. Lynch, *San Martín*, 2, 97; Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 29-30; Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 143.

In the early years of Independence, men were needed who were above all brave, who could kill many Spaniards and make themselves feared; blacks, *zambos*, *mulattoes*, and whites—all were welcome as long as they fought bravely. No one could be rewarded with money because there was none; the only thing available to maintain the zeal, reward exceptional deeds and stimulate valor was by awarding [military] rank. So it is that men of every caste and color are now found among our generals, leaders, and officers, and most of them brutal and fully material bravery. This was once so useful to the Republic but nowadays, with peace, it is an obstacle to peace and tranquility. But it was a necessary evil.⁸⁹

En los primeros tiempos de la independencia se buscaban hombres y el primer mérito era el ser guapo, matar muchos españoles y hacerse temible; negros, zambos, mulatos, blancos, todo era bueno, con tal que peleasen con valor; a nadie se le podía recompensar con dinero, porque no lo había; sólo se podían dar grados para mantener el ardor, premiar las hazañas y estimular el valor: así es que individuos de todas las castas se hallan hoy entre nuestros generales, jefes y oficiales, y la mayor parte de ellos no tienen otro mérito personal sino es aquel valor brutal y enteramente material que ha sido tan útil a la República, pero que en el día, con la paz, resulta un obstáculo al orden y a la tranquilidad. Pero fue un mal necesario.”⁹⁰

The officers who took part in the wars of independence saw themselves as the founding fathers of the nation, and therefore as heirs endowed with a special right to rule the country. Their military prestige helped them to attain public positions and climb to the upper ranks of society. On their way to power, the caudillos presented themselves as the only ones who could save the republic. President Luis José Orbegoso

⁸⁹ Peru de Lacroix, *Diario de Bucaramanga*, 58-59. In Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: a life*, 108.

⁹⁰ Peru de Lacroix, *Diario de Bucaramanga*, 58-59. In Lynch, *Simón Bolívar*, 145.

exhorted General Domingo Nieto thusly: “let us save the nation, my dear friend, and bequeath our children this glory in heritage.”⁹¹ In times of turmoil, the caudillos offered to restore order in the country and—in the words of President Agustín Gamarra—“to form a permanent system that lets us live in peace, under the shade of the constitution.”⁹²

Just like in other parts of Spanish America, Peruvian independence was a creole movement that allowed some *mestizos* to attain a certain social prominence. The military and political ascendancy of caudillos with mixed-race ascent was one of the reasons for this social mobility. For Lynch, caudillos scaled from local heroes to national figures thanks to their access to an economic base (the control of local resources), their ability to achieve social support, and their political project. Violence and the exertion of exemplary force were at the center of authority, but the ability to develop and maintain a “clientele” was equally important. Just like Bolívar presented himself as *father of the nation*, so too the paternal figure of the caudillos and their capacity to grant favors in benefit of their clientele were at the base of their power. The economic and social crisis the Republic underwent during its first decades was also reflected on the constant resort to the caudillo for the provision of protection, public

⁹¹ “Salvemos a la patria, mi amado compadre, y dejemos a nuestros hijos esta gloria en herencia.” [Letter, President Luis José de Orbegoso to general Domingo Nieto, March 5, 1834], in Mc Evoy and Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República*, 1: 235. Also see Orbergoso to Nieto (January 29, 1834), loc cit, 1: 222.

⁹² “...constituirle un sistema permanente que nos deje vivir en paz, bajo la sombra de la Constitución.” Agustín Gamarra, quoted by José Luis Rénique, “Proemio,” in Carmen Mc Evoy and José Luis Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República. Guerra, correspondencia y memoria en el Perú (1830-1844)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Instituto Riva Agüero, 2010), 1: 84. Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 266.

positions, promotions, lands, and favors. General Domingo Nieto wrote a letter to his wife before the defeat of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation in the battle of Portada de Guía (August 21, 1838), asking her to seek a “casual” encounter with President Orbegoso. General Nieto entrusted his wife, María Solís de Nieto, with asking the President if he would grace them with selling them the hacienda Tumán, without public auction. Fearful of political defeat and in risk of his life, Nieto believed that acquiring this property was of vital importance for the survival of his wife and children. On the other hand, President Orbegoso, like many others, received dozens of petitions addressed to the “father of the Republic,” the “patron,” and the “paragon of beneficence,” wherein the petitioners transmitted their economic anguish and revealed their hopes.⁹³

The cult of personality certainly did not suffice to reach and sustain power in a paternalistic society like that of Peru. The very structure of the patriot militias, which differed from that of a professional army, served as the basis for a paternal caudillo authority. These militias were informal systems of obedience in which different military chiefs kept the allegiance of a series of groups of interest. Each *caudillo* led his own army that acted as an independent unit, thus creating the basis for political instability between rival generals.⁹⁴ Some militias were even named after their caudillo, at least until the 1830s. The paternal authority of military chiefs also lay in their ability to

⁹³ [Letter, general Domingo Nieto to María Solís de Nieto (his wife), July 17, 1838], in Mc Evoy and Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República*, 1: 625-26. John Lynch, *Caudillos en Hispanoamérica, 1800-1850* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1993), 18-24; Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 273; Mc Evoy, “Estudio Preliminar,” 1: 34-35; Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 5-7.

⁹⁴ Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 42.

provide for their troops. On their path to power, caudillos went into a great deal of effort to keep their troops as well-fed, dressed, and provided as possible in order to avoid desertion.⁹⁵ The paternal authority of the caudillo perhaps also served as a model of masculinity for his troops.

A constant concern of the caudillos was providing their troops with suitable uniforms, which also reflected the importance these had in a militarized society. Since the late eighteenth century creole militias, uniforms were full of symbolism. They represented the affiliation of a soldier to a cause and his loyalty to the command of a military chief. Basadre argues that one of the first grudges raised by the Peru-Bolivian Confederation was Santa Cruz's insistence that the Peruvian army should wear the Bolivian uniform.⁹⁶ Uniforms represented virility and courage. They also represented status. Even in moments of profound tension, the *caudillos* and high military ranks were concerned with providing their subordinates with military uniforms. In times of relative calm and financial laxness, efforts concentrated in providing soldiers with a full formal dress. The communications between presidents Andrés de Santa Cruz, Agustín Gamarra, and José Luis Orbegoso with their allied generals give testimony of these concerns.⁹⁷ According to historian Natalia Sobrevilla, since late colonial times, one of

⁹⁵ Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 273; Lynch, *Caudillos en Hispanoamérica*, 175-177.

⁹⁶ For a description of the uniforms used during this period, see: Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 126-128.

⁹⁷ [Letter, President Agustín Gamarra to colonel Domingo Nieto, October 25, 1830], 1: 173; [Letter, President Agustín Gamarra to colonel Domingo Nieto, March 5, 1832], 1: 185; [Letter, President Agustín Gamarra to colonel Domingo Nieto, October 4, 1832], 1: 192; [Letter, President Luis José de Orbegoso to general Domingo Nieto, February 23, 1838], 1: 385; [Letter, President Andrés de Santa Cruz to general Domingo Nieto, September 8, 1836], 1: 480. All in Mc Evoy and Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la*

the lines of cloth production that distinguished the city of Cuzco was the making of military uniforms.⁹⁸ In 1850, the embroidery of military uniforms was still a well-paid and highly demanded profession in the city of Lima due to the luxury of the uniforms worn by the military, the civil administration, and the magistracy.⁹⁹

Numerous orders prohibiting the use of unauthorized luxurious adornments in military uniforms evince this common practice. Low-ranking soldiers added feathers and tufts to military hats without permission. Officials exceeded in the use of stripes, embroideries, sashes, and other luxurious accessories. Military insignias were often worn without a proper assignment.¹⁰⁰ The use of elaborated adornments in military uniforms and the numerous high ranking officials in service provoked this satirical poem:

FABLE

To a certain little Mary
her grandma said:
why don't you stop
that man who wears
golden epaulets
and embroidered jacket?
Instead you much fancy
Sergeant Leak,
who wears drill
and silken insignias?

FABULA

A cierta Marica
decía su abuela:
¿por qué no haces alto
á ese hombre que lleva
charreteras de oro
y bordada leva?
¿Mientras gustas tanto
del sargento Cuela,
que viste de brin
á insignias de seda?

República.

⁹⁸ Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 11.

⁹⁹ Felix Letellier, "Profesiones y oficios en la Lima de 1850," translated and edited by Pablo E. Pérez Mallaina, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 38 (1980), 209.

¹⁰⁰ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 128.

<p>The daughter answers: there are so many of those golden epaulets, That anyone wears them, And they are so common, That nobody wants them. Those of a sergeant are few: That is why to silk I apply myself mommy. Bravo girl!</p>	<p>La hija le responde: son tantas aquellas charreteras de oro, que cualquier las lleba y son tan comunes, que no hay quien las quiera. De sarjento hay pocas: por eso á la seda me aplico mamita. Braba muchachuela.¹⁰¹</p>
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Travelers such as Flora Tristán agreed with the poem in satirizing the fondness of ostentatious uniforms that characterized Peruvian high military officers. The use of embroidered jackets, golden epaulets, and feathered bicornes was not reserved for special occasions but for daily routines. Tristán refers in particular to the great vanity of General Domingo Nieto, who appeared wearing a wide variety of sumptuous military clothes, always followed by a large entourage of officials.¹⁰² Besides honor, military uniforms were also considered an asset that could bring additional resources to a family in distress. Facing political defeat, General Nieto authorized the sale of his military wardrobe to cover the expenses incurred in printing an apologetic memoir and having it distributed in “all of the Republic,” in order to clear his name of the accusations levied against him by his enemies.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ “Fabula,” *El Papagayo de dos picos*, no. 2 (September 6, 1834). Also, the anti-Orbegoso newspaper *El hijo del Montonero* ridiculed general Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente, arguing he was such a coward that the only patriotic virtue he had was his military jacket. Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, *El Hijo del Montonero*, no. 4 (November 3, 1834).

¹⁰² Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una paria*, 300-301.

¹⁰³ [Letter, general Domingo Nieto to don Felipe Eugenio Cortés, November 19, 1839], in Mc Evoy and Rénique, comp., *Soldados de la República*, 1: 639.

Military uniforms were also an essential part of the depiction of power in paintings. José Gil de Castro, the liberators' painter, understood this better than any other artist of his time. Besides being a status item in itself, the portraits made by Gil de Castro emphasized the symbols of power, status, and the virility of the personages so depicted. The finely painted golden embroideries, medals, and other military adornments contrast with the use of monochromatic and dark backgrounds.¹⁰⁴ The portrait of President Luis José de Orbegoso (**fig. 5**) stands out among the works of Gil de Castro due to his delicate depiction of the symbols of power of the Peruvian President, as well as for the mirrored similarity with another of Gil de Castro's portraits, that of Bolívar (**fig. 3**).

¹⁰⁴ Wuffarden, "Avatares del "bello ideal",” 150.



fig. 3



Figure 5. José Gil de Castro. *Portrait of President Luis José de Orbegoso y Moncada.* Oil on canvas. c. 1838. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima. Photograph by the author.

The similarities present between this portrait and that of Bolívar begin with the perspective of the background and its gray and earthy tones. The perspective was designed to give the impression that the standing figure of Orbegoso was taller. The windows on the left provide light behind the figure of the caudillo, as if it was a luminous aura surrounding him. Just like in Bolívar's portrait, the light highlights the handsome features and the elegant pose struck by Orbegoso, which granted him the

enthusiastic admiration of his female supporters.¹⁰⁵ On the desk next to him is a writing set that stands for knowledge and wisdom. Just like in the painting of Bolívar, here there too is a red ribbon suspended in the air in the upper part of the portrait, bearing the inscription: ‘HE SPARED NO SACRIFICE, IN ORDER TO SERVE HIS NATION’ (*No perdono sacrificio, por servir a su patria*). This phrase emphasizes the sacrifices the hero made for his country. This enduring element of colonial painting is supplemented by another one, the ornamented plate in the lower right corner.

Also like Bolívar, Orbegoso belonged to one of the most distinguished families in the country, and his charisma seduced the masses, particularly women. Despite the attire worn in the painting, Orbegoso did not stand out due to militarist spirit or his memorable victories in the battlefield. In fact, none of his military victories against caudillo rivals involved him directing the battle. This is probably why unlike Bolívar’s hand-in-jacket posture and armed left hand, Orbegoso is shown standing gallantly holding a bicorn in one hand, and a glove in the other.

Although Orbegoso had been appointed provisional President to succeed Agustín Gamarra (1833), neither Gamarra nor his ally General Pedro Bermúdez, were ready to

¹⁰⁵ The newspaper *La Mulata* described Orbegoso as “so good looking, so popular, such a friend of nuns and Limeño women” (“*Orbegoso es tan buen mozo, tan popular, tan amigo de monjas y de las limeñas*”). *La Mulata*, no. 1 (c. September 1838). Ricardo Palma narrates a costumbrista story about the enthusiasm Limeño women had for handsome President Orbegoso, who in turn was more interested in his own wife (he had eleven children with her) and in wine. Ricardo Palma, “El Canónigo del taco,” *Tradiciones Peruanas. Quinta serie* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2000) <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/tradiciones-peruanas-quinta-serie-o/html/> (accessed December 16, 2011). See also: El hablador (pseud.), “Señor Editor del Periodiquito,” *El periodiquito*, no. 1 (c. September 1, 1838). Other references to Orbegoso’s (called Mr. Milagro) fondness for drinking, in: Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, ed. “Martillo,” *El hijo del Montonero*, no. 3 (October 31, 1834).

yield power to Orbegoso. In order to defend his government from the plots of Gamarra and Bermúdez, Orbegoso decided to take refuge in the Real Felipe fortress. In a coup d'état, Bermúdez was proclaimed provisional President on January 4, 1834. Bermúdez claimed he had accepted in order “to save the capital from the horrible disasters that were about to fall.”¹⁰⁶ During the following weeks, several provinces expressed their allegiance to Orbegoso. After the mounted artillery defected to Orbegoso’s side, a popular uprising expelled Bermúdez and Gamarra’s forces from the city of Lima. The Gamarrista faction was led by Francisca Zubiaga, Gamarra’s wife, dressed in a military uniform with trousers, boots with gilded spurs, and a blue and scarlet cape adorned with golden embroidery.¹⁰⁷ The following day, January 29, 1834, the crowd enthusiastically cheered a triumphant Orbegoso. Without having participated in the fight, in the following days the popularity of Orbegoso was at its highest peak.¹⁰⁸ Women

¹⁰⁶ “...para salvar a la capital de los horribles desastres que iban a estallar...” Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 271.

¹⁰⁷ Several poems were dedicated to Francisca Zubiaga—who was known as *La Pancha*—during the days after being expelled from the city of Lima. Basadre quotes one of them in which she is called a

Perfidious harlot	Pérfida ramera
of active ferocity,	de fiereza activa,
lascivious <i>serrana</i>	serrana lasciva
of innate impiety.	de impiedad natal.

“Los apuros de Panchita al salir de esta ciudad,” in Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 276.

Serrano or *serrana* means someone from the highlands and is used pejoratively.

¹⁰⁸ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 259-278; Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 128-129.

demonstrated their support for him wearing the *saya orbergosina*, the traditional Limeño skirt now worn in blue or green color.¹⁰⁹

Gamarra, Bermúdez, Francisca Zubiaga, and other Gamarrista followers still represented a menace for Orbegoso's rule, and they plunged the country into civil war. The National Convention empowered Orbegoso to inviting the Bolivian government to help end the civil war, but he did not use this power. It was instead Domingo Nieto—one of Orbegoso's generals—who wrote to the Bolivian President Andrés de Santa Cruz requesting help. Santa Cruz had been elected President of Bolivia in 1828, and was still in power in 1834. Santa Cruz replied that he would wait for the Peruvian National Convention, or for President Orbegoso to invite him. The first seeds for the establishment of a Peru-Bolivian federation had been planted. In response to Nieto, Santa Cruz flattered his ego using a highly masculine discourse that addressed him as a national hero. In paternalist fashion, Santa Cruz also took advantage of the opportunity to advice Nieto in regard to the maintenance of his loyalties:

You occupy today, my dear general, all the attention and the applause of free men, not just in your Fatherland, and are before a most glorious career, [...] but you need more perseverance and resolution to avoid spoiling the most happy occasion of saving your fatherland and fulfilling the fitting hopes that freedom-loving Peruvians have set on you...

Usted ocupa hoy día, mi estimado general, toda la atención y el aplauso de los hombres libres, no solo de su patria, y se halla colocado delante de una carrera muy gloriosa, [...] pero necesita usted de más constancia y resolución para no malograr la más feliz

¹⁰⁹ The same thing applied to Orbegoso's predecessor, President Agustín Gamarra—the "*gamarrina*"—and to his successor, President Felipe Santiago Salaverry, with the "*salaverrina*." Ricardo Palma, "La tradición de la saya y el manto," *Cien Tradiciones Peruanas* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1977), 431.

ocasión de salvar a su patria y de realizar las justas esperanzas que han fijado en usted los peruanos amantes de la libertad...¹¹⁰

After several setbacks, Orbegoso's forces managed to defeat those of Gamarra. Orbegoso was victoriously received in Lima for a second time, without having fought even once.¹¹¹ Although the Gamarristas were finally defeated in April 1834, the civil war was still not over. Orbegoso had imprisoned and later exiled General Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente for conspiracy.¹¹² But other three caudillos still menaced Orbegoso's presidency: the Bolivian President Andrés de Santa Cruz aspire to unite Bolivia and Peru in one confederation; General Felipe Santiago Salaverry, one of the youngest heroes of the wars of independence and a regional player in North Peru, awaited his opportunity to become a national actor; finally, former President José de la Riva Agüero believed he could still count on popular support. Orbegoso decided the best strategy to control the young and ambitious Salaverry was to promote him and to leave him in Lima in charge of the National Guard. Orbegoso also wrote to his friend Nieto, whom he addressed as "godson and friend," and asked him to leave Southern Peru and to accept a promotion in Lima as inspector-general of the army. Here Orbegoso perhaps followed Salaverry's

¹¹⁰ [Letter, president Andrés de Santa Cruz to general Domingo Nieto, February 19, 1834], in Mc Evoy and Rénique (comp.), *Soldados de la República*, 1: 460.

¹¹¹ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 279-298; Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 114-115.

¹¹² For satirical comments on the military bravery of Gutiérrez de la Fuente see note 99 in this chapter.

advice in order to preemptively neutralize Nieto. Orbegoso marched south to face the Gamarristas and other rebel forces, leaving behind the main danger in Lima.¹¹³

Orbegoso's departure, the scant pay received by the troops stationed in the capital, and the return of Gutiérrez de la Fuente, gave Salaverry the opportunity to rebel and declare himself Supreme Leader of the Republic. Orbegoso's power ended up limited to the province of Arequipa, so he decided to request the help of Santa Cruz, who had long waited for his dream to unite Bolivia and Peru under his command come true.¹¹⁴ Gamarra already had recently reached a verbal agreement with Santa Cruz to divide Peru into two States (North and Central Peru), and to form a three-State confederation with Bolivia. The South Peruvian State (Bolivia) would be under the command of Santa Cruz, while Gamarra would be proclaimed leader of the Central State (Southern Peru), with its capital in Cuzco. Santa Cruz and his army entered Peru on June 16, 1835, promising support to both Gamarra and Orbegoso. Santa Cruz finally decided to support Orbegoso, who was the legal President. Salaverry offered Gamarra an alliance against the invading Bolivian forces. In Yanacocha, the victory of Santa Cruz over Gamarra gave him the 'right' to proclaim himself Provisory President, and later Supreme Protector of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation. Gamarra was deported to Costa Rica and Salaverry was executed.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 301-304.

¹¹⁴ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 305-318; Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 1-2, 110-115.

¹¹⁵ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 321-348.

Santa Cruz believed, like many in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia, that both countries should remain united, as they had been prior to 1776 and the establishment of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. The provinces of Southern Peru and North Bolivian still had strong economic, social, and cultural ties. Santa Cruz himself felt both Peruvian and Bolivian, and although he had briefly ruled Peru in 1827, by the mid 1830s Lima's elites considered him a foreigner. Santa Cruz also believed the Confederation would benefit both Peru and Bolivia. The Chilean government agreed, for it feared the Confederation was a threat and its greatest enemy, and therefore opposed it. Thanks to his efficient work as a statesman, Santa Cruz had already achieved peace and prosperity in Bolivia by the time he promoted the Peru Bolivian Confederation, while Peru remained mired in anarchy. His military success in Peru was also based on his highly trained and well-disciplined army. Unlike its Peruvian rivals, Santa Cruz's army was well equipped and was always paid on time. This allowed him control great expanses of land without being rejected by the civil population. There was no place for looting; instead, "the Bolivian armed forces contributed to the local economy by buying food, employing tailors, and purchasing vast amounts of cloth for uniforms." In comparison, throughout the last decade, Peruvian caudillos had continuously confronted local populations, confiscating their food and supplies without ever paying them back.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 20, 143. Not even Santa Cruz could avoid resorting to forced loans in order to sustain the war efforts in defense of the Confederation. In a letter sent to General Nieto, Santa Cruz urged him to support his troops in any way possible, leaving aside any ethical consideration. [Letter, president Andrés de Santa Cruz to general Domingo Nieto, March 29, 1837], in Mc Evoy and Rénique (comp.), *Soldados de la República*, 1: 532.

Chile sent two “restoration” expeditions to destroy the Confederation. The first one, formed by Chilean troops and Peruvian exiles, set out in mid-September 1837 and was defeated due to the absolute lack of local collaboration in the provisioning of food and supplies. The Confederation was still a popular cause and the presence of Chilean forces was seen as an invasion of Peru’s national territory. In early 1838, the Chilean government prepared a second expedition to Peru. Instead of a Chilean leader, this time it was headed by former president Gamarra. Support for the Confederation in the Northern Peruvian provinces rapidly vanished. Orbegoso, the President of Northern Peru, abandoned the Confederation in July 1838. The fate of the Confederation was sealed on August 21, 1838, at Portada de Guía, outside the city of Lima. The Chilean forces entered the capital and Gamarra proclaimed the end of the Confederation. The victory of the restoration campaign was sealed in the Battle of Yungay, on January 1839. Santa Cruz marched to Bolivia and later went into exile in France. In Peru, anarchy and turmoil followed once again.¹¹⁷

The attempts made by Santa Cruz to develop a charismatic image of himself, are the best example of the influence of Bolívar’s exemplary masculinity. During the wars of independence, Santa Cruz became one of the closest associates Bolívar had, and the Liberator in turn exerted a great influence over him. It was from Bolívar and José Antonio de Sucre that Santa Cruz learned the power the “rhetoric of freedom” had, as

¹¹⁷ Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 172-203.

well as how important it was to “foster feelings of belonging among his followers.”¹¹⁸

Like Bolívar, Santa Cruz tried to develop a cult around him as father of the nation. He did have a certain charisma, but it was not comparable to that of Bolívar's. Santa Cruz exalted his military virtues and virile seductive power through the organization of public commemorations of his military victories, sponsoring favorable press, and commissioning portraits. As was the case with Bolívar, the celebrations in honor of Santa Cruz's birthday lasted for days and included feasts, fireworks, bullfights, balls and street dances.¹¹⁹ A comparison with Napoleon was also in order, based on Santa Cruz's military victories and his enthusiasm for giving out laws inspired by Napoleon's Civil Code.

Santa Cruz' efforts to construct a charismatic persona were nonetheless caustically contested by the Limeño elite, which feared that with the Confederacy Lima would lose its primacy as the capital city. Their mockery often evoked his foreign and *mestizo* origins. Santa Cruz was the son of a Creole public official from Huamanga and the wealthy daughter of an Indian noble family from La Paz. The nickname of “The *Jeta*” (the big lip) was one of the most recurrent attacks. From it derived another nickname: *Jetis-Khan* (“*Jetiscan*”), a word play on the name of the Mongol emperor. The *Jeta* did reference Santa Cruz' *mestizo* origins. The satirical newspaper *El Periodiquito* mocked his lips and claimed that they began to grow during his infancy,

¹¹⁸ Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 7-13, 64; Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 143.

¹¹⁹ Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 126.

when women who were amazed by his big lips also pulled at them.¹²⁰ The newspaper was allegedly addressed to a female audience, even though it openly criticized female participation in politics.¹²¹ The *Periodiquito* also reprinted a series of satirical poems of Felipe Pardo y Aliaga against Santa Cruz. One of them, “The *Jeta* of the Handsome Man” (“*La Jeta del Galán*”) made fun of Santa Cruz big lower lip, and at the same time mocked his intelligence and his gallantry with women:

THE JETA OF THE HANDSOME MAN

To Lima I return, Limeño ladies!
Heaven propitiously makes me
such a singular benefit.
Cheerfully give me your arms,
That you do not give a fickle man
because my brain
weights the same
as my *jeta*
I will give you conversation; around [...] your lover you will dance
with the most constant fondness.
And if the heat bothers you
in the full amusement
I am dedicating you;
You will all make a fan
Out of my *jeta*.

¹²⁰ See: “Jetiscan,” *El Periodiquito*, no. 1 (c. September 1838).

¹²¹ The newspaper *El periodiquito* appeared in Lima in 1838. Its contents were solely dedicated to political satire, following the style imposed by *El Telégrafo*. Ironically, although the newspaper was dedicated to “the Limeño fair sex,” one of first things to be criticized was the participation of women in discussions of national politics. In the first issue, an alleged contributor to the newspaper criticized two lower-class women (*pinganillas*) who discussed the virtues and defects of the caudillos Santa Cruz and Orbegoso, arguing that he lamented “the disgrace we are reduced to by the tenacious determination of women to appear erudite” (“...y me salí lamentando la desgracia a que nos reduce el tenaz empeño de las mujeres en aparecer doctas”). “Señor Editor del Periodiquito,” *El periodiquito*, no. 1 (c. September 1, 1838).

LA JETA DEL GALAN

¡A Lima vuelvo Limeñas!
El Cielo me hace propicio
tan singular beneficio.

Dadme los brazos risueñas,
que no los dais a un veleta;
pues mi seso
tiene a plomo con el peso
de mi jeta.
Os daré tertulia, en torno
bailareis de vuestro amante
con la afición mas
constante.
Y si os molesta el bochorno
en la diversion completa
que os dedico,
hareis todas abanico
de mi jeta.¹²²

Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, a politician and writer, made the most bitter attacks against Santa Cruz and Orbegoso. Pardo's origins illustrated the typical matrimonial alliances of the local aristocracy: a creole mother who descended from one of the oldest conquistador families, and a peninsular father who was a prominent magistrate in charge of the Audience of Cuzco during the wars of independence.¹²³ Educated in Spain,

¹²² Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, "La Jeta del Galan," *El Periodiquito*, no. 3 (c. September 1838).

¹²³ **Felipe Pardo y Aliaga** (1806-1868). Besides his many political articles (in *El Conciliador*, *La Miscelánea*, *El Hijo del Montonero*), his literary output includes comedies (*Frutos de la Educación*, *Don Leocadio y el aniversario de Ayacucho*, *Una huérfana en Chorrillos*), costumbrista articles, and satirical poems (both in *El Espejo de mi Tierra*). Besides Manuel Ascencio Segura, Pardo was one of the two major Peruvian costumbrista writers, who depicted local customs and national traditions caustically, in order to modernize Peruvian society. See e.g. the play *Frutos de la Educación*, where *Bernardito*, a young Creole man, is depicted as idle, spendthrift, and dedicated to gamble, drinking, and partying. Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 169; Mónica Ricketts, "El teatro en Lima y la construcción de la nación republicana," Bach. Diss. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1996), 83-90, 225-228.

Pardo returned to Peru in 1828. He began his political career when he joined a circle of conservative thinkers and writers who yearned for a strong leader and thus supported Gamarra's first government. Pardo believed that popular sovereignty was inadequate because it allowed demagogues to influence and mobilize Indians and commoners in support of mediocre candidates. He proposed instead a representative government reserved to the most enlightened and rational individuals, thus drastically reducing the number of electors. Pardo's opposition to Santa Cruz began in 1835, when he was a minister under Salaverry. At that time he edited a newspaper whose title could be translated as "The bogeyman of Santa Cruz" (*El Coco de Santa Cruz*). Historian Natalia Sobrevilla has emphasized that Pardo resorted to racially mocking Santa Cruz when he was working for Salaverry. Before that he served Gamarra, another *mestizo* and Santa Cruz's schoolmate. Racial satire might be equally offensive to this schoolmate, whose career and that of Santa Cruz's intertwined with their rivalry throughout their lives.¹²⁴ Pardo however never once made a comment regarding Gamarra's mixed-race origins and described him as a cultivated man who spoke Quechua, Aymara, and French. Exiled during the Confederation, Pardo dedicated his most offensive racial satires to Santa Cruz, whom he considered an invader and a menace to the Peruvian nation.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Besides his own *mestizo* origins, Gamarra was often stigmatized by the rumors that claimed he was the son of a priest and an Indian woman. Aljovín, *Caudillos y Constituciones*, 142.

¹²⁵ Sobrevilla, *The Caudillo of the Andes*, 31-32, 126-127, 170; Aljovín, *Caudillos y Constituciones*, 117. On Felipe Pardo, see: Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, *Teatro Completo. Crítica Teatral. El espejo de mi tierra*, edited by Cecilia Moreano (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2007); Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, satírico limeño," *Revista Histórica* 19 (1952): 41-60; 20 (1953): 237-304.

Retaking the satirical metaphor of the *Jeta*, Pardo also made fun of the alleged paternal guidance Santa Cruz gave his troops:

Like an amorous father he tends
the soldiers he leads;
so much so that at noon
“children,” he often lovingly
says: “the sun is strong:
“To everything I adapt;
“make a canopy
“out of my *jeta*.”

Mira cual padre amoroso
a los soldados que guía;
y tanto, que al medio día
“hijos,” suele cariñoso
decirles: “el sol aprieta:
“yo a cualquier cosa me amoldo,
“haced toldo
“de mi *jeta*.”¹²⁶

These poems exemplify how his political enemies depicted Santa Cruz as a coarse Indian. *La Mulata* (The female mulatto), another anti-militarist newspaper, also protested Santa Cruz’s intention of creating an “aristocracy” of poorly-trained and poorly-educated military mulattos and *mestizos*, that would be based on granting decorations of his legion of honor. Besides this, the poems also illustrate the aspirations *mestizo* caudillos had of entering the refined and good-mannered world of the elite.

¹²⁶ Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, “La Jeta del Guerrero,” *El Periodiquito*, no. 3 (c. September 1838).

For other poems that satirized Santa Cruz see: Manuel Ascencio Segura, *Obras completas*, edited by Alberto Varillas Montenegro (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2005), 2: 729-738.

Their access to power had granted them social mobility and the opportunity to relate with the Creole elites. The satirical representation of the caudillos' attempts to be gallant and good-mannered evinces the existence of a *civilizing process* to extend the frontier of *shame* so as to include the caudillos. Drawing upon Norbert Elias' notion of *shame*, I argue this *civilizing process* was an attempt of the Creole elites to secure stronger social control over non-elite individuals.¹²⁷

The outmost bulwark of *shame* and embarrassment regarding male behavior was the emasculation of a political adversary. The word *maricón* was the most common resource when claiming someone was a coward and was unable to keep his commitments. Gootenberg explains that this term was used against merchants, as part of the public discussions between nationalist and liberals in the 1830s.¹²⁸ But caudillos, politicians, and military men were also subject to emasculation attacks. For example, once Bolívar left Peru, the newspaper *El Telégrafo* dedicated a satirical poem to the Colombian politicians who had settled in Peru with him, wherein they were depicted as

¹²⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. The History of Manners* (New York: Urizen, 1978); *La Mulata*, no. 1-5 (c. September-October 1838); Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 142-143.

¹²⁸ Gootenberg, *Caudillos y comerciantes*, 20-24. Gootenberg particularly cites the newspaper *El Telégrafo*, which represented the intellectuals and elite middle-sectors that favored moderate reforms: "Patriotismo," *El Telégrafo* (January 30, 1835); [José Tiburcio] Roldán, *El Telégrafo* (February 4, 1835). The US citizens Thomas Eldredge and Samuel Tracy, who ran two auction houses in the city of Lima, were called "Jews" and "maricones": "Lo que se dice," *El Telégrafo* (August 24, 1834); "Movimiento mercantil," *El Telégrafo* (August 25-26, 1834); "A los anti-martilleros," *El Telégrafo* (August 26, 1834); J.T. Roldán, "Representación hecha al Tribunal del Consulado por el apoderado del gremio," *El Genio del Rímac* (August 26, 1834); *El Genio* (August 25-28, 1834). On the debates between nationalists and liberals, see: Gootenberg, "Merchants, Foreigner, and the State: The Origins of Trade Policies in Post-Independence Peru," PhD diss. (Chicago: University of Chicago), 93-101. About the newspaper *El Telégrafo*, see: Ricketts, "El teatro en Lima," 90.

'fops' (*petimetres*) of "feminine accent" ("*acento femenil*"). The newspaper *El Periodiquito* called General Manuel Guarda, governor of El Callao, "the Lady Soldier" ("*la Dama Soldado*"). During the last months of the Confederation, this pro-Gamarrá newspaper made a great effort to diminish the masculinity of his enemies.¹²⁹ In 1838 the newspaper *La Mulata* in turn described Santa Cruz's followers as: "spoiled *young boys*, vicious, discredited, and idiotic," for he could never have received the support of "enlightened *men* and true lovers of the nation."¹³⁰

But the extreme example of emasculation of the political contender came in the early 1850s. Manuel Ignacio Vivanco had participated in the independence wars, as well as in the restoration campaigns against the Confederation. Vivanco ruled Peru in 1843-1844 as Supreme Director, thanks to a coup-d'état against the Supreme Junta after Gamarrá's death. His fine education and authoritarian style were a response to those like Felipe Pardo y Aliaga who yearned for an enlightened, strong leader. Inspired by the Chilean President Diego Portales, Vivanco initiated a modernization of the Peruvian State: acknowledging the public debt, preparing a national budget, systematizing the Justice Department, and founding public schools.¹³¹ Vivanco left Peru after his defeat in 1844, having been overthrown by the constitutional opposition led by Ramón Castilla and Domingo Nieto, two other caudillos from the wars of independence. Exiled in

¹²⁹ "Persuadidos de que se cumplirá...", *El Periodiquito*, no. 1 (c. September 1838).

¹³⁰ Emphasis added in order to highlight the difference between boys and men: "Examínese U. niño Pepe y se verá que es un jóven mal criado, vicioso, desconceptuado é imbécil: como U. son todos los amigos de Santa-Cruz: él no puede serlo de los hombres ilustrados y amantes verdaderos de su país, por que ellos mui pronto acabarian con el." "Dialogo entre la Mulata, una Niña su hermana...", *La Mulata*, no. 1 (c. September 1838).

¹³¹ Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo*, 108-109.

Ecuador, Vivanco returned to Peru for the 1850 elections and was defeated by José Rufino Echenique (who enjoyed the support of the outgoing president Ramón Castilla). During the electoral campaign, the newspaper *El Comercio* dedicated a series of poems to the candidates, but the most vicious ones lambasted Vivanco, who was depicted as a *maricón*:

LOVE BEGETS LOVE

Take this pretty carnation,
Manuel,
put it slowly on your bun,
Ignacio,
while a lily I pluck for you,
Vivanco;
and then a small white bouquet,
of other flowers I'll make for you
while you put on the corset
Manuel Ignacio Vivanco
[by] *The keeper of
the orchard of love*

AMOR CON AMOR SE PAGA

Toma este lindo clavel,
Manuel,
Ponlo en el moño despacio,
Ignacio,
Mientras un lirio te arranco,
Vivanco;
Y luego un ramito blanco
De otras flores yo te haré,
Mientras te pones corsé
Manuel Ignacio Vivanco
[por] *El hortelano del amor*¹³²

INTERROGATIO ET RESPONTIO

Don't be cruel with me,
Manuel;
Let me slowly kiss
Ignacio,
That, your oh so-white breast;
Vivanco,
For I swear that on a bench,
Should you not heed my passion,
I'll put you, like a *maricón*,
Manuel Ignacio Vivanco
[by] *Juan José*

No seas conmigo cruel,
Manuel;
Déjame besar despacio,
Ignacio,
Ese tu seno tan blanco;
Vivanco
Porque juro que en un banco,
Si desoyes mi pasión,
Te pondré, cual *maricón*,
Manuel Ignacio Vivanco
[por] *Juan José*¹³³

¹³² *El Comercio* (December 4, 1850): 4.

Depicting a presidential candidate as a maricón did not allude to any sexual preference. It was the ultimate resource with which to emasculate a political contender, but it also responded to a progressive lack of law enforcement against male-to-male sexual practices. While at the end of the eighteenth century, to be accused of being a maricón would have implied a religious and criminal prosecution; by the 1850s this term was often free of its sexual content. It was understood as such by the Criminal Court judge who ruled over the demand Ramón Larrea presented against Bartolomé Solari, “for repeated attempts against his honor and life.” In December 1847, Larrea denounced Solari for calling him “maricón,” “rascal,” and “thief,” without fearing being prosecuted as a sodomite.¹³⁴ Larrea had intended to kidnap Solari’s wife, Valencia,

¹³³ *El Comercio* (December 11, 1850): 3. On December 19, 1850, a day before Vivanco was defeated in the polls, the newspaper *El Comercio* published another poem claiming he used soliman and other cosmetic products:

CHRISTMAS PRESENT

With cinnamon from Algiers
 Manuel,
 You perfumed your lank hair,
 Ignacio,
 And the face with white spread,
 Vivanco:
 I will provide you with a
 [monopoly
 Of essences and rouges,
 Whilst you put on earrings
 Manuel Ignacio Vivanco.

AGUINALDO

Con cinamono de Arjel
 Manuel,
 Perfumaste el pelo lacio,
 Ignacio,
 Y la tez con unto blanco,
 Vivanco:
 Yo te proveeré un estanco

 De esencias y coloretos,
 Mientras te pones aretes
 Manuel Ignacio Vivanco.

El Comercio (December 19, 1850): 4.

¹³⁴ “...porque de maricón y canalla que me había dicho antes, pasó a decirme también que hera ladrón público de río seco.” *Demanda criminal de Ramón Larrea contra don Bartolomé Solari, por la repetición de actos atentatorios contra mi honor y mi persona*, AGN, RPJ-Causas Criminales, Leg. 96 (1848).

from the convent were she had been secluded after she had an affair with Larrea. In May of the following year, both Larrea and Solari agreed to jointly request that the case be closed, after having solved their differences outside the court. No further investigation sought to clarify the sexual conduct of Larrea. This certainly coincided with a time in which Lima's "strange society of the *maricones*" was considered extinct, and the meaning of the term had expanded beyond its sexual content.¹³⁵ More importantly, the poems and the criminal court case both reflected a different understanding of male masculinity that was present by the 1850s. The exemplary masculinities brought by the heroes and caudillos of independence focused masculinity on the use of force to defend nation and family. The bourgeois ideology that accompanied economic progress during the guano-export boom also added family values to a paternalist elite masculinity: as breadwinner, as moral guidance, and as the embodiment of discipline and authority.¹³⁶ The shadow of the *maricones* who threatened to invade the city with their sociability no longer represented any threat to the reformed elite men who had left idleness behind, and who now spent more time in politics, war, or carrying out public duties than in indulging themselves.

¹³⁵ Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36, *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p000001.htm#2> (accessed January 4, 2012).

¹³⁶ By the 1850s, the guano boom contributed to the establishment of political stability in Peru. The availability of greater economic resources allowed political factions to incorporate potential rivals and local *caudillos* as allies, and at the same time rebellions could be rapidly crushed, thus reducing the frequency of revolutions. On the other hand, the guano boom promoted an extensive development of the State during the 1850s. Aljovín, *Caudillos y constituciones*, 49-51, 313.

In 1854, the journalist and *costumbrista* author Ramón Rojas y Cañas¹³⁷ caustically argued that for a man's death to be properly mourned, he had to leave behind orphaned children. Despite any wrongdoings the father might have done in life, any other man's death seemed trivial to Limeño society in comparison with the loss of a father.¹³⁸ By this time the *tapadas* and *maricones* were almost extinct, and hegemonic masculinity had focused on the duties of fatherhood. The hegemonic masculinity that primarily associated virility with military performance, and which promoted the figure of the *caudillo* as an exemplary masculinity of one who had heroically sacrificed himself for their nation, had now been left behind. The first decades of republican life (1820-1840) had been characterized by the imperative to join the militia in defense of the *patria* and one's family, but a new masculinity arose in the 1850s, one that focused on the duties of the father as the one who provided the family with sustenance, moral guidance, and discipline.

During the war of independence, the separatist propaganda contributed decisively to the exaltation of the military masculinities of San Martín and Bolívar, the

¹³⁷ **Ramón Rojas y Cañas** (1827-1883) is the author of the first book of 'scenes of customs' (*cuadros de costumbres*) published in Peru: *Museo de limeñadas* (Lima, 1853). Also a journalist, other costumbrist articles of his were published in newspapers like *El Comercio*, *El Heraldo*, and *El Correo del Perú*, from 1850s to 1870s. Jorge Cornejo Polar, "Noticia biográfica," in Ramón Rojas y Cañas, *Museo de Limeñadas*, introduction, biographical notice and preliminary study by Jorge Cornejo Polar (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, Apoyo: 2005), 17-22.

¹³⁸ Ramón Rojas y Cañas, "Morirse dejando prole," in *Museo de Limeñadas*, 194-196. Originally published in *El Comercio* (February 16, 1854): 3.

leaders of the two liberation campaigns. Through newspapers, pamphlets, civic ceremonies, military uniforms, and paintings, both masculinities would prove exemplary for many of the caudillos in the following decades. The “illustrious bravery,” austerity and unselfish sacrifice for the nation that San Martín represented, as in stark contrast with the hyper-masculinity projected by Bolívar and his ability to construct a cult around his persona. The exaltation of both exemplary masculinities contributed to promote the cause of independence. And furthermore, they influenced the politics of hegemonic masculinity by exalting war and violence, and by promoting a military- and caudillo-based masculinity.

Political unrest and internecine war between the caudillos followed independence. The myth Bolívar had promoted of himself as the hero who ended anarchy and created the republic, set an example for many caudillos to imitate. Their participation in the independence wars had made them *fathers of the nation*, and for this reason they claimed a special right to rule the country. The image of mixed-race caudillos as symbols of virility certainly marked a departure from the colonial hegemonic masculinity and climatic determinism theories, which exalted the masculinity of white peninsular men as exemplary.

Finally, the image of the caudillos as paternal figures was based on their ability to protect the nation, have their authority recognized, and grant favors to their subordinates and allies. The transformation from heroes of independence into republican caudillos in the early republic, created the conditions for the emergence of a new hegemonic masculinity centered on fatherhood.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DYING SOCIETY OF MARICONES AND THE NEW REPUBLIC

The political transformations wrought by the wars of independence and the creation of the new republic brought about social as well as economic transformations in Peruvian society. As Paul Gootenberg, Cristóbal Aljovín, and Ascension Martinez Riaza have shown, the republican language created a new spectrum of political practices and discourses, in a society that was still deeply rooted in traditional paradigms. Furthermore, the new political order and the associated power struggles transformed the social structure even against the expectations of the former privileged classes.¹ The present chapter will focus on how these political and social transformations wrought by independence and the creation of the republic, contributed to a re-composition of the hegemonic masculinity in Peruvian society. As part of these social transformations, hegemony was reached by the ‘caudillo’ masculinity involved in the use of military violence, the exhibition of military paraphernalia, and the praise of the ‘hero of independence’ as an exemplary masculinity. Moreover, the aristocratic masculinity was

¹ Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y Constituciones. Perú: 1821-1845*, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú – Instituto Riva Agüero, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000.

subordinated as ‘effeminate’ and the dissident masculinity of the ‘maricón’ was used as an object of political satire and as a resource with which to disgrace a political opponent.

In mid 1827, a pamphlet entitled “El Paseo de Amancaes y prisión de los maricones” (“The Journey to Amancaes and imprisonment of the Maricones”), appeared in Lima. This composition in verse describes the busy farewell party of a maricón who wished to repent and enter a convent. In celebration, a troupe of fine maricones decide to dress up and organize a promenade:²

² *Amancaes* was a pampa on the outskirts of the city of Lima that was traditionally visited in late June to late August. Groups of friends and families of all social backgrounds arrived walking, or by horse, donkey or carriages, to enjoying riding, eating, drinking, playing music, and even dancing. As a memento of the visit, women and men adorned their hair, hats, and carriages, with *amancaes* (*Hymenocallis Amancaes*), the beautiful small yellow flowers that blossomed in the pampa in that season. After 1960s the main festivity was celebrated every June 24th, on the feast of Saint John the Baptist, and it began to fade due to the progress of urbanization; nowadays this is only a memory because the pampa has been completely urbanized.

A famous oil painting *Fiesta de San Juan en Amancaes* by the German artist Johann Moritz Rugendas emphasized the social diversity that characterized the celebration. In “Fiesta-San-Juan-Amancaes-Lima-1843.jpg,” [Wikimedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fiesta-San-Juan-Amancaes-Lima-1843.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fiesta-San-Juan-Amancaes-Lima-1843.jpg) (accessed March 19, 2010). Also: Flora Tristán, *Peregrinaciones de una paria: texto original del siglo XIX, anotado*, in *Flora Tristán, personalidad contestataria universal*, edited by Gustavo Bacacorzo (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2000), 2: 430; Manuel A. Fuentes, *Lima. Apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres* (Lima: Fondo del Libro del Banco Industrial del Perú, 1988), 150-156.

There were a thousand maricones
so big and ugly
that the tent seemed
an image of hell.
One was wearing a skirt
very adorned and dressed up
satin shoes, earrings,
his shawl and hat.
[...] Further on there walked
a sweet-talking mulatto
with his saya and his manto
and his good little mincing gait.

Habia mil maricones
tan grandasos y tan feos
que la tienda parecia
un retrato del infierno.
Uno estaba con pollera
muy adornado y compuesto,
zapatos de raso, aretes
su pañuelon y sombrero.
[...] Mas alla paseando estaba
un mulato salamero,
con su saya y con su manto
y su andadito muy bueno.³

The pamphlet describes a toady mulatto wearing a *saya* and *manto*, the typical skirt and shawl worn by the women of Lima (*tapada*). All in their finery, the maricones are about to leave the city riding well-adorned donkeys, on their way to Amancaes,

They look for splendid donkeys,
riding on them very conceited
firing many rockets
with their new little hats;
they all go quite well assembled
and many wearing a cloak.

³ *El Paseo de Amancaes y prisión de los maricones*, ca.1827, Pamphlet collection, BNP. I thank Dr. Martín Monsalve for kindly providing me with the reference to this pamphlet.

The large entourage departs,
and on passing by... oh, eternal God!
by the bridge, there was hell to pay,⁴
they were at once seized
and in police headquarters
they were hopelessly imprisoned.
The disappointment was so big,
and the prudent outing
was left for another occasion,
for now they'll be locked up
in Guadalupe [Prison]..."

Buscan burros muy lucidos,
sobre ellos montan muy huecos,
van tirando muchos cohetes
con sus sombreroitos nuevos;
todos van muy armaditos
y muchos con tapa feo.
Sale la gran comitiva
Y al pasar... ay Dios eterno!
Por el puente, aquí fue troya,
los empuñan al momento
y al cuartel de policía
me los meten sin remedio.

El chasco fue muy pesado,
y el ponderado paseo
quedó para otra ocasión,

⁴ The bridge mentioned in the poem connected the indigenous neighborhood of San Lázaro, which lay across the Rímac River and outside the city walls, with one of the main entrances to the city. It was built in 1611 by Viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros. Cangas, *Descripción en diálogo de la ciudad de Lima*, 9-10. For a map of mid-eighteenth century Lima, marking the bridge and Guadalupe Prison, see Ulloa, "Plano scenographico, de la ciudad de los Reyes, o Lima..." 1748, The John Carter Brown Library, *Archive of Early American Images*, <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/workspace?sip0=,JCB~1~1~2916~4690004,151,53,721,552,1026,577,361,276,717,548,7&sip1=,JCB~1~1~3871~6090001,423,171,186,319,1026,577,93,160,178,312,6&sip2=,JCB~1~1~3871~6090001,423,171,186,319,1026,577,93,160,178,312,5&sip3=,JCB~1~1~2916~4690004,302,168,425,326,1026,577,213,163,417,318,4&sip4=,JCB~1~1~2916~4690004,302,168,425,326,1026,577,213,163,417,318,3&sip5=,JCB~1~1~2916~4690004,302,168,425,326,1026,577,213,163,417,318,2&sip6=,JCB~1~1~2916~4690004,302,168,425,326,1026,577,213,163,417,318,1&xwr=16&ywr=9> (accessed March 21, 2010).

que ahora van para el encierro
[a la cárcel] de Guadalupe ...”⁵

When the party was about to cross the bridge over the Rímac River, and leave the city walls, they were seized by a group of soldiers and taken under a flurry of saber blows, first, to police heads quarters and later to Guadalupe prison. After the 1820s, this prison was also known as a shelter for sodomites.⁶

This pamphlet refers to an actual ride the maricones made to Amancaes on August 13, 1827. *El Telégrafo*, the major newspaper at the time, published a letter narrating the events and congratulating the Prefectura for this arrest.⁷ The letter gives the names of eleven maricones so arrested, out of in indignation for the protection some of these men had had in the past. The maricones included Juan José Cabezudo, a man of African ascent and a popular street vendor of food. But other maricones did reach Amancaes and so remained free. The article urged the Prefect to stand firm against the pressures exerted by their patrons, arrest the remaining maricones, and sentence them to forced labor. It also complained on the defense of women for releasing the maricones

⁵ BNP, El Paseo de Amancaes y prisión de los maricones.

⁶ In 1821, the Liberator José de San Martín announced the conversion of the old Convent of Guadalupe into a new prison: the *Cárcel de Guadalupe*. This prison was in theory established to reform the old penal system by reforming the inmates through work inside the jail, instead of the uselessly cruel treatment given out in the past. However, the labor program in the prison was never established. Aguirre, “The Lima Penitentiary and the Modernization of Criminal Justice.” For conditions in the prison see, Oficios de la Prefectura a la Junta Municipal, May 1835, box 3, file 95, Prefectura, 1824-1846, AHMLM.

⁷ “Adición al Telégrafo N^o 109 –Remitido,” *El Telégrafo de Lima* 2, no. 37 (August 14, 1827).

from jail, arguing that female prostitutes and maricones showed one another their solidarity.⁸ Besides the punishment, this case shows the enormous visibility maricones had in the urban space. This visibility was partly due to the development of distinctive forms of public behavior: dress codes, meeting places, and social networks that were also recognizable for people outside the network, and which evince the existence of a maricón subculture in Lima in this period. A French traveler even named this subculture “the strange society of maricones” (“*la extraña sociedad de maricones*”).⁹ The present chapter therefore demonstrates the process whereby the *society of maricones* vanished between 1830 and the 1850s; the development of republican legal codes, and the emergence of new moral patterns in the 1850s are also examined in order to demonstrate how it was that this process was closely intertwined with the consolidation of the new Peruvian Republic.

⁸ “Adición al Telégrafo N° 109 –Remitido.”

⁹ Max Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad Peruana* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1971), 36, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed March 28, 2010).

1. THE SOCIETY OF MARICONES

The French traveler Maximilien Radiguet visited Lima for the first time in 1841, and lived continuously there (with some absences) until 1845.¹⁰ One of his articles included in his *Souvenirs de l'Amérique Espagnole* is dedicated, amongst other personages, to “the misconducts and licentiousness of the oft-persecuted *society of maricones*.”¹¹ Radiguet did not conceal his amazement regarding the existence in Lima, a city he called the “land of beauty,” of an old society formed “to defy the power of women, make fun of their feminine charms, and deny their precious qualities and attributes.”¹² According to Radiguet, this ancient society had emerged in opposition to

¹⁰ Maximilien Radiguet (1816-1899), a French writer and illustrator. He traveled to South America and Oceania as secretary of Admiral Abel Du Petit Thouars in 1841-1845. His visits to Peru and Chile (1841-1842) were described in captivating narratives and several drawings that were published under the title of *Souvenirs de l'Amérique Espagnole* (1856), and which revealed the complexities of both post-colonial societies. Admiral Du Petit Thouars' expedition to the Marquesas Islands led to the establishment of the French protectorate of Tahiti. From these expeditions, Radiguet produced a significant amount of writing notes and drawings that are preserved at the French *Service Historique de la Défense*. Estuardo Nuñez, “Estudio preliminar,” in *Lima y la Sociedad Peruana*, by Max Radiguet (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1971), <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p000001.htm#2> (accessed March 29, 2010).

¹¹ Emphasis added.

¹² “En esta tierra de la *Lindeza*, en medio de la esa adorable población de sílfides, se ha formado una sociedad para desafiar el poder de la mujer, para burlarse de sus encantos, para negar sus preciosas cualidades y atributos.” Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed April 1, 2010).

women and even had a favorite hangout in the Plaza Mayor, the city's main square.¹³ Radiguet defined maricones by their antagonism to women, particularly in regard to the spontaneous arguments between maricones and tapadas that took place in the Plaza Mayor and other public areas, where witty and malicious speeches were used both ways to defy or ridicule the opponent. For instance, when satirizing the opposition between tapadas and maricones, the pamphlet "The Journey to Amancaes" describes a group of maricones sitting in at the plaza poking fun at the young ladies, sometimes insulting or gossiping about them, as shown by these two paragraphs,

[The maricones] They leave for the plaza
and in the midst of it they seated;
a young a little lady then goes-by
quite stiff with her entourage,
and a maricón begins
to insult her.
But she, heedless
goes on her way. But,
the insolent maricón
quite seriously tells the others
look up to this *indecent* girl,
I saw her burying the dead,
because she stabbed with a razor
Mr. Juan, the carpenter.
Another maricón, who remained
silent all this time,
says irritated: see, girl,
that one rushing by?
well, she tried to take

¹³ Lima's municipal council records for 1798-1800 shed some light on the fondness the residents had for the public baths in the city, and the disorders that took place in these gender-segregated baths. AHMLM, 21 Aug 1798 Presentación del expediente promovido por Manuel de Artaza sobre que se le conceda licencia para fabricar unos ranchos en el puquio, así como el destino de baños públicos. Also, Recurso presentado por Manuel de Artazar referente a su proyecto para construir unos baños públicos, 4 Mar 1800, AHMLM.

Don Lucas away from me... but I don't want
to continue 'cos people will say,
that I also am stupid.

[Los maricones] Se marchan para la plaza,
y en medio toman su asiento:
pasa en esto una mosita
muy tiesa con su cortejo,
y comienza un maricón
a llenarla de improperios.
Mas ella sin hacer caso
sigue su camino; pero
el maricón insolente
dice a los demas muy serio,
mira a esta indecentona,
yo la vi enterrando muertos,
porque dió de nabajazos
a ño Juan, el carpintero.
Otro maricón que estaba
callado todo este tiempo,
dice azorado ¿ves niña
aquella que va corriendo?
pues esa quiso quitarme
a don Lucas... mas no quiero
proseguir porque dirán,
que también soy majadero.¹⁴

These two paragraphs concur with other narrations of maricones using the public space in the Plaza Mayor to play out loudly with the public reputation of female passers-by. On occasion they also expressed some sort of rivalry over the love of a particular man.¹⁵ In either case it was a form of identity developed in opposition to women. This

¹⁴ BNP, El Paseo de Amancaes y prisión de los maricones.

¹⁵ Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, ff. 4v. - 9v. AGN.

opposition was supplemented by the interest in imitating women “in any possible way.” Imitation sometimes reached the point of impersonation, like the black and mulatto maricones in the “Letter about the Maricones,” who impersonated aristocratic or notable woman by adopting their names and titles of nobility.¹⁶

The most noteworthy example of these street debates between tapadas and maricones had as its star a famous cook in the 1840s, whom Radiguet described because of the “scandalous popularity he possessed.”¹⁷ Radiguet describes this street vendor of tamales and other street specialties as a fat man, devoid of facial hair and “smug like a soprano.”¹⁸ Known as “the Maricón,” this individual used to wear a wide brimmed straw hat made out of the toquilla straw of Guayaquil (the so-called Panama hats), and a wide white cook’s apron. Despite being in constant activity from morning to night, his chatting was even more endless than his food. According to Radiguet, his constant talking enchanted his audience, which grew with each step the cook gave, standing before him, the mouth wide open, as if standing before a grand speaker. His female voice, clear and vibrant, commented each and every anecdote of the day, and criticized the customs and habits of the city residents. Sometimes this cook even allowed himself to voice an opinion on political matters. The tapadas were the favorite targets of his

¹⁶ Filaletes (pseud.), “Carta sobre los Maricones,” *Mercurio Peruano* 3, no. 94 (November 27, 1791): 231.

¹⁷ Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed April 1, 2010).

¹⁸ Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed May 2, 2010).

caustic speeches: he questioned them while they walked in front of his stand, sometimes even chasing and mocking them on their way across the street. But the tapadas did not stand by idly; on many occasions they replied to his frivolous provocations. The energetic and witty originality of the replies the tapadas gave often elicited loud and friendly cheers from the audience.¹⁹

Radiguet simply refers to this famous personage by his nickname: “the Maricón.” Yet other sources allowed us to identify him as *ñ*o Juan José Cabezudo.²⁰ Of Afro-Peruvian ascent, *Ñ*o Juan José was the most popular cook in Lima until the 1850s, as is suggested by multiple testimonies, including two watercolors by Pancho Fierro and a photograph taken in 1860. His stand was located beneath the Portal de Escribanos in the Plaza Mayor, where the crowd gathered every day to enjoy his food and his comments on current events.²¹ Because of his effeminate manners and voice, he had been given the nickname of “the maricón,” as was recorded by Ricardo Palma, a renowned nineteenth-century scholar, prolific author, and collector of Pancho Fierro’s watercolors, including this one, which he captioned with his own hand:

¹⁹ Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36-37, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed May 2, 2010).

²⁰ Peruvian historian Efraín Trelles concurs in identifying Radiguet’s personage as *Ñ*o Juan José Cabezudo, who was also painted by Pancho Fierro. Personal conversation (December 25, 2010).

‘*Ñ*o’ is a colloquial abbreviation of *señor* (Mister). It was used when referring to artisans or working class men, mostly of African ascent, due to the accent Afro-Americans had when pronouncing the word ‘*señor*’.

²¹ Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú*, [56-57]. Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36-37, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed May 3, 2010).



Figure 6. Pancho Fierro. *Ño Juan José Cabezudo (a.k.a.) El maricón*. C. 1850. Watercolor on paper. Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana.

This image and the one below (**fig. 7**) were painted by the renowned Peruvian watercolorist Pancho Fierro²² and belonged to Ricardo Palma's collection, now part of

²² Francisco Fierro (1808? – 1879), a.k.a. Pancho Fierro, was the most renowned watercolorist of nineteenth-century Peru. Born as a free man of African ascent, Pancho Fierro portrayed mixed-blood, unruly, jaunty, but also, pious life of a city in the 1800s, in the midst of the republican era.

Pancho Fierro focused on civic and religious celebrations, as well as on distinctive personages of Lima's urban life. His watercolors reveal a unique style that is the pictorial interpretation of the *costumbrism*, a literary tradition that depicted everyday

the *Pinacoteca Municipal Ignacio Merino de la Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima*. The watercolor (**fig. 6**) underscores the popularity of the character of *Ño Juan José Cabezudo*, as well as his interaction with *tapadas*, customers and passersby. Besides, the visual depiction corresponds to Max Radiguet's narrative: the brimmed straw hat, the wide apron, the prominent belly, and the lack of facial hair are all depicted. Furthermore, Ricardo Palma's inscription at the bottom of the watercolor confirms his identity. Concerned with the preservation of the city's traditions and customs, Ricardo Palma was born in Lima and spent most of his life (1833-1919) in this city; it is therefore likely that he may have known personally the famed *Ño Juan José*.

According to Palma, Juan José Cabezudo was a hardworking man, whose dedication enabled him to earn over than five hundred gold ounces. The small fortune that Cabezudo made, and the admiration his long hours of work stirred, also emerges in Radiguet's description. But both authors also described *Ño Juan José* as an inveterate gambler. Palma says Cabezudo was used to work eleven months a year, while the remaining month he would live in the bathing resort of Chorrillos. There he would lose all his year earnings in games of chance. His fondness for gambling game *monte* was close to an obsession—one that cost him his fortune on two or three occasions.²³

life and personages, mannerisms and customs, typical of Lima. Ricardo Palma, a famous contemporary *costumbrista* writer, called him "the Peruvian Goya." Ricardo Palma, "El Sombrero del Padre Abregú," <http://tradiciones-peruanas.xn--crdenas-hwa.net/abregu.html> (accessed April 17, 2010).

²³ Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú*, [56]; Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36-37, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed April 3, 2010).

Another watercolor by Pancho Fierro shows Ño Juan José in a different setting (**fig. 7**). Here he looks much older than in the first painting, and his African phenotype is even more evident.



Figure 7. Pancho Fierro. *El maricon Juan José* (c. 1860). Watercolor on paper. Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana.

In contrast to the first image which was undated, the inscription at the bottom of the drawing left by Ricardo Palma approximately dates the picture. The initial inscription

gave the year 1850, but was later corrected to circa 1860. In any case, the fame of Juan José had by then noticeably declined. Palma and Radiguet agreed on this, noting that his popularity had been outstripped by other cooks, and that he was almost fallen into poverty. Juan José died in Chorrillos, sometime after the 1860s.²⁴ Before this he left to posterity a photograph of himself, taken at the Courret brothers' studio (**fig. 8**).²⁵ The *Fotografía Central*, the photographic studio of the two Frenchmen Eugenio and Aquiles Courret, opened in 1863 and rapidly became the most elegant photographic studio in the city, producing thousands of carte-de-visite²⁶ and cabinet cards.²⁷ A few years later,

²⁴ Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú*, [56-57]. Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36-37, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed April 3, 2010).

²⁵ Photography arrived to Peru in 1839 thanks to the active participation of French and American photographers. It first appeared as daguerreotypes, which was the main photographic media until 1859. The daguerreotype, which is a copper plate with a layer of silver, could only produced single copies at a relatively expensive cost.

The two Courret brothers, also Frenchmen, opened their studio *Fotografía Central* in Lima in 1863, thereby turning photography into a thriving business by taking refined studio photographs of affluent families and notable citizens. By then there were no less than ten photographers in the city, mostly foreigners, but the Courret brothers' studio is a milestone in the history of photography in Peru due to the quality of their portraits, the sheer size of their archive (over 150 thousand plates by the 1930s), and the longevity of their studio, which remained open until 1935. According to Keith McElroy, the photo-historian who has most studied Peru's photographic history, "It would be impossible to illustrate a history of Peru in the second half of the 19th century without including Courret portraits." John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Routledge: New York and London, 2008), 1: 1063-1064; Keith McElroy, "The History of Photography in Peru in the Nineteenth Century, 1839-1876," PhD Diss. (University of New Mexico, 1977); Museo de Arte de Lima, *Registros del Territorio. Las primeras décadas de la fotografía, 1860-1880* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 1997), 5; Andrés Herrera Cornejo, *La Lima de Eugenio Courret, 1863-1934* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos Novecientos Seis, 2001).

²⁶ These were calling-card size prints (2.3" x 4.1") over a cardboard base. Cartes-de-visite were interchanged among friends and acquaintances and treasured as collectible items. These cards, which according to Keith McElroy were called "*retratos tarjetas*" in Peru, were prints made out of only one glass negative, unlike Europe where dozens of

the Courret brothers had three other photographic studios, two in Lima and one in Callao, Lima's adjacent port. The Courret studio has ever since been considered the most long-lived, prolific, and renowned photographic studio in Lima, even after it finally closed down in 1935.²⁸ One of their photos is this one of Ño Juan José after 1863, found in Peru's National Library.

prints were obtained from multi-image negatives made with special cameras. Keith McElroy, *Early Peruvian Photography. A Critical Case Study* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985); Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "El primer siglo de la fotografía. Perú 1842-1942," in *La recuperación de la memoria. El primer siglo de la fotografía, Perú 1842-1942*, edited by Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (Lima: Fundación Telefónica and Museo de Arte de Lima, 2001), 1: 307, 311.

Based on an extended analysis of the Andean carte-de-visite, Debora Poole explained nineteenth century notions of race as a discourse of visual difference, developed in regard to a "visual economy" that encompassed peoples, ideas, and objects that circulated between Europe and the Andes. *Vision, Race and Modernity*, 6-11, 141.

²⁷ In Peru, cabinet cards (4.3" x 6.5") were known as *retratos album* or *gabinetes*, and begun appearing ca. 1870, but "were never the subject of extensive promotion, and a variety of format sizes continued to be produced well into the twentieth century." McElroy, *Early Peruvian Photography*, 25-26; Majluf and Wuffarden, "El primer siglo de fotografía," 311.

²⁸ Natalia Majluf, Herman Schwarz and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Documentos para la historia de la fotografía peruana. El primer siglo de la fotografía, Perú 1842-1942*, (Lima: Fundación Telefónica and Museo de Arte de Lima, 2001), 2: 52.



Figure 8. *El vivandero ño Juan José.* Archivo Courret.
Modern print from a glass negative. Biblioteca Nacional del Perú.
In Campuzano, *Museo Travesti del Perú*, [57].²⁹

This photo dates to the early years of the Courret studio, when the *carte-de-visite* captivated the enthusiasm of *Limeños*, just like in many other cities the world over. The photo shows him beside a table set with a painted tableware and a young helper with a

²⁹ Luis Antonio Eguiguren included this photograph in his 1945 book *Las Calles de Lima* (The streets of Lima). Instead of referring to his stand in the Archway of Notaries, Eguiguren identified him as the street food vendor “Ñor José,” who sold food close to the Nazarenas Church, in the traditional celebration of the *Señor de los Milagros*. Luis Antonio Eguiguren Escudero, *Las calles de Lima* (Lima: L.A. Eguiguren, 1945), 332.

feather fan. It is a studio photograph, but it tries to show Ño Juan José in his daily activities. A straw basket is carelessly placed beneath the table, thus giving the impression that food is being served. The intention of the hand-color tableware painted in the photograph—a technique used in other photographs from the Courret studio—is unknown.³⁰ For a greater effect, the scene is completed with the delicate pose struck by Juan José beside the china and wearing an effeminate apron. The ruffled details of the sleeves, and the fabric with which the apron was made, closely resemble the aprons worn by Afro Peruvian female cooks and female food street vendors. The softness of the scene is sentimental; Juan José is not longer at the peak of his fame. He has grown old and now his curly gray hair contrasts with his dark skin; besides, his gestures seem graver when compared with the watercolors painted by Pancho Fierro.³¹ The sentimental tone of the photograph recalls Radiguet's idea of the "society of maricones" as a fading tradition in Lima's society.

³⁰ In order to extend the range of their artistic expression, photographers in Peru explored several techniques with which to alter the negative and print. McElroy, *Early Peruvian Photography*, 45-46.

³¹ The case of Ño Juan José is not the only documented case of the influence Pancho Fierro's watercolors had on *costumbrista* photographs of popular types. Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden have mentioned the wide collection of cartes-de-visite the photographic studios had for on-demand reproduction. These cartes-de-visite were card size photographs of monuments, celebrities, tapadas, and other popular *costumbrista* personages such as the water-carrier, the friar riding his mule, the coachman, the corsage-seller drawn by Pancho Fierro. According to Majluf and Wuffarden, the work of Pancho Fierro established the forms of representation of these popular personages in the late 1830. Later, with the invention of photography, some editors used the images of the painter to stage their own photographic versions. Majluf and Wuffarden, "El primer siglo de fotografía," 68-73.

2. HE IS A MARICÓN BY TRADE

Just like Ño Juan José won renown thanks to his cooking, there were certain trades that were associated with a delicate or feminine personality whenever they were carried out by men. Such was the case of dance instructors, as mentioned by the complaints Archbishop Barroeta made against the mulatto men who participated in public balls.³² Other maricones were also known to be working in trades socially assigned to women. For instance, laundering and ironing are two activities mentioned in Terralla y Landa's poem *Lima por dentro y fuera*; both were related with the care of clothing, and were mostly considered female tasks.³³ This concurs with the two criminal trials analyzed in the first chapter. In those trials of men accused of being maricones, the defendants, backed by their witnesses, declared having trades associated with the manufacture and alteration of clothing, activities that were usually associated with women. So when in 1803 Francisco Pro was discovered dressed like a tapada and was

³² Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Ángel, “Nos el D. D. Pedro Antonio de Barroeta y Angel por la gracia de Dios, y de la Sta. Sede Apostolica, Arzobispo...,” in *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)*, by José Toribio Medina (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1966), 2: 504-507.

A hundred years later, in 1867, Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, a lawyer and prolific journalist, described the renowned *master* Monteblanco, a “black man of excessively fine manners and excessively rough features,” gained in Lima as a dance instructor. In the mid-nineteenth century, Master Monteblanco had the honor of being the favorite dance teacher of most refined young ladies in the city, and was hired to give lessons, both private ones and in schools, and he taught dances such as the *zamacueca*, the minuet, the *londú*, and the *cachucha*. Fuentes, *Lima. Apuntes históricos*, 151-152.

³³ Esteban Terralla y Landa, *Lima por dentro y fuera* (Madrid: Imprenta de Villalpando, 1798), in Google books <http://books.google.com/books?id=DwQBAAAAMAAJ&hl=es> (accessed August 20, 2009), 73.

asked what his trade was, he declared that he was a tailor and was “sewing sometimes in tailor’ shops as it was his trade, and others in his house, sewing female clothing or any other that was provided to him.”³⁴ And when in 1797 Francisco Morel was accused of being a maricón to prevent him from marrying Josefa Fernández, Morel’s father declared that his son sewed and embroidering his own clothing, “notwithstanding which there was no trace of any effeminate defect in this or in the use of his masculine sex.”³⁵ However, the witnesses called by the plaintiff disagreed, for they considered that to be a maricón was a form of trade. Estanislao Torres thus accused Francisco of being a “maricón by trade” (“*de profesión maricón*”), and claimed he was “often dressed as a woman, with mantilla, female shoes, and movements of the same.”³⁶ Estanislao made this statement in revenge for opposition Francisco’s father had shown to the betrothal of his son and Estanislao’s daughter. The false nature of this charge notwithstanding, the identification of “being a maricón” with a trade or “profession”³⁷ is remarkable. Estanislao was very specific in establishing what he believed was the basis of Francisco Morel’s trade:

³⁴ AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, *Causa seguida contra Francisco Pró*, f. 4v. – 7r.

³⁵ AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, f. 27r. - 27v.

³⁶ AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, f. 5r. – 8v.

³⁷ ‘Profesión’ is a late-eighteenth century Spanish term used to refer to an occupation or profession, i.e. the way in which a person made a living. The Spanish Royal Academy defined *profesión* as “the way of life that each one has, and which one publicly uses and practices” (“PROFESION. n.d. El modo de vida que cada uno tiene, y le usa y exerce públicamente.”) Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 1780, s.v. “profesion,” <http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUISalirNtll> (accessed May 22, 2010).

... he has no other destination or other occupation than walking around the city, and he goes to whatever public performance takes place in the city, and shows up with indecent effeminate gestures and actions, seducing those whom he is able to corrupt with his expressions, flaunting and bragging of his own crime.

...que no tiene destino alguno, ni mas ocupacion, que estarse paseando en la ciudad, y en quantas funciones publicas se ofresen, en los que se presenta, con acciones y ademanas indesentes mugeriles, seduciendo a los que puede corromper con sus expresiones haciendo ostentacion y banagloria de su mismo delito.³⁸

The references to “being a maricón by trade“ raises questions regarding masculine same-sex prostitution. According to the Peruvian historian Pablo Macera, there was a male-to-male brothel in Lima during the first decade of nineteenth century. Macera argues that the fact that sodomitical prostitution was already organized in Lima, shows how rooted the practice of sodomy was among the lower classes. Macera mentions an article published in the newspaper *El Investigador* in 1814, which complained of two maricones who prostituted themselves at night—Juan and Camilo—near the vicinities of the Plaza Mayor. After the retreat—a military tune played at night that initiated the patrolling of city— was played, the two maricones of African ascent returned to the small shop next to the bakery of *el Cascajal*, where they lived.³⁹ At night

³⁸ Real Audiencia, Causas Criminales, Autos promovidos por Manuel Suarez, en nombre de don Manuel Fernández, f. 5r. AGN.

³⁹ Bakeries in Colonial Peru were places where slaves were punished. The exhausting work of kneading the dough and the intense heat from the kiln made working in a bakery one of the hardest jobs; slaves were therefore sent to comply with corporal punishment, and worked there for days or even years, under the strict vigilance of a foreman. Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa, *Relación histórica del viaje hecho en orden de*

the shop served as a brothel, where a group of sodomites and suspicious wrongdoers met with impunity.⁴⁰

To sum up, there were several trades associated with the dissident maricón masculinity. There was in fact a certain permissiveness, in the guise of the lack of enforcement of the law, that allowed these maricones to earn their living as food-vendors, launderers, tailors, embroiderers, dance instructors, and even as male prostitutes. The fact that these men were able to sustain themselves, insofar as social integration allowed them to establish commercial activities with other members of society, makes us rethink the rigid image of segregation often found in the representations of subcultures based on sexual practices.

su Magestad a la América Meridional, 2nd part, vol. 3 (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1748), 133-134; Johann Jacob von Tschudi, *El Perú. Esbozos de viajes realizados entre 1838 y 1842*, edited and translated by Peter Kaulicke (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 97-98; Felix Letellier, “Profesiones y oficios en la Lima de 1850,” translated and edited by Pablo E. Pérez Mallaína, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 38 (1980), 209. The records of Lima’s municipal council likewise bear testimony to the presence of a bakery in the street *el Sauce* in 1791. *Actas del Cabildo*, Libro 38, 265v. [269v.], AHMLM.

⁴⁰ A.M., “Otro,” *El Investigador del Perú*, no. 123 (June 18, 1814), 3; Pablo Macera, “Sexo y Coloniaje,” *Trabajos de historia* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1977), 3: 349; Luis Daniel Morán Ramos, *Sociedad Colonial y Vida Cotidiana en Lima a través de las Páginas de El Investigador (del Perú), 1813-1814*, in collaboration with María Isabel Aguirre Bello (Lima: Luis Daniel Morán Ramos, 2007), *Monografías.com*, <http://www.monografias.com/trabajos-pdf2/sociedad-colonial-vida-cotidiana-lima/sociedad-colonial-vida-cotidiana-lima.shtml> (accessed September 12, 2010), 60.

3. THE VOICES OF THE NEW REPUBLICAN MEN

Commerce, social, and legal life were some of the spheres in which the life led by maricones, and the discussions regarding them, transpired. But beyond this there lay a political dimension, a debate that questioned the capacity these men had to comply with their civic duties. In my opinion, this same dimension holds the key to our understanding of the rise of the maricones as a public question in the 1790s, and why this issue vanished after the 1840s.

This relation between maricones and a diminished political capacity would endure during the wars of independence and throughout the early decades of the republic, in association with the ability of men to fulfill their civic duties in serving the Peruvian Nation. After independence in 1821, political life became the central stage in which the public matter of maricones was discussed, particularly in relation to what was considered an unacceptable behavior for the New Republican Man. The pamphlet “The Journey to Amancaes and imprisonment of the Maricones” dates from this period, as well as the references to the “Major *Zumbeta*” in the prison of Guadalupe, which were published in the newspaper *El Hijo del Montonero*. In this particular case, the allusion was alluded to the presence of maricones among the military ranks.

The newspaper *El Hijo del Montonero*, which had a satirical and extremely sexual tone, published in 1834 news regarding the so-called Major *Zumbeta*,⁴¹ who had been

⁴¹ *Zumbeta* is derived from the Spanish verb *zumbar*, which in 1832 meant to trick someone, but also to do something violently. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, 1832, 786, <http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUIMenuNtllle?cmd=Lema&sec=1.0.0.0.0>. (accessed April 10, 2010).

given the commission of reforming the ranks. As part of his new duties, a witness declared having seen the Sr. Mayor—a name that stands in Spanish for “old man,” but also for a military rank—going every day to the prison of Guadalupe along with a corporal. Sr. Mayor had taken the corporal as his master, and had skillfully learned from him the position of draftee. He had also learned where carry the sword. Both images, the position of the draftee and the sword being carried properly, were veiled references to sodomy, wherein the position of the draftee satirized a passive male-to-male sexual encounter, and the position the sword stood for penetration.⁴² The reputation the prison of Guadalupe had for sodomy persisted until the early twentieth century. This reputation was based on the presumably high incidence of sodomy that this prison shared with the other prisons of Lima.⁴³

In contrast, a letter published in *El Telégrafo*, a week after the maricones’ promenade in 1827, replied to the previous one that had named the maricones who had been arrested on their way to the Amancaes. This extraordinary letter, which was

⁴² “NOTICIA. Se nos asegura que al mayor *Zumbeta* se le ha agregado a la comisión destinada a reformar la ordenanza. Un curioso que se pasea todas las mañanas por las portadas, nos ha asegurado que dicho Sr. mayor concurre a la de Guadalupe acompañado de un cabo de escuadra al que ha tomado por maestro, y que en solos ocho días ha aprendido la posición del recluta primorosamente. A mas sabe ya a que lado debe llevar la espada.”

El Hijo del Montonero, no. 3 (October 21, 1834).

⁴³ Carlos Aguirre points out that throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, one of the most recurrent sources of criticism regarding discipline and morality in the prisons of Lima was the alleged prevalence of homosexuality among male prisoners. One observer in the 1920s even compared the prison of Guadalupe “with a brothel due to the extensive practice of homosexual prostitution.” Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds. The Prison Experience, 1850-1935* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 169, 172-174.

signed by “the inmates in the prison of Guadalupe,” argued in favor of the maricones and claiming their usefulness for the new nation.⁴⁴ According to this article, the inmates arrested for their participation in the promenade had sent this letter to the newspaper for publication. Under the title of “*Cría cuervos para que te saquen los ojos*” (“If you lie down with dogs you will get up with fleas”), it alludes to a Spanish proverb that is used to mark the ingratitude of those who owe favors and yet repay them with unfair deeds or hurtful words. In regard to the proverb, the article claims society was ungrateful because it did not recognize the services the maricones made to the public. Using a collective voice of “we the maricones,” the first statement in the article argues they were not harmful to their glorious city of Lima. Defining themselves as sons of the city, they denied being nefarious, depraved, or *bujarrones* (sodomites).⁴⁵ Instead, they claimed they were of humble character, but most importantly that they dedicated themselves to serve the public by supplying the city with delicacies prepared by their own hands, delicacies that were tasted in public and in private gatherings—in brief, they argued they were be productive citizens with useful trades.

As for the promenade to Amancaes, the article then asked what was so scandalous about promoting an entertaining activity for the inauguration of the new elected President. This question is key for our understanding of the political meaning

⁴⁴ “Señores Editores.-,” *El Telégrafo de Lima*, 21 August 1827. This article was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. Martín Monsalve.

⁴⁵ *Bujarrones* is the Spanish plural for *bujarrón*, i.e. sodomite. The term derives from the name used in Spanish for Bulgarians, and it was used after 1526 as an insult for the heretics of the Greek Orthodox Church. Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (Madrid: Gredos, 1980), 1: 693.

of the article. General José de La Mar⁴⁶ had taken office for the second time as elected President of the Peruvian Republic, just a day before. After arriving in secret in order to avoid a public reception, La Mar had been elected President by the Congress to succeed General Andrés de Santa Cruz.⁴⁷ Unable to understand a man who rejected power, Bolívar described La Mar as “the most competent and the most inept of all men, skillful in everything, but timid for anything.”⁴⁸ Bolívar’s lack of faith in La Mar’s ability to exert his responsibilities as a strong political authority seems to have been behind this comment. It was commonly said at the time that La Mar felt that even the name of “president” frightened him.⁴⁹

La Mar lacked the spirit to engage in intricate plots, or the authoritarian energy required to succeed in the midst of such turmoil. The speed with which Congress,

⁴⁶ **José Domingo de La Mar** was born in Cuenca (Viceroyalty of New Granada, modern Ecuador) in 1778, and died in exile in Costa Rica in 1830. Although he considered himself a Peruvian and had the best interest of this country in his mind, he was part of the first generation of *caudillos*, and like Andrés de Santa Cruz was never accepted as a fellow countryman by the former Spanish nobility and Lima’s upper classes. He was however elected President of the Republic twice by the Peruvian Congress, first in September 1822, as Chief of the Government Junta until February 1823; and from 1827 to 1829, as Constitutional President. Jorge Basadre, *La Iniciación de la República. Contribución al estudio de la evolución política y social del Perú* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2002), 1: 85, 149.

⁴⁷ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., *Historia General del Perú. La República* (Lima: Carlos Milla Batres, 1984), 7: 106-107.

⁴⁸ “el más capaz, y el más inepto de los hombres, hábil para cualquier cosa, pero tímido para todo.” Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 155.

⁴⁹ In his first election after the San Martín had departed, La Mar was elected President of the Government Junta by Congress in 1822. He held office a few months in office until the mutiny of Balconcillo led by Santa Cruz.

spurred on by the priest Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro,⁵⁰ accepted the third resignation of Santa Cruz as Peru's President, and the rapid election of La Mar, had raised several critiques.⁵¹ One of them was the article in *El Telégrafo*, in which the maricones imprisoned in Guadalupe allegedly had organized the joyful promenade to the Amancaes to commemorate the election of the new President. Given the turmoil of the period, his speedy election and his reputation for weakness endowed La Mar with a questionable political masculinity. The article also associated him with a group of maricones who were openly pleased by his election.

The article then went on to state asking why maricones were being mocked, and most importantly why they had to suffer imprisonment at the cost of their own work and industry. They even argued they were providing for their own sustenance and that of

⁵⁰ In 1827, the political maneuvering of the priest Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro, president of Congress, tilted the vote for La Mar. Congress elected him President of the Republic, defeating Santa Cruz by 58 votes to 29. The election of La Mar was the safest choice over any of the fearsome southern *caudillos*: generals José de Santa Cruz, Agustín Gamarra and Antonio Gutiérrez de La Fuente. Vargas Ugarte, *Historia General del Perú. La República*, 7: 30; see also, Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 81-83; Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo. Desde las luchas por la Independencia hasta el presente* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Universidad del Pacífico, 2004), 104.

Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J. noted that Javier de Luna Pizarro constantly opposed the dictatorial designs of La Fuente, Gamarra, and Santa Cruz. The latter hated him and even came to an agreement with La Fuente to have him executed. He was exiled several times from Peru, even by Bolívar, who exiled him in August 1826. Luna Pizarro was president of the first constitutional congress, an "appointment in which he demonstrated a grand talent and the qualities of a clairvoyant politician." Vargas Ugarte, *Historia General del Perú*, 7: 30b.

⁵¹ Basadre, *La iniciación de la República*, 1: 159-161; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*, 65-67; Peter Klarén, *Nación y Sociedad en la Historia del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), 170-173.

many others, to whom “by the sweat of our ugly faces we have the honor and glory of supporting their needs.”⁵² The final argument is categorical in this regard:

We are not harmful, but useful; not *bujarrones*, but hard workers, yes; finally, not sodomites but ultimately Christian Catholics who fear going against Religion and the rites of the nature.

Nosotros no somos perjudicos, y si utiles; no bujarrones, y si trabajadores, no por ultimo nefandistas, y si al fin católicos cristianos que tememos ir contra la Religión y ritos de la naturaleza.⁵³

In an ironic tone, the argument closely relates the maricones with the civic role any male household head played, wherein the male was the sole provider for his dependent wife and children. The maricones furthermore demanded that the public answer their inquiries and show the “Supreme Governmental Legislature” they were safe for society. In so doing, they would overturn the detestable laws of foreign nations (Spain) that were being used to punishing them for their simple public promenade to Amancaes. They wanted a wise and good Peruvian Law. The reference to the Supreme Legislature reveals their concern over the use of the Spanish colonial legal code to try and sentence

⁵² “...y deseamos que el espectador, o el curioso, o el calumniante, se digne contestar a estas tan sencillas preguntas, para precaver los funestos resultados que puede haber de la prision que sufren, con tanto perjuicio a sus labores e industrias, de donde pende la existencia nuestra y la de muchos...mucho, a quienes con el sudor de nuestro afeado rostro tenemos el honor, y gloria de soportarles sus necesidades.” “Señores Editores.-,” *El Telégrafo de Lima*, August 21, 1827.

⁵³ “Señores Editores.-,” *El Telégrafo de Lima* (August 21, 1827).

Peruvians, and the need to adopt new Peruvian civil and criminal codes. During the first three decades of its Republican life, Peru continued to be ruled by Spanish colonial Law, which included a vast collection of codes from the *Fuero Juzgo* to the *Novísima Recopilación*, in addition to the *Leyes de Indias*, and the *cédulas reales* (royal orders). According to the historian Jorge Basadre, Peruvian legislators were extremely prolific in drafting constitutions but not so in writing legal codes. The first Constitution was approved by the Constitutional Congress in 1823, but the first Civil Code only passed into effect in Peru in 1852. In the meantime, between 1823 and 1856, eight constitutions were passed (this includes the two 1836 constitutions for the Northern Peruvian and Southern Peruvian states of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation).⁵⁴

The requirements for citizenship laid out by the two first Peruvian constitutions situated came very close to the argument the maricones of *El Telégrafo* were trying to make. The 1823 and 1826 constitutions, established four requirement in order to become a citizen: to be Peruvian; to be married or older than 25 years; to know how to read and write; and to have a property or any profession or trade, without being under the service of anyone as a servant or as a day laborer.⁵⁵ In *El Telégrafo*, the maricones

⁵⁴ These were the 1823, 1826, 1828, 1834, 1836 (two), 1839 and 1856 constitutions. Jorge Basadre, *Historia del Derecho Peruano* (Lima: Atenea, 1984), 325, 330-331; Congreso de la República del Perú, “Constituciones del Perú,” *Archivo digital de la legislación en el Perú*, <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/ConstitucionP.htm> (accessed June 23, 2010); Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*, 93. Also, Cristóbal Aljovín proposes an explanation to the strange constitutionalist vocation during the convulsed times of the *caudillos* in, *Caudillos y Constituciones: Perú 1821-1845*.

⁵⁵ Congreso de la República del Perú, “Constitución Política de la República Peruana ... Noviembre de 1823,” article 17th; Congreso de la República del Perú, “Constitución Política de 1826,” article 14th; both in *Archivo digital de la legislación en el Perú*, <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/ConstitucionP.htm> (accessed April 3, 2010).

showed the ability to read and write based on the letter they had allegedly sent to the newspaper; they claimed to be Peruvians eager to be ruled by Peruvian laws, and also referred to their families and those that depended on them for their sustenance; finally, they strongly argued to be hard working and to be useful to society through their labor. In brief, it could be argued that “the maricones” were subtly reclaiming their right to be considered citizens.

As regards criminal law against sodomy in the early Peruvian republic, Spanish colonial Law remained in force until the first Penal Code appeared in 1862. Before that, in December 1825, Simón Bolívar had entrusted a twelve-man committee with the preparation of civil and criminal codes for the nation. Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre presided the commission. Born in Lima in 1773, Vidaurre embodied the transition from the colonial legal establishment and the development of an Enlightenment-inspired Republican legal system. The commission appointed by Bolívar met only one time; Vidaurre however continued working on his own, and by 1826 he had prepared a Penal Code. The project was presented to Congress but it was never discussed; Vidaurre nonetheless had it publish it in his newspaper *El Discreto* (1827), and in 1828 also printed an American edition during his exile in the United States.⁵⁶

Vidaurre’s penal code project was the first republican attempt at penal codification. The basic definition of crime used in this code is the harm intentionally caused to society. The most important public and private crimes were then discussed according to their nature and to Vidaurre’s ideal of a fair and proportional retribution.

⁵⁶ Basadre, *Historia del Derecho Peruano*, 327-338; *El Discreto*, no. 1 (February 24, 1827); no. 2 (March 3, 1827); no. 5 (March 24, 1827).

The first public crimes analyzed here are crimes against the fatherland, and then comes the crime of sodomy. The placement of sodomy right after the direct crimes committed against the fatherland reveals the traditional legal thinking of Vidaurre, for in Spanish legislation sodomy was considered not just a sin against God, but also a crime against the king. As was explained in the first chapter, two theological principles supported the secular prosecution of sodomy: first, that any form of non-procreative intercourse hindered the Creator's will; and second, that unless sodomy was punished by the authorities, divine wrath would follow, like the mass destruction of biblical Sodom. This was the basis of the Spanish laws against sodomy since the *Fuero Juzgo* in the mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁷

Following Enlightenment thinking, Vidaurre emphasized that what he considered “the horrors of sodomy” could be repaired with education and a new school system.⁵⁸ He also believed sodomy was a sin against the fatherland, thus honoring his origins as a colonial Spanish magistrate who had turned into a republican jurist.⁵⁹ Vidaurre believed sodomy was a sin not against God or the king, but against the new republican embodiment of power: the fatherland (*la Patria*). Despite his republican argument,

⁵⁷ Francisco Tomás y Valiente, “El crimen y pecado contra natura,” in Francisco Tomás y Valiente, et al., *Sexo Barroco y otras transgresiones premodernas* (Madrid: Alianza, 1990), 34-39; Alfredo Martínez Expósito, *Los Escribas Furiosos: Configuraciones Homoeróticas en la Narrativa Española* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1998), ch. 4; Ricardo García Cárcel and Doris Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición: Historia Crítica* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2001), 305-306.

⁵⁸ Manuel de Vidaurre, *Proyecto de un Código Penal; contiene una explicación prolija de la entidad de los delitos en general, y de la particular naturaleza de los mas conocidos* (Boston: Hiram Tupper, 1828), 83.

⁵⁹ “Peca contra la patria el sodomita.” Vidaurre, *Proyecto de un Código Penal*, 83.

Vidaurre's opposition to the crime was based on similar arguments to those found in the Spanish legal tradition: that sodomy risks incurring God's rage, thus exposing *la Patria* to destruction, and also that it entailed a loss of virile seed. Vidaurre compared the sodomite with the man "who marries an aged woman in whom he loses his seed." For him, sodomy was even worse because it not only represented the loss of the fertilizing semen, but also brought about a vicious cycle wherein the man who committed sodomy taught an accomplice who would in time repeat the same crime.⁶⁰ Vidaurre went further with this argument, claiming that sodomy was a public offense because it delayed the growth of the national population. He therefore believed that a fair punishment would be to suspend the citizenry rights of the man who committed this crime. He also proposed two further penalties: forbid sodomites to inherit from any woman, as a way to deprive them from the benefits of the rejected sex, and to force the delinquent to contribute a fifth of his earnings to houses of education, "for him to feel the burden of sustaining those [children] he procures to extinguish."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Vidaurre, *Proyecto de un Código Penal*, 84.

⁶¹ Sodomites shall their loose citizen rights for ten years; none amongst them may inherit or acquire legacies from their female relatives, nor from any other person of the feminine sex. They shall be fined with a fifth part of their estate in favor of the houses of education. Should they backslide, they shall be forever exiled.

El sodomista pierda por diez años los derechos de ciudadanía, no pueda entre ellos adquirir herencias ni legados de sus parientas, ni de ninguna otra persona del seco femenino. Sea multado la quinta parte de sus bienes en favor de las casas de educación. Si reincide, sea expatriado para siempre.

Vidaurre, *Proyecto de un Código Penal*, 219.

Vidaurre did not argue claim there was a particular abundance of sodomites in Lima. Instead, he did mention that the crime was well known to eminent Greek and Roman figures praised by Montesquieu and other Enlightenment thinkers.⁶² Although he did not express a particular concern over how widespread sodomy was in Lima; Vidaurre did consider it a crime that was serious enough to be discussed immediately after the crimes that endangered the sovereignty and safety of the fatherland (*la Patria*).

Vidaurre followed the Spanish legal tradition that considered sodomy was one of the most hideous crimes, next to those that directly threatened the Monarchy. For Vidaurre, sodomy was not a private but a public crime against the nation's population growth. It was a crime that went beyond the shame brought to the guilty and their families, and to the land wherein the crime flourished, and particularly to the ruler who allowed it to happen. Vidaurre's codes were never discussed in Congress, yet they surely represent the normative thought of a transitional political era, one that lay between the Spanish colonial tradition and the Napoleonic trend that influenced Peru's republican jurists.

After Vidaurre, other attempts made to develop penal codification would not be so concerned with sodomy. The Penal Code approved during the Peru-Bolivian

⁶² This same argument was also presented by José Ignacio Moreno, an enlightened jurist and priest who opposed the anticlericalism of Vidaurre and defended the role of the Catholic faith in the new Republic. Vidaurre, *Proyecto de un Código Penal*, 83; José Ignacio Moreno, *Cartas Peruanas entre Filaletes y Eusebio o preservativo contra el veneno de los libros impíos y seductores que corren en el país* (Lima: Imprenta de Ríos, Masías and Concha), XXVII, 1828; Fernán Altuve-Febres Lores, "José Ignacio Moreno y la Ilustración Católica," *Anales de la Fundación Francisco Elías de Tejada*, no. 14 (2008), 143-152, in *Dialnet* <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2860805> (accessed December 20, 2010).

Confederation, just eight years after Vidaurre had his penal code published, did not make any direct reference in this regard. In 1836, Santa Cruz achieved his long-cherished project of reuniting Peru and Bolivia as the Peru-Bolivian Confederation. Santa Cruz won the approval for the three codes he had already promulgated in Bolivia—a civil code, a criminal code, and a judicial procedures code—with few changes made by the Congresses of the two Peruvian states (Northern and Southern-Peruvian). According to Basadre, the Santa Cruz Penal Code was inspired not just by the French Napoleonic codes, but also by the penal code project of the Spanish legislator José María Calatrava.⁶³

The Santa Cruz Penal Code did not specifically establish a particular sanction for sodomy, even though the sanctions against rape, abuse, and the corruption of minors entail some forms of male-to-male sexual behavior. Article 419^o in the section titled *Of those who promote or foster prostitution and corrupt the young, or contribute to any of these things*, prohibited the dishonest abuse of a girl or a boy under the age of puberty, with four to eight years of prison and the same in exile. The same punishment was meted out to those who contributed to the corruption of minors “of one or the other sex” (article 426^o). Finally, article 552^o, punished any person who tried to abuse another, forced him or her with violence or threats with four years of forced labor, and added four years in exile if the attempt was consummated.⁶⁴

⁶³ Basadre, *Historia del Derecho Peruano*, 339.

⁶⁴ Libro 2^o, Título 7^o, Capítulo II, “De los que promueven o fomentan la prostitución, y corrompen a los jóvenes, o contribuyen a cualquiera de estas cosas.” José Manuel Gutiérrez, ed., *Código Penal Santa-Cruz. Para el Régimen de la República Boliviana* (Cochabamba: Tipografía de Quevedo, 1862), in *Google books*,

The codes were abolished once the Confederation was dissolved in 1839, and political anarchy reigned until the first administration of Ramón Castilla in 1845.⁶⁵ In this same year, a project was presented to the Congress to establish a committee that would prepare a civil code. On December 1846, Congress began to debate the project. The result was the 1847 Civil Code project, which comprised 2,055 articles, and the Civil Prosecution Code (*Código de Enjuiciamiento Civil*). A new committee was formed in 1850 to review the 1847 project and President Castilla passed it in that same year. The Code was abolished by the new administration of General José Rufino Echenique, and a new commission was named to review the 1847 project, which was finally passed on July 28, 1852.⁶⁶ A long debate then ensued regarding the Penal Code, which was passed several years later, in 1862.

In contrast with the Santa Cruz Code, the 1862 Penal Code specifically included sodomy as a punishable act. However, instead of following the Spanish legal tradition that considered it a crime against the king, the 1862 Penal Code included sodomy among the “the offenses against honesty” (Bk. 2, Section 8, *De los delitos contra la honestidad*).⁶⁷ Article 272 equated the punishment for those who committed sodomy with the punishment set for those guilty of rape or statutory rape, with a sentence of 4-9

<http://books.google.com.pe/books?id=I3cVAAAAYAAJ&hl=en&pg=PR6#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed June 25, 2010), 105-107, 136.

⁶⁵ Basadre, *Historia del Derecho Peruano*, 338-347; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*, 106-109; Klarén, *Nación y Sociedad*, 198-201.

⁶⁶ Basadre, *Historia del Derecho Peruano*, 327-353.

⁶⁷ *Código Penal del Perú*, <http://books.google.com.pe/books?id=27sWAAAA YAAJ&hl=en&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed June 25, 2010).

years in prison, depending of aggravating circumstances.⁶⁸ Even more importantly, this Code transformed the consideration of sodomy as a crime that concerned the nation (based on the Catholic fear of unleashing God's wrath), to a crime that belonged to a more intimate sphere related to a person's honesty. In so doing, the 1862 Penal Code revealed a shift in hegemonic masculinity that surpassed the legal domain. Just like the presence of maricones in the city was no longer a matter of public complaint, so it was that sodomy became a matter of private concern.

⁶⁸ *Código Penal del Perú*, 77-78, <http://books.google.com.pe/books?id=27sWAAAAYAAJ&hl=en&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed June 25, 2010).

4. THE LAST NEWS OF A DYING SOCIETY

In this chapter and the first one, I have discussed what Max Radiguet called “the strange society of maricones.” One of the most important elements in this dissident masculinity was the lack of secrecy that characterized maricones. From their attendance to public places, to their flamboyant conduct, the dissidence of maricones was much evident to neighbors and acquaintances, who knew the details of their quotidian lives. In this regard, one of the finest examples of the involvement of neighbors in the domestic life of a maricón is the lawsuit Josefa Murillo filed against her husband Juan Calderón for divorce; a case presented by Christine Hünefeldt in *Liberalism in the Bedroom*.⁶⁹ According to Hunefeldt, this is the only case in the ecclesiastical and civil suits of nineteenth-century Peru, in which a woman accused her husband of committing “adultery” with another man.⁷⁰ With the advice and support of one of her sons, Josefa Morillo presented her demand against her lawful husband Juan Calderón, before Lima’s Ecclesiastical Court in September 1846, requesting “divorce for the mistreatment against her person, which makes the marital union unbearable, and therefore requests

⁶⁹ Doña Josefa Morillo, demandando a su legítimo esposo don Juan Calderón. 1846. Causas de divorcio, Leg. 90, Exp. 912. AAL. I found this document after Christine Hunefeldt mentioned it in her *Liberalism in the Bedroom*. Hunefeldt states that unlike “the judges’ leniency when husbands resorted to [female] prostitutes,” Josefa had a swift divorce once she accused her husband of “adultery” with another man. Christine Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the bedroom: quarreling spouses in nineteenth-century Lima* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 90.

⁷⁰ Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom*, 90.

separation from habitation and bed.”⁷¹ After a failed conciliation by the Ecclesiastical Justice of the Peace, in which Josefa claimed mistreatment due to Juan’s failings as a provider for her and their children, she decided to present her case before the Ecclesiastical Court,

Last year, Calderon absolutely neglected me and my children. He lived away from us for a year in order to [be able] to indulge in vice and immorality and relaxation which is the principal and true cause of everything. I would not like to explain further because it embarrasses me; after all, it is my husband who has these weaknesses.

En el año pasado hizo Calderón un abandono absoluto de mi y mis hijos. Un año vivió separado para tener mas olgura en el vicio y relajacion que es la principal y verdadera causa de todo. No quiero hacer mas esplicaciones, que a mi misma me ruborisan, porque al fin es mi marido el que tiene esas debilidades.⁷²

Josefa accused her husband of having abandoned her to live with his male lover. Instead of simply accusing him of sodomy, she was too embarrassed to utter this word,

⁷¹ “...pidiendo divorcio por mal trato contra su persona, lo cual es insoportable la union marital, y en su consecuencia pide separacion de avitacion y lecho.” AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 1r.

In the nineteenth century, divorce in Peru meant the ecclesiastical and civil approval for the temporal separation of the spouses, but not the dissolution of the marriage. Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom*, 13; Basadre, *Historia del Derecho Peruano*, 333-350. The 1862 Penal Code established that should the ecclesiastical judge not grant the divorce, this could not be requested through a penal action. However, if ecclesiastical court did grant the divorce, one had to request a new process before the civil authorities before this decision could be applied. *Código Penal del Perú*, Art. 268, 77, <http://books.google.com.pe/books?id=27sWAAAAYAAJ&hl=en&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed June 26, 2010).

⁷² AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 3r.

and only indirectly referred to it. Josefa evidently had turned to the Ecclesiastical Court in utmost despair, after nearly thirty years of marriage. Her sufferings had become unbearable and she was finally convinced that her husband was not going to change his ways:

I have suffered much, always hoping that one day my husband would change and reform his ways. But I am already disillusioned and am convinced that I am fighting against hope, and even against the evidence itself.

Mucho he sufrido, esperando siempre que algun dia pueda mi marido corregirse y variar de costumbres. Pero ya estoy desengañada y combencida de que lucho contra la esperanza, y aun contra la evidencia misma.⁷³

Despite this statement, Josefa had not abandoned all hope yet. First, she requested a temporary, four-year divorce. Later in the lawsuit, Josefa changed her request and requested perpetual divorce, thus acknowledging that he had no intention of changing his ways. In his reply to her demand, Juan Calderón denied the charges of mistreatment, but did admit that his scant means had recently become too bothersome for his wife, particularly now than her wealthy son (and not his own) was able to provide her with more comfort. But the evidence provided by Josefa was undeniable. Her witnesses, neighbors and friends, all had witnessed the illicit friendship of Juan Calderon and Martin Hurtado. One of the witnesses was Manuel de Jesús Varas, the son-in-law of Josefa and Juan. Manuel declared that he had come to Lima three years

⁷³ AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 3r.

before with Calderon and his family, aboard a ship from Guayaquil, where he was born. According to Manuel, Calderón brought with him a young man named Martin Hurtado, to whom he was very close. On arriving all together to Lima, they decided to stay in the same house at first. Manuel was given the same room in which Juan Calderón and Martin Hurtado shared a bed, while Josefa and her children slept in another room. This arrangement lasted for more than two months until Calderon and Hurtado opened a candle shop and moved away. Juan and Martin worked together in the candle shop, and Manuel claimed he had found them hugging and caressing each other. He also recognized that it was rumored that there were illicit relations within that family. Manuel believed the rumor because Calderon had tried to caress him as well, but he had rejected his advances. Manuel had also heard once from the family that they had had to call a doctor to assisting Josefa after Juan had beaten her.⁷⁴

Another witness, Félix Hurtado, a twenty-five year old shoemaker, also declared for Josefa. Félix declared that three years ago, when he moved to Calderon's house, the neighbors had warned him that Calderon and Martin Hurtado, a relative of his, had an illicit liaison. Thus informed, Félix decided to observe them, and the result was that "he saw between them an extraordinary union, and they gave and asked jealousy as it is commonly be done among the people of different sexes." Félix was also a direct witness of Juan's and Martin's relation. Juan had once asked if he could borrow Félix's room to take a nap. Félix returned shortly afterwards and spied on Juan through a window over the door. He found him and Martin on the same bed, "indecorously caressing each other," and was very disgusted and upset. Félix declared that he knew that Juan

⁷⁴ AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 3v-6v, 11r-11v.

Calderon had moved to live alone with Martin for a while. Felix had then tried to separate Martin from “that life” by having Martin live with him. Calderón however seduced him anew and enticed him to return to his side.⁷⁵

Here it is worth noting that the words “extraordinary union,” “illicit relations,” and “indecorous caressing” were used to refer to what half a century before was had simply been known as the “abominable vice,” “the horrors of sodomy,” “maricón,” or “sodomite.” Furthermore, “shame”—in the sense Elias uses this term—pervades all of the depositions given in this lawsuit. Josefa refused to call his husband a *maricón*, his deeds notwithstanding. The witnesses Manuel and Félix also resorted to using euphemisms to refer to what Juan Calderón did. The Murillo vs. Calderón case is in this regard markedly different from the criminal and inquisition cases described in the first chapter, where the level of detailed description required one to describe nakedness, terms of endearment and seduction techniques, types of caresses, and even the findings of medical examinations. This case was different—the reserve and modesty in this ecclesiastical trial evinces the development of a “civilizing process” that prevented every witness from accurately describing male-to-male sexual practices. It was acceptable a century before for Archbishop Barroeta to use the term *maricas* in his edict which banned the cross-dressers of African ascent who danced in ballrooms. But in the 1850s, the word ‘maricón’ was carefully avoided in the ecclesiastical trial. A civilizing process that had begun with the Enlightenment press, had taken root in Peruvian society, thus secluding maricones into the private domain and removing them from the public eye,

⁷⁵ “...les vio una unión extraordinaria, y que se davan y pedían selos, como suele haserse entre las personas de distinto sexso.” AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 7r–7v.

from the domain of what could be uttered. This civilizing process of a bourgeois hegemonic masculinity made maricones seem invisible or part of a dying society.⁷⁶

The discretion shown by Josefa Murillo and her witnesses was such that after a few of these have made their depositions, she felt forced to amend and specify her own statements in regard to the conduct shown by her husband. Her embarrassment once more comes through in her deposition:

...this brings me to the painful need of specifying one of my paragraphs that I intentionally did not want to use in the first document, because it embarrassed me to give more explanations. [...] I explained there that the year [Calderón] abandoned [me] was [in order] to indulge vice and immorality, and it may be believed that it was with some woman. No sir, his weaknesses are sodomitic, and this is even more painful, and sadder to me, [that I have to] give this its proper name. The witnesses who have to declare know the person who was the accomplice of my husband in this excess, and they can point him out.

...esto me pone en la sencible necesidad de dar a uno de mis paragrafos la claridad que intencionalmente no quise usarla en el primer escrito, porque a mi misma me ruborisava hacer mas explicaciones. [...] expuse alli que ese año de abandono [de Calderón] fue para vivir con mas holgura en el vicio y relajacion, y podria creerse que hubiese dido con alguna muger. No señor, sus devilidades son / sodomíticas, y esto es todavia mas sensible, como para mi mas triste, la necesidad de darles su propio nombre. Los testigos que han de declarar saber la persona que ha sido complice de mi marido en ese exceso, y podran indicarla.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. The History of Manners* (New York: Urizen, 1978). For the Enlightenment's civilizing process that constructed new models of femininity in eighteenth-century Spain, see: Mónica Bolufer Peruga, *Mujeres e Ilustración. La construcción de la feminidad en la Ilustración española* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1998), 19.

⁷⁷ AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 10r. – 10v.

Besides the discretion shown by the witnesses when testifying on the friendship between Juan and Martin, the other significant element in the Murillo vs. Calderón case, as Christine Hunefeldt has noted, is the role the neighbors had in mediating the domestic quarrels, as well as in learning of the daily life of families and couples. As Hunefeldt showed in her book *Liberalism in the bedroom*, the physical closeness found in a house or a *callejón* in Lima, made neighbors witness all sorts of conjugal quarrels as well as the domestic life, occupations, and relations of sodomites and maricones.⁷⁸ For instance, Manuel was aware of Josefa's and Juan's sleeping arrangements, and Felix was close enough to Juan's daily life to be able to spy on him while he was in bed with his lover.

Juan Calderón had been unable to convince the Court of his innocence regarding the charges presented by the time the divorce proceedings ended, the testimonies given by the witnesses called on his behalf, and his own denial of the charges notwithstanding—and this despite his having stated his regret for having abandoned his family and his intention to amend his conduct. In November 1847, over a year after the lawsuit began, the Ecclesiastical Court ruled in favor of Josefa Murillo, granting her a permanent divorce from her marriage to Juan Calderón “for the crimes of cruel treatment and sodomy.”⁷⁹ The Ecclesiastical Court ruled the separation of habitation and bed, so that they could live separately, honestly and religiously, as they ought to do. The Court also ruled that during the divorce Juan should not molest, disturb or trouble his wife Josefa Murillo, and warned him that in such case legal procedures would be

⁷⁸ Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom*, 64-65.

⁷⁹ AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 70r.

taken against him. Finally, although the Ecclesiastical Court stated it had proof of “the suspicious and illicit relation that said Calderon had maintained with Martin Hurtado,”⁸⁰ they only recommended to both Josefa and Juan, that they behave according to their conscience. However, nothing further was done against Juan’s illicit relation, nor was Martin charged with sodomy or sanctioned in any way whatsoever. No one was arrested, no one was imprisoned, and no one was beaten. Throughout the divorce proceedings, nobody had dared call Juan or Martin maricones, nor were they charged with sodomy, even though one of the witnesses presented by the plaintiff was a Colonel in the Army, and despite the fact that the neighborhood’s commissioner (the *Comisario del barrio de San Marcelo*) lived in the same house as Josefa and Juan, and had intervened more than once in the domestic scandals the latter caused.⁸¹

The lack of interest in further prosecuting Juan and Martin allows one to consider that if by the late eighteenth century there was scant interest in prosecuting sodomites and maricones, then half a century later it had fallen even more. The public statements showing concern regarding the abundance of maricones in the city of Lima had slowly faded and almost vanished, even though the legend survived in some travel writing accounts and literary pieces such as the romantic novel *La novia del hereje* (The bride of the heretic) by the Argentine Vicente Fidel López.⁸² The account left by Max

⁸⁰ AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 70r.

⁸¹ AAL, Doña Josefa Morillo, f. 32r. – 71r.

⁸² I would like to thank Prof. Paul Firbas for generously sharing his manuscript analysis of this novel, “La novela histórica en el siglo XIX.” Published in 1854, the novel appeared in installments in *El Plata Científico y Literario* of Buenos Aires. Set in 1578, it gives an imaginary account of a group of English pirates from Drake’s fleet, who have set out to rescue a Limeño creole lady from the dungeons of the Inquisition. The

Radiguet, one of these travelers, emphasized the impression that the maricones were the ones who were voluntarily abandoning the public scene, and so he explained their disappearance from the Plaza Mayor in the 1840s as a sign of the extinction of the “strange society of the maricones.”

* * *

To return to Max Radiguet, his description of “the strange society of maricones” also presents a theory of the origins of this society. For Radiguet, the existence of this society dated to the time of the Incas, when it had existed under a different name and had become so widespread that several Inca rulers, like Tupac Yupanqui and Lloque Yupanqui, took arms against it and persecuted the maricones throughout the empire. Radiguet furthermore argued that the coming of European ideas and customs after Independence had “somehow broken the veil that prevented the nation from knowing

maricones are secondary characters described here as people of African ascent who aid other people in their pursuit of adulterous adventures and obscure affairs. Their phony accent and their extremely poor living conditions were intended to reinforced their marginal and degraded status. Besides that, the description of the maricones closely resembles Angrand’s watercolor included in the first chapter of this dissertation. Paul Firbas, “La novela histórica en el siglo XIX hispanoamericano: Vicente Fidel López y *La novia del hereje*,” manuscript, 1994-1998, 4-5; Vicente Fidel López, *La novia del hereje o La inquisición en Lima*, (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Librería de Mayo, 1870), in *Proyecto Biblioteca Digital Argentina*, <http://www.biblioteca.clarin.com/pbda/novela/hereje/b-609399.htm> (accessed January 20, 2011), chapters XIV, XXI, XXIII, XXXV.

the misconduct and licentiousness of this society, so oftentimes persecuted.” He believed this was the reason why even if the “strange society of maricones” had not been totally destroyed by the 1840s, it was at least dying, and he quite often saw its last fading representatives walking around the *Plaza Mayor*, the main plaza in the city.⁸³ European bourgeois values lay behind the transformation that made maricones invisible to the public after the 1850s, and turned them into curious relics from the colonial past, much like the tapadas. This process was entangled with the transformation from a military hegemonic masculinity to another that focused instead on the fulfillment of paternal duties.

Yet the question remains as to in what degree the very newspaper discussions that depicted maricones as a particular issue in the city of Lima, also helped give rise to a collective identity during a certain period. It is clear that the newspaper discussions and other forms of depictions did contribute to their visibility, and—for a few decades—to the identification of Lima as a city full of maricones. A dissident maricón masculinity, shared by men who adopted certain parts of the city, flourished in Lima before the 1850s, and it was not just restricted to private nighttime gatherings where they would flirt with other men. As the watercolors painted by Angrand and Fierro showed, the streets of Lima were a place where maricones could seduce other men and get their attention. Until they were invisibilized by the civilizing process brought about by the

⁸³ “Fue, dada la irrupción de las ideas y costumbres europeas, que al comienzo de la emancipación, se rompe en cierto modo el velo que ocultaba a la nación los extravíos y los libertinajes de la sociedad tantas veces perseguida. En nuestros días, la extraña sociedad de Maricones, no está destruída, pero sí agonizante: hemos podido ver a menudo en la Plaza Mayor a sus últimos representantes.” Radiguet, *Lima y la Sociedad peruana*, 36, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/90253950982392717243457/p0000001.htm#2> (accessed June 9, 2010).

guano bonanza and the adoption of European mores, some maricones attained a notorious fame like Ño Juan José, supported themselves and their families with their work, and even claimed they were useful role as sons of the new Peruvian Republic.

EPILOGUE

AND CONCLUSIONS

The play *La saya y manto*, by Manuel A. Segura, which premiered in 1841, evinces the emergence of a bourgeois masculinity in Lima. Rosa, a young widow, lives in the house of Juan, her brother-in-law. Mariano secretly courts Rosa without Juan's consent. Lacking proper merits, Mariano risks Rosa's good standing by convincing her to visit the minister of finances and request a public position for him. This is all done without the knowledge and consent of her brother-in-law, and under the anonymity granted by the *saya* and *manto*. Bonifacio, a friend of Juan's, also courts Rosa. He had been offered a position by the Protector Santa Cruz, but he had never actually been given one. Unlike the secrecy shown by Mariano, Bonifacio asks Juan to help him secure a public position and to give him his permission to court Rosa. The latter's enchantments finally get Mariano the public appointment he expected, but his dishonesty is uncovered. He had also courted Rosa's friend and tried to seduce Rosa's maid. Bonifacio ends up marrying Rosa with his brother-in-law's blessing, and promises to care for her and work hard in order to provide her with a comfortable, honorable and decent life:

Bonifacio: I will know, beautiful Rosita,
[How to] Reward you [for marrying me],
making every possible effort
in admiring you, loving you,
and zealously working
so that you always lead
a pleasant life,
honorable and decent.

Bonifacio: Yo sabré, hermosa Rosita,
Dar a usted la recompensa,
poniendo todo conato
en admirarla, en quererla,
y en trabajar con ahínco
para que usted siempre tenga
una existencia agradable,
con honor y con decencia.¹

Besides a critique of the obsessive interest for procuring public positions, *La saya y manto* reveals a new masculinity now focused on fatherhood and its duties, and thus securing a further control over women. Although Rosa is already a widow, Juan is the moral guide and protector of his sister-in-law, and expects her obedience. He also demands obedience from the household's servants, instead of their complicity with Rosa's commands. On the other hand, Mariano's attitude is condemned for secretly courtship Rosa and putting her decency at risk in order to attain a public position; his moral fiber is thus questioned, as well on his courtship of Rosa's friend and maid.

A silent protagonist in the play is the colonial attire of *saya* and *manto*, which allows Rosa to act as she pleases and move freely throughout the city, thereby deceiving

¹ Segura, Manuel A., *La saya y manto*, in *Teatro de Manuel A. Segura. Precedido de un prologo* (Lima: Imprenta de la Juventud por Guillermo Guerrero, 1858), 52, <https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&view=bsp&ver=ohhl4rw8mbn4> (accessed March 9, 2012).

her brother Juan, the master of the household. The risks she exposed herself to were many. Her irresponsible use of the *saya* and *manto* endangered her honesty and exposed her to be used by Mariano, who did not really intend to marry her or her friend. Besides, her involvement in politics in order to ensure a position for Mariano, ruined Bonifacio's chances of securing the same position, his honest intention of serving the fatherland and the loyal services he rendered to Santa Cruz' cause notwithstanding.

By the time the play was released, the *saya* and *manto* was being replaced by European fashion, a process that had played out in the two following decades (1840-1860). Elite women predominantly adopted the Second Empire French fashion and the English Victorian style. Due to Peru's insertion in the world economy, the access to European luxury goods began to represent the bourgeois groups that had emerged from the guano-exporting boom. Throughout the nineteenth century the *saya* and *manto* gradually evolved from a 300 year-old colonial Limeño attire that protected the identity of elite women, to a plebeian custom that challenged rational and "decent" bourgeoisie behavior.² Without the anonymity afforded by the attire of the traditional *tapada*, elite women were accountable for their actions and ended up having their ability to freely circulate in the urban space curtailed. Women's involvement in politics was also fiercely

² This was a gradual process that started after independence with the introduction of the *saya desplegada* or *saya chilena*, a loose skirt that was only tightened at the waist, unlike the traditional *saya* which was tightly bundled just above the knees, therefore highlighting the woman's buttocks. Also by the late 1820s, the larger and more concealing Chinese shawl replaced the smaller *manto* which lay the arms bare. Francesca Denegri, "La burguesa imperfecta," in *La experiencia burguesa en el Perú (1840-1940)*, edited by Carmen Mc Evoy (Frankfurt and Madrid: Vervuert and Iberoamericana, 2004), 426-427; Poole, Deborah, *Vision, Race and Modernity. A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 88-89; Mc Evoy, Carmen, "Introduction," in *La experiencia burguesa en el Perú (1840-1940)*, xii.

criticized by the press, as was their pursuit of public positions for male relatives and friends. As a result, elite women were gradually, albeit reluctantly, cornered into the domestic sphere and associated with maternal duties.

This process was supplemented by the emergence of a bourgeois masculinity that assumed the male guidance of, and protection over, the new domesticity assigned to women. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, hegemonic masculinity reclaimed a tightened authority over women's participation in the public space and their commitment to domestic duties (managing the household, raising the children, providing affection and family care). This was a contested process. Elite women resisted complying with the female role bourgeois society ascribed them as angel of the house because the nuclear family model on which it was based did not become established in Peru until the 20th century, as was shown by María Emma Mannarelli.³ Quite the contrary, the rise of a hegemonic bourgeois masculinity did not depend on the development of the nuclear family, and created instead different male relations in regard to work, citizenship, and masculine duties vis-à-vis the family. The male role now focused on fatherhood and men had to work hard in order to provide sustenance for their children and wife. Within the family, discipline and authority lay on the father's figure. Besides, the moral guidance the father gave to the family extended to politics and civic participation.

³ María Emma, Mannarelli, "Sexualidad y cultura pública. Los poderes domésticos y el desarrollo de la ciudadanía," in Santiago López Maguina, et. al., *Estudios culturales. Discursos, poderes, pulsiones* (Lima: Red para el desarrollo de las ciencias sociales en el Perú, 2001); Denegri, "La burguesa imperfecta," 432.

However, how can we argue the presence of a bourgeois masculinity in a country that has long debated the existence of a national bourgeoisie? The existence and failure of a national bourgeoisie has indeed long been a bone of contention in Peruvian historiography, particularly since the debate caused by Heraclio Bonilla in the 1970s wherein he argued that Peru's upper class had botched the opportunity afforded by the mid-nineteenth century guano boom to develop an industrial revolution, and had likewise failed to develop a national project.⁴ Going beyond the discussion regarding the development of a "genuine national bourgeois consciousness," this dissertation posits that although Peru did not experience a bourgeois revolution in the classical sense of the term, it did experience the development of several of its manifestations, including the adoption of bourgeois gender norms. The Peruvian "bourgeois experience" was indeed a fragmented modernization process in the midst of a diverse and atomized society where colonial corporatism was still firmly rooted.⁵

Ulrich Muecke argues that a new bourgeois ruling class emerged in the second part of nineteenth-century mainly in Lima, which was directly related to the export of guano. In addition, the guano boom allowed the Peruvian State to transfer part of its revenues to the emerging bourgeoisie, under the form of the consolidation of the

⁴ Some of the most representative studies in this topic are: Heraclio Bonilla, *Guano y burguesía en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1984); Julio Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005); Paul Gootenberg, *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840-1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft3199n7qk/> (accessed March 11, 2012); Mc Evoy, ed., *La experiencia burguesa en el Perú (1840-1940)*; Ulrich Muecke, *Political culture in nineteenth-century Peru: the rise of the Partido Civil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

⁵ Gootenberg, *Imagining Development*, 4, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft3199n7qk/> (accessed March 14, 2012); Mc Evoy, Carmen, "Introduction," xi-xii.

internal debt and compensation payments for the emancipation of slaves. This new class, a banking and mercantile bourgeoisie, rapidly diversified their investments in areas other than the guano trade: finance, export agriculture, and railroad construction. However, very little capital was invested in any kind of industrial production, and it therefore cannot be described as an industrial bourgeoisie.⁶ In any case, a new ruling class did emerge—albeit fragmented—and it shared forms of sociability, visions of progress, consumer habits, forms of identity and interaction with other classes.⁷ In this sense, the development of common forms of sociability in the new ruling class was a decisive contribution to the advance of a hegemonic bourgeois masculinity.

The progressive and contested adoption of bourgeois values that England exported along with its manufactures contributed to the transformation of gender roles. Besides, the consolidation of a public sphere by 1870s that included periodicals, associations, clubs, and political parties, had given rise to forms of socialization that contributed to the transformation of gender values. Women were converted into childish figures that had to be supervised and protected, while men were exalted as the source of authority and protection. Fatherhood became the major masculine role, around which all other bourgeois masculine values such as work, political participation, rationality, merit, and value of education, acquired an increased significance. In so doing, bourgeois masculinity displaced the caudillo masculinity that hinged upon the military defense of the *patria* and the children.

⁶ Muecke, *Political culture in nineteenth-century Peru*, part I.

⁷ Mc Evoy, Carmen, “Introduction,” xiii-xvi.

This process of adoption of bourgeois ways by Limeño society was the breaking point in the invisibilization of maricones. Instead of the colonial courteous men or the military leadership of the caudillos, after the 1850s the new ruling class exalted industrious men who fathered children and supported a family. Regardless of their sexual practice, those men who refused to conform to a family—maricones, but also celibate men—ended up being considered unimportant sectors of society. The production of ‘maricones’ as a threat that plagued the city with their pursuit of a male-to-male sociability was no longer necessary. It differed from colonial times, when the critique of dissident masculinities was also a part of an Enlightenment discourse against the excesses of aristocratic masculinity. Maricones, just like effeminate and petimetres, were no longer considered a threat for it was no longer believed that they could corrupt society with their infamy, and were instead taken to be isolated individuals without any real consequence for the rest of society. In this regard, the invisibilization of maricones in Lima’s urban scene was part of a process of the individualization of sexuality.

CONCLUSIONS

By the 1850s, the invisibilization of the maricones had ended the rise and decay of public concern over the abundance of effeminates and maricones in Lima, in the midst of a convulsed transition from Spanish colony to independent republic (1790-1850). In this process, the production of dissident forms of masculinity (maricones, effeminates, petimetres, and currutacos) proved instrumental in the changes experienced by hegemonic masculinity, from aristocratic to caudillo, and bourgeois masculinities.

ARISTOCRATIC MASCULINITY

Enlightenment reformers had acrimoniously complained over the significant visibility *maricones* had attained as part of Lima's social landscape. 'Maricón' displaced the term 'sodomite'—which referred to a sexual practice—and was repeatedly used in the late eighteenth-century to criticize the abundance of male cross-dressers who actively participated in social life, seeking the attention of other men. The racialization of the maricón as people of African ascent expressed the distrust and social fear the Limeño

white elite felt over being outnumbered by the slave population of black and African ascent.

In a context where the severe laws against sodomy were not enforced, the critique of the abundance of maricones was added to a discussion on the reformation of aristocratic masculinity. The Spanish-creole elite had produced a hegemonic gentry masculinity that was based on courteous manners (luxury), and the aristocratic avoidance of manual labor (idleness). The debate over the abundance of maricones became entangled in the discussion of the sources of effeminacy and feebleness among Limeño men, which took place throughout the late colonial period (1790-1820) in newspapers, pamphlets, travel writings, and criminal records. Two explanations were often considered: the excessive care and leniency mothers and wet nurses showed when rearing male children, and the European theories of climatic determinism that posited the unavoidable influence climate had over the masculinity of the American peoples. In the midst of the economic decay of the Limeño elite, both explanations presented an aristocracy immersed in a sumptuous, dissolute, and idle life. In so doing, the press and scientific literature characterized male aristocratic manners as effeminate, and hence as a subordinate type of masculinity. The Enlightenment social reformers called for a reform of the elite's masculinity vis-à-vis men's political involvement, their industrious dedication to work, and the authority the father had over the wife, the household, and child rearing. In sum, the debates over dissident masculinities (maricones, effeminates, and petimetres) promoted the transformation of the hegemonic aristocratic masculinity.

THE INDEPENDENCE HERO

During the war of Peruvian independence, the liberators José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar produced an imagery of heroic masculinities as part of the independent propaganda effort. Through the use of several means, which included public speeches, newspapers, portraits, military uniforms, poetry, pamphlets, and civic ceremonies, these “exemplary masculinities”—following R.W. Connell’s concept—associated virility with military performance, and incorporated the notion of the unselfish sacrifice the heroes had made on behalf of the nation. San Martín and Bolívar’s participation in Peruvian independence had made them the “fathers of the nation,” thus giving them a special right to rule the country. They would be the ideal figure against which individual masculinities would be shaped, particularly those of many of the caudillos who appeared in succeeding decades. The image of the heroes of independence as paternal figures created the conditions for the rise of a new masculinity centered on fatherhood, and on the military defense of children and family. The exemplary masculinities of independence were thus essential in the shift from aristocratic to caudillo hegemonic masculinity.

CAUDILLO MASCULINITY

The *caudillo* power struggles and the ensuing anarchy characterized the early decades of the Peruvian Republic (1820-1850). The result was a militarization of society, in which violence became a valid form of political praxis. The instability brought about by successive wars promoted a hegemonic masculinity that was centered on the use of force, the exhibition of military paraphernalia, and praise for the ‘independence hero’ as the paradigm of masculinity.

In order to understand caudillo masculinity we need to analyze the exemplary masculinities that promoted it: Andrés de Santa Cruz, Agustín Gamarra, and Luis José de Orbegoso—men of varied political or military backgrounds who argued that their deeds were meant to defend the fatherland (*patria*) and protect their children. In doing so, they appealed to the two essential elements in the hegemonic caudillo masculinity. The defense of both *patria* and children seemed almost a natural duty in times of internal and external war, economic distress, and social and political turmoil.

Unlike the interest the Enlightenment’s social reformers had in amending the manners of aristocratic masculinity—effeminizing it in their critique—the political satire in the Republic instrumentalized the representation of the *maricón* and the effeminate in order to disgrace a political contender. Whereas in the late colonial period the effeminate man was an anonymous personage who had to be reformed for the good of society, and the *maricón* was a dangerous threat that could contaminate the rest of

society, during the early decades of the Republic one could satirize a political rival by identifying him as a maricón. This did not entail a legal or religious persecution as it was taken to be a political strategy with which to disgrace the opponent, and also because Limeño society had begun to undergo a process wherein sexuality became individualized.

By the time Peru finally attained political and economical stability in the mid-1850s, the caudillo masculinity had been superseded by a new, fatherhood-centered masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity gradually conformed to bourgeois gender norms, exalting the father's capacity as a provider for his family, as moral guidance, and as the embodiment of discipline and authority. Bourgeois masculinity invisibilized the old "society of maricones" by containing them within the private sphere, so that it was as if they had vanished from Lima's social landscape.

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