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Matthew Goldmark

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Résumé de l'article

This article demonstrates that Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez (1690) engages the discourse of pity to create an imperial community. While the article builds on recent scholarship that has emphasized the global context of Ramírez's travels, it shows that geographical displacement is not the only type of movement in this text. Infortunios also demands that readers be moved on an affective level in order to prove their capacity to feel for an imperial peer. In this regard, it is not geopolitics alone, but also affective transits that determine the boundaries and binds of Spanish empire.

MATTHEW GOLDMARK

Moved by Pity: Communities of Affect in the *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*

Este artículo demuestra que los Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez *(1690) de Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora emplea el discurso de la piedad para crear una comunidad imperial. Mientras estudios recientes se han enfocado en el contexto global, el presente artículo ilustra que el movimiento físico no representa el único tipo de desplazamiento en el texto.* Infortunios *les pide a sus lectores que respondan al sufrimiento de Ramírez y le acompañen en un viaje mediante una relación afectiva. Así, la comunidad imperial construida por* Infortunios *no solo depende de la geografía, sino también de la fuerza de la piedad.*

Palabras clave: *afecto, emoción, piedad, asco,* Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*

This article demonstrates that Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez *(1690) engages the discourse of pity to create an imperial community. While the article builds on recent scholarship that has emphasized the global context of Ramírez's travels, it shows that geographical displacement is not the only type of movement in this text.* Infortunios *also demands that readers be moved on an affective level in order to prove their capacity to feel for an imperial peer. In this regard, it is not geopolitics alone, but also affective transits that determine the boundaries and binds of Spanish empire.*

Keywords: *affect, emotion, pity, disgust,* Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*

Though the impoverished subject of New Spain, Alonso Ramírez, finds fame by telling his woeful tale of a global journey forced under the sword of English pirates, a story transcribed in the *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (1690), he cannot always convince his economically depressed listeners to take pity on him.[1] Instead, he finds suspicion and apathy as he describes this circumnavigation of the globe. In this narrative, Ramírez begins his journey with a trip to the mainland of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, a displacement

forced by economic deprivation in his Puerto Rican home. His initial attempts at social and financial advancement lead him to a peripheral city, Oaxaca; there, he only finds grueling work as a mule driver. When his master passes away, Ramírez moves to Mexico City where he finds fleeting success and stability in a marriage into a family of some means. However, Ramírez loses his young wife and infant in childbirth. Unable to advance financially or socially, Ramírez condemns himself to exile in the Spanish Philippines – the fate of *novohispano* criminals. There, the narrator finds some success by travelling aboard merchant ships in a bustling Pacific archipelago. These achievements, however, are short-lived. Ramírez falls into the hands of English pirates and confronts a new series of misfortunes. No longer in charge of his journey, he travels throughout the Pacific, to Madagascar, and finally into the Atlantic, in vicious, Protestant company. The narrative punctuates this geographic sojourn with tales of pirates' assaults aboard the ship and at a series of ports. It speaks of thefts and ill-gotten gains alongside stories of verbal mockery and physical violence directed at Ramírez and other captives.

Ramírez is released from this brutal captivity near Brazil with a ship, crew, and provisions – a seeming change in fortunes – but a change that appears too lucky to support the tale of cruelty he describes. For this reason, when he shipwrecks off the coast of Yucatan, locals embargo his material possessions until they can decide if Ramírez has remained steadfast in his commitments to the Spanish Empire or betrayed his natal allegiances for advantage at sea. In this limbo, Ramírez describes how his misfortunes continue. He faces skepticism and mistrust from local denizens who are well aware of their region's fame as a haven for pirates. Without funds, plagued by hunger, and exposed to the elements, Ramírez only finds reprieve when he is sent back to the innermost seat of viceregal power, Mexico City. There, he tells his tale to the Viceroy Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza. In turn, the Viceroy sends Ramírez to the famed cosmographer Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, who sets Ramírez's narrative in writing – the *Infortunios* – and secures financial support and a military position for this prodigal son.

Early scholarship on *Infortunios* questioned and confronted this dissonance between a supportive viceregal court and a skeptical *criollo* community by focusing on authorship and genre. On the one hand, by emphasizing Sigüenza's intervention and Ramírez's reward from viceregal authorities, scholars have read the text as a *relación de méritos y servicios* composed on behalf and in favor of this supplicant (Invernizzi Santa Cruz 99). This textual form would show New Spain's and its subjects' dedication to imperial unity. On the other, with a focus on Ramírez's humble origins,

his performance of labor for multiple masters, and his pursuit of strategic allegiances, scholars have placed this text in a picaresque genealogy (González 203). In turn, they use this New World picaresque as a sign of Sigüenza's own discomfort with the limiting constraints of Spanish authority and as proof of his nascent *criollo* identity. Thus, each genre would have distinct geopolitical consequences: the *relación de méritos y servicios* would cast *Infortunios* as a symbol of imperial cohesion while the picaresque would reveal the transatlantic fissures between a New and an Old World Spain.

A focus on genre and two geopolitical landmasses that exist in union or opposition can obscure the various movements that mark this text. Recent studies by scholars such as Patricio Boyer ("Criminality and Subjectivity in *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*"), José Buscaglia-Salgado (*Undoing Empire: Race and Nation in the Mulatto Caribbean*), and Anna More (*Baroque Sovereignty: Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora and the Creole Archive of Colonial Mexico*) have noted that *Infortunios* describes a world in flux, where all imperial allegiances buckle under the pressure of economic systems and geographic flows. Indeed, it is the wealth of information regarding maritime routes, ports, and global traffic in *Infortunios* that has enabled Buscaglia-Salgado ("Introducción" 31-99; "History" 161-226) and Fabio López Lázaro (1-98) to reconstruct Ramírez's historical identity. By comparing archival documents and narratives published in both Spanish and English, these scholars have found signs of Ramírez's probable collaboration with pirates and his fickle allegiances to Spanish Empire. Each of these studies make Ramírez's physical journey all the more striking and worthy of exploration. That said, emphasis on material travel can obscure the immaterial and intersubjective systems that create the global space in which the writers and readers of this text "move." This article builds upon scholarship that has studied economic and ideological circulation in *Infortunios* but turns to affect in order to show how this same text reveals the tensions of community through movement that is not physical or material.

I argue that affect allows for a theorization of imperial movements – its cohesiveness and fractures – in the seventeenth century. Throughout *Infortunios*, subjects of Spanish empire are told to feel for Ramírez in function of their shared political and religious commitments. Good Catholic "Spaniards" – the term used to identify geopolitical brethren from across the Spanish Empire in the text – must pity Ramírez when Protestant pirates prove pitiless. Likewise, when pirates commit "vile" acts, Spaniards must be "disgusted" (Sigüenza 157-58). These affective oppositions demand that the sympathetic interlocutor react with a predetermined response that shows his or her communitarian tie to Ramírez. In the process, such affects

traverse the geographic distance described in the text and reaffirm the stability of an imperial community. While many strands of affect studies, namely those that emerge from Baruch Spinoza and Gilles Deleuze, emphasize a series of proximate forces such as touch that compel reaction below cognition,[2] in *Infortunios*, the rules of affective relations have an explicit protocol that transcends proximity. Affects such as pity and disgust in this text tell imperial subjects how to relate to other ones – kin and antagonists – that they cannot see. These affects regulate what Barbara Rosenwein calls an "emotional community," a phrase that describes the proscriptive emotions that interlocutors "expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore" to bind themselves together (842). In the process of making an appeal to pity, *Infortunios* does not need to convince its readers of Ramírez's steadfastness. Rather, pity obliges readers to move towards Ramírez by feeling for him. Therein lies an ironic sleight of hand in *Infortunios*. Ramírez must not be the only one who moves. Rather his interlocutors must prove the coherence and binds of community by committing to an affective relationship with the suffering subject. In *Infortunios*, though Ramírez travels away from New Spain in suspicious company, his appeal to affect obliges compatriots to move toward and with him and define the meaning of community in the process. This use of affect may be an authorial strategy to protect Ramírez and, in turn, to gain favors for Ramírez and Sigüenza. However, it also shows how far imperial affects can reach.

Movement is a central theme in affect studies. Though "emotion" proves her operative term, Sarah Ahmed has shown that dynamism rests in emotion's very name: to feel is to be moved since *e-motion* names the force that feeling has on peoples and objects (14). Likewise, to "affect" is to place pressure on something and cause a reaction. In *Infortunios*, affect pushes imperial peoples together into a collective, but also fails to solidify when the movements caused by affect are fickle, mutable, and can fail to bind communities together. Thus, affect highlights a troubling dynamic in *Infortunios*: even when subjects stay in New Spain, they enact disruptive movement if they feel the wrong way. In the narrative, Ramírez describes his brethren who invite him into their homes, eager to hear his story. However, as soon as Ramírez finishes, they send him away. As he notes, "A punto de medio día me despachaban todos" (Sigüenza 211). Hosts expel Ramírez and thus avoid giving him the material sustenance he so desperately needs. "No hubo persona alguna que, viéndome a mí y a los míos casi desnudos y muertos de hambre, extendiesen la mano para socorrerme" (211). With these tales of impassive compatriots who should feel for and with him, *Infortunios* shows that physical displacement and economic circulation are not the only types of movement that challenge the geopolitical

coherence of Spanish Empire. It is also the unwillingness of subjects in New Spain to be moved on an emotional level, moved to support Ramírez, that places the cohesion of an imperial community in question. Their affects vacillate, evade, move against, and fail to follow the dictates of communitarian logic. Though subjects remain in place, their refusals to feel the right way show how affective movement can disrupt the stability of subjects' dedication to a larger community sentiment – whether global or viceregal. For this reason, I do not enter into a dispute over this text's imperial or local, proto-national sentiments. To the contrary, I hold that a study of the intersubjective ties mapped by affect in *Infortunios* reveals the limitations of theorizing any large-scale community commitments.

I begin by illustrating how affect maps community in the narrative of *Infortunios*. Despite the fact that this text emphasizes Ramírez's geographic movement, the work insists that pirates move Ramírez against his will. Thus, while Ramírez travels with pirates, affect does the labor of keeping him with those community members who feel for and with him. Readers who feel pity for Ramírez and disgust towards the pirates must see this profligate subject as one of their own. The coherence of the Catholic and imperial polity depends upon its ability be moved – not physically, but in affective alignment with Ramírez.

I then show how the power of affect reaches a limit when Ramírez encounters subjects in the flesh on the shores of New Spain. Shipwrecked, Ramírez finds no pity from fellow vassals who seek possession of his goods and doubt his account, in part due to the financial straits of *criollo* subjects. In the process, the text undercuts the ability of affect to forge a cohesive community structure and a global empire, despite the fact that affect had functioned as the critical tool of such formation earlier in the text. This opposition between moving to feel and moving to act therefore suggests the limits of affect as a communitarian tie. If affect can hypothetically bind a community together, *Infortunios* suggests that this claim is only hypothetical. It is a rhetorical ideal rather than a real practice. Though many studies of affect discuss the power of physical proximity to its function, in *Infortunios*, affect only works at a distance. When subjects can be touched by peers, pity rings hollow and has no material value or consequence. It works better at a distance when fellows only have to be moved to feel and not act for another.

PITY AT SEA

Like so many *relaciones*, histories, and picaresque narratives produced in the context of Spain's early modern empire, *Infortunios* begins with an appeal to a patron. In this convention shared by early modern genres, a first-

person writer asserts that he or she will show the value of services rendered and thus justify reward from the addressee. However, while picaresque narratives undermine the sincerity of such services, *relaciones* present accounts of deeds done in good faith. Since *Infortunios* opens with multiple first-person voices who describe different types of "service," scholars have been able to read this text as both a picaresque and a *relación de méritos y servicios*. Sigüenza's voice in the dedication presents this work as a continuity in a tradition of intellectual service, a statement confirmed by censor Francisco de Ayerra Santa María who points to Sigüenza's previous publication, the *Libra astronómica y filosófica*,[3] as evidence of Sigüenza's academic value to the Viceroy (Sigüenza 116).[4] Ramírez's opening, in contrast, casts this work as one of no intellectual worth. Ramírez describes a text bereft of "máximas y aforismos" or other intellectual lessons for those who read the document. In turn, this opening makes no mention of viceregal reciprocity, of Sigüenza's participation in the construction of the narrative, or of the Viceroy as recipient (such matters only appear at the conclusion of the text). Instead, the only interlocutors who are evoked at the onset are the readers who will gain nothing except some diversion. Ramírez reaches out to "el curioso que esto leyere por algunas horas" who may enjoy him or herself by reading a narrative of the misfortune "que a mí me causó tribulaciones de muerte por muchos años" (121).

This move away from intellectual service, however, does not equal a divestment of value. Instead, Ramírez's voice shifts towards affect as the relation upon which he and his interlocutors enter into community. Rather than offer an intellectual lesson to be consumed by readership, Ramírez wants to "affect" another and push them to feel enjoyment ("quiero que se entretega"). However, while Ramírez first states that he wants to *give* enjoyment, his narrative requires an affective investment in return. As the text continues, his narrative works to "solicitar lástimas que, aunque posteriores a mis trabajos, harán por lo menos tolerable su memoria trayéndolas a compañía de las que me tenía a mí mismo cuando me aquejaban" (121). With a goal of pursing "lástima" for himself, Ramírez complicates the initial offer of enjoyment with a relational obligation of affect. In his pursuit of "lástima," Ramírez requests that others feel – if after the fact – *with* (a "compañía") his own affective state. An appeal to this affective commiseration is, at once, an evocation of community and equality. As Aristotle contends in his *Rhetoric*, one who pities "expect[s] himself or one of his own to suffer" a similar fate (qtd. in Staines 98). Indeed, in the text, Ramírez will later ask, "póngase en mi lugar" (Sigüenza 172). By making an explicit appeal to pity, this narrative is not cast as a unidirectional offering to the reader. It is also an emotional account that builds a relation that

expects – indeed obliges – the community to be moved to feel for Ramírez and hold Ramírez as an equal and one their own.

This articulation of community via affective rather than physical movement lays the foundation for the manner whereby Ramírez remains integrated with his imperial peers once he is "taken." In the early part of the narrative, Ramírez describes his origins in an economically depressed Caribbean where he abandons his own family and travels to the mainland of New Spain.[5] There, a pathetic Ramírez steers himself from failure to failure as he finds temporary work with masters in different cities and towns. Given this early itinerary of errors, scholars such as Aníbal González have seen the text as a picaresque, since that genre features tricksters who jump from master to master without committing to any. Yet, even for those who read the text as a picaresque, pity provides a challenge to this designation. González finds affect to present an explicit departure from this literary genre since pity forges community (199). For González, the pícaro must be a self-sufficient swindler; Ramírez, by pursuing an affective tie, abandons such autonomy and undercuts generic convention. While Barbara Simerka reads affect in the picaresque differently from González, given that she sees an appeal to sympathy as a frequent feature of this genre, she also emphasizes the autonomy of the pícaro and his disingenuous character as key generic conventions (94-97).[6] If pity succeeds, then the narrator is no longer a pícaro because he has built social ties and proven that he is not outside social mores. Therefore, despite their differences concerning the use of pity, both scholars suggest that pity and autonomy are incompatible. To move others towards pity are to confirm the cohesion of a polity.

If the text does evoke autonomous, roguish movement at the opening of *Infortunios*, given that Ramírez abandons his parents and hides his roots by choice, it shifts to a narrative of obliged and pitiful displacement once Ramírez has failed to serve as a productive member of viceregal society – through no fault of his own. Finally married into a well-placed family of some means, he immediately loses his young wife in childbirth and is overtaken by "self-pity," stating: "*Desesperé* entonces de poder ser algo y, hallándome en el tribunal de mi propia conciencia no solo acusado sino convencido de inútil, quise darme por pena de ese delito la que se da en México a los que son delincuentes, que es enviarlos desterrados a las Filipinas" (Sigüenza 134, emphasis added). Pity, in this case, motivates movement; while it is autonomous, it is presented as a legal punishment performed according to the rules of empire. Ramírez's failure destines him to the Philippines, a site for criminals, despite the fact that his crime is one of misfortune, rather than agential violations of the law. Movement to the Philippines is, of course, Ramírez's own decision. However, pity shifts

Ramírez's flight from the individualistic pursuit of wealth and better fortunes to the communitarian acceptance of imperial law. Such a change thus recodes his movement to the Philippines, a Pacific archipelago considered a site where fortunes were made according to suspicious, if not extra-legal means (Martínez-San Miguel 23-29), into one that merits pity. Pity shifts Ramírez's relationship to the imperial community by making this a move done within its proscriptive laws.

If pity aligns Ramírez with Spanish Empire, then this affective relation provides context for Ramírez's antagonism towards the pirates who capture him. As the text insinuates, capture transforms Ramírez's body into an object that is moved, beginning on the sad day "en que me cogieron" (Sigüenza 156). From this day, Ramírez loses bodily autonomy. However, if Ramírez is moved by the pirates, Ramírez refuses to guide the pirates to rich ports by lying about his ample knowledge of trade routes. Since, as Ralph Bauer has noted, one of the precious commodities pursued by pirates was not material wealth, but rather knowledge of shipping channels and maps (170-72), this resistance to move (them) proves Ramírez's imperial constancy. In turn, as Ramírez refuses to move the pirates, he at once brings about his own immobilization and thus forces New Spaniards to move towards him with pity. He writes, "amarráronme a mí y a un compañero mío al árbol mayor ... como no les respondía a propósito acerca de los parajes donde podían hallar la plata y oro" (Sigüenza 154). Tied to the mast, Ramírez is rendered stationary through violence in a visual tableau that evokes images of the saints and reaffirms the affective difference between Catholics and Protestants. Later, he notes that the pirates beat him so severely that "me dejaron incapaz de movimiento por muchos días" (155). *Infortunios* insists that Ramírez does not physically move according to his own will, though the sea shifts beneath him and pirates prowl a mobile ship.

Thus, as the ship journeys about the globe, Ramírez describes how he does not move with the pirates – in body or affect. While he may be trapped, he does not interact with or as pirates when they touch communities – especially those who become victims of pirates' pitilessness. Perhaps the most charged of such scenes is that at Pulau Condón[7] where an extended stay replete with sexual debauchery turns into one of unpardonable cruelty enacted on helpless women. According to the narrative, after a four-month stay, the pirates assaulted and killed the local women from whom they had "benefited" ("conveniencia tan fea"). The text notes how the English "consultaron primero la paga que se les daría a los pulicondones por el hospedaje, y remitiéndola al mismo día en que saliesen al mar, acometieron aquella madrugada a los que dormían incautos y pasando a cuchillo aun a las que dejaba en cinta" (157). Their violence shows the English pirates to be

"savage" perpetrators of acts against women, a condemnation that had been made with forceful effect against Spaniards in Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de las Indias* (1552). Like such cases in the *Brevísima relación*, *Infortunios* uses these scenes to shock the reader. However, though Bartolomé de Las Casas describes assaults on indigenous peoples as a troubling manifestation of the Spanish community's capacity for pitilessness, *Infortunios* insists upon this affect as a line of demarcation between imperial communities. The English Protestants commit acts that the Spanish (via Ramírez) never could. Ramírez casts this differentiation through an intertwined articulation of stasis and cruelty, whereby distance announces affective separation. That is, *Infortunios* insists upon the impossible continuity between Ramírez and the pirate community in statements such as "*no me hallé presente* a tan nefanda crueldad." In turn, as the text describes pirates who move back and forth, Ramírez describes his stasis: he speaks of himself "con temores de que en algún tiempo pasaría yo por lo mismo, desde la capitana *donde siempre estuve*" (Sigüenza 157, emphasis added).

This separation from the pirates via immobility and affect, however, creates two identities and identifications with the pirates' victims – Ramírez both feels for the Other in pity and as if he were the Other. He fears he may suffer *the same*. An alignment between Ramírez and indigenous peoples is no small matter. If, as noted above, pity indicates imagined commensurability between sufferer and witness whereby one can imagine experiencing the fortunes of another, then this threat on Ramírez's body becomes a simultaneous threat on his own imperial status. As the narrative notes with judgment, these Others are "bárbaros" who moved without clothes and had little to trade. Indeed, Ramírez condemns the islanders by describing husbands who gave away their own daughters and wives in exchange for small trinkets as the "más *desvergonzada vileza*" (157, emphasis added). In his reaction to this "disgusting" act, Ramírez asserts absolute distance from the peoples of Pulau Condón, even if an appeal to pity later depends upon his affective similarity and proximity to these indigenous peoples. In this regard, the text must both reject and align with racialized Others through affect.

Scholars of affect often locate pity and disgust on different levels of consciousness: while pity is treated as an analytic process and emotion that exists at the surface of cognition, disgust functions as an affective reaction that first appears in bodily sensation before it crosses into recognition (Sedgwick and Frank 520). Yet, in *Infortunios*, disgust also forms community through an explicit discursive code, one that is uniquely colonial in its articulation due to its engagement with cannibalism. Once pirates set fire to

the settlement on Pulau Condón, they bring "un brazo humano de los que perecieron en el incendio," from which "cortó cada uno una pequeña presa, y alabando el gusto de tan linda carne entre repetidas saludes le dieron fin" (Sigüenza 158). The pirates offer to include Ramírez in this collective ceremony, one that suggests Ramírez's participation, even if he claims, "miraba yo con escándalo y congoja tan bestial acción" (158). As is well studied by scholars such as Peter Hulme (*Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797*) and Carlos A. Jáuregui (*Canibalia: canibalismo, calibanismo, antropofagia cultural y consumo en América latina*), cannibalism had – and continues to serve – as an overdetermined emblem of the Carribean and Spanish Americas, one that begins with indigenous peoples, but threatens contagion.[8] Here, however, cannibalism ceases to name the Spanish context. It is an act that makes the English.

However, when this group invites Ramírez to join their bacchanal, they threaten to bring Ramírez into the pitiless English body. Therein lies the paradox. In theory, Ramírez's disgust promises differentiation via the refusal of consumption and, thus, a rejection of the ship community. Ramírez need not announce this differentiation in his own voice since a pirate maintains that the corsairs themselves see Ramírez perform the affective response of disgust. When they see "*la debida repulsa* que yo le hice," they begin to mock him as Spanish: "me dijo que siendo español, y por el consiguiente cobarde," he would not do as them (Sigüenza 158, emphasis added). Yet, as Ahmed notes, disgust not only "generates a community of those who are bound together through the shared condemnation of a disgusting object or event" (Ahmed 94) (i.e., the Spaniards), but also represents "a contact zone" of "inter-corporeal encounter" (83) between self and Other (i.e., all those who experience the intimate physical space of the ship). For this reason, the push-pull of disgust as a community builder proves ambivalent in *Infortunios*. Even though this offer of cannibalism produces a visceral reaction, it is a sign of violent *hospedaje*, of living together, even if the terms of cohabitation are brutal.[9] For instance, when another captive became sick, the pirates solve this illness by feeding him the captain's own excrement. "Perdóneme la decencia y el respeto que se debe a quien esto lee que lo refiera, [pero] redújose este a hacerle beber, desleídos en agua, los excrementos del mismo capitán" (Sigüenza 177). This tableau creates a site by which the Spanish community can coalesce around collective disgust, performing what Sianne Ngai sees as "a sense in which [disgust] seeks to include or draw others *into* its exclusion of its object, enabling a strange kind of sociability" (335-36).[10] However, as Ahmed writes, the recognition of an object as disgusting requires an incorporation and contamination of the body that forces association with the disgusting object.

The consumption of feces makes the captive (and Ramírez) disgusting, as well – at once pirate and Spaniard. While sex, murder, flesh, urine, and feces reaffirm Ramírez's separation from the community of pirates, they also mark his "contamination." Disgust works to create pity for Ramírez, but it also forces readers to consider what Ramírez did to survive and to question the community to which he belongs.[11]

PITY AT HOME

The affects of pity and disgust therefore become sites of potential coherence for the imperial community, but also sites of fracture when Ramírez potentially aligns with pirates. In fact, Ramírez's return to Spanish territory depends upon the sympathetic acts of pirates who feel for Ramírez and violate the oppositional terms of their geographic, religious and, thus, affective identities. In the process, these subjects show that the logic which explains Ramírez's own constancy – his affective birthright – may not hold.

For one, Ramírez's final liberation does not come with escape, but rather with an offer of pity. This should not and cannot be performed by pirate others based on the construction of community throughout the text as a group defined through affect. The narrator does not dispute this fact. However, rather than showing a pirate capable of pity, he transforms the pirate's group identity. When Ramírez finds "alguna conmiseración y consuelo en mis continuas fatigas" from the *condestable* Nicpat, this affect must be justified by a reconfiguration of community membership, one that makes Nicpat "católico sin duda alguna" since pity and this religious state are inseparable (Sigüenza 171). To *feel* such pity for Ramírez means, according to this text, that this man must *be* Catholic. While not an imperial Spaniard, Nicpat is shown to be a coreligionist because he provides Ramírez relief via an affective relation. Nicpat acts as if a Catholic, following Saint Augustine's lesson that one was compelled by "compassion in our heart for another's misery … to give succor, if we are able" (qtd. in Wawrzyniak 53). This affective reaction therefore complicates Nicpat's allegiances. Though English, this man separates from his own community through a rejection of their pitilessness. He excoriates them, stating that the behaviors of these men had "degenerado … quienes *somos*, robando lo mejor del Oriente con circunstancias tan impías" (Sigüenza 171, emphasis added). Affect creates identity and community. Though Nicpat poses that he is still a part of the English we ("*somos*"), his affective rejection of their pitilessness creates a fracture in his belonging to that group. By definition, "pious" intertwines pity and piety with service to God and nation. As the *Diccionario de autoridades* states regarding "piedad," it is the "virtud que mueve e incita a reverenciar, acatar, servir y honrar a Dios nuestro Señor, a los Padres y a la

Patria" (5: 265). Thus, Ramírez draws a religious contrast based on affective responses to the sight of suffering, juxtaposing the hardened hearts of the Protestant pirates to the Catholic compassion of his brethren. If Nicpat critiques the impiety of his own community, then he alludes to his own ambivalence regarding his pious "patria." He is out of place as an English pirate when he affirms a Catholic affective relation to God and Ramírez.

If the contradictions of Nicpat's Englishness and piracy enter into play via his religion and affect, a Spanish pirate furthers this point by showing that men like Ramírez could also embody such paradoxes – though in a troubling inverse. According to the narrative, one of the pirates who exceeds his peers in acts of impiety is a Spaniard, Miguel the Sevillano.[12] As the narrative states, "no hubo trabajo intolerable en que nos pusiesen, no hubo ocasión alguna en que nos maltratasen, no hubo hambre que padeciésemos, ni riesgo de la vida en que peligrásemos, que no viniese por su mano y su dirección" (Sigüenza 179). In this summary of Miguel's exceptional cruelty, the narrator shows that origins provide no assurance of affect or religiosity. Miguel joins the pirate collective, performing and encouraging others to abuse the captives. This Spaniard does not disguise his antipathy toward his birthright and faith in his exercise of mercilessness. On the contrary, he shows himself "haciendo gala de mostrarse impío y abandonando lo católico en que nació por vivir pirata y morir hereje" (179). The repeated use of the word impiety only emphasizes Miguel's apostate condition and the violation of a Spanish religious and affective community, showing the facility with which both can be betrayed. In theory, Miguel provides a fitting foil for Ramírez. The narrator's promise that he never felt the wrong way asserts his distance/difference from Miguel; while they both travelled on the ship, affect kept Ramírez at "home" and as part of the imperial community. However, like Nicpat, Miguel shows that origins provide no guarantee of community affects.

If *Infortunios* casts affective constancy as a solution to Ramírez's physical distance, it is most troubling that the promise of pity runs aground in Ramírez's very homeland. Once Ramírez shipwrecks in Yucatan and finds himself "home" again, denizens of New Spain refuse to feel for him. Though they use suspicion of Ramírez's religious and political allegiances as an excuse to refuse him food and attempt to steal his possessions, the description of this impoverished space emphasizes a conflict between feeling for each other and fighting over economic resources: the pursuit of pity or profit appear incompatible. The marked dearth of resources undermines the primacy of *criollo* solidarity in the text, though this collaboration has been argued by Buscaglia-Salgado ("The Misfortunes of Alonso Ramírez (1690) and the Duplicitous Complicity Between the

Narrator, the Writer, and the Censor"; "Introducción" 78-84), Kimberle S. López ("Identity and Alterity in the Emergence of a Creole Discourse: Sigüenza y Góngora's *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*"), and Mabel Moraña (*Viaje al silencio: exploraciones del discurso barroco*), among others. Indeed, such conflict and attempts at theft occur throughout this conclusion. In an exemplary case, one man from Tixcacal claims to be Ramírez's childhood friend and offers to defend Ramírez from rumors of treason and threats of imprisonment in exchange for Pedro, an enslaved person owned by Ramírez (and another sign of Ramírez's questionable impotence and "misfortune"). In response, Ramírez casts this attempted exchange as an illegitimate theft, stating, "No soy tan simple … que no reconozca ser vuestra merced un grande embustero y que puede dar lecciones de robar a los mayores corsarios" (Sigüenza 210). Despite the opening in which Ramírez had stated that the narrative would provide no moral lessons, here he offers one: this anecdote shows the reader how the members of Ramírez's own official community reveal themselves to be close to pirates due to their compassionless acts. No longer is Ramírez the liar and pirate thief who fails Spanish empire; rather, his supposed brethren are the true corsairs who, with their lack of pity, fail Ramírez. As stated in the introduction to this article, Ramírez proclaims that "no hubo persona alguna que, viéndome a mí y a los míos casi desnudos y muertos de hambre, extendiesen la mano para socorrerme" (211). However, if the narrative shows the failure of affect to reintegrate Ramírez, it does so at the expense of its own argument, namely, that affect can prove the solidity of an imperial community and explain why Ramírez would remain steadfast in his commitments. There is no more pity or economic advantage from a group of Catholics in New Spain than on a Protestant pirate ship.

Instead, pity only appears to have an effect when it reaffirms a hierarchal differential between Ramírez and his economic and social betters who can fulfill Catholic acts of "piedad." For, as noted above, the *Diccionario de autoridades* shows that "piedad" proves membership in a polity via works of compassion. "*Actos* de esta virtud" (5: 264, emphasis added) are produced by the "lastimado," who *moves* one to compassion and receives "piedad" in response (4: 365, emphasis added). Thus, when two elite subjects in Yucatan defend Ramírez – the encomendero don Melchor Pacheco and the bishop, don Juan Cano Sandoval – Ramírez shows that pity does not suggest a community of equals but rather a beneficial relationship of hierarchy. Through these two men, Ramírez enters into a greater circuit of pity that leads him to the capital of New Spain where he finds support from the Viceroy himself and later Sigüenza. After noting that the Viceroy listened attentively to Ramírez's story of global travel with pity, "compadeciéndose

primero de mis trabajos y congratulándose de mi libertad," the narrative states that the Viceroy sent Ramírez to Sigüenza, where the cosmographer documented the journey. In Sigüenza's pity, Ramírez finds solace as well (Sigüenza 214). Like the Viceroy before him, Sigüenza moves to support his supplicant, "[c]ompadecido de mis trabajos." However, movement on behalf of Ramírez does not limit itself to feeling. The narrative voice notes that Sigüenza confronted the Viceroy "con la intercesión y súplicas que en mi presencia hizo" and Ramírez achieved financial support (214-5), a post on the Windward Fleet (Real Armada de Barlovento), and the return of his shipwrecked goods from Yucatan.[13]

This reward may seem to suggest that the hierarchical structure of pity functions where equivalence fails and that an imperial community of affect can be reaffirmed through deference to viceregal power. Indeed, Spain's foundational legal code, the *Siete Partidas*, compiled under the thirteenth-century reign of Alfonso X, treated pity as an obligatory response of superiors towards subjects in an inferior position. Title XIX of the fourth *partida* casts pity as a "parental" duty of the patriarchal authority, noting, "Pity and the law of nature should influence parents in bringing up their children to give them, and do for them, whatever is necessary" (972). In this hierarchical legal mode, pity not only demands that an authority exercise his power but also allows him to reveal it to others. By obliging this movement on the behalf of the "lastimado," this text might evoke a final reaffirmation of imperial order whereby the Viceroy can perform his magnanimity. Thus, while Ralph Bauer reads the appeal to pity in *Infortunios* as a revelation of a new print economy, through which the hierarchical *relación de méritos y servicios* is replaced by a more communitarian appeal to reader interest (177-78), affect suggests that the very failures of community are saved by the success of the *relación de méritos y servicios* and its ability to reaffirm viceregal authority.

Though this scene may be read as a magnanimous display of viceregal authority, a brief aside regarding Sigüenza's own relationship with Ramírez and the Viceroy shows the limitations of pity as a hierarchical reaffirmation of power. If the text is a meditation on imperial affects, it asks where and how Sigüenza fits into this emotional community. Economically depressed, low-status subjects betray their geopolitical commitments because they find little advantage. While the elite Sigüenza can, or must, intervene on behalf of these disadvantaged others, he finds little benefit or opportunity for himself in the process. Even though he can pity Ramírez, he cannot be pitied and thus accrue similar benefit. Indeed, the dedication to his work opens with a suggestion that Sigüenza participates in the community of pity as an equal to Ramírez, a servant who merits pity and thus support from the

Viceroy. "Y si al relatarlos en compendio quien fue el paciente le dio vuestra excelencia gratos oídos, ahora que en relación más difusa se los represento a los ojos, ¿cómo podré dejar de asegurarme atención *igual*?" (Sigüenza 114, emphasis added). Sigüenza, by standing in as/for Ramírez, deserves recompense. However, this collapse into equivalence cannot hold by the text's conclusion. Indeed, as Sigüenza writes in a oft-quoted passage, the text presents him as the "cosmógrafo y catedrático de matemáticas del rey nuestro Señor en la Academia Mexicana, y capellán mayor del Hospital Real del Amor de Dios de la Ciudad de México, títulos son estos que suenan mucho y valen muy poco, y a cuyo ejercicio le empeña más la reputación que la conveniencia" (214). Buscaglia-Salgado ("Introducción" 48) and More (*Baroque* 205) have read this statement as a *criollo* critique (likely by Sigüenza, himself) of the paradoxes of elite life in New Spain. Despite Sigüenza's purported power in viceregal society, his position has little "value," both financial and affective. Though her reading of Sigüenza's language emphasizes monetary value and social prestige, Anna More engages a fruitful turn of phrase, noting that, while "the first parenthesis draws a parallel between Ramírez and Sigüenza, implying a *sympathy* between the two … the second parenthesis … makes clear that these *woes* cannot be solved by official forms of recognition alone" (*Baroque* 205, emphasis added). She insinuates that affect and community cohesion rub up against each other, creating both interrelation and wounds. Sigüenza can pity Ramírez but finds no financial advantage in the process. When Sigüenza locates himself in this affective empire, he suggests that there is little to gain. Sigüenza embodies the very limitations of pity, even as he purports to write down the value of affect to solve New Spain's "woes" and its profligate subjects' dissatisfactions.

A study of affect in *Infortunios* provides an important lesson: by highlighting the centrality of affect to Spanish Empire's management, we can also better understand the importance of Spanish Empire to the study of affect. As Ann Cvetkovich has noted, affect need not be considered an ahistorical term, but can rather include the various categories of "affect, emotion, and feeling, and that includes impulses, desires, and feelings that get historically constructed in a range of ways" (4). For the early modern period, this has even greater resonance, since it can include the humors, the passions, neo-classical and religious theories of relation. However, despite this expansive theoretical terrain, Jerónimo Arellano has convincingly shown that failure to study the colonial Spanish American context has hidden what he calls, building on Aníbal Quijano, a "geopolitics and coloniality of feeling" that must look to a global world system incorporating the so-called New World (Arellano 557). Affect studies that ignore

colonialism in the early modern period occlude imperial epistemologies, ways of knowing and feeling that interweave early genealogies of global power and domination. Indeed, in *Infortunios*, affective discord takes domination and difference as its symptoms: disgust and the Other are never far apart. The study of affect in *Infortunios* thus gestures to a necessary question for colonial studies. We need not ask if affect creates colonial polities, but rather what types of colonialism affect creates.

Florida State University

NOTES

1 The full title of the printed text is *Infortunios que Alonso Ramírez, natural de la Ciudad de S. Juan de Puerto Rico, padeció, assi en poder de ingleses piratas que lo apresaron en las Islas Philipinas como navegando por si solo, y sin derrota, varar en la Costa de Iucatan: Consiguiendo por este medio dar vuelta al Mundo. Descrivelos D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora Cosmographo y Cathedratico de Mathematicas del Rey N. Señor en la Academia Mexicana.* All citations are from José F. Buscaglia-Salgado's critical edition, which uses contemporary orthographic conventions.

2 See the paradigmatic text *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* by Brian Massumi for an introduction to studies of affect that emphasize corporeal reaction prior to recognition.

3 Sigüenza casts this text as a response to the Austrian scientist Eusebio Kino's accusation that New Spain could not produce meritorious scholars (Bauer 168; More, "Cosmopolitanism" 115-31).

4 Given that the censor is a Puerto Rican *criollo* who shares a geopolitical origin with Ramírez ("his compatriot"), Buscaglia-Salgado (*Undoing* 140) reads strategic collaboration in this relationship.

5 The presentation of a deprived and impoverished Caribbean besieged by pirates has served as a focus of scholarship concerned with the text's picaresque qualities and its critique of Spanish Empire's failure to protect its subjects, as Mabel Moraña (217-229) and Martínez San-Miguel (24-28) have noted. Threats from English pirates were constant throughout Spanish Empire's sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, as both María Gracia Ríos ("'No hubo tal cosa, que yo estaba allí': Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, censor de Juan de Castellanos") and José Antonio Mazzotti ("The Dragon and the Seashell: British Corsairs, Epic Poetry and Creole Nation in Viceregal Peru") have shown.

6 Indeed, as More notes in her review of scholarship on the picaresque, classical interpretations of the genre have emphasized the protagonist's social independence ("Cosmopolitanism" 206).

7 Buscaglia-Salgado notes this refers to Pulo or Pula Cóndor, the Malaysian name for the island Con Son located off the coast of Vietnam (*Infortunios* 156).

8 See also the edited collection *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* by Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen.

9 While not the focus of this article, *hospedaje* evokes Jacques Derrida's study of "hospes" in *Of Hospitality* and presents a fruitful opportunity to further analyze the paradox of imperial belonging made through the act of being hosted.

10 For an expanded study of viscerality, disgust, and colonialism from various approaches, see Sharon P. Holland, Marcia Ochoa, and Kyla Wazana Tompkins's introduction to their 2014 special issue of *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies.*

11 For instance, Bolaños posits that it makes little sense that Ramírez would remain on the ship when the pirates stop at many bustling ports where he could easily find another vessel, lest Ramírez were a pirate, himself (132-60).

12 Seville evokes Spain's global power and decline given its role as the endpoint of the transatlantic *flota* (global commodity trade fleet), a fact well studied by Elvira Vilches in *New World Gold: Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain*.

13 For both Buscaglia-Salgado and Fabio López Lázaro, Ramírez's survival depended upon the needs of his superiors. For Buscaglia-Salgado, shared marginalization as *criollos* encouraged collaboration between Ramírez and Sigüenza ("Introducción" 78-84). For López Lázaro, the Viceroy's desire to protect New Spain's exposed coasts made his acquisition of Ramírez's arms and munitions more productive than censure (47-85).

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