

The Origins of *Raza*

Racializing Difference in Early Spanish

Abstract

The concept and terminology associated with the Spanish *raza* developed as a culturally and linguistically situated metaphor during the medieval period and first decades of the early modern period. The early biologization of *raza* appears after a first conceptual transfer from the textile field reinforced through semantic overlapping transfers from gemology and metallurgy lexicons. A second push toward this biologization came from an administrative language that leveraged existing though unsystematized vocabulary of (marked) selective reproduction. These developments played a key role in the early racialization of difference.

1. Introduction: Language and Semantic Fields

The enduring flexibility of race as a concept has necessitated recent studies to include a definition of both race and racism as a way to situate a discourse that harnesses the different meanings in which the terms can be used and understood. The importance of elucidating the nature of race both as a concept and a term cannot be overstated, as it underlies any understanding of racism.¹ In these pages I examine the early shaping of the concept of race in the context of the study of the Spanish term *raza* and its semantic fields from its earliest documentation in the fourteenth century to the early decades of the second half of the sixteenth, a time period critical for the formation of the semantic fields of *raza*. I present *raza* as a culturally and linguistically situated metaphor built as a transfer from technical language into a coopted everyday vocabulary, facilitated by common familiarity with the term and through the pressures of religious and administrative language. I pose that the early biologization of *raza* appears after a first conceptual transfer from the textile field reinforced through semantic overlapping transfers from gemology and metallurgy and, to a lesser degree, veterinary lexicons. A second push toward this biologization came from an administrative language that leveraged existing though unsystematized vocabulary of

1. See for example the arguments in Arias and Restrepo.

2. For the determining role of the medieval period in the making of the modern state, see for example Gordillo Pérez; Pérez Johnston.

3. Also relevant are the studies in Eliav-Feldon *et al.* The subject of racism has spawned a wealth of studies, whose sheer number makes it impossible to cite here in full. For further references, see the bibliography cited in the studies mentioned in these pages.

(marked) selective reproduction. My study shows some of the ways in which the Church and the monarchy helped spread and institutionalize *raza* at a pivotal juncture in the formation of a unified Christian state and of imperial expansion and key protocapitalist developments.²

Here, I would like to argue not only that medievalists and early modernists can and should engage Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit), but also, and perhaps more importantly, that medieval and early modern studies can significantly contribute to those theoretical frameworks. From CRT, there have been calls to establish a genealogy of racism, whose emergence has been linked to modernity (for example Goldberg 14–40; West). In contrast, the consideration of premodern racialization decenters Modernity and challenges a discourse that leans on Linnean or Enlightenment developments and ignores their undissolved intellectual roots. As Meer has underscored, there is a pressing need for CRT to “overcome, on the one hand, a historical narrative on the emergence of race as an explicitly secular and ‘modern’ phenomenon – one that has its genesis in Atlantic slavery and Enlightenment-informed colonial encounters (an account that has become entrenched as the prevailing view)” (386). Recently, Geraldine Heng has argued that the invention of racism can be dated back to the Middle Ages, presenting an idea of race that essentializes difference and establishes power differentials.³ By necessity, a study on early race formations will involve a chronological inquiry and be in step with the call for an interdisciplinary approach issued by LatCrit, clearly expressed by Solórzano and Delgado Bernal, which “challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses and insists on analyzing race and racism [...] by placing them in both an historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods” (314). In its emphasis on concept formation and its tight link to language developments, my study connects with LatCrit’s calls to take into consideration language issues (for example in Iglesias 646–59) in a field where studies are largely published in English and on English discourse, resulting in what Pearce has called “the new English colonialism.” When we use the term ‘race’ to discuss texts written in a language other than English, can we be sure we are cognizant of the semantic fields denoted by key terms in texts written in a language other than English in a particular time period? What do we lose when language considerations disappear and we use English as the master language on race? What can we gain from considering the terminology in lan-

guage-situated conceptual mappings? ¿Qué cambios se operan si, en lugar de hablar de “race in the Middle Ages and the early modern period,” hablamos de la *raza* en la Edad Media y la temprana Edad Moderna? From a related outlook, Crump has proposed LangCrit, Critical Language and Race Theory, as a theoretical and analytical framework. Although Crump refers to English discourse and to the intersections of race, racism, and racialization with language and identity, this proposal usefully calls attention to the centrality of language issues and to the urgency for scholars to engage them. As Aoki states, “Under a mimetic theory of language, language is thought of as representing something stable and preexisting, that is ‘out there’ in the world” (260), creating the illusion of immutability and reliable referentiality. Instead, scholars have underscored the fluid and mutable nature of constructed racialized discourse (for example Rattansi, esp. 56–57). Of central importance to the study of racism is the assessment of how language has played into the construction of race for sociopolitical purposes and conversely, paraphrasing Charles Mills, how “the Racial Contract norms (and races)” language. Goldberg has argued that racism itself is a discourse, speaking of “the field of racialized discourse,” analyzing the strategies of racialized discourse formation (41–60), and arguing that racism “is not a singular transhistorical expression but transforms in relation to significant changes in the field of discourse” and that *race* “creates the conceptual conditions of possibility, in some conjunctural conditions, for racist expression to be formulated” (42). Following a similar line of inquiry, my study examines how those conceptual conditions of possibility were facilitated by early semantic developments of *raza* that were linked to the early creation of specific discourses serving institutional needs. The “sociohistorical conjuncture,” in which racialized discourse develops identified by Goldberg, is thus joined by a language conjuncture, which looks to account for the very mechanisms of language formation and change in a situated manner. Further, I would like to argue that telling the story of the very terms that build racializing discourse is the first step in being able to account for the narrative and can become a powerful tool for an epistemological framework with which to analyze race. One instance of how this approach helps advance some of the main issues brought up by CRT is the interconnection of the concept of whiteness in the making of a semantic field that early on connected whiteness with beauty, light, purity and immaculateness, along with blackness and its related (negative) terms as their opposite, in the context of *raza*. Here, I show the im-

portance of accounting for discourse conceptual convergence through metaphor and of understanding how such conceptual metaphors are harnessed by institutional power, leveraging the layered meanings language has acquired over a period of several centuries. As Lee and Lutz have reminded us, pointing to the usefulness of historical perspectives, “we do not start each new era with a clean slate; instead, we stand on the bedrock of earlier forms of racial consciousness and practices of racial exclusion and inclusion” (5), adding that “what happened in the past is not seen as behind us, rather it is always with us as a reservoir that is being tapped constantly to support racist ideas. Although racism is being acted out continuously in our society and finds new modes of expression, it is a profoundly historical phenomenon. To understand and combat racism, we must understand its complex and multiple historical beginnings” (10). In this sense, my study connects with Lee and Lutz’s call for “cognitive decolonization” and “the need for critical ‘readings’ of how power operates and how it transforms, and reforms, social relations, through racial categories and consciousness” (4), as I present the ways in which early racializing power operated in and through language. My study builds on this critical frame by showing some of the ways in which we may engage the medieval and early modern periods by applying transdisciplinary conceptualizations.

2. Concepts and Terminology

A matter that has brought significant complexity to studies on the Spanish *raza* and *racismo* (generally translated as ‘race’ and ‘racism’ respectively) is that of the terminology and the concomitant shifts in meaning through a relatively long time span. The earliest dictionary entry, in the 1970 edition of the Real Academia Española’s *Diccionario de la lengua española*, conveys that *racismo* was coined as a result of developments in political and anthropological fields.⁴ The definition was kept verbatim in successive editions of the dictionary published until 2001. As far as it is currently possible to document, in all evidence *racismo* seems to have entered Spanish in reference to the new vocabulary being coined in Germany by ‘extreme nationalist’ ideologies linked to antisemitism. Some of the earliest documentations of the word appear in two 1925 essays by Peruvian author José Carlos Mariátegui entitled “La elección de Hindenburg” [The Election of Hindenburg] (*Figuras* 1: 196, 200) and “El anti-semitismo”

4. “Exacerbación del sentido racial de un grupo étnico, especialmente cuando conviene con otro u otros. 2. Doctrina antropológica o política basada en este sentimiento y que en ocasiones ha motivado la persecución de un grupo étnico considerado como inferior.”

[Antisemitism] (*La escena* 285), and in a 1927 essay, “El Nuevo gabinete alemán” [The New German Cabinet] by the same author (*Figuras* 2: 146). In these essays, the term appears italicized or between quotes in all occurrences, signaling it as a new word, and is coupled with fascism, with German extremist nationalism, and with antisemitism.

Many discussions on early racisms in a Spanish context begin with a discussion of the term *raza* and place significant value on the date in which the word is first documented and on the particular meaning it conveys, mostly when it is used in reference to humans (for example Burns; Hering Torres, “‘Raza’;” studies in María Elena Martínez *et al.*). The argument that the terms ‘race’ and ‘racism’ were not used in the premodern period has served to create a divide between the premodern and modern periods causing a ripple effect in our understanding of periodicity. The development of an idea of race has at times been conceptualized as making the transition from culture to nature as it passed from religion to science, from a religiously dominated epistemology to the beginnings of modern science, leading to the idea that a biological understanding of race is tied to the shift from an internal to an external understanding of difference.⁵ A number of scholars have called into question an analysis based on simple dichotomies and teleologies (for example Bethencourt; Hering Torres, “Limpieza,” “Purity;” María Elena Martínez *Genealogical*; Nirenberg, “Was There”). Lampert has pointed out that Balibar’s work on neo-racism and Fredrickson’s work on culturalism can help us understand racism as a complex issue where cultural and religious components play as important a part as somatic or biological ones (see also Buell). Also of central importance on the issue of periodicity is the work of scholars who have been critical about placing modernity as the axis for concept formation (for example Lee and Lutz 8-12; Varo Zafra 211–12).

The richness of the scholarship on the nature of the conceptual subtleties of the Spanish terms *raza* and *racismo* is witness to the complexity of issues associated with them. A number of scholars have emphasized the role that Spain and Portugal have played on the plural history of race as well as the role of religious difference and persecution in the framing of the concept of race (e.g. Balibar and Wallerstein; Edwards; studies in Greer *et al.*; Mariscal; Sweet). Significantly, the impact of Spanish in other languages is highlighted in works on race such as Smedley’s widely read *Race in North America*, where the author hypothesizes that the English term ‘race’ was ad-

5. For an analysis of some of these complex issues, see for example Lampert-Weissig.

6. Also discussion in Sollors xxix, XLII–XLIII n52.

7. Many scholars have studied the developments toward a racialization of difference during the colonial period. See for example Cañizares Esguerra. I have studied racializing processes of religious (Jewish) identity in the medieval period in “Food, Blood.”

opted from the Spanish *raza*, stemming from a vocabulary on animal breeds, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to Spain’s hegemonic situation within Europe (37).⁶ Scholars have also noted the links in the development of racism with capitalism (Balibar and Wallerstein) and colonialism (Quijano).⁷ Further, the relevance of the role that blood (Anidjar), genealogy (Nirenberg, “Race”), skin color (Hering Torres, “Colores;” Fuchs), and notions of *limpieza* and pollution (Hering Torres, “Limpieza;” “La limpieza;” María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical*) play (or not) in the study of race has also been weighed.

In an instance of what Koselleck called “temporal intertwining” centered around language (29–30), contemporary scholars have noted that the uncritical use of ‘race,’ ‘racial’ and related terms in earlier scholarship helped perpetuate some of racism’s tenets (for example, Burk 177). One such instance is Ochoa and Pidal’s talk about a Jewish race (“raza judía,” “raza judaica”) and of converso Antón de Montoro as being “poor and of Jewish race” (“pobre y judío de raza”) in their edition of the *Cancionero de Baena* (xxxiii; xxxiv; xxxvii; xxxviii). Similarly, other scholars such as Márquez Villanueva used the term when referring to conversos, for example speaking of them as “brothers in race” (“hermanos de raza” 539). Others simply apply the term in its contemporary use retroactively, as does for example Caro Baroja in his *Razas, pueblos y linajes* (“Races, peoples, and lineages”). To complicate matters further, early scholars in at least some cases may be merely and uncritically reproducing the terminology found in the documents they discuss, seemingly attributing a later meaning to medieval and early modern vocabulary (see for example Sicroff’s use of “raza” in *Los estatutos* 41). In addition, twentieth-century Spanish translations of Latin texts have regularly used *raza* for the Latin *genus* and other terms, projecting discussions of *raza* back several centuries by setting them in old texts where, in fact, the term was not used. As an example, Alonso de Palencia’s *Cuarta Década* describes animosity against conversos in Córdoba “sub voce violare religionis a gentili neophitorum,” which is rendered “al grito de haberse violado la religión por la raza de los neófitos” (“at the cry of religion having been violated by the race of the neophytes”)⁸ in the 1970s Spanish translation (1: 72; 2: 86). The problematic translation of *gens*, *genus*, and *natio* as *raza* has been widespread, leading scholars such as Bartlett to point out the drawbacks posed by such rendering of the terms. In fact, fifteenth-century authors like Lope de Barrientos (self)translate the Latin *genus* as *linaje* (lineage) in Old Spanish (text in Martínez Casado, e.g. 46–47) and it is similarly the translation of-

8. This and all other translations in this paper are mine unless otherwise noted.

ferred in the entry “genus” in Fernández de Santaella’s *Vocabulario* (“Tomase tambien por linage”). Furthermore, some translations by later critics have been widely taken as verbatim quotations from primary sources and, because of their importance, cited as key witnesses to early racial thought. Sicroff’s quotation of Martínez Silíceo’s admonishment to refrain from accepting a horse that is not thoroughbred or “of race” (“de raza”) in a letter asking Pope Paul III (1534–49) to withdraw his support of the son of a converso for a position as canon in Toledo’s church (142) has been cited as evidence of an early understanding of *raza* in the terms of genealogy taken from animal breeding. However, such use of *raza* is in fact just Sicroff’s translation of “genus” in its various cases in the Latin text: “[...] non admitere equos in suum stabulum, non *generos equos* etiam si gratis darentur, primum nanque quod in eorum emptione queritur est *genus*, unde prodierint quandoquidem, *equorum quidan sunt genere nobiles* alis vero contra nos autem qui ceteris animantibus prestamus, de optimo dabimus eos *homines qui generis sunt obscuri*, quippe a parentibus recens adhuc sue pravitatis retinent” (BNE Ms. 13038, fol. 134v) [emphasis added and original spelling preserved]. Sicroff summarizes the passage thus:

Una sorprendente analogía brota bajo la pluma del arzobispo, quizás un recuerdo de su infancia campesina, cuando compara el problema debatido al del tratante de caballos. A éste, si le ofrecen un caballo imperfecto, aun regalado, no lo aceptará en su cuadra, porque lo que más le importa es la *raza del animal*. Esta es su preocupación principal, aun cuando se cree que *el caballo es de raza noble*. Sin embargo, cuando se trata de esta *raza oscura de conversos*, hay quienes quisieran admitirlos a los mejores puestos en la Iglesia cuando todavía tienen en los labios la leche de la reciente perversidad de sus antepasados.

(A surprising analogy springs up under the archbishop’s pen, perhaps a memory of his peasant childhood, when he compares the problematic issue under debate to that of the horse dealer. This horse dealer, if offered an imperfect horse, even as a gift, will not accept it in his stable, because what matters to him most is the *race of the animal*. This is his main concern, even when *the horse* is believed to be of *noble race*. However, when it comes to this *obscure race of converts*, there

are those who would like to admit them to the best positions in the Church when they still have on their lips the milk of the recent perversity of their ancestors) [emphasis added] (142).

Thus, in Sicroff's rendition, Martínez Silíceo set the noble *race* of a horse in contrast with the obscure *race* of conversos, directly linking the term and concept of *raza* to the conversos and to horse breeding in the context of *limpieza* statutes. Similarly, the quote from the 1530 entry in the Colegio de San Clemente books documenting the acceptance of Diego de Castilla to the Colegio has been repeatedly cited as containing a statement on Diego de Castilla's blood purity or *limpieza*. The document is cited as containing the attested proof that he is free from Jewish, Muslim or heretic ancestry required to enter the Colegio, thus allegedly providing one additional link between a genealogical *raza* and blood purity or *limpieza*: "si por un lado pertenecía a raza muy aristocrática (pues su familia era del linaje del rey don Pedro, aunque por línea bastarda), por otro lado era de estirpe hebrea" ("if on the one hand he belonged to a very aristocratic race – for his family belonged to the lineage of King Don Pedro, although via a bastard line – on the other hand he was of Hebrew stock"). However, the quote is not found in the document, which is written in Latin and does not contain any references to *raza*,⁹ but is rather a text taken from Caro Baroja's own and often quoted statement on Diego de Castilla's ancestry (*Los judíos* 298–99), which has been (mis)taken as a textual reference to the Colegio de San Clemente's records. The use of the term in these texts has received much interest on the part of scholars as it is thought to present key evidence on early ideas on *raza*. For these reasons, it is clear that a precise understanding of the term in its early attestations is a key point of departure.

9. Archivo del Colegio de España, *Libri Admissionum*, n. 3, fols. 113v–114r; Acta Sodalium VII n. 11. For the documentation on Diego de Castilla, see also Pérez Martín 690–91.

3. Conceptualizing *Raza*

Merely documenting the historical occurrences of a word in an attempt to elucidate its meaning can provide but a partial understanding of the development of the concept it denotes. Current trends in conceptual theory can help understand the importance of combining the study of field-specific concept development and situated manifestations of language. Álvarez Moreno has emphasized the sustained importance of the 'linguistic turn' in any historical consideration, a call that also resounds in Koselleck's emphasis on the mediat-

10. For relevant considerations on concept formation and the importance of historicizing political concepts, see for example Chignola and Duso; Martín Gómez.

11. The publications on applications of conceptual theory to historical research are too numerous to cite fully in these pages. In addition to the studies cited here, see for example studies gathered in Oncina Coves.

12. On the vast scholarship on metaphor, see for example Barcelona; Ricoeur; Santos Domínguez and Espinosa Elorza; Sweetser; Trim.

13. Of key importance to these developments is the early work by Lakoff and Johnson as well as, more recently, the work of other scholars such as Soriano Salinas and those gathered in Hampe; in addition to the ones cited in these pages.

ing role of language and its centrality in conceptual and social history (20–37), as well as in the work of other authors (for example Roy Harris, and studies in Carrasco Manchado). Such emphasis in turn makes concept formation interdependent with the study of terminology in a wide chronological continuum.¹⁰ Conceptual theory has also been instrumental in underscoring the stratigraphic nature of concept formation, which builds on the accumulation of meanings from the past and emphasizes the need to engage literary scholarship (Varo Zafra)¹¹ and in-text historical contextualization (relevant considerations in Navarro). In addition, many scholars have pointed out the fundamental role that metaphor plays in semantic change, its function in conceptual domains and concept formation, along with its power of conceptual representation. From a CRT perspective and in reference to contemporary discourse, scholars have shown how metaphors, for example those relating to food and animals, have been used to negatively characterize multiracial identities and how such metaphors have helped maintain racialized hierarchies (Ali; Williams; also Mahtani). Of central interest to the study of *raza* undertaken in these pages is the situated nature of metaphor formation, along with the need to understand how interrelated metaphors can form metaphor systems and how conceptual metaphors are generated from knowledge structures (Ibarretxe-Antuñano).¹² Also important is multivocality as an essential feature of metaphor that rests on the range of semantic networks it forms.¹³ This methodology encourages moving beyond the mere etymological inquiry and simple lexicographic study and helps interrogate the relation between term, semantic field, and conceptual domain. Further, as Cornejo has pointed out, the study of metaphor is best undertaken as a culturally-patterned link of language and concept, inviting a situated study that takes into consideration individual languages and cultures and is more inclusive than universalistic stances or pan-European ones like Spitzer's (on which more below).

The need to take into account the epistemic conditions that factor into the constitution of the text has been underscored by such scholars as Busse, who opts for a depth semantics that combines lexical, conceptual, syntactical, and textual considerations that incorporate historical and discourse analysis approaches (esp. 114–20). Also highly relevant to this study are some of the main contributions of historical sociolinguistics, which emphasizes that language needs to be analyzed in its social context, with consideration of sociocultural and sociohistorical factors, commanding a variety of texts that include literary output and documents in the original language. Historical sociolinguis-

14. Schwartz's recent work on the term *Ghetto* shows the ways in which a consideration of semantic layering can yield rich results.

tics helps explain the factors and processes of both change and actuation, emphasizes language lability, and also points to the importance of semantic layering, by which a word becomes enriched with layers of meanings through time, creating semantic substrates (Lloyd).¹⁴ But these substrates are not fossilized or petrified strata, rather they become embedded active components as the word accrues meaning through time. Historical sociolinguistics also provides the tools to examine the ways by which language change is enacted linearly via transmission and broadly through wider nets via diffusion (for example studies in Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre). Mesthrie has called attention to the socio-geographic and historical nature of the language of race, ethnicity, religion, and castes, as well as to the “heavy reliance on metaphor” of religious discourse (363). From a similarly historical sociolinguistic standpoint and with a particular focus on Spanish, Anipa has highlighted the importance of engaging language-specific studies that include literary sources as well as the work of early grammarians when determining the reasons why certain language innovations become actuated and when identifying the processes by which such innovations become embedded in language. Conceptual theory scholars have similarly identified different tools and sources that may be enlisted. These include dictionaries as cultural products that bear witness to traditions that function for a given community at a particular time (Carriscondo Esquivel). In addition, the particular discipline-specific knowledge can be leveraged, as it has been for example in the study of ‘nation’ (also of ‘revolution’) (Šarić and Stanojević). In the same vein, Franzinetti has highlighted the relevance of lexical considerations in the study of nationalism, ethnicity and race. Further, the meanderings of terminology vis-à-vis the semantic field or fields associated with them and their shifts have been deployed to examine such divergent approaches as continuity vs. conceptual break hypotheses in racial thinking (Mallon). For the purposes of this study, a most productive approach involves intersectional studies that facilitate an exploration of a variety of texts that show how shifts in the semantic field(s) of *raza* facilitated a conceptual change that involved overlapping trade, religious, administrative and other discourses.

4. Origins

Etymological inquiries into the word *raza* have raised more questions than they have answered. The most often quoted authority,

Corominas-Pascual's *Diccionario crítico etimológico*, followed Spitzer in assuming that *raza* had probably developed as a semi-learned form from the Latin *ratio*, *-onis* meaning "calculation, account," but in the sense of "nature, kind, species" ("indole, modalidad, especie"), a meaning that, according to Corominas-Pascual, was "biological" referring to "species" ("en el sentido biológico o de especie" 800). Corominas-Pascual hypothesized that it entered Old Spanish (Castilian) through a probable borrowing from other Romance languages, most likely Catalan or Italian. Menéndez Pidal (363) and García de Diego (904–05) had proposed that *raza* entered the language through a direct evolution from the Latin *radius* > **radia* ("ray," "line"), an evolution only possible in Old Spanish. Menéndez Pidal pointed out that *radia* would result in *raza* and *raya*, in a path similar to the dual evolutions of other words, such as *badius* > *bazo*, *bayo*, *gaudium* > *gozo*, *goyo*, and **medianetum* > *mezanedo*, *meyanedo* (363). Corominas-Pascual accepted García de Diego and Menéndez Pidal's etymologies but only to hypothesize two Old Spanish terms for *raza*. Corominas-Pascual followed Lida (175–77) in assuming that an early Old Spanish *raza*, meaning 'defect in the weave' would have influenced with its negative connotation of 'defect' another *raza*, one that, following Spitzer, Corominas-Pascual stated had entered Old Spanish from the Latin *ratio* via another Romance language (800–01). Corominas-Pascual accepted Spitzer's general proposition that the meaning from *ratio* as 'species' would easily devolve into *raza* meaning race (801). The Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de la lengua española* offered only one etymology, *radius* > **radia*, for *raza* until 2001, grouping the different meanings of the term under a single entry. The current version of the dictionary lists different etymologies according to meaning and assigns the biological *raza* an etymology from the Italian 'razza' following Spitzer probably via Corominas-Pascual.

The work of Spitzer had a significant influence in early etymological inquiries into Italian *razza*, Provençal *rassa*, French *race*, Catalan *raça* and Spanish *raza* among others, as he heavily postulated an origin from the Latin *ratio*, which Spitzer argued had become related to 'ethnicity' in Latin texts. For Spitzer, the link of *ratio* to 'ethnicity' would have been a Platonic-inflected "notion of *rationes rerum* of distinctive parts of the whole leading to the semantic development 'types'" through the adaptation of Augustine and then Thomas Aquinas. In proposing this change, Spitzer emphasized a conceptual development in which considerations of language change seemed sec-

ondary (“Ratio” [1948] 152), and thus encouraged significant and inadequately explained leaps in semantic development and transfer. For Spitzer, the resulting term “races,” meaning “natures of things” would in time lose memory “of the philosophical background, God’s ideation,” which was Spitzer’s significant purpose in tracing race’s origin to *ratio* (“Ratio” [1948] 152). The context of Spitzer’s work is of particular importance here, as his 1933 article was explicitly situated as a response to what he saw as materialistic and biological conceptualizations of the term in Nazi Germany. In 1948, Spitzer corroborated his theory “that the Latin *ratio* in a learned form is at the bottom of our modern expressions for ‘race’” (“Ratio” [1948] 147). As he remarked in his 1948 article, his 1933 piece on the Italian *razza* (300–01), where significantly he also linked *ratio* and *natio*, was informed by a “malicious pleasure to propose to Germany the idea: ‘Das Wort, das heute im *Gegensatz* zu ‘Geist’ verwendet wird, hat also einen höchst geistigen Ursprung’” (The word used today as *opposed* to ‘spirit’ thus has a most spiritual origin) (“Ratio” [1948] 147). While defending his *ratio* > *race* etymology, Spitzer’s avowed aim was to emphasize a spiritual over a biological meaning “of the Italian *razza*, from which the other languages seem to have borrowed” (“Ratio” [1948] 147). As critics have noted, Spitzer was looking to denounce Nazism’s biological understanding of humans and to underscore the spiritual origin of humanity through his etymology of *Rasse*, which Spitzer found had become biologized when language had been separated from God (Apter 27; Rosenstock 274–75). Spitzer states as much in his 1948 piece: “What a significant comment this affords on the modern ‘racial’ beliefs! As these are ‘abandoned, forsaken’ by God, so the notion of divine participation is lost in the term ‘race.’ It is not merely a pun if I say that modern racialism is not only ‘geist-verlassen’ (as I intimated in my first paper) but also ‘God-forsaken’” (“Ratio” [1948] 152; “Ratio” [1941] 138). However, as Apter has shown, Spitzer’s emphasis on defending a meaning of *genus*, *progenies*, or *species* for *ratio* > *race* would actually play into a “racing” of philology (25–40), as it racialized early European languages and linked them to twentieth-century definitions of ‘race.’ Spitzer’s open discussion of his work vis-à-vis “modern racialism” makes it clear that such early etymological inquiries into ‘race’ are linked to the same forces surrounding the appearance of new term *racism* (*rassismus*) in the early decades of the twentieth century and to a Nazi biologization of ‘race.’ In linking the evolution of words meaning ‘race,’ even in a non-Romance language like German (*rasse*) to the Italian’s *raz-*

15. A similar approach in Spitzer “Raza del sol,” where he looks for a separate etymology for *raza* meaning ‘sun beam.’

16. Some current Spanish scholars have moved further away from a *raza*<*ratio* etymology. Jurado has proposed some potential overlaps with forms of *raer* (“to erase,” “to scrape”) and *rajar* (“to cut”) (471–72).

17. Throughout this study, I use the spelling *raza* for the sake of clarity, but keep the variant spelling *raça* when referring to the texts that use it. I don’t consider *raza* in the few occasions where it appears as a variant spelling for the feminine form of the adjective *raso*, (which means level, flat) or for *ras* (satin).

za and to an evolution from the Latin *ratio*, Spitzer treated European languages as homogeneous, such that all national languages were ultimately linked to the same Latin origin and to “great thinkers such as Plato, Philo, Augustine, and Saint Thomas” (“Ratio” 158).¹⁵ Various aspects of Spitzer’s linear etymology from the Latin *ratio* into European languages were debated and ultimately discarded by some scholars. Most notably, Contini detailed the reasons why an etymology of Italian “*razza*” stemming from Old Occitan “*rassa*,” and this from “*ratio*” proposed by Spitzer is untenable, and Terracini and Sabatini each offered their own critiques. The lack of conclusive evidence led such scholars as Coluccia to call for further research.¹⁶ However, the link proposed by Spitzer between race and *ratio* and between *ratio* and *gens* had a lasting conceptual impact on later theories on the origin of the word, as exemplified by Corominas-Pascual and their etymology of the Old Spanish *raza*. Thus, the association between early race and human classification entered scholarly debates early on, with the deployment of etymological inquiry helping make such a persuasive argument that even though serious objections were raised questioning Spitzer’s propositions, the link weighed heavily in subsequent studies.

5. *Raza* as Negative Mark or Defect

The earliest attestations of *raza* in Old Spanish show a semantic field of defect, expanded to include dirt, stain, darkness, and damage through its uses and associations in textile and gemological lexicons. Through its early adoption in moralistic and religious discourse, *raza* was also used metaphorically to mean ‘sin.’ These mappings fostered a binary system of opposites that presented cleanliness, immaculateness, whiteness, and perfection as polar opposites of *raza* and its related terms. In addition, textile, gemological, and religious discourse fostered an expanding semantic network of *raza* to include language of hidden faults and public detection, of covering and uncovering. Establishing the ways in which such mappings were set up necessitates a detailed examination of the textual sources.

The first dictionary definition of *raza*, or its variant spelling *raça*, appears in Alfonso de Palencia’s 1490 *Universal Vocabulario* where *raça* is a defect that may appear in a piece of clay pottery (“*Ignia. son las raças que salen en las vasijas de tierra*”).¹⁷ Palencia appears to have taken the entry from one of the medieval versions of Sextus Pompeius

Festus's lexicon, which Palencia quotes directly elsewhere in his work (e.g. entry *natio*), and which reads: "Ignia. vitia vasorum fictilium" (93), and thus translates the Latin *vitium* as *raça*. Nebrija's *Vocabulario español-latino* (c. 1495) lists two entries for *raça*: "Raça del sol. radius solis per rimam" ("a sun ray seen through a groove or slot") and "Raça del paño. panni raritas" ("a sparse line in the weave of cloth"). This *raça* as textile defect refers to a sparse line or thinness in the weave which may be detected by holding the cloth up against the sunlight. Textual evidence suggests that in Old Spanish *raça* meaning a defect in textiles, listed in Nebrija's definition, became adopted early on as a metaphor for human faults, as expressed in the widely used proverb "No hay paño sin raça" ("There is no cloth without *raça*") or its variant "en el mejor paño cae la raça" ("On the best cloth falls the *raça*"), which in its different variations bore the meaning of 'No one is without defect.' It appears thus used in texts from the fourteenth century onwards, as in Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita's *Libro de buen amor* (1330–43): "Diz la dueña, sañuda: 'Non ay paño sin raça / nin el leal amigo non es en toda plaça'" ("Says the woman, enraged: 'There is no cloth without *raça* / nor is there a loyal friend in every place") (94cd). Versions of the proverb appear in *Seniloquium* (c. 1450), and later in Gaspar Gómez de Toledo's 1536 *Tercera parte de la Tragicomedia de Celestina*, as well as in several entries in Hernán Núñez's proverb collection, his *Refranes o proverbios en romance* published in 1555, and in Sebastián de Horozco's sixteenth-century *Teatro universal de proverbios*.¹⁸ The proverb appears explicitly used in a religious context in works such as Francisco de Osuna's 1530 *Abece-dario spiritual* (LXIIIr). Later, Gonzalo Correas's 1629 *Vocabulario* includes the significant addition of "mancha" ("stain") in the well-known proverb: "En el buen paño cae la mancha; o la rraza" ("On the good cloth falls the stain, or the *raza*") (122).

The expressions that couple *raza* with other terms used to describe textile defects or problems such as *polilla* ("moth damage") also became metaphors for defects or damage in different contexts, clearly signaling the textile field as particularly productive of metaphors of human traits. In his *Cancionero de Baena* poem Ferrand Manuel, "boz mala vos gique," written in the first half of the fifteenth century, Juan Alfonso de Baena mockingly states his intention to speak freely and rightfully with a tongue unhindered by *raza* or *polilla*: "Fernand Manuel, por que versefique / donaires mi lengua sin raça e polilla" ("Fernand Manuel, so that in verse may tell / amusing things my tongue without *raça* or *polilla*") (642, lines 9–10). Similar-

18. The texts for *Seniloquium*, Gómez de Toledo and Núñez read, respectively: "En el escarlata cae la raza" ("On the scarlet cloth falls the *raça*") (*Los 494 refranes* 45, n. 141); "No te marauilles que en el mejor paño cae la raça" ("Do not marvel that the *raça* falls on the best cloth") (97); "En buen paño cae la raça" (2619), and "En el escarlata cae la raça" (2666). Sebastián de Horozco's rendition reads "Mal parece la raça en el paño fino" ("*Raça* looks badly on fine cloth") (1758).

19. There is no current consensus among Imperial scholars on the interpretation of the meaning of the *bestias*, particularly the *Juderra*, which may refer to the Apostle Judas Iscariot as betrayer, to the Jews, or to both, in addition to being given other values. See for example discussion in Gimeno Casalduero 206–09, 212.

ly, and following the vocabulary of textiles, mentions of knives and cutting off pieces of cloth where a *raza* may be found should be understood as part of the same extended textile metaphor, however much the knife may also imply a menace to the life of an individual or group. Written in 1407, Francisco Imperial's *Decir a las siete virtudes* is an admonishment for the king to combat the seven great dangers to the Kingdom, which Imperial presents as seven snakes or beasts.¹⁹ In Imperial's *decir*, the red knife is the instrument that will cut all faulty matter, which will result in the praise of the king's justice – "será ¡mira! el cuchillo bermejo / que cortará doquier que falle *raça*" ("it will be, look!, the red knife / that will cut wherever it finds *raça*") (*Cancionero de Baena* 316, lines 395–96). In her study of Imperial's poem, Lida was the first to note the early figurative use of the textile *raza* (175–77). The same textile metaphor appears in a poem in *Cancionero de Baena* written in the first half of the fifteenth century by Gómez Pérez Patiño, also used in a political context:

Muchos vienen a conçejo
vestidos de piel de engaño
a de lieve veo paño
que sea limpio de *raça*.
Non se torna más la *baça*
blanca por seguir el baño.

(Many come to council / dressed in a deceitful skins / I
easily see cloth / that is clean from *raça*. / The dark one does
not turn / whiter in the bath) (630, lines 51–56).

The association of *raza*, cleanliness and darkness as related to both skin color and to stains appears in this and other texts and points toward possibilities of semantic expansion for *raza* that would be leveraged through later periods in the construction of race and racialized ideas of various human groups both within Iberia and in colonial and imperial contexts. Significantly, in his poetic gloss to the textile proverb, Horozco relates *raça* to *beta* (vein), *señal* (mark), *mancha* (stain), *manchado* (stained), *mancilla* (blemish), and *pecado* (sin) as something closer to anyone "vil" (vile) and of "sucia casta" (dirty caste) but not found in anyone "limpio" (clean) and of "buen linaje" (good lineage) and "alta sangre y nobleza" (high blood and nobility), while contrasting several times *raça* and *plaza* (public square), both in rhyme position, as the public sphere where *raça* will be revealed (1758). Eve-

ryday language shared by all social strata related to commonly used textiles fostered the widespread use of the proverbs and added to the metaphorical productivity of the textile lexicon.

The semantic proximity of *raza* in the sense of ‘defect’ to a broader conceptual vocabulary of ‘stain,’ ‘blemish,’ ‘fault,’ ‘darkness,’ and ‘imperfection’ was largely based on the association of the trade terms in common textile vocabulary, as is evident in the legislation warning against fraud in the sale of defective cloth. In his *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, finished in 1551, Alonso de Santa Cruz relays the legislation issued by Isabel and Fernando, including the royal prohibitions against selling cloth that had any “canilla o marra o raza o mancha” (“rib, deficiency, *raza* or stain”) (1: 133). Later, the 1559 *Cortes* in Toledo record the petition to the king for measures ensuring that shearers and tailors don’t fail to fulfill their duties to examine the cloth closely in order to discover the *faults* in the weave, including “*razas*, or darns, or stains, or ribs” (“han de descubrir las *faltas* que ay en los paños de *razas* o zurzidoras o xuarda o canillas: de lo qual viene mucho daño al reyno y a la republica” 5: 826) [emphasis added]. The 1537 Valladolid *Cortes* had similarly denounced “los muchos fraudes que se hazen en los paños que se labran en estos rreynos, encubriendose la rruyn labor dellos e muchas raças e surciduras e otras tachas” (“the many frauds done in the cloths that are woven in these kingdoms, covering their poor quality and many *raças* and darns and other flaws”) (*Cortes* 4: 689). Textile *razas* could be detected by examining the cloth against the light, which would show any thinness. Ongoing legislation through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and later centuries repeatedly ordered the cloth shearer to closely examine cloth in order to detect any defect: “sea obligado de catar el paño si ouiere canilla, o barra, o raça, o mancha; y auiendola sea tenuto de lo descubrir luego al dueño del tal paño, y no a aquel que lo vendio; porque no aya lugar de surzir, y adouar y encubrir los daños que tuuiere” (“is made responsible for examining the cloth to see if it had any rib, barre, *raça* or stain; and, if it had, he may be held responsible for disclosing it to the cloth’s owner and not to the one who sold it so that [the seller] will not have the chance to darn, mend and cover up the damages it may have” Celso, 278v). Individual city ordinances (*ordenanzas*) reproduce the same language and accuse cloth shearers of hiding the *razas* they find, as may be seen for instance in the city ordinances of Jerez de la Frontera (“los tales tondidores encubren las munchas raças que en los tales paños ay”) (Carmona Ruiz and Martín Gutiérrez 224), while Córdoba’s ordinances detail the fines imposed to the sale of cloth with “*raças* o manchas o notorio defecto”

(“*raças* or stains or known defect”) (González Jiménez *et al.* 318). The terminology with which the term *raza* is linked in such legislation is revelatory of its semantic and lexical networks, being negatively connoted and notably associated with stain and damage, and with defects detectable as specific marks. The legislation addresses the widespread concern that these marks were not obvious on a first glance and were thus easy to conceal unless closely examined. Thus, legislation makes it obvious that *raza* was also inserted onto yet another semantic network, that of inner defect, concealment and (un)covering. This signifying web was reinforced in the language of gemology and precious materials.

The vocabulary of gemology, minerals, and precious metals points to an association of *raza* with cracks, hairlines and stains, always in the context of a defect. Its application to minerals had been put forth in Palencia’s definition of *raça* as a defect in pieces of pottery made with clay. It appears used widely in the context of precious gemstones, in for example the 1515 letter by Vasco Núñez de Balboa: “Sepa V.M. que se trajo desta esta isla rica una perla entre las otras, que pesaba diez tomines, muy perfecta, sin ninguna raza ni mácula, y de muy lindo color, lustre y hechura” (“Your Majesty should know that from this rich island was brought one pearl among the others that weighed ten *tomines*, very perfect, without any *raza* or stain, and of very nice color, luster and shape”) (Medina 141).²⁰ *Raças* could also mar valuable stones like marble, which, as a 1557 document conveys, ideally should be “muy buen mármol blanco sin raça ni pelo ni beta ni cama sino en toda perfición” (“very good white marble, without *raça* or hairline or vein or indentation, but completely perfect”) (Gómez-Moreno 233). Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590) described a New World stone named *quetzalchalchúitl*, which had no stains (“*manchas*”) when in a perfect state, but was otherwise marred with “*raças y manchas y rayas*” (“*raças* and stains and lines”) (2: 915). Similarly, Sahagún described some mirrors made out of a polished stone, which were precious when well polished and without *raza* (“*sin raza*”), as well as some very white stones that had “*vetas o raças*” (“veins or *raças*”) in other colors (2: 919). Due to the inherent difficulty in identifying the defects in gemstones with a superficial glance and without a closer examination, the language used in these contexts is one of discovering the hidden inner defect, linking with an expanding vocabulary of disclosure and uncovering, as seen for example in Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557):

20. I would like to thank Gregorio Saldarriaga for calling my attention to this passage.

Muchas perlas pasan por sanas que no lo son, e los ojos, cebados de su buen resplandor e talle e otras circunstancias, no mirando en lo demás, se engañan, porque aunque estén cascadas e sentidas por algún golpe o por otra ocasión, no se vee su defeto, salvo poniéndolas entre los dedos al transparente resplandor del cielo, dándoles el sol; e así luego veréis algunas que están quebradas o cascadas en lo interior e secreto o medula de las perlas, o si tienen algún pelo o raza.

(Many pearls pass for unblemished when they are not, and the eyes, filled by their nice radiance and shape and other qualities, not looking at the rest, are deceived, because although they may be cracked and damaged by some blow or by another reason, their defect does not show, except by holding them between the fingers to the transparent glow of the sky, facing the sun; and so soon you will see some that are broken or cracked inside the hidden pearl center, or whether they have any line or *raza*) (2: 208).

A metaphorical use of *raza* taken from the vocabulary of gems and precious metals and signifying inner blemish and stain appears in the work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who relays a father's admonishments to his son, advising him to carefully keep the advice for good living inherited from his ancestors as though it were gold. These pieces of advice, continues to relate Sahagún, are precious stones: "Es lo que nos dixerón y lo que nos avisaron y encomendaron que lo guardásemos como en cofre y como oro en paño, porque son piedras preciosas muy resplandecientes y muy polidas, que son los consejos para bien vivir, en que ni hay *raça* ni mancha: son muy limpios" ("It is what they told us and what they advised and entrusted us to keep in a chest like a golden treasure, because their pieces of advice for good living are very shining and very polished precious stones, in which there is neither *raça* nor stain: they are very clean") (1: 429). In the same context, Sahagún relates how the father encourages his son to look up to the fame, brightness and illustriousness ("su fama y el resplandor y claridad") of his ancestors and then turn the gaze to himself in order to discover his personal *raças* and stains: "conocerás las faltas que tienes y las *raças* y manchas que hay en ti" (1: 425). Sahagún makes further use of *raça* in the context of gems, often in a metaphorical sense to denote a stainless or blemishless person: "Es como una piedra preciosa sin tacha ni sin *raça*" ("He is like a precious stone without flaw or *raça*") (1: 488). In the 1521

21. A different *raça* used in a veterinary context appears as an isolated instance in King Alfonso XI's fourteenth-century *Libro de la montería*, which lists recipes using "*raça*" in remedies for wounds (29, ch. 19; 34 ch. 2; 37 ch. 16). A version of the work was widely disseminated in a sixteenth-century print version by Argote de Molina, which also lists the medicinal "*raça*" in recipes (17v, 20r). In his edition, Seniff identified this "*raça*" with minium or red oxide of lead (143). However, the pharmacopeial *raça* in veterinary recipes intended to treat various ailments is likely a rendition of an Italian vernacular *rasia*, also spelled *rasa*, which is listed in the works that constitute the basis for the *Libro de la montería* and which offer recipes for veterinary treatment. For example, in Rusio's *Libre marescalcie*, '*rasa*' and '*rasia*' are used as a translation of the Latin *tartarum*, referring to Greek pitch or wine tartar (1: 98–99, 104–05, 114–15, 224–25, 260–61, 264–65, 290, 292–93; 2: 299), and rendered '*pez*' in most later texts on veterinary treatments in Spanish. It also appears as "*raso del uino*" (Ruffo, *Arte* 24r) or as "*tartaro*" in different Italian versions of Ruffo's popular veterinary work, for example in treatments for eye ailments (Ruffo *Lo Libro* 101), and "*tartarum*" in the Latin versions (*Jordani Ruffi* 54, 104, 111). I would like to thank Ruffo expert Antonio Montinaro for his generosity in sharing his files with me during the library closures due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

22. On Dies's work and its editorial success, see Cifuentes and Ferragud.

Comedia Ypólita, the metaphorical uses of *raça* similarly refer to the faults that may be seen in an individual "like in poorly forged metal" ("Y aun le verás luego raças / como al metal mal forjado") (284). The text cautions that *raça* and fault may be covered under a coat of enamel: "y se esmalta / y se cubre raça y falta" (293; also 298). Conversely, perfection consists on the absence of *raza*. The fifteenth-century poem "Calabaça" in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* claims that the lady it addresses was made so polished by God that there is no hairline or *raça* left in her: "quel señor que te crio / tan bruñida te saco / quen ti sola no dexo / vn pelo ni vna rraça" (Dutton 2: 529). Like textile vocabulary, the language of gemology inserted *raza* in a semantic network of a lexicon denoting stains and defects that were internal and hard to detect visually, while at the same time linking *raza* with defect, stain and darkness. Conversely, the absence of *raza* conveyed perfection, cleanliness and light. The language of gemology, metallurgy and mineralogy would reinforce the semantic network of the textile *raza*, while the privileged socioeconomic level it referenced encouraged the language of preciousness to enter into the field. A third type of *raza* would contribute to *raza*'s semantic network with a meaning of defect and illness.

The term *raza* used in medieval and early veterinary (or *albeitería*) treatises is overwhelmingly documented as designating a semantic field of 'crack,' here in reference to the ailment ("enfermedat") that horses and mules may develop in their hooves.²¹ This ailment was common enough to be used in the misogynistic proverb "Ni muger sin tacha, ni mula sin raça" ("No woman without flaw and no mule without *raça*") in Núñez's *Refranes* meaning that there exist no woman or mule without defect (5216). *Raza* as hoof crack is first documented in the *Libro de los caballos* (c. 1275) (Sachs 39–40, 144), a work that would constitute an important source for all later writing on equine veterinary through the sixteenth century. Fourteenth-century author Juan Álvarez de Salamiella has a detailed description and treatment of *raça* in his *Libro de menescalia et albeyteria* along with a miniature illustrating the treatment (fol. 33r–v). The fifteenth-century *Delas enfermedades* similarly includes "*rraça*" in its brief description of horse ailments (220v). The thirteenth-century *Libro de los caballos* appears to be an important source for the Catalan work generally known as *Libre de la menescalia*, which actually bears different titles in the various manuscripts and was written sometime between 1424 and 1436 by Manuel Dies. Dies's book was translated into Old Spanish as *Libro de Albeyteria*, first published in 1495, reprinted in 1499, with the author's last name changed to Díez.²² The ailment *rasa* is discussed in the manuscripts of

Dies's work (fol. 54r) and in its Old Spanish version *Libro de Albeyteria*, providing instructions for the appropriate treatment (35r–v). Dies's work was a great editorial success in the Old Spanish translation, going through many editions from the late fifteenth century on. Bernat de Casses's manuscript on various aspects of horse care, begun in 1496 and intended for King Fernando though finished in 1544, also deals with the ailment, sometimes using different spellings ("rassa" fol. 8v, "rases" fol. 81v, "raça" fol. 98r). Similarly, equine veterinary works such as Pedro López de Zamora's posthumous 1571 *Libro de albeyteria* use the term *raza* only to refer to the hoof crack (37r–v, 43r–v). Popular treatises on riding techniques such as Hernán Chacón's 1551 *Tractado de la cauallería de la gineta* include veterinary information and similarly describe *raza* as the common ailment and provide possible remedies (42, 47–48). Pedro de Aguilar's hugely popular work on riding technique is his 1572 *Tractado de la caualleria de la gineta*, written in 1570. Aguilar uses the term *raza* only when discussing the common horse ailment in the appropriate section in the book (60r, 61r–62r). The ailment appears mentioned in later books on horseback riding like Bañuelos y de la Cerda's 1605 *Libro de la jineta* (83). Although this *raza* as hoof ailment has a semantic field that is clearly related to the *raza* as line or crack from the vocabulary of textiles, metallurgy and gemology, the term's use in veterinary seems to have been mostly circumscribed to technical language on equine care and not have been as productive in metaphorical and common language usage as the *raza* from the textile and gemological fields. Though the veterinary term is semantically and lexically linked to the gemological and textile *razas*, significantly these latter two were the ones actuated in metaphorical applications for human traits.

6. *Raza* as Metaphor for Inner Faults

The commonplace familiarity of the language of textile and, to a lesser degree, gemstone defects seems to have facilitated its transfer to the language used in the assessment of human behavior and inner qualities and its adoption into texts that aimed to expose the intentional hiding of one's *razas* from the eyes of others. The development of a language of inner human traits could thus be constructed in line with well-established vocabulary that associated *raza* with fault and stain and contrasted visible and invisible traits that encouraged actions of surveillance and uncovering.

The metaphorical use of *raza* and its conceptual mapping were established in the common language by the fourteenth century so that the term functioned with the same meaning of ‘fault’ or ‘defect’ without a need for direct textual allusions to the textile or gemological fields, as may be seen in such works as Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor* (1330–43). In this work, the term appears in a section discussing the power of money and, more concretely, its power over simoniac monks, who make up for their shortcomings and *raças* with money: “con el dinero cunplen sus menguas e sus raças” (504c). *Raça* also appears used in a political context to refer to the ills and problems of the kingdom. Juan Alfonso de Baena (c. 1375–1434 c.), in a poem giving the king political advice, praises the king’s justice for all, big and small, rich and poor, and the king’s success at eradicating all *raças* from his kingdom: “por lo qual señor quitastes / del reino todas las raças” (“Para Rey tan excelente” 766, lines 1183–84). In the poem “Buen Maestro, pues que vedes,” an unnamed author addressed Fray Diego de Valencia (c. 1350–1412 c.) with a biting question on the *raças* that go-betweens cover and that refer to illicit sexual behavior (“pues encubren tales raças”) (*Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* 339, line 16). Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino (c. 1345–1425) criticized the great *raça* of Catalina, whose sexuality was the object of caustic verses: “Para en plaça muy gran raça / te ponen los dezidores” (“In public a great *raza* / the poets place on you”) (*Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* 127, lines 9–10). In contrast, fifteenth-century poet Fray Íñigo de Mendoza addressed his sister, doña María de Herrera, abbess of the Monastery of Las Huelgas, praising her grace without *raza*, such that it could dare being displayed in public (“en plaça”): “una graçia tan sin Raza / con que qualquiera señora / en estos tienpos de agora / Osaria mostrarse en plaça” (“Vos prima de los Herreras,” Dutton 2: 425, lines 22–25). In “Gentilhombre de quien só,” fifteenth-century poet Antón de Montoro, a tailor, advises fellow converso Rodrigo de Cota to be properly clothed when he goes out into public spaces (“plaças”) so that no one will find *raça* or defect in him (“y que no vos pongan Raças”) (Dutton 2: 420, line 202). Similarly, in the rendition of the immensely popular *Disticha Catonis* by Gonzalo García de Santa María, *El Catón en latín y en romance* written in 1493, the reader is encouraged to refrain from exposing a friend’s *razas* in public:

Los vicios e tachas que son vergonçosas
de tus amigos encubre en la plaça;
ca si como necio dixieres la raça

de tu amigo, de las tales cosas
te inculparan, ca son vituperosas”

(The vices and flaws that are shameful / in your friends hide
to the public / for if foolishly you spoke of the *raça* / of your
friends, of such things / you will be blamed / for they are
reproachful) (92, lines 545–49).

Conversely, the same work advises the reader to publicly denounce faults so as not to be accused of having an evil *raza* or of covering up those of others (“encubre mucho maldades ajenas”) (111, line 878):

Lo que tú sabes que es muy mal fecho
nunqua te calles, mas dilo en plaça;
porque, callando, no te noten raça
de ser malvado e muy contrafecho.

(What you know that is very badly done / never keep quiet,
but speak about it in public / so that, for keeping silent, they
will not mark in you *raça* / of being evil and wicked) (111, line
873–76).

Earlier moralistic works had used *raza* in this same sense of personal fault. In his late fourteenth-century *Doctrina*, which contains his advice to follow a Christian life and which continued to be used well into the sixteenth century (Del Piero 6–38), Pedro de Veragüe advises against recurring to slander in order to cover one’s own faults: “Sy por encobryr tus *raças* / yerro de otro profaças, / quando vieres lo que caças, / llorarás” (“If to cover your *raças* / you criticize another’s fault / when you see what you get / you will cry”) (Del Piero 65, st. 104). In his prologue, Veragüe speaks in general but also in particular terms about his own defects, shortcomings, vain and vile habits, and about the errors and stain in which he fell, as well as his guilt (“defectos,” “menguas,” “vanas e viles costumbres,” “yerros e máculas en que caý,” “mjs grandes culpas”) (Del Piero 39–40), framing his work as a consideration of his faults and his repentance. Veragüe further reminds the reader of the duty not to take the name of God in vain, as well as to observe the holidays, to which he adds the advice of avoiding public spaces such as taverns and public areas or squares, of which comes a great *raça*: “Escusa camjnos e caça. / Desto sale muy grand raça: / juegos, tabernas e plaça” (“Avoid roads and hunting. / Great *raça* comes from

this: / gambling, taverns, and the public square”) (Del Piero 47, stanza 28).

In poetry, the contrast *raça-plaçã* played out as ‘hidden defect’ versus ‘public domain’ was buttressed by the shared rhyme of the two words made popular by rhymaries like Guillén de Segovia’s (143 A 15). The various instances in which *raça* is associated in rhyme position with *plaçã* (“public square” and also a “public place or space”), as in the verses by Montoro, Veragüe and Villasandino quoted here, are directly intended to contrast a personal, inner, and unseen *raza* to the public arena, counterposing both spheres, public and private by capitalizing on the semantic field of *raza* as hidden defect.²³ *Raza* thus stands out as an inner defect that was hidden from plain view because it was hard to detect with a cursory glance due to its inner nature or because it was covered by active agents looking to make it invisible. The fifteenth-century author of the poem “Con grandes quexas quede” advised a distrust of polished appearances and dazzling trappings and instead encouraged casting a deep and keen look within a person in order to detect the thousand harmful *razas* they hide:

23. For the central role of the *plaza* as a town’s public space reflected in these texts, see Martín Cea.

no cureys delos arreos
 aquellos no hazen al monje
 que las muestras muy polidas
 son ansi luego engañosas
 mas miradas y tendidas
 tienen de dentro escondidas
 mas de mil raças dañosas

(don’t mind the clothes / for they don’t make the monk /
 because the polished appearances / are at first misleading
 thus / but examined and laid out / they have hidden inside /
 over a thousand harmful *razas*) (Dutton 1: 175, lines 34–40)

Such broadening of the metaphorical uses of *raza* as internal both to individuals and to the beautiful but deceitful clothes that cover them would help build a strong link between *raza* and fault in the context of moralistic and religious discourse. The adoption of *raza* vocabulary into such discourse encouraged the overlap of the semantic fields of *raza* and sin. Palencia’s translation in his *Universal Vocabulario* of the Latin *vitia* from Festus’s *De verborum* as *raças* quoted earlier points to an express link of *raça* and the semantic field denoted by the Latin *vitium*, which Palencia renders as sin, dishonor, blemish

24. Nebrija similarly links *vitium* to defect and sin in his 1492 *Diccionario* (“*Uitium. ij. por la tacha o pecado*”).

and stain marked as perpetual and irrevocable (“*El vicio o tacha es perpetuo por causa no sanable inreuocable;*” “*vitium por pecado es desonrra, fealdad, e manzilla*” entries *Uicium* and *Uitia* respectively.²⁴ Such semantic correspondences clearly helped the use of *raça* to refer to ‘original sin’ in particular, allowing authors like González de Eslava (c. 1534–1601 c.) in his *Obraje divino* (coloquio 1) to build the textile *raza* as an extended metaphor for original sin as the *raza* with which all humans are born:

PENITENCIA. De esta tela el mal nos vino,
 porque en fin cayó la raza
 en este paño tan fino.
 LETRADO. ¿Con qué raza se dañó
 paño de tanta excelencia?
 PENITENCIA. Con raza de inobediencia,
 cuando el mando quebrantó
 de la Suma Providencia.
 LETRADO. ¿Y acá qué culpa tenemos
 de lo que no cometimos?
 PENITENCIA. En Adán todos caímos,
 y con la raza nacemos
 de los padres que tuvimos.

(PENANCE. From this fabric evil came to us, / because the *raza* finally fell / on this thin cloth. / LAWYER. With what *raza* was damaged / cloth of such excellence? / PENANCE. With *raza* of disobedience, / when it broke the command / of the Great Providence. / LAWYER. And here what guilt do we have / of what we did not commit? / PENANCE. In Adam we all fell, / and with the *raza* we are born / of the parents we had) (32).

The conceptualization of original sin as *raza* was tightly intertwined with the ongoing controversies in the medieval and modern periods over the power of baptism to effectively wash sin from converts to Christianity. A strong attempt to end these controversies was made at the Council of Trent, which led to the forceful issuing of a resolution in 1546 affirming the power of baptism, as Alonso de Santa Cruz relates in his *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V* (c. 1550), where he refers to the *raza* of sin: “Y quien negase ser remitida la pena del pecado original por la gracia de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que se infunde con el bautis-

mo, ó afirmase no quitarse todo aquello que traía consigo sabor ó raza [sic] de pecado, fuese descomulgado” (“And whoever denied that the guilt of original sin is remitted by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which is infused through baptism, or claimed it did not take away everything that brought with it flavor or *raza* of sin, would be excommunicated”) (4: 548). Mary’s immaculate conception similarly commanded a vocabulary that incorporated *raza*’s semantic network. The poem “Por ser tan preclara la mas que perfeta” published in the 1511 *Cancionero General*, authored by Mosén Juan Tallante on “Our Lady’s Freedom from Original Sin” (“Otra obra suya sobre la libertad de nuestra señora del pecado original”), used *raça* in the context of Mary’s freedom from original sin and described Mary as “no taca ni raça ni niebla ni humo / mas fulgido templo de gran resplandor” (“neither flaw nor *raça* nor fog nor smoke / but shining temple of great brightness”) (Dutton 5: 119, lines 67–68). Blackness and whiteness, darkness and light, stain and immaculateness were the *raza* axes on which the figure of Mary was articulated in the 1549 *Cancionero espiritual*:

La sapiença bien la nombra
 espejo de resplandor
 immaculado
 no escurescido de sombra,
 ni de raça ni negror,
 ni nublado
 La luz que della salio
 la docto de tal blancura,
 tan sin nota
 que nunca en ella cayo
 manzilla de negregura
 ni vna gota.

(Wisdom well names her / mirror of resplendence / immaculate / not darkened by shadow / or by *raça* or by blackness / nor cloudiness / The light that came from her / gave her such whiteness / so without blemish / that never on her fell / stain of blackness / one single drop) (22–23).

Mary’s whiteness and immaculateness refer both to her body and to her moral qualities and thus help make *raza* somatic in a tangible way. Similar chromatic associations were reflected pictorially in visual art, where the baptism of black recipients is shown to both whit-

en their soul and ‘beautify’ their black skin (Brewer-García; Harpster, esp. 86–90). The link between *raza*, stain, blackness, and baptism in moralistic and religious discourse, along with the emphasis on dichotomic contrasts between inner and public, stained and clean, helped foster a dominant discourse of rightfulness that supported a binary association of cleanliness, perfection, whiteness, and beauty with moral rectitude and Christianity. Conversely, dirt, faults, defects, blackness, sin, moral turpitude, and *raza* were linked to religious minorities and to religious deviance. The continuities between these semantic associations of whiteness and those found in the modern period described by Dyer (esp. 58–60) should be apparent. Echoing Derrick Bell and Cheryl Harris, I would argue that the notion of whiteness worked to assert the hegemonic rights and privileges of Christianity, while giving religious validity to a symbolic conceptual web. These associations would help construct the superiority of whiteness and would strongly factor into the discourse of clean blood in *limpieza* statutes.

7. *Raza* and *Limpieza*

The basis for the statutes of blood purity or *limpieza de sangre* was laid out in Pedro Sarmiento’s 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto*.²⁵ The impactful success of these statutes in the legal discrimination of anyone with Jewish or Muslim “*raza*,” which prevented them from holding office in Church, city and state institutions, is credited to Martínez Silíceo in 1547 (Sicoff 135–91). Silíceo pressed for their institution in Toledo’s church, receiving royal support to the effect: “que no sea admitido ni reçebido en ella por capellán persona que no sea xpiano viejo, sin raça ninguna de converso ni moro” (“that may not be admitted as chaplain any person who is not an old Christian, without *raça* of converso or Moor”) (text in Horozco, *Relaciones* 81). In the language of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, which is generally translated as ‘purity of blood’ but literally means ‘cleanliness of blood,’ there is the consistent formulaic statement requiring that the individual is or should be “of clean people, old Christians, without *raza* of Jews, Moors or anyone condemned by the Inquisition” (“de gente limpia, cristianos viejos, sin raza de judios, moros ni penitenciados por el Santo Oficio”). Founding regulations (“constituciones”), like those of the University of Salamanca’s Colegio de Santa María from 1522, include the questions that must be asked from witnesses

25. The scholarship on the statutes of purity of blood is too numerous to detail. Sicoff’s classic study is a good starting point. See also Hering Torres “Limpieza,” “La limpieza,” Hernández Franco; Pérez García, as well as other studies cited here.

interviewed about any applicant for a post in the Colegio (“opositorres a las prebendas vacantes en este Colegio de Santa Maria”). The witnesses were asked to state if they knew whether or not the applicant and all his past and present relatives were Muslim, Jewish, Marrano, converso or pagan, or whether any of them descended from any such group or had any such stain or *raza*:

que ellos ni ninguno de ellos no es moro, ni judío, ni marrano, ni confeso, ni pagano ni viene ni descende de casta ni linaje ni origen de ellos, ni tenga tal mácula ni raza, ni el dicho N., opositor, haya estado, ni algún ascendiente o pariente suyo, en la Inquisición, antes son de limpia casta y generación de cristianos viejos, y gente honrada, y por tales siempre habidos y tenidos, y, si saben que tenga alguna raza de ello, o está en forma de tenella, declaren por qué línea y parte le toca.

(that they or anyone of them is not a Moor, or Jew, or Marrano, or converso, or pagan nor do they come or descend from a *casta* or lineage or origin of them, or have such a stain or *raza*, nor have the said [Name], applicant, or any ascendant or relative of his, been in the Inquisition, but are rather of clean *casta* and descent of old Christians, and honest people, and by such they have always been taken and considered, and, if they know that he has any such *raza*, or is in shape of having it, let them state by which line and side it touches him) (Sala Balust 290).

Although a detailed examination of the term *casta* used in this and similar texts exceeds the limits of these pages, it should be noted that it is semantically connected to (good) lineage and to the Latin *genus* during the time period, as delineated by Nebrija’s definition, which links all three terms: “Casta: buen linaje. genus .eris” (*Vocabulario*), and later by Covarrubias, who linked it to noble lineage (“Casta. vale linaje noble y castizo, el que es de buena linea, y decendencia”). In contrast, *raza* continued to denote a defect or stain in an individual that was, or was related to, a member of a religious minority. When *linaje* appears in formulaic expressions of *limpieza*, as for example in “*raza* of Jewish lineage,” *raza* clearly refers to the defect carried by an undesirable lineage and is not used as a synonym of *linaje*. The expression is found for example in the 1554 document mandating the adoption of *limpieza* statutes in Granada: “sean xpianos viejos lim-

pios sin ninguna raça de linaje de judíos” (“that they should be clean old Christians without any *raça* of lineage of Jews”) (Horozco, *Relaciones* 80), or in Salucio’s 1599 *Discurso*, where there are various mentions of having “alguna raça” (“some *raça*”) and to “la raza del linaje” (“the *raza* of their lineage”) and “raça de reconciliados” (“*raça* of those reconciled by the Inquisition”) (40, 47). The meaning here is unambiguously a defect in the lineage that was conceptualized as a hereditary condition that was passed on to offspring much like a disease (Gómez-Bravo “Food, Blood,” “El judaísmo”). In some contexts, and within the language of *limpieza*, there appear *razas* not associated with religious minorities but rather with people dedicated to performing degrading manual labor, though from the standpoint of *limpieza* statutes, the *razas* linked to manual work were not considered as damaging, as stated for example in Hermosilla’s 1573 *Diálogo de los pajes* (40). Further, early statute documentation shows a broadening of the field of *limpieza* to include racial minorities from America and Africa alongside religious minorities as may be seen in the Spanish documentation studied by Carabias Torres for 1553–56, which shows that the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Salamanca stipulated that applicants should be “sin raza de moros, ni judios, ni yndios, ni guineanos” (without *raza* of Moors, Jews, Indians, or Guineans) (Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca Ms. 2.224, fol. 84v) (871). In addition, the language of *limpieza* was also projected onto Native American practices, as for example in the explanation provided in Juan de Betanzos’s 1551–57 *Suma y narración de los incas* on the need for the wife of the Inca to be directly (“derechamente”) of Inca lineage, untainted by low-born Guacchaconcha *raza* (“sin que en ella hubiese raza ni punta de Guacha Concha”) (117).²⁶ These conceptual transfers point to the development of overlaps between religious and socioeconomic and racial discrimination that hinged on *limpieza* and a negative *raza*.

26. The Guacchaconchas were poor, low-born relatives: “Guacchaconcha, que quiere decir Deudos de pobre gente e baja generaci3n” (117).

Although *limpieza* statutes have been rightfully given key importance in the development of racialized language and thought, in fact similar or identical language and formulae appear in earlier texts and in different (legal) stipulations and contexts associating *raza* and (bad or diseased) blood. In his 1473 will, Fernan García Barba de Figueroa stipulated that his sons and grandsons must marry “senpre con cristianas vellas e non de pouco convertidas nin infeitas da mala raça de mouros ou judios ou de outra mala sangue” (“always with old Christian women and not recently converted nor infected with the bad *raça* of Moors or Jews or any other bad blood”) (López Ferreiro 32). If they did not comply, they would lose their inheritance rights. As Rucquoi

has remarked, an emphasis on blood as repository of chivalry and a link of chivalry to notions of blood purity appear prominently in texts from the beginning of the fifteenth century (esp. 95–98). The early sixteenth-century *Corónica de Adramón* presents a similar formula in a chivalric context, where the knight utters the oath “that he is engendered from legitimate marriage and that he deserves [the order of chivalry] on account of both his parents and his four grandparents, and that he would deserve it even if it were far greater, for there was not in him or in his ancestors *raça* or mixture of bad blood” (“que es engendrado de legytymo matrymony, y por entranbos padres y sus IIII auelos la mereçe, y sy muy mayor fuese, la mereçya, no avyendo en él ny en sus antecesores rraça ny mescla de mala sangre”) (397). Legal documents and wills would continue to charge heirs to preserve the family’s *limpieza* (“sin raza”), as in the case of Juan de Escobedo and Constanza de Castañeda’s will dated in 1576 (Matilla Tascón 46), or later in Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque de Olivares’s in 1642, which stipulates that the inheritance line be of “limpia sangre de toda mala raza, y de toda infección y mácula” (“blood clean of all bad *raza* and of all infection and stain”) (Matilla Tascón 190).²⁷

27. Wills could also reinforce institutional *limpieza* statutes, as did the 1573 will of Luis de Requesens, which provided for the foundation of a Colegio at the Universidad de Alcalá stipulating as a condition for admission that potential students be “limpios de raza de moro y judío” (Matilla Tascón 25).

28. On Montoro as *mediano* converso and some of his exchanges with Gómez Manrique and other poets, see Gómez-Bravo “Ser social.” A well-known quote from Cervantes in his 1615 *Entremés del retablo de las maravillas* sets a converso *raza* as an impediment to see his plays: “ninguno puede ver las cosas que en él se muestran, que tenga alguna raza de confeso, o no sea habido y procreado de sus padres de legítimo matrimonio; y el que fuere contagiado destas dos tan usadas enfermedades, despídase de ver las cosas, jamás vistas ni oídas, de mi retablo” (976).

Significantly, the phrase “sin raza” used in the wording of the wills cited above is found in the fifteenth century with the same meaning in different (con)texts. Magistrate and poet Gómez Manrique portrays himself as a noble without *raça* (“hidalgo syn rraça”) in his slanderous address to converso poet Antón de Montoro (“Poeta de la nobleza” Dutton 2: 227, line 6).²⁸ The clear implication in the poem is that *raza* left an imprint on the language and therefore the writing of the conversos and was aimed to silence converso poets. Other authors similarly state that good poetic writing is free from *raça* or fault (“trobar sin rraça”), as does fifteenth-century poet García de Astorga in his slanderous “Escudero nunca vi” (Dutton 1: 181, line 16). The opposition between the writing abilities of a noble without *raza* and those of a converso was further emphasized in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poetry and other texts as part of the arguments for or against an individual’s abilities in royal and municipal administration. The language of *raza* and *limpieza* also appears as common language when referring to the quality of individuals and their ability to serve the monarchy. One such example is the report that Galíndez de Carvajal wrote for King Carlos V around 1522, when there were still members of the king’s Counsel that had served under Queen Isabel and King Fernando. In the document, Galíndez de Carvajal informs the king on what he knows about a particular individual being “limpio” or having “una raza

de converso” (“a *raza* of converso”) (126) or whether someone “tiene un poco de converso” (“has a bit of converso”) (124, 125). *Limpieza* formulae similarly appear in petitions (*memoriales*) to the king involving proofs of nobility and clean blood documents for Spaniards looking to be given benefits in Spain or abroad, as for example in Juan de Ocón y Trillo’s 1596 *memorial* asking for an official post in the Indies where he states he is “de limpia generaci3n, sin ninguna rraça” (“of clean generation, with no *raça*”). Oc3n y Trillo requests that it be certified that he and all his family, past and present, are old Christians, of clean generation, with no *raza* of anyone condemned by the Inquisition: “de limpia generaci3n, sin ninguna rraça” (Fern3ndez 449, 451). Even the requirements to be in the Monteros de Espinosa, the king’s bodyguards, included that of being “of clean lineage, without *raza* of Moor or Jew” (“de linage limpio, sin raça de Moro, ni Judio”) (Argote de Molina, *Discurso sobre la Montería*, published with its own pagination at the end of his edition of the *Libro de la Montería*, 3v). The pressure mounted throughout the Iberian kingdoms to adopt the statutes as condition for appointment into the royal administration and city government, leaving out those with “*raza* de Moro, Judio, o Penitenciado por el Santo Oficio” (“*raza* of Moor, Jew or condemned by the Holy Office”), or “los que tuvieren alguna mala *raza*” (“those who had a bad *raza*”), and requiring appointees to be “limpios” through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as may be seen for example in the laws of the Kingdom of Navarra (Elizondo 485–88). The language of *limpieza* helped push the metaphorical adaptation of *raza* as inner personal defect into religious and legal discourse by building on a semantic network that included stain, old nobility, and cleanliness, which were projected as internal and predicated upon the blood and were thought to correlate with mental abilities. It is significant that *raza* would acquire a positive meaning in a systematized way during the second half of the sixteenth century through an innovation in royal administrative writing that was adopted by legal language. This other, positive *raza* coexisted with *raza* as defect or flaw without overlap until their semantic fields started moving closer together at a later period.

8. *Raza* as Positive Mark

Raza acquired a positive semantic field as a result of a royal initiative to create a particular horse breed marked by branding and resulting from selective breeding. In Spanish, the link between *raza* and horse

29. The full definition reads: “Raza: la casta de cauallos castizos, a los cuales señalan con hierro para que sean conocidos. Raza en el paño, la hilaza que diferencia de los demas hilos de la trama. Parece auerse dicho quasi Reaza, porque aza en lengua Toscana vale hilo, y la raza en el paño sobrepuesto desigual. Raza en los linages se toma en mala parte, como tener alguna raza de Moro, o Iudio.”

30. The royal *privilegio* for its publication was granted in 1601. On del Rosal and his work see Gómez Aguado’s introductory study in *Diccionario* (XIII–XXI).

31. The entry in del Rosal’s work reads: “Raça, falta en el paño, es Ráritas, y así la llamaron Raléa que era rareza de pelo, y despues pasó a significar la falta de Linage, que así tambien decimos hablando del Linage: en el mejor paño cae la mancha. Después pasó a significar el Linage y Descendencia indiferentemente. Aunque Raça de paño parece del Griego Racos, que es el paño ruin y roto. Pero Raça de sol, Racha, o Raja, del Griego Ragas, que es la hendedura en la madera; y de allí Raya, que es señal de la hendedura.”

breeding has greatly rested on the entry in Sebastián de Covarrubias’s 1611 *Tesoro*, which also includes the other semantic fields of *raza* that have been discussed here. In his dictionary, Covarrubias explains in very clear terms the different meanings of the word in the entry *raza*, which can mean ‘stock,’ the *casta* or breed of thoroughbred (“castizos”) horses that are marked with an incandescent iron so that they may be clearly identifiable. After referring to the textile *raza*, Covarrubias gives the meaning of *raza* in relation to humans, stating that “when in reference to lineages, *raza* is taken as a negative term, meaning for example having a *raza* of Moor or Jew.”²⁹ This latter meaning also appears in his entry for “Old Christian:” “Cristiano Viejo, el hombre limpio que no tiene raza de Moro, ni de Iudio. Christiano nuevo por el contrario” (“Old Christian, the clean man that does not have *raza* of Moor or of Jew. New Christian is its opposite”). In contrast, Covarrubias links *generoso* (of noble descent) to *raza* in horses but not in humans. It should be noted that Covarrubias was not the first to provide such detailed meaning of *raza*. It is in Francisco del Rosal’s etymological dictionary *Origen y Etimología de todos los vocablos originales de la Lengua Castellana*, written well before Covarrubias’ and published c. 1610,³⁰ that the negative sense of *raza* first appears applied to humans in a dictionary. Del Rosal is very explicit in explaining the meaning of *raza* as a result of merging semantic fields and etymologies that held overlap. He explains that *raza* refers to a defect in the weave, from which it came to mean a fault in the lineage, quoting a version of the well-known proverb “the stain can fall on the best cloth.” Del Rosal lists a third and last step in the semantic transformation of the word *raza*, which from a defect in the weave and in lineage became a term simply meaning lineage or descent. Significantly, he makes the conceptual link between *raza* and ‘crack’ and ‘lines’ through etymology, making *raza*’s semantic shifts rest on the Greek terms meaning ‘meager and broken,’ ‘crack,’ and ‘line’ from which *raza* would have originated.³¹ Regardless of the soundness of these etymologies, del Rosal’s dictionary shows an awareness of semantic correspondences and of metaphorical innovations applied to humans that are the result of conceptual mappings. Although del Rosal does not openly acknowledge it, a meaning of *raza* ‘simply’ referring to lineage hinged on a complex and particular development regarding animal biology and reproduction that is documented in the fifteenth century and gained traction in the sixteenth, and one that brought *raza* and *casta* further together, as explained in the next pages.

32. “Enxiemplo: toma dos hijos, uno de un labrador, otro de un cavallero; criense en una montaña so mando e disciplina de un marido e muger. Verás cómo el fijo del labrador todavía se agradará de cosas de aldea, como arar, cavar, e traer leña con bestias; e el fijo del cavallero non se cura saluo de andar corriendo a cavallo, e traer armas, e andar arreado. Esto procura naturaleza. Así lo verás de cada día en los logares do byvieres; que el bueno e de buena rraça todavía rretrae dó viene, e el desaventurado de vil rraça e linaje, por grande que sea e mucho que tenga, nunca rretraerá synón a la vileza donde desçiende; e aunque se cubra de paño de oro, nin se arree como enperador, non le está lo que trahe synón como cosa enprestada, o como asno en justa o torneio” (108–109). Just before this passage, there appears a parallel statement: “En esto conosçerás tú las personas, quáles de rraýz buena o mala vyenen; que el que de linaje bueno viene, apenas mostrará synón dónde viene, aunque en algo paresça, todavía rretrae dónde viene; pero el vyl e de poco estado e linaje, sy fortuna le administra byenes, estado, onrra e manera, luego se desconosçe e rretrae dónde viene, aunque mucho se quiera ynfingir en mostrarse otro que non es, como algunos han acostunbrado de lo asý fazer. Pero es verdad quel fijo de la cabra una ora a de balar, e el asno, fijo de asno, de rrebuznar, pues naturalmente le viene” (108). The main source of Martínez de Toledo’s work is the third book of Andreas Capellanus’s *De amore, De reprobatione amoris* (c. 1185), which he translates until the beginning of the interpolated passages, ending abruptly.

Although *raza* in an animal context appears mostly in reference to a crack in the hoof of equines, as seen above, a particular passage in Alfonso Martínez de Toledo’s 1438 *Arcipreste de Talavera*, also known as *Corbacho*, has often been cited, starting with Lida, as the singular and earliest example showing *raza* as linked to humans (176). The passage is noteworthy because of the links it shows to the vocabulary of horses. According to the exemplum narrated in the text, you can take two sons, one of a farmer and the other of a gentleman and bring them up together away in a mountain under the care of the same husband and wife. You will see, the text argues, that the son of the laborer will delight in toiling the land and in being among the beasts. On the contrary, the son of the gentleman will naturally lean toward horseback riding and will put his care in arms and other such accoutrements. This you will see day after day, says the text, that one who is “good and of good *raza*” will always show his origin. However, the wretch that comes from a vile *raza* and lineage, however high he climbs and however much he obtains, will always betray the villainy from which he descends. Because of the attention this passage has received, it is important to understand the details of its origin. The passage appears to be an interpolation of unexplained origin that breaks the narrative and that, as Ciceri points out in the introduction to her edition of Martínez de Toledo’s book, appears without any attempt of a justification, and interrupts the narrative to the point where it is rendered meaningless (18, 37–38).³² Presumably, the interpolation would have been introduced after 1438, when the author states he finished his work. The extant manuscript, copied by Alfonso de Contreras, dates from 1466 and contains the interpolation, as do the later print versions. In addition to such breaks in the narrative, Ciceri has shown the many divergencies between the manuscript and print textual traditions, all of which present errors and other problems, most recently in the introductory study to her edition (31–39). To complicate matters further, just before the quoted passage, there is an almost identical one that conveys similar content on the importance of lineage, but one where the term *raza* is absent, with *raíz* (“root”) and *estado* (“estate”) appearing as the terms linked to *linaje*. The passage states that those from a “good or bad root” will show their origins, that those of good lineage (“linaje bueno”) will always show themselves as such, while the “vile and of lowly estate and lineage” will always appear accordingly regardless of their attempts to disguise where they come from (108–09). The two passages would thus seem to point to two different interpolations, as sig-

naled for instance in the use of different renderings of the repeated phrase “dó viene” and “dónde viene.” At this point, it will be useful to review other early documentation of Old Spanish *raça* in relation to genealogy and animal breeding, starting with Manuel Dies’s veterinary treatise discussed before. The Old Spanish translation of Dies’s work follows the Catalan text closely in many parts, including, most notably, a key section in the first chapter, which introduces some considerations on horse breeding. Among other instructions, the text itemizes the ideal characteristics in a stallion for, it states, horses above all other animals take after their fathers. For this reason, anyone desiring “to have good and beautiful *raça* and *casta*” must carefully select a good stallion as well as a suitable mare:

Capitulo primero, en que manera deue el cauallo ser engendrado. El cauallo deue ser engendrado de garañon que aya buen pelo y sea bien sano y muy enxuto de manos, canillas, rodillas y pieses, y deuen mirar en esto mucho que en el no haya mal vicio alguno, porque entre todos los animales no se falla otro que al padre tanto sea semejante en las bondades, belleza, ni talle, ni en el pelo, y por el contrario en todo lo malo, por ende mucho es necesario a qualquier persona que hauer codicia *raça* o *casta* buena y hermosa, cercar garañon muy escogido en pelo, tamaño, y en la bondad, y la yegua crecida y bien formada y de buen pelo.

(First chapter, in which manner the horse should be engendered. The horse must be engendered by a stallion that has a good coat and is very healthy and has slender front hooves, shins, knees and back hooves, and they must very much see that it has no bad vice, because among all the animals there is not another that is so similar in goodness, beauty, or size, or in the hair to the father, and conversely in all bad traits, therefore it is very necessary to anyone who covets having a good and beautiful *raça* or *casta*, to look for a stallion that has choice hair, size and goodness, and a mare that is fully grown and well-formed and has a good coat) (1499: 7r).

The Old Spanish text closely follows the Catalan and translates “*rasa ho casta*” (14v) verbatim as “*raça o casta*.” It is important to note that the term was an innovation in Dies’s Catalan text, as it is absent from the *Libro de los caballos*, its thirteenth-century source, and from its

33. For the manuscripts, editions, and sources of Dies's work, see Cifuentes and Ferragud.

main source, the *Liber marescalcie* by the Italian Lorenzo Rusio, which favors the term “generare.”³³ The Catalan text is also of interest for our purposes here because it uses the verbal form *retraga*, from *retraure* (‘to resemble, to take after’), which the Old Spanish translation renders “sea semejante,” but which we find in the interpolations in Martínez de Toledo’s section discussed before. Significantly, the interpolation found in Martínez de Toledo’s passage quoted previously contains a reference to the equine context counterposing the legitimate thoroughbred horse and the ass interloper, stating that even if the one of “vile *raza* and lineage” covers himself in gold cloth or gets decked out as an emperor, he will wear such attributes like something borrowed, like an ass in a joust or tournament” (full quote in note 32 above). These testimonies are meaningful because of their early date and because of the link they seem to point between this text and Catalan language on horses. It is well known that Alfonso Martínez de Toledo frequently traveled to Catalan-speaking areas and that his writings show the impact of Catalan, as they contain a number of Catalanisms (Padilla Carmona). However, though the language of the passage does appear to reveal links to Catalan, the fact that the text in question is an interpolation makes the matter of its origin more complicated, as it is not clear that it was penned by Martínez de Toledo. Another similar, though not identical, usage of *raça* in Catalan is found in Jaume Roig’s misogynistic *Spill* or “Mirror” (c. 1460), which blames women for seeking noble husbands, of old *raça* (“d’antiga raça”) (line 503). Significantly, a second Catalan text, Francesc Oliver’s fifteenth-century translation of the well-known French work by Alain Chartier *La Belle Dame sans merci* includes ‘rassa’ as an innovation of the Catalan translation. Thus, the French line “Qui a faulcon, oisel ou chien” is rendered into Catalan as “Qui ha falcó, ocell ho ca de rassa” (35, line 385). However isolated, these instances do show the development of the term in Catalan as well as points of contact with Old Spanish. Other isolated instances show that the term *raza* in Old Spanish bore a particular association with horses.

Although most early Spanish attestations of *raza* are found in a veterinary context as discussed earlier, the few that appear in other contexts are always in reference to horses, and, in particular, to horses owned by *caballeros*, nobles, or other notable figures. One instance is *Siervo libre de amor*, written c. 1439 and in which its author Juan Rodríguez del Padrón talks about a *raza* of wild horses that descends from the horses, mares and palfreys of the noble protagonists,

Ardanlier and Liessa: “cauallos saluajes de aquella raça” (“wild horses of that *raça*”) (106). Similarly, in a 1516 document, King Carlos refers to “the colts of our *rraça*” (“los potros de nuestra *rraça*”) (Cedillo 474), and fray Antonio de Guevara (1521–43) talks of a “*raça de caballos*” in reference to the Greek Diomedes’s horses (*Epístolas familiares* 158), from which issued the famed horse Seyano, named after its owner, the Roman Consul Gneo Seyano. The same author uses the phrase “*cavallos de buena raça*” in reference to horses in the stables of the “great lords” (“grandes señores”), whose groom’s efforts to tame such horses serve as a comparison to the work of tutors (“ayos”) of young princes and lords in his 1529 *Relox de príncipes* (666). Published in 1544, Cristóbal de Castillejo’s *Diálogo de mujeres* uses a related comparison when alluding to women’s reproductive role as mares ‘of *raça*’; “Es razón / que sirvan de lo que son, / como cavallos de caça / o como yeguas de raça / para la generación” (“It is reasonable / that they serve for what they are for / like hunting horses / or like mares of *raça* / for reproduction”) (77, lines 390–94). In his 1549 translation of Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, Jerónimo de Urrea generally uses *raza* where the Italian text reads *razza* in relation to horses, as well as to male individuals in a chivalric and warfaring context. Urrea obviously expected *raza* in such textual context – often in rhyme position – and as translation to be intelligible to a Spanish public. However, the lack of direct correspondence between Spanish *raza* and Italian *razza* in common language during the period is evident in Cristóbal de las Casas dictionary, his 1570 *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*, where the Spanish *raça* appears only with the meaning of “sunray” and with that of the textile *raça* (“*Raça del sol*,” “*Raça de paño*”) (228v). The Italian *razza* is paired with *casta* and *generación* in both the Italian *razza* and the Spanish “*casta o generación*” entries (“*Razza: Casta o generacion*”) (114v), (“*Casta o generacion. Prole, razza*”) (173r).

The number of cases in Old Spanish using *raza* in an animal context before the second half of the sixteenth century is significant in its scarcity. Old Spanish texts seem to have resisted the adoption of the term *raza* in the context of horse breeding. Apart from Dies’s translated work, treatises on horse husbandry and veterinary simply do not use the term *raza* except when discussing the hoof ailment. A case in point is that of Pedro de Aguilar’s *Tractado de la caualleria de la gineta* mentioned previously. On chapter 5 on the “*generacion de los cauallos*” (“horse breeding”), where Aguilar emphasizes the importance of the stallions and mares being of good *casta*, Aguilar

uses the geminated expressions “casta y origen” and “generacion y linaje” where Dies’s work had used *raça* and repeats the usual assertion that horses more than any other animal take after their parents and grandparents: “La casta y origen de los cauallos se viene totalmente a perder y disminuir por no tener cuenta con su generacion y linaje, porque para tener entera bondad y virtud se requiere que sean de muy buena casta y origen. Porque entre todos los animales no se halla otro que tanto en lo bueno a sus padres y abuelos semeje como el cauallo y por el contrario en todo lo malo” (“The *casta* and origin of the horses is totally lost and diminished by not caring for their generation and lineage, because to have complete goodness and virtue it is required that they be of very good *casta* and origin. Because among all the animals there is none other that resembles their parents and grandparents both in their good properties as well as in all bad ones as the horse”) (5v–6r). Aguilar’s work does use the term *raza* only when discussing the common horse ailment in the appropriate section later in the book (60r, 61r–62r). Similarly, veterinary works such as Pero López de Zamora’s *Libro de albeyteria* use the term *raza* only to refer to the hoof ailment (43r–v, 50v, 88v) but favor *casta* when discussing breeding. Most authors share López de Zamora’s understanding of the vital importance of controlling horse breeding, for horses of bad *casta* cannot produce good horses:

y muchas vezes las males [*sic*] condiciones y efectos y enfermedades de los cauallos vienen del defecto y culpa de la generacion, y porque de cauallos de ruyn casta naturalmente no pueden salir cauallos leales y buenos, conuiene que haya para este proposito cauallos buenos, de buen tamaño, talle y color. En el Andaluzia, que es el origen y fundamento de la casta y linaje de los Cauillos de España, hay orden y constitucion en todas las ciudades, villas y lugares donde hay casta de los tales cauallos, que sacan y nombran vna persona principal que tenga cuidado y obligacion (porque no se pierda la casta de los buenos cauallos) de buscar para el dicho efecto de la generacion dellos, cauallos castizos, de ley, de buen tamaño, color y talle, y de buen concierto, carrera y boca, y bien juntado de pies y manos, y sanos de todas las pasiones y enfermedades ordinarias que se hazen en pies y manos.

(and many times, the bad conditions and effects and diseases of the horses come from the defect and fault of the genera-

tion, and because from horses of base *casta* cannot come loyal and good horses naturally, it is advisable that there be good horses, of good size, shape and color for this purpose. In Andalucía, which is the origin and foundation of the *casta* and lineage of the Horses of Spain, there is order and constitution in all cities, towns and places where there is *casta* of such horses, for them to select and name an important person to have the charge – so that the *casta* of the good horses is not lost – to search, for the said purpose of their generation, *castizo* horses, of legal measurements, of good size, color and shape, and of good conformation, gallop, and mouth, and with naturally well-situated front and back hooves, and free from all afflictions and illnesses that ordinarily appear in the hooves) (1r).

López de Zamora adds a long, emphatic explanation on how any illness or ailment in the father has been observed to be passed on to the offspring. The references to Andalucía are meant to point directly to King Felipe II's efforts, as we will see in the next pages.

Significantly, considerations on horse breeding also appear prominently in legal texts, where the term *raza* is conspicuously absent. Fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century legislation on horses appears primarily concerned with ensuring the steady supply of a sufficient number of horses suitable for use in war. The *Novísima Recopilación* repeats the laws by Kings Enrique III and Enrique IV, and by Queen Isabel and King Fernando (3: 606–07), which are also quoted in Hugo de Celso's 1538 *Reportorio* (entry "cauallos"), forbidding taking horses out of the kingdom and fostering the breeding of horses ("de buena casta") over the more profitable one of mules.³⁴ The texts of the 1537 Valladolid, 1538 Toledo, 1548 Valladolid, and 1559 Toledo *Cortes* denounce the loss of the horse *castas* due to the neglect of their owners and of the towns and establish protective measures (*Cortes* 4: 678; 5: 106–07, 455, 850). Legal texts mandate the protection of horses and mares that had the characteristics considered optimal for breeding. The desirable characteristics were those that made the horses ideal for use in warfare and were carried by the mares who would transmit such characteristics to their offspring. One of the key features was height (*marca*), but gait and gallop, mouth, color, shape, disposition and lack of hereditary diseases were also very much considered. The different colors of the horse's coat and particular birth marks were assigned a value as they were under-

34. City ordinances mirror this legislation. For instance in Córdoba (González Jiménez *et al.* 289–91, 297, 497).

35. Protective measures also included stringent legislation, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, forbidding the sale or the smuggling of horses out of the kingdom. See for example Ezquerro Revilla; Carmona Ruiz.

stood to correlate with horse temperament. Beauty was also valued for itself and as a sign of quality. Laws were significantly expanded in 1562 when King Felipe II built on laws issued by previous monarchs that forbade the use of male donkeys for breeding with mares and mandated that only specially-selected horses and mares of good *casta* be used, also ordering towns to keep a demarcated space for breeding. The king assigned heavy fines for those not following the law and gave tax exemptions to horse owners as well as other incentives (*Novísima Recopilación* 3: 606–08).³⁵ King Felipe II issued a similar royal provision for the towns in 1563, heading the document with a reference to the sad neglect of the horse “*cría y raza*” and the lack of horses in the kingdom, favoring the use of *casta* elsewhere in the lengthy document (text in Galende Díaz and García Ruipérez 191–92).

All the legislation regarding horse breeding from medieval times until the latter part of the sixteenth century, including that issued by King Felipe II, overwhelmingly uses the term *casta*, often paired with *cría* (meaning “*procreación de los animales*” or “*animal reproduction*” in Covarrubias) in the geminated expression “*casta e cría*,” and often repeats the goal of controlling horse breeding using the formulaic expression “*para que la casta de los caballos se conserve y aumente así en número como en bondad*” (“so that the *casta* of horses may be preserved and increased both in number and goodness”). The term *raza* appears sporadically in legislation during this time span, at times with “*de casta*,” “*de raza*,” “*de marca*” (used in reference to height) used interchangeably when referring to protected horses (for example the 1542 Navarrese prohibition to taking horses out of the kingdom, Elizondo 770). The first time the term *raza* appears in the *Novísima Recopilación* is in the 1669 laws by King Carlos II, who adds fines and prohibitions to the laws issued by his predecessors, but for the first time introduces the term in the text of the law in reference to protective measures for horse “*razas*” (3: 609). The term appears in the *Novísima Recopilación* from that date onward. The qualitative semantic leap of *raza* attested by the legislation of 1669 had taken place a century earlier through a purposeful effort on horse breeding by King Felipe II.

In contrast with its scattered uses documented in earlier texts in reference to horse breeds, the term *raza* starts to be consistently used in 1567, in the specific context of the efforts to create a controlled horse breed by King Felipe II at the newly established stables in the city of Córdoba. Following the many documented laments of the loss of good horse *castas* seen above, purportedly the king’s first and fore-

36. On the selection process that led to the specific physical configuration of the ‘pure race’ Spanish horse see Altamirano. The particular characteristics (“calidades”) of the “raça y deçendencia” (9) and “orígen y raça” (11) of these horses (Guzmanes or Valenzuelas) were praised in Bañuelos y de la Cerda’s 1605 *Libro de la jineta* (esp. 9–17). The term is almost exclusively applied to horse breeds. One exception is Fernández de Oviedo’s mention of a Castilian pig breed “raza o casta de Castilla” newly introduced by the Spanish in Cubagua (2: 194).

37. On the constitution of the Cordoban stables, see also García Cano, “Caballerizas.” Although traditionally these horses have been called *andaluces* or Andalusian, scholars such as Altamirano have argued that the more accurate term is *españoles* or Spanish.

most efforts were directed toward creating a special horse breed (“raza”) that would be his own, and which would be achieved through careful selection of horses and mares in order to achieve a breed with the ideal horse traits.³⁶ The purposefully selected horses that resulted from these efforts have been credited for becoming the renowned Andalusian (Spanish) horses as stated for example in López de Zamora’s *Libro de albeyteria* quoted above and in the work of contemporary scholars like Altamirano.³⁷

A great number of the extensive documentation relating to King Felipe II’s own newly created stables in Córdoba is housed at the Archivo General de Simancas in Valladolid. The significance of this specific royal documentation for the constitution of a Spanish horse breed or *raza* has been underscored by scholars such as Altamirano and Renton. The language of the documentation is highly significant in that it uses *raza* in a way that is unprecedented because it is purposeful and systematic. Significantly, Alfonso Carrillo Lasso, *caballerizo mayor* (stablemaster) of the royal Cordoban stables during 1622–25, published a book on the Cordoban stables (*Caballeriza de Córdoba*) in 1625, where he offered a definition of *raza*: “Que cosa es Raza: Para declararme bien he menester dezir que cosa es Raza. Es vna deçendencia de padres a hijos, hermosos los vnos y los otros por la mayor parte experimentada por muchos años, y estimada de todos, las demas no se llaman razas, ni castas, porque acaso sale vno bueno” (“What *Raza* Is. In order to explain myself correctly, I need to state what *Raza* is. [*Raza*] is a descent from fathers to sons, beautiful the former and the latter, for the most part proven through many years and esteemed by all; the others are not called *razas*, nor *castas*, because there may just be a good one that comes from them”) (ch. 6, 15–16). It is clear that Carrillo Lasso was conscious about the fact that this particular use of the term, which he directly linked to the king’s efforts in his book, was newly minted and needed to be explained. Thus, here we see the semantic shift of *raza* moving in step with royally mandated changes in breeding practices, to gain a more focused meaning of selective breeding. Initially, the term *raza* appears frequently combined with *cría* or with *casta* in the documentation, in part as an effort to disambiguate a term that had long-established associations with defects and horse ailments. The term *cría* served to clearly approximate *raza* to the semantic field of reproduction, while the term *casta* associated it with both lineage and procreation. Although the term *casta* also appears in the documentation relating to the royal regulations discussed here, sometimes in the geminated ex-

38. *Raza* appears paired with *casta* several times in these documents, for example in one by King Felipe II regarding the financing of his Cordoban stable in 1567: “se compren yeguas de vientre conforme a la orden que sobre ella hemos mandado dar para la raza y casta de caballos que hemos mandado hacer en el Andalucía” (Altamirano, *Historia*: 67); and in other royal documentation related to the king’s *raza* initiative: “Por cuanto en la bondad y calidad de los padres que se han de echar a las dichas yeguas y en la orden y modo que ha de haber en echarlos consiste principalmente la buena casta y raza de los potros y caballos” (Altamirano, *Historia*: 71).

39. I explore the conceptual developments surrounding *casta* in the medieval and early modern periods in a separate study, currently in preparation.

40. For example in documents in Ezquerria Revilla 275–80, and in city ordinances like Plasencia’s (Lora Serrano 322, 325–26).

41. “que se comprase cierta cantidad de yeguas de vientre para la raza de caballos que hemos mandado criar en el Andalucía” (Altamirano, *Historia* 71). “reservando los padres que son menester para la dicha Raza” (Altamirano, *Historia* 77); “se comience, conserve y acreciente la raza” (Altamirano, *Historia* 133); “De la raza se han multiplicado más de novecientas cabezas” (Altamirano, *Historia* 143); “Y como quiera que está ordenado las yeguas que ha de haber en esa Raza” (Altamirano, *Historia* 147).

pression “*raza e casta*,” the two terms *raza* and *casta* are not used interchangeably.³⁸ The term *casta* continued to be used with the meaning found in Nebrija and later in Covarrubias and del Rosal, as related to ‘lineage,’ *genus*, ‘generation’ and ‘procreation.’³⁹ In contrast, the specific semantic and syntactical uses of *raza* do point to a particular meaning that combines selective breeding with ownership and branding marks, and is also used in a very situated way to allude to the particular horses in the royal Cordoban stable. In the documentation relating to the royal initiative and the subsequent legislation mandated for the towns, references to “*cría y casta*” are replaced or accompanied by a new emphasis on the “*cría y raza*.”⁴⁰ The telling expressions that are used throughout the royal documentation point to a very specific meaning of *raza* as the particular breed of royal horses being created in the Cordoban stable, for example: “*crezca y se aumente la dicha raza*” (“the said *raza* may grow and increase”) (Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 45); “*conseruación y acrescentamiento de la raza de cauallos que tenemos en la ciudad de Córdoba*” (“preservation and incrementation of the *raza* of horses we have in the city of Córdoba”) (Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 101); “*caualleriça y raça*” (“stable and *raza*”) or conversely “*raça y caualleriça*” (for example in Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 45, 48, 54, 58, 59, 80, 84, 88); “*mi raza y caballeriza de Córdoba*” (“my *raza* and stable in Córdoba”) (Altamirano, *Historia* 77); “*Raza de su Magestad*” (“His Majesty’s *Raza*”) (Carrillo Lasso 23). Similarly, along with his *raza* (“*mi raza*”), King Felipe II created the new post of “governor of the *raza*” (“*gobernador de la raza*”) in 1567 (Altamirano, *Historia* 151, doc. AGS 273). Syntactically, the term *raza* is used in these documents as a determinate noun preceded by ‘the’ (“*la raza*”) or ‘my’ (“*mi raza*”). Thus, many references are not to “*caballos de raza*,” which might be interpreted as “purebred” or “thoroughbred,” but to “*caballos de la raza*” or “*de mi raza*” (“horses of the *raza*,” “of my *raza*”) always in reference to the horses in the Cordoban stable and thus meaning ‘of this particular brand or *raza* of horses.’ Similarly, royal documentation talks of “the *raza* of horses that we have ordered be raised in Andalucía,” the horse fathers reserved “for the said *raza*,” with efforts successfully reported as having multiplied into nine hundred heads of “the *raza*,” and other such expressions.⁴¹ Diego Ramírez de Haro’s sixteenth-century *Tratado de la brida y gineteta* echoes the calls in the legislation for protective measures of horse breeding in his treatise on “*la raça*,” which contains familiar advice throughout his work about selection and breeding as well as ide-

al characteristics of “la raza,” “la nueva raza” (“the new *raça*”), “la buena raza” (“the good *raça*”) or “nuestra raza” (“our *raça*”).

After 1567, and due to the adoption of royal measures, the term *raza* grows in use and consolidates a specialized meaning that associates *raza* with selectively and purposefully bred horses that are branded with iron so as to be recognized, which in fact exactly matches the first definition of *raza* offered in Covarrubias’s dictionary (“Raza: la casta de cauallos castizos, a los quales señalan con hierro para que sean conocidos”).⁴² The link between *raza*, horses and branding marks also appears in the entry *marca* or mark in Covarrubias’s dictionary, where he links it to horse *raza*: “A los cauallos de raza les ponen su marca o hierro” (“Horses of *raza* are given their mark or iron”). In fact, the 1572 instructions for the establishment of the king’s Cordoban *raza* state that the Cordoban stables need to staff a farrier or *herrador* to mark the colts with the king’s iron brand, and specify that the colts (“potros”) are to be branded every April (García Cano “Caballerizas” 70–71). The documentation explicitly links *raza* and *marca*: “los caballos de mi raza y con mi marca” (“the horses of my *raza* and with my brand”) (Altamirano, *Historia* 75). The brand of the Cordoban stables would be a crowned R (or a variation) to signal royal ownership (Altamirano, *Historia* 97). Branding was by necessity also practiced by some of the staff on their own horses, since one of the perks offered to some of stable’s staff (a *yegüero* in this case) was the ability to keep their mares in the royal facilities, though they were marked accordingly: the 1617 will of Diego Alonso states he had “siete yeguas de vientre questán de mi hierro y señal” (“seven reproductive mares that have my iron brand and mark”) in the king’s demarcated pastures (“dehesas”) (Aranda Doncel and Martínez Millán 116). A brand (*hierro*) that gained particular renown was that in the shape of a heart used to mark the famous horse breed created by Juan de Valenzuela (Bañuelos y de la Cerda’s *Libro de la jineta* 16). Although it was practiced since earlier centuries, it eventually became mandatory for all owners to mark their horses with owner-specific brands (“hierros i sellos propios,” law of 1671, *Tomo tercero* 295). Earlier legislation includes the 1586 laws on horse breeding for Navarra, which refer to the branding (“señalar,” “marcar,” “marca,” “señalados”) of the mares and horses approved for breeding and to their offspring as an established practice (Elizondo 911–12). Branding for discarded (“desechados”) offspring with a *D* would also become mandatory later (law of 1750, *Novísima Recopilación* 611). Although unrelated to the king’s *raza* efforts, it

42. Significantly, in his *Orlando furioso*, Urrea keeps the lexical and conceptual association between *raza* and brand in his rendering of “Altri dicean: — Come stan bene insieme / segnati ambi d’un marchio e d’una razza!” literally, linking *marca* and *raza*: “Decían otros: -Bien son para en uno, / de propia marca y raza señalados” (Canto XVIII, stanza 89, p. 1126–27).

should be noted here that, at a time of active slave trade in Spain, iron branding would help create associations between the bodies of horses and the bodies of slaves, who, like horses, were iron branded (*herrados*), in their case with an S and a nail (*clavo*), thus marking an individual as slave or *es-clavo*. Slaves were also often branded with the slave owner's name and his city of residence. Tangible socioeconomic links between slaves as human chattel and equines were further signaled in sale transactions, as slaves commanded similar prices to those of mules and horses.⁴³

King Felipe II's efforts to purposefully create a horse *raza* were extended to horse breeding outside of his royal stables and orders were issued to the cities so that the same amount of purposeful selection and breeding would be exercised by local town authorities, with a particular emphasis that the horses and mares used for breeding come from Andalucía. The royal "raza," branded with the king's mark, was intended to provide the seed for others since the king allowed the excess horses, or the "fruit resulting from the *raza*," not needed for his service to be sold "at advantageous prices" and the mandatory approval of the stallions by local authorities was waived (documents in Altamirano, *Historia* 77, 79). Similarly, the geminated expression "raza y cría de caballos," used in royal orders (*cédulas reales*) related to the creation of Córdoba's dedicated pastures or *dehesas* for the benefit of the king's *raza* starting in 1573, was mirrored by the language of city regulations (García Cano *La Córdoba* 563–80). *Raza* language and royal regulations were widely adopted as part of city ordinances, as may be seen in the case of the town of Écija (in Martín Ojeda 298–304). Écija's city ordinances were confirmed by a royal document in 1576. These ordinances regulated breeding practices that their language states may help avoid causing damage to "the horse *raça*" and help increase the "*raça y cría*," avoiding the general destruction of the horse *raça*.⁴⁴ These ordinances also provide for the creation of designated pasture land so as to remedy the harm caused by poor pastures to the horse *raça* ("quán diminuida está la *raça* de los cavallos por razón de los ruines pastos" 303). The language of *raza* as linked to horse breeding appears in other city ordinances following the same timeline. For example, the ordinances of the city of Carmona regulate horse breeding and use only the term *casta* until 1568, when the term *raza* appears alongside the newly created pasture enclosures (*dehesas*) destined for horse breeding and care (in González Jiménez 95–101, 150–51, *raza* in 151n). Thus, *raza* appears marked not only through branding but also by spatial demarcations

43. Covarrubias, s.v. "esclavo," gives a different (learned) reading of these markings, interpreting them as the legal expression "sine iure," but the documentation overwhelmingly refers to the iron branding as "S and nail." The studies on Spanish slavery that note branding practices are too numerous to detail. See for example Fernández Chaves and Pérez García 114–16; González Arévalo 115–25; Martín Casares 390–96; Stella.

44. "el daño que recibiría la *raça* de los cavallos" (301); "y que la *raça y cría* de los cavallos vaya en el aumento y perfición que conviene" (302); "la universal destruyçión de la *raça y cría* de los cavallos" (302).

following the royally mandated creation of dedicated enclosures, with city regulations mirroring royal language.

A positive meaning for *raza* was adopted and institutionalized with the help of royal orders to create a selective horse breed that had the particular characteristics desired for warfare. While *casta* retained the general meaning of lineage and reproduction, *raza* acquired a more focused meaning that referred to purposeful breeding, selective physical traits that were aligned with temperament and behavior, and was marked by branding and assigned a demarcated physical space.

9. Conclusion

The language of *raza* is the result of a metaphorical, conceptual, and terminological transfer from the fields of textiles, gemology, and precious materials, and to a lesser degree equine veterinary, moving from a meaning of ‘hairline,’ ‘crack,’ and ‘defect’ to a general meaning of ‘defect’ when applied to humans, and particularly when referring to inner qualities, following developments that were shaped during the medieval and early modern periods. Religious and moralistic discourse helped locate this inner human defect in individual moral qualities and then biologize it as located in the blood. Such biologization was successfully institutionalized during the same time period through the statutes of blood purity and particularly applied to religious minorities in a way that located religious difference in the body, while also factoring into the subsequent racialization of Africans and Native Americans. The language of *raza* included a semantics of uncovering ‘inner faults’ and adopted a complex semantic network that hinged on the dichotomies of cleanliness and filth, sin and baptism, and color (light and dark), with implications both physical and symbolic, most emphatically in the form of whiteness vs. blackness. These traits were understood as being both internal and external. This negative *raza* came to coexist with a positive *raza* that became incorporated into everyday language through administrative and then legal language stemming from royal efforts to foster selective horse breeding marked by branding. As scholars have pointed out, *raza* and *casta* would continue to be used differently through later centuries and *casta* would remain the choice term for articulating human lineage and heredity.⁴⁵ *Raza* as metaphorical and then somatic defect and the later *raza* as marked breed would help establish wid-

45. See discussions on the meaning of *casta* and *raza* for example in Hill 197–238, and María Elena Martínez “The Language.”

ening and overlapping conceptual mappings for a human *raza*. The emphatically positive and emphatically negative meanings worked to biologize *raza* in ways that had enduring impact as they would be leveraged to formulate theories of both racial superiority and inferiority.

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